

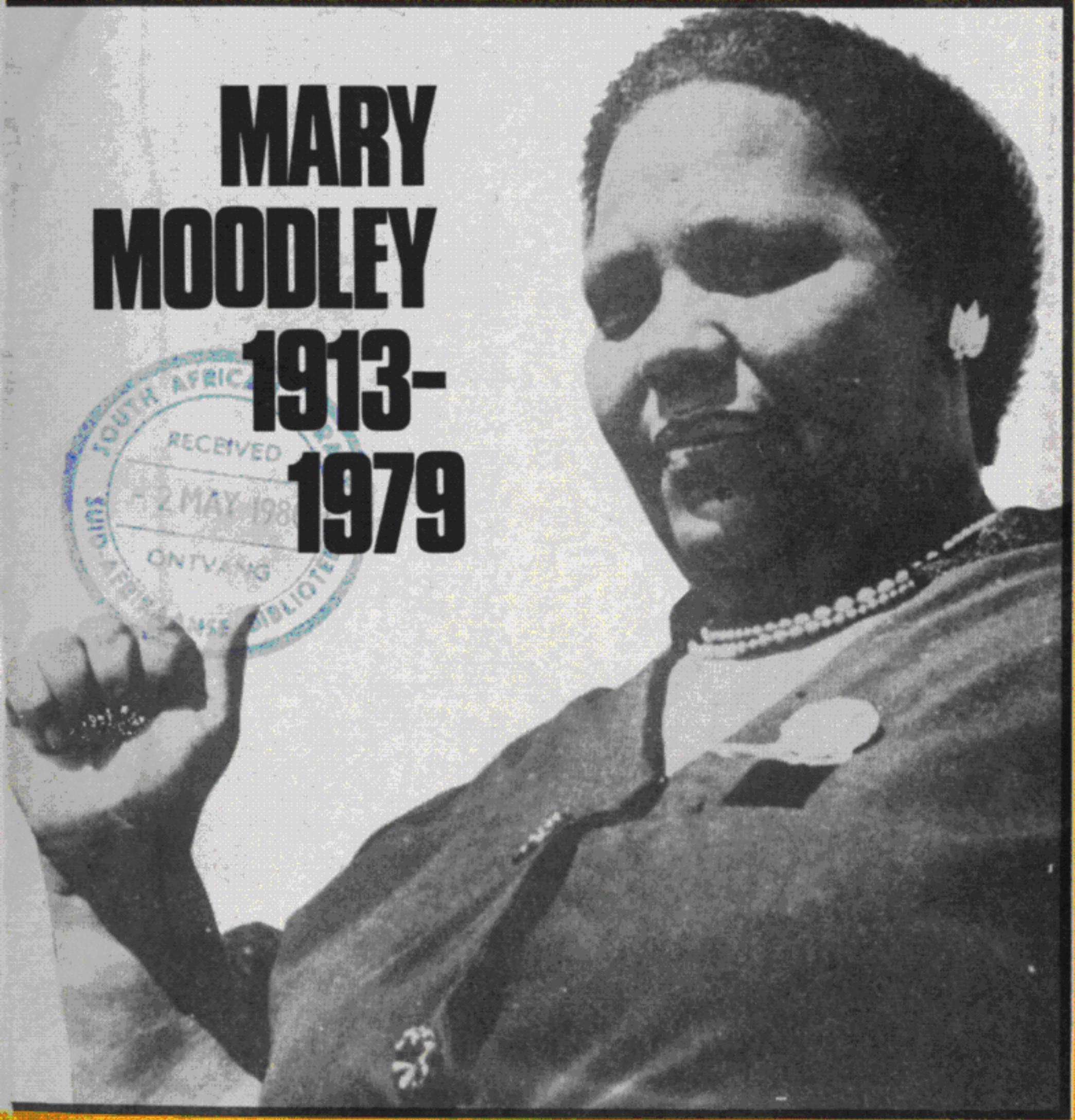
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**MARY
MOODLEY
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OBITUARY:

Mary Moodley

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LANCASTER HOUSE TALKS

It is now more than three months that the Lancaster House Conference on transitional arrangements has been going on. Lord Carrington is said to be complaining that the conference is "taking too long". He did not complain about the length of stay of the British in Zimbabwe or Smith's UDI.

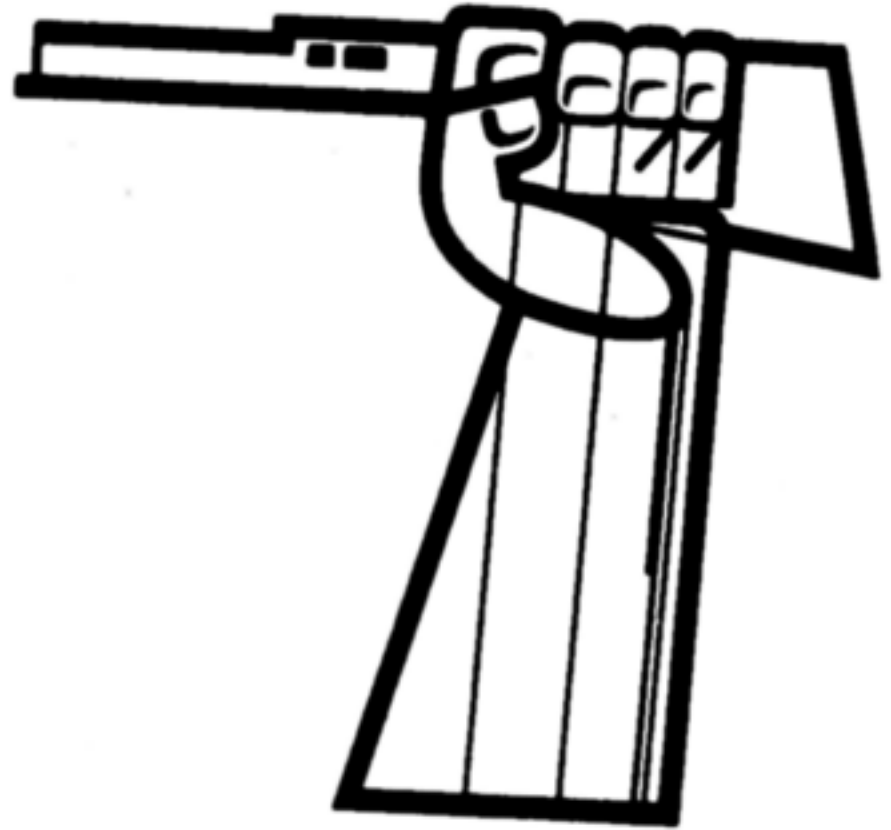
But there are important questions to be resolved: the equal status between the Patriotic Front forces and the Rhodesian security forces during the transition; the extension of the two-month transition — Britain suggests extending it to 3 months. Connected with this is the question of ceasefire campaigning and fair elections. There is also the problem of unacceptable elements of the Rhodesian forces: the Selous Scouts, Grey Scouts and mercenaries.

What about the problem of policing and monitoring of the ceasefire to ensure free and fair elections? What about the reduction in number of the Rhodesian forces and the size of the Commonwealth force to monitor the ceasefire? What role — if any — are the U.N. forces going to play? It is said that Mrs Thatcher suggests a Commonwealth force — including Australia and New Zealand — of 600 to 800 men.

Whilst in Britain talks are going on about ceasefire the Smith-Muzorewa regime is dropping paratroopers; bombing Zambia and Mozambique; looting, killing "everything that moves"; villagers "are caught in a crossfire"; prisoners executed; heads of murdered guerrillas stuck on broken tree stumps!

We agree with Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, the President of Zambia, that: "A little more patience might just do the trick".

But we go further to say there will be no genuine solution to the Rhodesian question unless and until the crisis in South Africa is resolved. We stand fully behind the Patriotic Front in its endeavours



to fight against a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe. A free Zimbabwe will be a stage towards a free South Africa. Our enemy is South African and British imperialism backed by international imperialism.

WHITE WALL CRACKING

The Botha government has launched a tremendous propaganda campaign to foster the illusion that it has embarked on a programme of reform. "Apartheid as you know it is dying", said Co-operation Minister Koornof in the United States last June. Legislation which is "insulting or hurtful" to anybody will not be tolerated, says Premier Botha to the Cape Nationalist Party congress last September, promising a "review" of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts. (In Namibia these laws have already been abolished.) Africans are to be allowed to join trade unions. Certain forms of mixing under licence are permitted in restaurants, theatres and on the sportsfield. Premier Botha makes a tour of the "homelands" and Soweto — the first South African Prime Minister, it is claimed, to bother to see for himself how the African majority of the population live.

These gestures have been siezed on by the friends of the racists at home or abroad as proof of a change of heart, justifying the abolition of the UN arms embargo and the withdrawal of all forms of sporting and economic sanctions against South Africa. It is an important task of the liberation movement to counter this propaganda and to expose the real motives of the racist regime in promoting it.

In his speeches to the various Nationalist Party congresses, Premier Botha stressed that some form of adaptation was necessary "because we want to keep out revolution and retain Christianity and civilisation". However, he rejected one man one vote ("it was applied in Rhodesia and South West Africa under completely different circumstances but was not acceptable in South Africa"). The sharing of power between black and white was out of the question. Africans would get "control of

their own destinies in properly consolidated territories" (the Bantustans), while all the Coloureds and Indians could hope for was "a system of consultation and joint responsibility for matters of common concern". Education, residential and social separation was necessary to ensure "a balance between the rights of individuals and the rights of communities", although in the economic sphere the reality of "economic interdependence" would be recognised and there would be flexibility in the use of manpower.

This is very much the mixture as before. While Botha claims he will not tolerate legislation which is "hurtful or insulting" to anybody, he has no plans to give Blacks the vote, or to abolish the pass laws or influx control, population registration or group areas, or any of the other legislative props of white supremacy. In fact, the reforms he is proposing are designed to consolidate, not terminate, white domination, however much gobbledygook he may mouth in pretending the opposite. The Africans queueing at the pass offices and labour bureaux, the workers sweating in the mines by day and cooped up in the compounds at night, the prisoners at the receiving end of the lash, the millions of jobless rotting in the reserves will continue to suffer from discrimination, to be hurt and insulted by the apartheid laws, as has been their lot in the past. At best, Botha's reforms will benefit a minority. For the mass of black South Africans nothing has changed or will be changed by any of the measures at present under discussion. Africans are still threatened with the total loss of their citizenship when the Bantustan programme is completed.

In a book *Renewal and Progress* published in South Africa last year before he took on his job as Administrator-General

of South West Africa (Namibia), the then head of the Broederbond, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made clear that the objectives of the "volk" remained "Christian Nationalism" and "the maintenance and development of our people and nation". Adaptations could be made to "outdated and irrelevant" measures in the social, economic and cultural fields so long as white control was maintained, he said. In saying this he was undoubtedly reflecting the views of the Broederbond and the government whose policies it masterminds. This is why the "reforms" are minimal, inconsistent and ambiguous. Botha's much trumpeted decision to allow Africans to join trade unions, for example, turns out on examination to be not the granting but the withdrawal of freedom of association. Though not recognised as "employees" under the Industrial Conciliation Act, and therefore unable to use the machinery of the Act, Africans in the past have always been legally entitled to form trade unions and take part in collective bargaining with their employers, though their agreements could not be registered.

Under the new dispensation, African unions will have to register and come under strict surveillance from the Industrial Registrar, as well as de facto dictation by the white unions already represented on the industrial councils, and it would appear that unregistered unions will not be allowed to function at all. The government's intention in proposing the recognition of African unions is not to extend but to restrict their freedom of action.

Similarly, the announcement that job reservation has been abolished does not mean that job and wage discrimination has been ended, but merely that more flexible machinery has been devised to ensure greater mobility of labour while preserving differentials. Cabinet Ministers have been at pains to assure white workers that their privileges will not be eroded.

Changes are taking place

Nevertheless, it would be wrong for the liberation movement to ignore the fact that changes are taking place in South Africa. The new forms of apartheid rule must be carefully analysed if we are to be able to

formulate a correct strategy of action.

Perhaps the most important sign of change is the dissaray in the ranks of the white supremacists themselves. The institutions of Afrikaner Nationalism are split from top to bottom — the Nationalist Party, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Afrikaans press speak with a multitude of voices, while the students and intelligentsia are permeated with disaffection and pessimism. The absolute certainty and conviction which marked the Verwoed era have evaporated.

Partly this is a result of the Muldergate scandal, which resulted in the removal from office of President Vorster. Information Minister Mulder, BOSS chief General van den Bergh and other "volk" leaders because of their involvement in the use or misuse of secret funds to promote the image of apartheid at home and abroad — something which most "good" Nationalists regard as no sort of a crime, and certainly not warranting the abuse and infamy which has been heaped on their heads by those who now hold the reigns of power.

Divisions in the enemy camp

Involved with the Muldergate scandal of course was the conflict between the so-called "verligtes" and "verkramptes" in the Nationalist Party, a conflict reflecting the 'class divisions' which have grown up inside Nationalist Afrikanerdom. The "verligtes" are the spokesmen of the rising Afrikaner bourgeoisie, the "verkramptes" the die-hard defenders of the bastions behind which the workers and the farmers shelter from the winds of change. Afrikaner capital is becoming more and more closely tied up with non-Afrikaner capital, both local and foreign, and the values of the bourgeoisie are being superimposed on those of the old "pure" nationalism. In their search for profits, the Afrikaner bourgeoisie have joined their business colleagues of other national groups in demanding "reforms", mobility of labour, increased productivity, the abolition of job reservation etc.

The government's "reforms", commented the Financial Mail on September 28 last year, "have certainly gone a long way



Racist police attack a striking worker in Durban

to establishing Botha's credibility with a section of the powerful business communityBotha has secured the personal support of English and Afrikaans-speaking industrialists and financiers on a scale unequalled by any of his predecessors. Provided he delivers the goods promised, the private sector, in terms of economic and political muscle, could more than compensate for the support he will lose on the right wing of the Party..."

The significance of these growing class

divisions in Nationalist Afrikanerdom was illustrated by last year's strike of white mineworkers against the promotion of Coloured workers to fill jobs previously held by Whites. The government and the bosses stood firm and the strike collapsed in a couple of weeks. What a contrast with 1922, when the white mineworkers went on strike over precisely the same issue and, challenging the full force of the state, plunged the Witwatersrand into a so-called Red Revolt in which hundreds were killed

and injured. The Nationalist Party of 1922 backed the white miners against the Chamber of Mines against the white miners, who today give their support to the extreme right-wing HNP.

Let us penetrate the enemy ranks

The fragmentation and uncertainty on the racist front is a reflection, not only of internal class restructuring, but also and perhaps more importantly of the tremendous pressure to which racist South Africa is being subjected nationally and internationally. The liberation movement has succeeded in penetrating the enemy lines and is inspiring more and more acts of resistance and rebellion in all parts of the country. In Zimbabwe and Namibia the South African regime, in co-operation with the white supremacists and imperialists, is sponsoring so-called "majority rule" compromises in a desperate bid to head off the African revolution. The bourgeoisie is not the only section of white South Africa agitating for change; the army chiefs have again and again stressed that without "reforms" capable of winning the allegiance of the black majority, they have no hope of successfully defending the country. More and more young whites, asked to give their lives for their country in dubious border battles, are questioning on the basis of their "patriotism" and deserting or avoiding service. Botha, who is Minister of Defence and also in charge of the Department of National Security (formerly BOSS), is better placed than most to judge the seriousness of these pressures, but once again his whole Southern Africa strategy is being denounced by the right-wingers as a sell-out and betrayal of the white man.

The by-elections which were held towards the end of 1979 showed the Nationalist Party at a lower ebb of popularity amongst the electorate than ever before, but also revealed the futility of the parliamentary opposition, strait-jacketed as it is by the whites-only franchise. The Progressive Federal Party is looking right, not left, for a solution.

While still leader of the PFP Colin Eglin forecast the formation of a moderate democratic alliance which "will be initiated by a split in the National Party". Welcoming

his remarks, the chairman of the PFP's Federal Executive, Mr Harry Schwartz, said: "The opposition must get its house in order. Once we have done that we will make ourselves acceptable to verligte Nationalists". Later in the year Eglin was replaced by an Afrikaner, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, to make the appeal to verligtes more cogent.

A split in the Nationalist Party is not impossible. What happened in 1933, when Smuts joined Hertzog to form the United Party, sending Dr Malan off into the wilderness, could happen again. But it would solve nothing. No white political party in South Africa calls for majority rule in a unitary state based on one man one vote; even the ex-Liberal Alan Paton has abandoned the principle as unrealistic and dangerous.

Under the circumstances, the historic responsibility can once again be seen to fall squarely on the liberation movement as the only instrument of genuine and far reaching democratic change in South Africa. Both Botha's "reforms" and the PFP's proposals are merely devices to consolidate white control, and it is only the destruction of white control which can open the way to the construction of the non-exploitative society envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

At the same time, the liberation movement also has the responsibility to analyse the dilemma of white South Africa, to seek out the progressive forces and win them over to its side. White South Africa is not a unified mass of racials and reactionaries. As the pressure on South Africa increases, white society will become increasingly polarised, and while some will attempt to retreat into the laager, other will show themselves ready for democratic advance. Whites have played their part in the liberation struggles of the past, and at this moment of crisis in our history, many Whites are moving towards the ANC, both inside and outside the country. If the number of deserters from the white camp has only been a trickle so far, it is the job of the liberation movement to turn it into a flood.

WORKING CHILDREN

One of the most exploited and dehumanised section of our society are the child labourers. Girls as young as 11 are domestic servants and earn R25 a month. Boys between 12 and 15 years work in vegetable stores carrying heavy loads and crates of vegetables.

Children in torn clothing sell newspapers to motorists; they sell apples and peanuts on the station; load coal onto coal carts; do ironing and scrub kitchens; cut sugar cane on the farms, wash taxis and prostitute themselves at mens hostels. They are paid starvation wages — if they are paid at all; some only work for tips. These child workers are black.

Why are these black children working and not going to school?

They come from poor homes or broken families — perhaps a family without a father or a mother; a parent may be an alcoholic or there may be too many children in the family and not enough money or the child does not feel loved in the home or simply runs away from school and is scared to go home. Some work to help their families or to pay their school fees or for their own survival that is if they have left home.

What are their working conditions? Some of these children work from 4am to 8pm and do manual work that is either too heavy for them or work that is too boring for adults to do or too dangerous.

Sometimes they are molested for their earnings. Child newspaper sellers work in 2 shifts from 5am to 8am and from 2.30pm to 6pm. This arrangement is supposed to enable them to attend school. These children earn 88 cents a shift that is about R9 a week.

Some work for “shebeen queens” (illicit liquor sellers) and others for vendors who

sell vegetables from a stand; young boys with torn clothes and unwashed, unload vans, pack and sell vegetables. Many are employed by black traders and families: they are “ideal” workers because their labour is cheap.

This problem affects also the rural areas where children work in the fields. They start work at the age of 7 or 8 years and are paid below 50 cents a day. In Natal a potato harvester earns 10-25 cents a day — at times he is paid with a few of the vegetables he has picked all day.

These children go to live on the farms — sleep in the compounds — where they work and earn a pittance plus their “keep”: they are given mielie-meal and some vegetables to eat. They are exposed to rape, drink and dagga-smoking. The girls who become pregnant end up as prostitutes in the nearby towns and the boys as thugs.

Although the employment of these rural children — cheap labourers — is illegal, farmers are seldom prosecuted for employing them. On the contrary some farmers even resort to kidnapping children and this happens even in rural areas. It goes to show how defenceless black children in South Africa are. The parents are desperate and destitute and therefore will not argue about conditions of work and pay for their children. As for the law — in South Africa it is illegal to work under 15 years of age — it does not make child labour disappear. All that it means is that “illegal” workers are not protected by law from abuse and low wages.

Consequences

These appalling conditions have negative social consequences: these shabbily dressed and very dirty children do not live at home; they live with other children or in other

people's homes or stay in backyards and old plots at night. The next logical step is that such a young person becomes either a thug or joins the "gangs of vagrants" who beg, collect bottles for money and feed from dustbins. They quickly turn to glue-sniffing and spirits to ease their loneliness and hunger. The worst off are the girls who cannot sell newspapers or be golf caddies: they are often forced to become prostitutes at men's hostels.

These children are harmed in many ways; long hours of work mean little sleep for children who need it badly; often children do work that is too heavy for them or monotonous work that stunts the development of their intelligence. They do dangerous work, unprotected. Some have been

killed by trains while loading sugar cane or hit by cars while selling newspapers.

Child workers are exposed to assault by adults; employers may beat them or thieves may molest them if they look after money. Those children who drop out of school to work find it difficult to go back to school: they have no option but to do cheap, manual work for the rest of their lives. These are the evils of apartheid and Bantu Education. Our children's future is tied to the victory of peoples' power and the realisation of the principles laid down in the Freedom Charter which proclaims that "Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished".

PLIGHT OF THE BATLOKWA

The mass removals of our people are one of the ugliest forms of Apartheid. More than 600,000 Batlokwa people in the Northern Transvaal have been forcefully removed from their ancestral lands and resettled within the Lebowa "homeland". This has further distorted the socio-economic structure of this community which has become "a community without a community spirit". This has further caused family disorganisation and disintegration coupled with poverty, unemployment and school drop out. The area they have been moved to does not have enough water; it is unsuitable for livestock; the land in the new region is inferior to that where the Batlokwa people have been up to now living; this area is far from major towns and is much further from major employment centres.

This move has had a traumatic effect on the community: Mr Mosima William Sekole was found dead hanging on a tree after his house was razed during the

resettlement of the Makgato people, The village is deserted and only a few houses stand in tact. One of them is that of the school principal Francis Makgato, a brother to the pro-removal chief Solomon Makgato. The principal refused to move. Some of the more than 400 families who have refused to move have built shacks in the Mashaka village while others have gone as far as Ha-Dikgale, Moletjie and neighbouring white farms to settle.

What about the school children? It is estimated that about 740 students are presently without school because of removals. The Batlokwa African Youth Organisation (BAYO) has sent petitions calling for action to help the stranded students; BAYO organised a march which brought together 3000 students and demanded school accomodation for students; fought for the release of the detained students and the bail of the students who have been charged as a result of the removal "so that they could write

their examinations”.

According to the Chief Commissioner for the Department of Cooperation and Development in the Northern Transvaal, J.S.J. Pieterse, the question of school examinations and accomodation in the area was in the hands of the Lebowa Department of Education! The Secretary of the Lebowa Department of Education says: ‘no decision has been taken on the matter as yet.’

In the meantime a relief fund has been established by the Black Academy Staff Association of the University of the North (BASA) and the Northern Transvaal region

of the Writers’ Association of South Africa (WASA). Its aims are:

- 1) to help needy people who fled their homes rather than be moved from Dwars River to Kromhoek;
- 2) to buy books and offer special tuition to students whose families have fled;
- 3) to help provide legal aid for the Batlokwa people.

The African National Congress appeals to all freedom loving people to support the struggle of the Batlokwa people, a struggle which is an aspect of our quest for land and human dignity in the land of our birth.

GUERRILLA ATTACK

On the 2nd November 1979, at 12.40 a.m., four armed guerrillas launched a successful raid on the Orlando Police Station in Soweto. According to the Argus newspaper (2/11/79), “unarmed policemen had to hide under their beds”, when the attack lasting 1-2 minutes took place.

One man, Student Constable Mtsini Musindana was killed instantly. A second man, Constable L.C. Zibi died in the Baragwanath hospital after receiving emergency treatment for several wounds. A third constable, Tammy Syantiji and a civilian Siphon Zungu were wounded and treated for shrapnel wounds.

The more than 60 off-duty policemen were “virtually powerless to fight back” as the police station was showered with automatic rifle fire and grenades. Only the 2 or 3 policemen who when on duty in the charge office returned the fire, but senior police do not believe that they hit any of the guerrillas.

Before their slipping away into the darkness in a succesful retreat, three opened fire on policemen on duty at the Charge

Office, near the road. The fourth man, at the rear of the station ground, threw grenades and then raked the barracks with automatic rifle power before retreating safely through a hole in the security fence which surrounds the station. The policemen in the barracks ran from the building, paused in the central yard, then fled across the road to take cover among the trees and cars opposite the charge office.

Lieutenant Colonel S.J. Visser, Divisional Commander of the Security Police in Soweto said: “We are hoping for an early arrest, but only a fool would commit himself to saying we expect arrests within a couple of days”. Police spokesmen said road blocks had been set up on routes to neighbouring countries after a thorough house-to-house search involving police from all branches of the police forces: Security, uniformed and detectives - failed in Soweto.

MANDELA HONOURED

At a graduation ceremony in Maseru, Lesotho, on September 29, 1979, Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC on Robben Island, was awarded the doctoral degree of Law. When this was announced there was great enthusiasm from the graduates, academic staff and the local population. They gave comrade Nelson Mandela a standing ovation. A special "imbongi" ("traditional poet") sang praises to Nelson Mandela.

Winnie Nomzamo Mandela, Nelson's wife, could not attend the ceremony and receive the doctorate on behalf of her husband because, according to the South African authorities, she is a Transkei citizen and she and the Lesotho Government must apply for a visa through the "Transkei Government". Lesotho does not recognise the "Transkei Government" and in any case Winnie is banned and exiled to Bradfort by the South African Government.

Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC, represented Comrade Nelson Mandela and said:

The National University of Lesotho which endeavours daily both to transmit and to extend the frontiers of knowledge has, by this award of the honorific title of Doctor of Laws, decided to admit into its learned ranks no man more worthy than NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA.

Linked to two legal systems, Nelson Mandela is both an accredited officer of the courts of his land and was born into the guardianship of the traditional jurisprudence of his people. Had he practised in both, circumstances permitting in possibility to do so either jointly or in succession, he would surely have acquitted himself brilliantly. Yet at his demise, Nelson Mandela would arguably have passed like most of us, into oblivion, mourned briefly, remembered

briefly and forgotten perpetually.

By incarcerating him for life on Robben Island his jailers had hoped that his people, the people of Lesotho and the world would forget him perpetually while he lived. Yet children unborn when he was imprisoned have rallied in their thousands and faced the murderous bullets of apartheid rule, proclaiming the name and example of Mandela. Already while his heart beats strong and resonant, Nelson Mandela's name has become synonymous with freedom for Africa and the world.

Scion of the Thembu royal house in the Transkei, there lay before Mandela the prospect of comfort and ease. He could have taken the easy walk, accepted the alienation of the land of his forefathers, the fragmentation of his country and the loss of his birthright as a South African — a walk which could have led him today to a position of empty authority and status created and buttressed by the conquerors of his country, an administration of apartheid law and one who moulded his people's future and destiny at Pretoria's behest. Some have chosen thus.

But the man whom the National University of Lesotho has chosen to honour as a Doctor of Laws rejected this path. He refused to sacrifice his dignity as an African and his integrity as a free man.

Rejecting the choice to be an administrator of Apartheid Law, Nelson Mandela chose to recognise a different and superior legality; a principled position which as he said himself, led him to be an outlaw. Speaking on his own defence when he was arrested and charged in 1962, Mandela said: —

"I was made, by the law, a criminal, not because of what I had done, but because of what I stood for, because of what I thought, because of my conscience. Can



Nelson and Winnie Mandela at their wedding

it be any wonder to anybody that such conditions make a man an outlaw of society? Can it be wondered that such a man having been outlawed by the government, should be prepared to lead the life of an outlaw, as I have led for some months according to the evidence before this court?"

As we can see Mandela raised the fundamental question which inevitable arises in all unjust societies, the question of the relationship between individual conscience and the existent law. Against what did Mandela's conscience rebel? Here is what he himself said in the trial of 1962: —

"I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred I am sustained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. I hate the systematic inculcation of children with colour prejudice and I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind, here and abroad, are with me in that.

I hate the racial arrogance which decrees that the good things of life shall be retained as the exclusive right of a minority of the population to a position of subservience and inferiority, and maintains them as voteless chattels to work where they are told and behave as they are told by the minority. I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind both in this country and abroad are with me."

Confronted by his own conscience which led Mandela to this hatred of any-

thing that was unjust and undemocratic, to the hatred of racism, apartheid and colonialism, Mandela posed to himself a number of question, questions which the oppressed people of South Africa pose to themselves daily. He asked: —

"In the face of the complete failure of the government to heed, to consider, or even to respond to our seriously proposed objections and solutions to the forthcoming republic, what were we to do? Were we to allow the Law which states that you shall not commit an offense by way of protest, to take its course and thus betray our conscience and our belief? Were we to uphold our conscience and our beliefs to strive for what we believe is right, not just for us, but for all the people who live in this country, both the present generation and for generations to come, and thus transgress against the Law? This is the dilemma which faced us and in such a dilemma, men of honesty, men of purpose, and men of public morality and of conscience have one answer. They must follow the dictates of their conscience irrespective of the consequences which might overtake them for it. We of the Action Council, and I particularly as secretary, followed my conscience.

If I had my time over I would do the same again, so would any man who dares call himself a man."

But could a man, himself an officer of the judicial system of the country, having taken these positions, justly claim a continuing right to remain such an officer?

Mandela expressed his own view in the following words:—

“I regard it as a duty which I owed, not just to my people, but also to my profession, to the practice of Law, and to justice to all mankind, to cry out against this discrimination which is essentially unjust and opposed to the whole basis of the attitude towards justice which is part of the tradition of legal training in this country. I believed that in taking up a stand against this injustice I was upholding the dignity of what should be an honourable profession.”

It is of some interest that in 1953 the Supreme Court of South Africa agreed with Mandela that in participating in the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952, he had been within his rights as an attorney identifying himself with his people in their struggle for political rights, even if his activities should infringe upon the laws of the country. Mandela's own argument however, is that it is in fact only by infringing these laws that justice can be done and honour of the legal profession upheld.

Mandela combined his astuteness as a legal practitioner with his dynamism as a political leader of the national organisation of the people of South Africa — the African National Congress.

The President of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo has said of his legal partner and political colleague: “Mandela was perhaps the fastest to get to grips with the harsh realities of the African struggle against the most powerful adversary in Africa, a highly industrialised, well armed state, manned by a fanatical group of white men determined to defend their privilege and their prejudice.” Of his role within the ANC President Tambo said: “Nelson was a key figure in thinking, planning and devising new tactics.

Organiser, strategist and tactician, dedicated and fearless fighter, Nelson Mandela's magnetism brought him the love of his people and the wrath of his enemies. He utilized every occasion to speak for the oppressed people. He articulated their demands, helped to provide the organisation and the means to achieve them and inspired the masses with his conviction in the inevitability of the victory of our

just cause.”

His speeches, articles and documents drafted in his capacity as an official of the African National Congress are historical documents of record. They report the unremitting struggle of the people. They reveal a mind with a breadth of vision and a profound understanding of the nature of South African society.

It was from this understanding that Nelson Mandela embarked upon the course that has led him and many of his closest colleagues-in-struggle to Robben Island. He faced the hard fact that fifty years of struggle had brought the African people nothing but more and yet more repression and fewer and fewer rights. Violence of the oppressive white minority state against the oppressed majority had become a feature of the South African scene, and for the African people there was no longer any alternative but to take up arms. Under the leadership of the African National Congress they have done so — not by choice but because they had no choice.

Inevitably, Mandela's actions brought him before the courts and finally to life imprisonment. The world, however, has judged the oppressors guilty and the system of apartheid itself a crime against humanity.

Apartheid that seeks to place shackles upon the mind and menaces upon justice could not tolerate a free Mandela whom they could not intimidate, who declared that whatever the penalties imposed he would serve his sentence and resume his struggle.

For 17 years now they have imprisoned him and for a decade before they had sought to silence him. It is both an indictment and condemnation of the system of apartheid and of its servitors that a man of such talent, of such breadth of vision and profound understanding of present-day South African society and of such humanity is denied the possibility of being with his people and here to speak to all of us.

But Dr. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela although unable to address us in person today, has earned himself a permanent place in the annals of the history of the whole humanity. His deeds as a fearless defender of genuine democracy and social justice speak much louder than words.



Children in farm schools face massive disabilities in their quest for knowledge

FARM SCHOOLS

In terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, African education passed into the hands of the Department of Native Affairs. It was subsequently passed over to a separate department — that of Bantu Education in 1958.

Up to the time when the schools were transferred to the central government, most if not all the farm schools were run by the churches. After the transfer they became the responsibility of the farmers on whose land they were located. Since then they were regarded as a distinct category by the department of Bantu Education. By 1970, there were 3,000 such schools serving one quarter of the African population and by 1974, they accounted for 32% of all African schools — the situation is even worse now.

Special Character of Farm Schools

Farm schools are the total responsibility of the farmer on whose land they are located. The maintenance of the school rests squarely on the farmers and since it is situated on his land — the decision to open, continue or close the school remains within his discretion. A farmer who chooses to maintain a school on his land accepts

some obligations and responsibilities. These are not in any way binding and are based purely on moral persuasion.

The school may only serve the children of workers on that farm and with the consent of the farmer, those from adjacent farms. However these children must have the consent of the farmer on whose land they live. This shows the extensive powers the farmers have over their employees and their families.

Management of Farm Schools

A farmer having a school on his land becomes the link between the school and the department of Bantu Education (which subsidises the school). In many cases farm owners delegate this task to a nominee who then becomes the school's manager. The manager thus becomes the pivotal figure in this system of farm schools. He initiates the establishment of schools, sees to its maintenance, appoints and supervises the teacher as well as providing for his/her accommodation.; keeps the school records; keeps in contact with other farmers who allow their workers' children to attend the school; corresponds with the Bantu Education Department and co-operates with

the District Inspector.

The following farm schools are in the area between and around Johannesburg, Pretoria and Krugersdorp:

* **Blair Athol** — The school on this farm caters for children of workers from the farm and the surrounding farms. There is only one classroom which is not sufficient and as a result more than 25 children are turned away at the beginning of the school term.

According to headmistress Ms. Anna Modise most of the parents feel that the school should be extended to accommodate more children but of course this decision lies with the owner of the farm — the problem would however remain because in most cases only the father is working and the costs for books, uniform, school fees etc. would be unbearable.

It is however, to the advantage of farmers to have as many kids out of school because they can then be used for harvesting and other odd jobs on the farms. There is also a problem facing those who manage to reach Standard 6 and have to go to high schools. If they have to go to high schools, they go to Hebron, Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane. All these places are far and it is also expensive to get children to boarding schools. The suggestion by Ms. Modise that it would be better if there could be a high school near Bryanston (which is central) would still be faced with problems because of bad transport facilities in the area.

Faced with all these problems the result is that most children end up being "farm-hands".

* **Bulfontein** — Bulfontein a primary school which used to house 200 children has been closed down and demolished because the local white M.P. felt that it was a black spot in a white area. The move was a result of a demand from a white resident who complained about the children's noise. Meanwhile white primary school kids have been moved to better accommodation. The school buildings they were using have now been transformed into offices of the Transvaal Provincial Administration. The school was well equipped with electricity and a play ground. A manager in one of the farms and parents tried to convince the

department of education to intervene but met with failure. As a result black kids have to travel long distances to surrounding farms where there are schools.

* **Witkoppen** — The school in use is not quite ideal for education. The building is used on a privilege basis because the owner of the farm has since sold that farm. The new owner has refused that the school be used hence there can be no expansion.

One problem in the area is that there are many children around who are out of school mainly because of shortage of schools. Therefore, they have to stay at home — other reasons being that: they have to work on the farms where they stay; if they must go to school they have to travel long distances; parents cannot afford the cost of education — school fees, books and uniform.

Existing schools are inadequate and the result is that there is apathy among teachers, parents and children which leads to a low standard of teaching and learning. There is also the problem of inadequate transport which affects the children because some of the schools go up to standard three and therefore have to travel long distances for std 4 and 5. An added problem is that there is no high school in the vicinity at all. When children complete school here, they have to go to the so-called homelands to further their education. Bursaries have to be obtained for this purpose to meet the high costs at such schools.

Some of the children in the area who are not in school are over-age but through their own efforts can actually read and write. Parents have to register their children about 4-6 months in advance because schools would be full at the beginning of the year.

* **Valley** — According to the principal of the school on this farm, before there was a school in the area there were many serious problems to be tackled. Mr Makgatho states that the main problem to tackle was illiteracy on the part of the parents. Some of them did not even know their children's ages and had no idea what a school was all about. He further points out that if the school was not opened the children would be picking vegetables on farms.

When the school first opened, some



A child's work must be marked on a tiny piece of slate

children were refused admission because they were over age. There are 200 children from surrounding farms in about a 10 mile radius. Inspectors know about the situation that is prevailing on the school but have taken no action about it because the farm manager decided on taking children from other farms. The farmers are quite happy and satisfied with the school — they can establish more schools because they can be subsidised by the Government but they

don't seem to be keen on that. Some children have to work on the farms after school and at week-ends. Because of the shortage of schools, many children are out of school. There are also cases of children who are out of school because parents cannot afford to send two children to school because only the father is employed and earns R20 a month — from which the whole family has to be maintained.

The above serves to illustrate the appalling

conditions in farm schools in and around South Africa's richest suburbs. The situation in farms in the rural areas is even worse. The forced mass removals of people from the white-owned farms to the so-called homelands has aggravated the situation even further. There are no schools in these areas and as such one of the effects of the mass removals is the loss of the schooling opportunity — however terrible those schools might have been.

It is clear therefore that the racist minority regime is not interested in the education of the Africans and that the system and content of education has been transformed to suit the designs of the fascist rulers. The remedy to this inhuman situation is the armed seizure of power and the total destruction of the apartheid system. The only alternative is the one envisaged in the Freedom Charter which states that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teachers shall have the rights of other citizens;

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

The implementation of this policy we shall fight for throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty. This fight has begun with the establishment of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom School in Tanzania.

SUPPORT ARAB CAUSE

A Statement by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa on behalf of African Liberation Movements at the The World Conference of Solidarity with the Arab People and the Central Issue — "The Palestine" question — Lisbon 2 — 6 November 1979.

The last half of the present decade is marked by a massive upsurge of the movements of the oppressed and exploited people the world over, for genuine independence, peace and social progress. Faced with this mounting offensive of the democratic and peace loving forces of the world, imperialism is resorting to different strategies, diversions and deceptions, in order to halt the forward march of the progressive forces and to hinder its victorious climax.

In no other regions of the world is this policy of imperialism more marked and more similar than in its policies in the Middle East and in Southern Africa. In both regions the present phase of struggle is marked by the acceleration of armed struggle deep inside Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and Israel and by open political and diplomatic confrontation in the international arena. In both regions, the only way the enemy attempts to throttle the people's march to freedom is through open terror, execution by hanging, shooting down of unarmed demonstrators and strikers, torture and detention without trial of all political opponents, wholesale imposition of prison sentences, bannings and house arrest of all patriotic forces. Externally it is through open and unprovoked aggression against the neighbouring states — Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Lebanon and Syria. But the ruthlessness, terror and open

aggression of the oppressors has not been able to hold back the swelling tide for freedom or put a halt to the victorious march of the progressive forces in both regions. What, perhaps, the violation of all human rights by the oppressive regimes in both regions has glaringly shown, is the desperation of the enemy and its international isolation.

Isolated by the international community and openly condemned by all peace loving and democratic people the world over, the racists in Pretoria and Salisbury and the Zionists in Tel Aviv have resorted to strengthening their bilateral ties and close cooperation with international imperialism.

It is perhaps noteworthy to remember that both in Southern Africa and in Palestine, the problems of racism and colonialism the theory of apartheid as a reasonable solution to South Africa's race problems. This is how they would like to solve their so called "Arab Problem".

The Zionists and the white racist South

are inherited from the past. In South Africa there is the legacy of 300 years of racism under colonial and settler rule formalised by the British handing over of power to the white minority 70 years ago and institutionalised with the coming to power of the apartheid regime in 1948.

In Palestine, there is the legacy of British colonialism. More than thirty years of the rule of the reactionary Afrikaner Nationalist Party in South Africa and more than 30 years of the existence of the State of Israel have served to justify the worst fears of all democratic and peace loving forces of the world that South Africa and Israel stand in the forefront of those states whose policies constitute a threat to the peace, progress and prosperity of the world.

Both Zionism and Afrikaner Nationalism propagate the concept of a "chosen people", specially created by God to lead their adherents to "New Jerusalems". Hence it is not surprising to find Zionists accepting



Comrade Yasser Arafat

Africans also find common ground in their attitudes to dark skinned people. Although some Zionist groups might be describing themselves as "socialists", in all the decisive struggles of the revolutionary movements, Zionists have always sided with imperialism against the international anti-imperialist movement -- against national liberation.

Israel's policy towards her neighbouring Arab states clearly unmasks the true nature and character of the regime in Tel Aviv. It is this blatant arrogance, this open aggressiveness towards her neighbours and the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the Arab people of Palestine which compares Israel more and more to apartheid South Africa. The essence is that under the influence of exclusive nationalist ideologies both Afrikaner nationalists and Israeli Zionists, think and act towards the indigenous majorities in their countries and towards their neighbouring states with the callous inhumanity of all who consider others to be of "inferior races" and less human.

Cooperation between the regimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv has been widened and strengthened in all fields since 1948. Since June 1967 their scope has widened further, with groups of volunteers, together with material aid from racist South Africa, pouring into the occupied territories. Since 1968 there has been a notable increase in trade between the two regimes, including an expansion of El-Al Airlines and South African air services. A considerable increase in exchanges has been marked in other spheres of activity as well.

The climax in this trend was reached in 1972 when South Africa decided to open a diplomatic mission in Tel Aviv and to establish its consular Commerce Section there. During the 1973 Israeli aggression against Arab countries, South Africa sent 1,500 volunteer troops via London to aid the Zionists in their October war of aggression. Only during this time South Africa's contribution to the Zionist cause, amounted to a total of 30 million dollars. Thousands of white South Africans were imported to work in Kibbutzim, as a replacement for those Zionists fighting in the Zionist army during the war. Cooperation and collaboration between the two regimes has also

extended towards the exchange of technological know-how in the field of nuclear energy and armament. As a result of this, South Africa has become one of the Zionists' major trading partners and war allies.

Faced with this blatant and open aggression, the violation of all basic freedoms, the suppression of their right to self determination and the intransigency of the regimes in Southern Africa and Israel, the people led by their time tested vanguard movements, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia, ANC in South Africa and the PLO in Palestine, had no alternative but to intensify their struggle in all spheres of confrontation.

The intensification of armed resistance and the application of all forms of struggle, including the political and diplomatic confrontation of the enemy in the international arena by the democratic forces of the Middle East and Southern Africa has put imperialism in a dilemma. The long drawn struggles in Palestine, as in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa has produced revolutionaries, who are determined never to compromise on principle with imperialism. It is for this reason that imperialism is in a state of panic and is feverishly searching for a political device which will dampen the revolutionary edge of the people's struggle. Imperialism is deeply concerned with the developing class character of the liberation movements and their growing anti imperialist posture, which it considers as a permanent threat to its interest in both regions.

The growing and unabated resistance of the democratic forces in both regions has forced imperialism to recognise the fact that in Southern Africa just as in Palestine and the whole of the Middle East, naked and open colonial and racist rule can no longer be maintained. The oppressed and exploited people in both regions have fully demonstrated in practice, in full view of the whole world, that they are determined to achieve victory at any expense. This has forced the imperialist and racist circles to grudgingly accede to change.

Thus while imperialism recognises that

the time for the setting up of an independent state of Palestine and for the decolonisation of Southern Africa has come, it wants a state of affairs which will leave its interests, its hegemony and its power in both regions intact. A form of liberation therefore, which will be incomplete and fraudulent, leaving both peoples of Africa and the Middle East bound hand and foot to the imperialist system of economic, military and political exploitation and domination.

It is in this light that the Camp David Agreements, the Anglo American initiative in Zimbabwe, the five Western powers' initiative on Namibia and the Bantustanisation and the lifting of petty apartheid in South Africa should be seen.

Further it should not be forgotten that in both regions, the USA has been the initiator if not playing the leading role in implementing the new imperialist policy. The whole policy is being carried out under the cloak of "American concern for peace in the Middle East" and for "majority rule and human rights" for the oppressed majorities in Southern Africa. Although the USA claims to be concerned about the so called 'Soviet influence' in Southern Africa and the Middle East, the struggling peoples in both areas know and are fully convinced that the Soviet Union has never been and never will be a threat to any people fighting for independence and social liberation. She has been, remains and will always remain a friend to all peoples fighting for national independence and sovereignty. The actual aim of the policy is to keep the people of Southern Africa, Palestine, the whole Middle East and the whole of independent Africa within the sphere of USA influence. Herein lies the core of the whole problem.

The whole policy is a total denial of the rights of the people of Southern Africa and Palestine to self determination and to the establishment of their own sovereign states under the authority of their authentic liberation movements, PLO, SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the ANC. It sanctions the continued domination of Southern Africa by the South African racist regime and of the Middle East by Israel.

In the Middle East the Camp David

Accords threaten not only the Palestinian people and the PLO but also all the Arab peoples and the whole Arab national liberation movement. They undermine everything achieved by the arduous 30 years struggle of the Arab liberation movement and enable the imperialists and reactionaries to reinstitute their domination over the area with the aim of turning the Arab countries into bases for aggression against the socialist countries, the progressive neighbouring countries and in particular against the liberation movements in Africa.

A just and durable peace in the Middle East can only be achieved through total Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the solution of the Palestinian problem in accordance with various international resolutions which state that the essence of the Middle East question is the Palestinian question. These resolutions recognise the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property, to exercise their right of self determination and to the establishment of their independent state under their sole and authentic representative, the P.L.O.

A just settlement of the Palestinian problem will inevitably contribute directly or indirectly towards the democratic solution of our problem in Southern Africa or vice versa. Hence the need for closer cooperation between struggling people of Palestine and all the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

It is in this light that we denounce the Tel Aviv government policy of aggression and adventurism, which culminates in measures of expansion, annexation and creation of colonies on the territories of Palestinian and Arab peoples occupied by Israel. We denounce this policy as being responsible for the explosive situation in the middle East and for being a menace to peace in the world. We warn the international community against the dangers inherent in this aggressive and adventurist policy, for another confrontation in the Middle East will have repercussions far beyond this region.

ANC HEALTH PROGRAMMES



ANC delegate Dr. Manto Tshabalala

Address to the Twenty Ninth Session of the Regional Committee for Africa of the World Health Organisation by the delegate of the African National Congress (South Africa) Dr. Manto E. Tshabalala; Maputo September 19-26, 1979.

Our organisation, the African National Congress of South Africa and indeed all the oppressed people of South Africa are highly appreciative of the assistance of the World Health Organisation continues

to accord us. There are, however, still large areas of assistance that have not been explored yet; maybe because we have not ourselves concretely identified these to the organisation.

When we today talk about Health for all in the year 2000 we want to draw your attention, Mr Chairman, to the fact that already in South Africa the doctors have access to the latest and best technological gadgetry for the computerized retrieval of medical information developed by the South

African Medical Research Council. This, however, exists in a country where this medical knowledge is used to bring about the physical and psychological destruction of political detainees and where this very same knowledge may be ignored by doctors at the suggestion of the Security Police even when political prisoners show unmistakable signs of physical assault and torture.

The high scientific standard of health that has been achieved in South Africa is negated by the unmitigated practice of racial discrimination and disparity in the delivery of health services almost to the exclusion of the oppressed and exploited African people.

Today the underlying cause for the high morbidity and mortality rates amongst the Africans is the inequity of basic human rights of political representation, the inequity of wealth, of land and educational opportunities.

It is not an oversimplification of facts to say that the African population dies mainly from preventable and treatable diseases. Mr Chairman, I do not propose, for lack of time, to enumerate statistical figures to demonstrate these facts. Allow me, however, to draw your attention to the fact that in the International Year of the Child the racist South African regime does nothing to alleviate the plight of children who die in the acute and chronic stages of diseases indirectly caused by undernourishment, and lest we forget, South Africa is a major exporter of food. The infant mortality rate (IMR) for Africans is not published nationally though it is available for whites, but some people have estimated it at more than 400 per 1000.

We wish, Mr Chairman, to remind you of the vast numbers of people in South Africa who are subjected daily to the atrocities of the racist and apartheid regime of South Africa. Because of these, scores of our people have left South Africa to seek better education and others to equip themselves with necessary skills to dislodge the enemy. In this process large and recognisable South African communities are to be found in many parts of the world with the bulk of them being in Africa. This development has sharpened problems relating to health,

education, housing, clothing and the general welfare of our people.

Sharing the concern of our organisation over the state of health of our people, the Government of Tanzania made it possible for our organisation to set up a sick-bay in Dar-es-Salaam as early as 1966. That sick-bay then signalled a move by our organisation, towards the establishment of a proper vehicle for the effective delivery of health services to our people.

To concretise and give expression to that effort the National Executive Committee of the ANC established a Health Department whose task is to further improve and supervise medical and health services amongst our people.

In commemorating the humiliating defeat of the imperialist aggressors by the African people at Isandhlwana in 1879, our people have taken a fresh resolution to assault the monster of apartheid with increasing strength. Great efforts are being made by all sectors of our people to bring to a rapid end the past centuries of racist oppression and exploitation in our country. In this 'Year of the Spear' the masses of our people are more than determined to destroy apartheid to its roots by forcible seizure of power and to create conditions that are adjusted to human needs, where the enjoyment of freedom, democracy and human rights shall be a reality and implemented on an ever wider scale.

Taking the health needs of our people as a revolutionary and historic task the ANC Health Department has:

- 1) to bring together all those in the medical profession who are truly devoted to the welfare of all South Africans;
- 2) to ensure maximum implementation of Health programmes partly by integrating medical and health services into the socio-economic life of the people and by encouraging the active participation of the people in different health schemes relating to nutrition, health education, improved sanitation and housing, immunoprophylaxis, access to safe water and domiciliary chemotherapy.

In an effort to sensitise and mobilise our people both inside and outside our country and to give rich meaning to the self help

International
Year of **the Child.**



Health:

South Africa, 1979.

**Our children
need food.**

Proper food,
proper housing,
free medicine —
which only
a democratic
government
can provide.

Malnutrition leads to
such killing diseases as
kwashiorkor and beri-beri.
Two black children under five
die every 35 minutes:



schemes undertaken by groups and individuals on a free and revolutionary basis to improve the health and environmental conditions, the Health Department of the ANC has started the teaching of Health Sciences — Nutrition, Personal Hygiene and First Aid in the ANC school that is being established in Morogoro, Tanzania, which is to provide junior, middle and upper secondary education including vocational training.

Mr Chairman, we note that the 29th Session of the Regional Committee for Africa has covered wide ground in the resolutions on Health and Liberation Struggle in Africa. We salute this gesture of solidarity. For our part we wish to urge the Regional Director to assist us in the intensification of the implementation of our health programmes, and to facilitate, in collaboration with the African States in the region the setting up for our communities of health centres which will serve as curative-cum-educational centres for our health cadres. We should also urge the Regional Director to assist and strengthen the health facilities of the frontline states so that they are better equipped to cope with the added health problems of the displaced people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Allow me Mr Chairman, in concluding to pay tribute to the firm and dedicated fighter in the cause for national liberation, continental and international human dignity, the President of the MPLA — Workers Party and President of the Peoples Republic of Angola, Dr Antonio Agostinho Neto. His dedication to the struggle for peace, human dignity and world progress will forever inspire us to redouble our efforts for the seizure of political power for a society free from the injustices of exploitation and racial oppression.

On behalf, Mr Chairman, of the ANC (SA) and the ANC (SA) Health Department, we wish to express our profound gratitude to his Excellency the President of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique, Samora Moises Machel, and to the Party, the Government and the people of Mozambique for the assurance we have never doubted that Mozambique is the 'secure rearguard' of our national liberation struggle.

WORKING WOMEN IN S.A.

The following paper was presented by Maud Manyosi of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), at the Fourth World Trade Union Conference on the Problems of Working Women, held in Nicosia, Cyprus from 15-19 October, 1979.

Our delegation welcomes the initiative taken by the Executive Secretariat in ensuring the convening of this Fourth World Trade Union Conference on the Problems of Working Women. It is appropriate and highly commendable that this initiative should coincide with the UN Decade for Women and more specifically with the International Year of the Child which we are all observing. In this regard we cherish the hope that the forms of activity that will be recommended by this conference will form the basis for sustained campaigns by the international labour movement, to isolate and destroy the apartheid regime of terror in South Africa.

This conference is a forum deliberately designed to contribute towards the strengthening of the current process of the emancipation of women at the national, regional and international levels.

Where else except in the capitalist countries can we find women to have less access to jobs, training and education? That the employment of women in the most menial and lowest paid jobs is reserved for women workers? Where, from the burdens of factory, farm and domestic work they return to their homes to face added problems within their own families? The answers are clear and unequivocal. It is only in the capitalist societies that we find women subjected to extreme forms of oppression and exploitation; where women suffer the extreme form of oppression and exploitation; where women suffer the

indignities of national oppression and, where women workers are the victims of special discrimination for the simple reason that they are women. Such is the condition of working women in capitalist countries.

The problem in racist South Africa is immensely compounded by the policy of apartheid and racism. It is even more dismal for the African woman who, in addition to the three-fold burden of oppression, she is held captive and enslaved by the vicious hated system of pass laws. According to the ruling circles and finance houses, an African woman is nothing but an appendage in society to be used whenever it is necessary and convenient to the exploiting class. The African woman is therefore denied the fundamental right to work on the grounds of race and sex. She is also manipulated through a great number of other factors. The law forbids most African to reside in urban areas even if their husbands may be in gainful employment in those areas. As a result, these women remain forever restricted to the Reserves or 'Bantu Homelands' without their husbands. They therefore assume the onerous responsibility for bringing up their children who constitute a nucleus for a reservoir of cheap labour for the future service to finance capital and industry.

Cheap labour in South Africa is consciously encouraged with the sole aim to yield as much profit as possible for the exploiting class. In this way whole families are compelled to eke out an existence. Women workers have no alternative but to accept whatever crumbs that might fall from the lavishly laid out tables of their bosses. To emphasize this point, it is interesting to note that women in the textile industry are paid one-fifth less than the minimum wage.

Quite apart from being abused in industry, 23

many women still work in the fields in harsh and intolerable conditions. Mother and child are all compelled to work for a pittance so as to earn themselves the favour of accommodation. This removes the possibility for the mothers to bring up and educate their children in the context of a family.

Worse still, is the humiliating treatment meted out to working women in the fields and in industry by being threatened with dismissal should they become pregnant. Invariably, numerous illegal abortions are carried out in conditions that defy hygiene resulting in serious risks to their lives and health. It is reported that in a single month in 1975, and at only one hospital in Johannesburg, a total of 1,000 black women were admitted because of infections caused by abortions. A more detailed revelation would stagger the imagination.

It is virtually impossible for most African women to live normally with their husbands and the fathers of their children. The result has been the destruction of family life and families.

At the other end of the spectrum, there is an increase in the number of illegitimate children reckoned between 30 and 70 per cent of all children born in the urban areas. They are the most disadvantaged children for they neither have birth rights nor any other legal status. They carry with them the perpetual stigma of being unwanted. They become the sole responsibility of their mothers. Employment possibilities for women are minimal and the conditions of poverty usually result in malnutrition, illness and early death. Some rural areas are without a clinic and if some child should fall ill, it is extremely difficult to get a doctor.

The African child cannot hope for a decent education. The fascist regime of South Africa is not interested. What education is provided for the African child is sufficient to prepare them to follow and carry out instructions of the oppressor class in South Africa. Even that distorted form of education is given to the African children at a price extorted from their mothers and parents.

But, we are in no way portraying a docile army of working women. What we



have endeavoured to show is that basic changes in the status of women in South Africa are not possible under apartheid and racism. The African women have not remained passive witnesses to their oppression. They have long recognized that their struggle for equality, development and peace is closely linked with the main tasks of the liberation struggle. They have a glorious tradition of struggle which goes back to the last century during which African women participated in the resistance against the marauding colonialist troops. Ever since, they have fought through political organisations and through trade unions; they have organised strikes and stay-at-homes; and mobilised in their hundreds and thousands against pass laws. Today the African women are standing in the forefront of the resistance movement being waged against the forced removals of people from their established homes. Today, the might of the working women is actively participating in the front ranks of the bus-boycott movement (against increased fares) that threatens to engulf the major centres of South Africa. Today, the African women are still holding high the banner of struggle that was unfurled during the memorable uprisings of Soweto in 1976. The struggle for national and social liberation continues unabated.

ZAMBIA

Letter to the Secretary-General of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of Zambia's Independence.

Dear Comrade,

On the occasion of 24th October, 1979, which is the 15th anniversary of Zambia's Independence, the African National Congress of South Africa and its military wing — Umkhonto we Sizwe, wishes to congratulate the Party, UNIP, the government and the people of the Republic of Zambia on the attainment of the nation's 15th year as an independent country.

As a result of the national liberation struggle through UNIP, Northern Rhodesia became the independent Republic of Zambia on the 24th October, 1964. Special significance must be laid on the fact that the anniversary of Zambia's independence coincides with the United Nations Day, symbolising that UNIP strongly supports the philosophy behind the United Nations and in particular the Declaration of Human Rights which is now enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, just as it is in the revolutionary programme of the ANC of South Africa and its allies. Over the last 15 years, the world has witnessed how Zambia, under the able leadership of his Excellency, President Kenneth Kaunda, has forged steadily ahead to remove the vestiges of her colonial past and replace that epoch with a people's government under the banner of the country's guiding ideology — Humanism.

On this occasion we wish to reiterate our conviction concerning our common bonds of political struggle, taking into cognisance the fact that the independence of Zambia, as indeed that of Africa, is insecure as long as Southern Africa is still under the shackles of white minority rule, which is buttressed by the racist apartheid state of Pretoria. Credence to these bonds of solidarity between the independent people of Zambia and the oppressed but struggling people of South Africa is manifest in the words of President Kaunda when he states:

'We have decided to wage a struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and racism on one hand; and hunger, poverty, ignorance, disease, crime and exploitation of man by man on the other.'

We in the African National Congress of South Africa view our struggle in a similar light.

It is heartening to us to know that in spite of all the diplomatic, economic and military pressure that Zambia is subjected to by the racist white minority regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury and their puppets, Zambia has nonetheless resolutely adopted a progressive stand on the question of the national liberation of the oppressed people not only of our country, but of Zimbabwe and Namibia. A LUTTA CONTINUA!

This year's anniversary also coincides with the United Nations Week of Disarmament, which starts on the 24th of October up to the 31st of October 1979. On an occasion like this, mention ought to be made once again, that whereas all peace-loving and progressive mankind is occupied with removing all weapons of destruction from the face of earth, the racist apartheid state of South Africa is completing its plans to manufacture its own atomic bomb, this with the active connivance and collusion of known western powers. Needless to say, this situation poses a threat not only against the oppressed people in our country, but to the rest of independent Africa.

In wishing the people of Zambia continued success in their struggle for the consolidation of their independence, national and social regeneration, the African National Congress is fully confident that the bonds of solidarity binding our two peoples will remain firm and stronger in the future. This is a guarantee for the future happiness of our peoples.

SIGNED: Alfred Nzo, Secretary General

IMMORTAL AUNTIE MOODLEY

Death has once more robbed the entire oppressed but struggling masses of our country of one of the most dedicated and selfless fighters in the history of our struggle. On the 23rd of October, 1979, 66 year old Auntie Mary Moodley passed away, leaving behind an indescribable loss to the entire majority struggling for the seizure of political power.

Auntie Mary, as she was popularly known and adored by both young and old, worked energetically and tirelessly during her lifetime for the achievement of peace and happiness for all the peoples of our country. At the same time she understood that this can only come about if the black oppressed majority are given their inalienable rights in the country of their birth. As a consistent internationalist, she struggled not only for the unity of the working peoples of our country, but strove to bring all the exploited throughout the world together.

A distinguishing feature of Auntie's character was her deep love for all the people around her. Everybody knew that in the comfort of her humble home they would always be given whatever help they sought. Auntie Mary's home was a haven for the suffering. All the persecuted and lonely people in her district and beyond came to her for comfort and help. There is no way of describing her warm-hearted personality, which made her over all these years plunge deeper and deeper into the work of helping all those suffering.

She lived in the Coloured area of Wattville Township and her two-roomed shack housed not only her large family and grandchildren, but also any one else who needed a home. One of the people whom she adopted was a blind and paralysed African man whom she had found lying in the street -- a wreck of the Apartheid system, for whom there was no hospital or State

institution where he could be cared for, and also a White who was stranded stayed with Auntie Mary.

The kind hearted nature of Mary Moodley did not shadow her deep hatred for the system of oppression and economic exploitation perpetrated by the white minority clique against the black majority of our people. Her love for the people created in her a deep resentment for the system and a firm determination to struggle to the bitter end. Her rich history of political activity is evidence of this. She was a regular church goer and though financially in great difficulties she was always ready to share.

Auntie Mary was a solid member of the African National Congress and a hard-working trade union movement organiser in the East Rand. As a founder member of the South African Coloured People's Congress, she strove until her death for the unity of all the oppressed and patriotic forces in our country, and in particular the merging of the trade union movement with the national liberation movement led by the ANC. Auntie understood the need for the unity of all races and political organisations sharing the same objectives. The wide representation at her funeral is evidence of this. As a woman or mother she moved from township to township during the 50's mobilising all women to join their menfolk in the demonstrations and boycotts that were tearing the vestiges of apartheid apart. Mary Moodley was therefore a grassroot organiser of the Federation of South African Women, the multi-racial front of women's organisations that came into being in 1954.

The banning order that was imposed on her in 1963 in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act did not deter Auntie Mary. Although she was prohibited from



Mary Moodley, centre

attending meetings or carrying on with any public work, being confined to her magisterial district, our glorious fighter continued to work for her people. The racists tried to clamp her down again in 1968, renewing the ban for a further five years and again in 1973 renewed the ban until March 31st 1978. Then at last it was thought that she would be free after 15 years of continuous bannings — this awaited freedom lasted only three days in which she relaxed at home, received friends and her relatives around her. But no, on the third

day after the ban's expiry, back came the security police to serve yet another 5 year ban on this ageing widow. Once more Aunty Mary was restricted to Benoni until 1983.

In *Sechaba*, Vol. 1, No. 8, 1967, there is a story which typifies Mary Moodley. The doctors had told her that because of her heart complaint she should be on a costly diet. Her reply was typical: "How can I sit and eat expensive meat while the children eat porridge? I eat what they do."



Comrade Mary Moodley with her family

It was while serving the ban but fighting relentlessly that Aunty Mary passed away at Benoni hospital of sugar diabetes and heart ailment. The heart of our beloved Aunty stopped beating, but for us it will continue beating within the hundreds of revolutionaries, young and old, that Aunty groomed and prepared for the final onslaught against the racist minority in our country.

We in the African National Congress, all of us the oppressed but struggling peoples of South Africa, we the tested cadres of our revolutionary army Umkhonto we Sizwe, all of us dip our revolutionary banner in loving memory of our relentless fighter, mother and patriot, Aunty Mary Moodley. Your name shall forever remain dear to our hearts and shall evoke a stab of fear in the hearts of the enemies of our people, for you always took the fight for a better life to every apartheid official. We join one of the daughters of Aunty Mary in saying: "My mother will go down fighting. And that's what makes us so proud of her."

Her funeral was tremendous, and it was a full Congress occasion, green, yellow and black rosettes fluttering everywhere and even some Federation blouses. Speeches were made in a packed hall — it was like the old days again. The most moving of all was that young men ran two miles, at the front of the funeral procession to the cemetery, in front of the hearse, arms up with clenched fists and singing freedom songs.

Our sincerest condolences go to all the bereaved. Not only to the family, but to the hundreds of those who have felt the grief of Aunty Mary's sudden departure. Let us all vow to intensify our struggle, which will be the only honour befitting our dear Aunty.

Slaap gerus, Aunty.

NOSIZWE BLUNDERS

Nosizwe; One Azania, One Nation: The National Question in South Africa, Zed Press, London 1979.

The book under review has an "appealing" title "One Azania, One Nation". We hurry to warn the readers that the book is not written by a PAC supporter or a Black Consciousness sympathiser. The author is cashing in on "fashionable" names like Azania, which were first coined by the PAC and later captured the minds of many black South Africans who understandably reject the name "South Africa" because it is associated with racism and oppression.

This book is written by Nosizwe. Nosizwe is an African name for a female but in the book this "Nosizwe" is characterised as a male. He was on Robben Island which, as we all know, is a concentration camp for black male political prisoners. This mistake — or is it a blunder? — helps us to know who Nosizwe is and what is more, it exposes an ignorance of African names — perhaps another aspect of the national question in South Africa!

The central theme of Nosizwe's book is that in South Africa there are no "races", no "population groups", no "ethnic groups", no "national groups" but "colour-castes" (p.4). This thesis is pursued with an obstinacy worthy of being put to better use (p.127 and p.141). He is advocating a "one-nation" thesis.

This book which is "not a history of South Africa" but "a history of the idea of the nation in South Africa" (p.8) fails to look at the evolution of our movement and the thinking of its leaders; it does not take into account the development of class forces — that is the strength and weakness of the working class forces, ideological influences, state of organisation and the international situation — all factors which

have a bearing on our liberation struggle and have an objective character. The documents of our movement are not properly assessed. All what Nosizwe has done is to concentrate his energies in "destroying" the thesis of "colonialism of a special type" and the "two nation" theory which to him is nothing but "pluralism" — the ANC, SACP and the racist government of Botha are all "pluralists"!

Nosizwe fears the thesis of "colonialism of a special type" because among other things, behind it "looms the ugly spectre of a futile black chauvinism" (p.121). These petty bourgeois fears of the masses have an objective class character and show the contradictory nature of the petty bourgeoisie. Nosizwe contradicts himself when he sees "black chauvinism" in the thesis of "colonialism of a special type" and at the same time asserts that "it is only the exploited black working class (to be joined later by white workers depending on the relationship of forces then obtaining) who can actually bring into being such a nation" (p.119).

The political positions of the author come out clearly when he discusses the character of the revolution: "the revolution would assume a permanent character" (p.176); the "old guard" of the ANC "did not conceive of the struggle as a permanent, uninterrupted revolution" (p.176); he sees the "revolutionary struggle as a continuous process towards the establishment of a socialist order." (p.177). But what sort of "socialist order" does he want when he regards Soviet experience on the solution of the national question as irrelevant to our situation? He has this to say about Professor I.I. Potechin, former teacher of African revolutionaries since the early thirties and former director of Africa Institute in Moscow: his paper "Could

almost have been written by a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond, but for its anti-tribal point of departure (p.97) and about the C.P. he says: "... the early South African Communist Party literature, following Stalin, arrived at an essentially reactionary theory of nationality akin to the present Afrikaner nationalist theory..." (p.121) and Nelson Mandela was "voicing the typical liberal bourgeois point of view which was held by most of the official leadership of the Congress movement at the time" (p.177)

What is then our position on the national question?

According to the 1978 Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (published in 1979) the South African population — including the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda — is estimated at 26,946,000 with 19,369,500 Africans; 4,379,500 Whites; 2,432,000 Coloureds and 765,000 Indians. The 'Survey' goes further to divide Africans into their ethnic (which in South Africa is called "tribal") composition.

The breakdown is not ours — it is the enemy's. For the purpose of this discussion we shall refer to Blacks — comprising Africans, Coloureds and Indians — on the one side and Whites on the other. The figures are respectively 22, 566, 500 and 4,379,500. When we talk of Blacks on one side and Whites on the other we are far from maintaining that Blacks are a homogeneous group. As a liberation movement we view the whole discussion on the national question in the context of the political strategic goal of our revolutionary struggle. This "dividion" between Blacks and Whites is of fundamental importance because:

a) it makes a clear demarcation line between the oppressor and the oppressed "nation" and puts into proper perspective the

colonial origin of the crisis that is now taking place in South Africa: in other words South Africa is a colony of a special type where the coloniser and the colonised are not spatially separated but live side by side in the same territory;

b) it is a direct opposite of the utter nonsense propagated by the Boers and white liberals in South Africa who want to convince us that "we are all South Africans" or "we are all part of Africa". Nobody refutes the fact that Whites in South Africa are South Africans. But what worries us is that this identification, which is made more hypocritical by the refusal to live up to its implications, has a class function, namely to conceal the nature of oppression and the source and character of inequality.

It is ironical that Nosizwe, who vehemently denounces the Boer philosophy and white liberals should find himself talking the same language with them. His thesis, in a book which purports to discuss the national question, is tantamount to a de facto negation of the existence of the national question in a country where there

is unequal distribution of privilege and power based on racism.

The real problem with this book is that Nosizwe is a "real rebel"; rebelling against Apartheid and Afrikanerdom; against white liberals; against the ANC and the C.P.; against Stalin and the Soviet Union. Only Trotzky, the Non-European Unity Movement and Nosizwe are right. These "politics of rebellion" which are without any clear direction tend to isolate Nosizwe from black politics in South Africa even though he talks of the working class leadership that is, only the workers will constitute a South African nation. Nobody else. This is supposed to be a Marxist (mark you

not Leninist) analysis and approach to the national question in South Africa.

He finds himself agreeing with some of the earlier positions of the PAC but is against the theories propounded by the PAC in *Ikwezi* — a journal in which he published a chapter of his book. These contradictions are inherent in the petty bourgeois elements in our society; people who are violently anti-racist and anti-imperialist but at the same time they fear the masses of our people.

The book is full of cliches and meaningless jargon: “pre-capitalist societies” (p.172); “tribal and pre-tribal societies” (p.169). Even the language of the book is definitely not meant for the poor and “uneducated” workers who according to the author are

supposed to lead the revolution and “constitute a nation”. It is definitely meant for academics. This book will surely not help those who are fighting for liberation in our country or those who want to know more about our history and our struggle. One thing that can be said is that Nosizwe has helped us to realise the need for our movement to pay more attention — also at the theoretical level — to the national question in South Africa.

A note on Zed Press: if Zed Press wants to serve the interests of the liberation movement they have to be stricter with their editing and perhaps even consult with the liberation movements before publishing books especially of this nature.

F.M.

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