A black and white photograph of a prison cell. The cell has a barred window at the top. The walls are made of concrete and show signs of wear and discoloration. The floor is dark and appears to be made of concrete or stone. The overall atmosphere is bleak and oppressive.

*This is*  
**APARTHEID**  
A PICTORIAL INTRODUCTION

# ***This is APARTHEID***

**A PICTORIAL INTRODUCTION**



**International Defence & Aid Fund  
for Southern Africa  
London, December 1984**

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The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa is a humanitarian organisation which has worked consistently for peaceful and constructive solutions to the problems created by racial oppression in Southern Africa.

It sprang from Christian and humanist opposition to the evils and injustices of apartheid in South Africa. It is dedicated to the achievement of free, democratic, non-racial societies throughout Southern Africa.

The objects of the Fund are:-

- (i) to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures,
- (ii) to support their families and dependents,
- (iii) to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.

In accordance with these three objects, the Fund distributes its humanitarian aid to the victims of racial injustice without any discrimination on grounds of race, colour, religious or political affiliation. The only criterion is that of genuine need.

The Fund runs a comprehensive information service on affairs in Southern Africa. This includes visual documentation. It produces a regular news bulletin 'FOCUS' on Political Repression in Southern Africa, and publishes pamphlets and books on all aspects of life in Southern Africa.

The Fund prides itself on the strict accuracy of all its information.

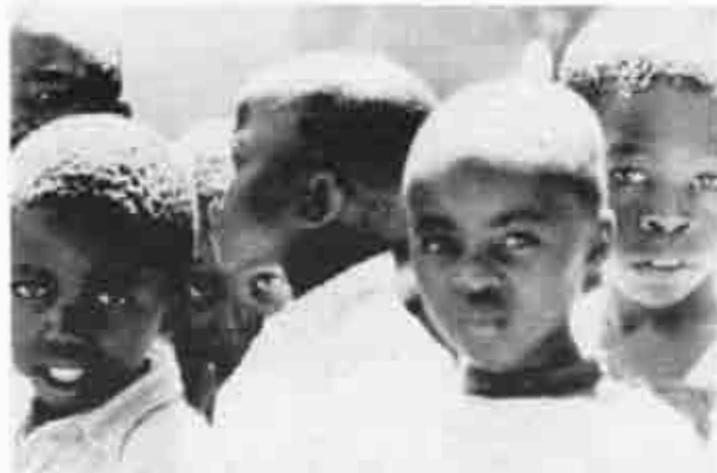
*Printed by A. G. Bishop & Sons Ltd., Orpington, Kent.*



## WARS OF CONQUEST

The Republic of South Africa is situated at the southern tip of the African continent. It shares borders with several countries which gained independence from colonial or minority rule between 1960 and 1980. To the north-west is Namibia, a country which it occupies illegally and where it faces a war of liberation. South Africa is largely isolated from its neighbours, from the rest of Africa and from the international community by the policies of its government, known as APARTHEID.

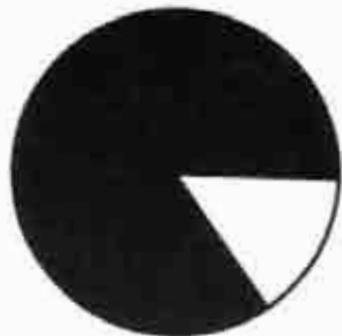
Under apartheid (the word means 'separateness') the majority of the population are denied some of the most basic rights. With the support of most of the international community they are engaged in a struggle for liberation.



*Africans were the original inhabitants of South Africa. They are the great majority of the population today. In the seventeenth century, the country was invaded by Europeans. The newcomers acquired land and wealth by conquest. First they settled on the Cape coast in the south-west where they fought the inhabitants for control of their land and valuable herds of sheep and cattle. Then they moved inland to take the rest of the country by force of arms.*

THE TOTAL POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN 1983 WAS ESTIMATED TO BE JUST OVER 31 MILLION

BLACK  
(85%)



WHITE  
(15%)





*The people who lived in South Africa fought hard to prevent the Europeans taking their land. The struggle became even sharper during the nineteenth century when mining of diamonds and gold began on a large scale. After more than two centuries of war the Europeans gained control, chiefly*

*because of their more modern and powerful weapons. Also, although Africans all over the country resisted the invaders they did not fight as one united force. So by the beginning of the twentieth century the African people had been dispossessed of almost all of their original homeland.*

## DIVISION OF A LAND

From the time of the earliest settlement the white minority distinguished between themselves and the original population. They used their military power to reserve the best land and opportunities for themselves and to keep control of the country. This policy of segregation and discrimination, which has been imposed with increasing intensity, is now called APARTHEID.

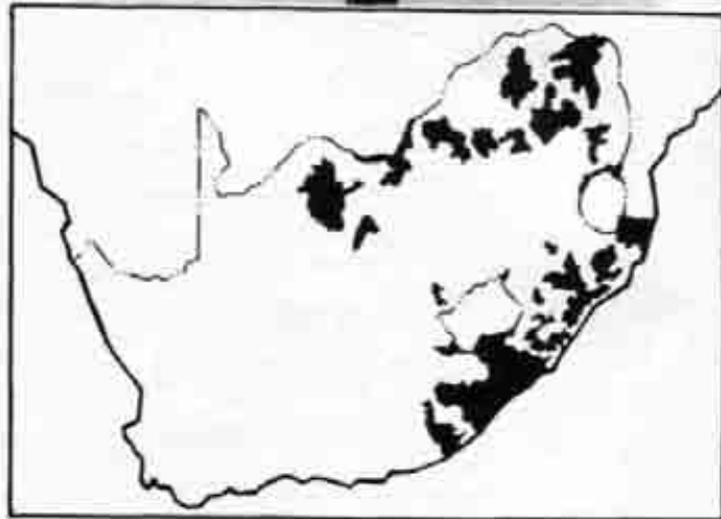
Apartheid divides the population of South Africa into separate groups. People's whole lives are governed by classification at birth, based on a combination of skin colour, physical appearance, language group and descent. The classification decides what kinds of work will be open to them, and whether they are to be accorded or denied such rights as voting. It decides where they must live, which schools or hospitals they may attend, what transport they must use, which people they may marry.

The words used to label people take on special meanings under apartheid. The principal terms are 'Asian', 'Black', 'Coloured' and 'White'.

The black majority is split by apartheid into three main 'population groups'. The group labelled 'Black',<sup>1</sup> which comprises most of those more usually referred to as African, is divided again according to language. The group labelled 'Coloured' includes both descendants of the original inhabitants of the areas where Europeans first settled, and most people whose descent is traced from members of more than one 'population group'. The small group called 'Asian' consists mainly of descendants of workers brought from India in the nineteenth century. The people in all these groups reject apartheid labels, choosing rather to call themselves all 'black'.

The section of the population classified 'White' is treated as a single privileged group even though its members speak different languages and have varied cultural and historical backgrounds.

1. This group has been labelled differently at different times. Only since 1977 has it been officially called 'Black', in contrast to the popular use of the term 'black' which includes also those classified 'Coloured' and 'Asian'



*Apartheid's most fundamental division is that of land. Whites are allocated 87 per cent.*



*The black majority rejects apartheid labels used to divide them and the laws which force them to use separate facilities. In 1952 a joint campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws was launched in which 8,000 people were arrested*



*for publicly breaking the discriminatory laws. Protests against segregation continue. Segregated facilities are separate but not equal: those for blacks are inferior.*

## REDRAWING THE MAP

The apartheid regime has tried to enforce strict territorial segregation. The greater part of the country has been proclaimed 'white'. People are forcibly evicted from their homes where these fall within a zone assigned to another group. By 1983 at least 3.5 million people had been uprooted and, in the government's term, 'resettled' elsewhere in the attempt to redraw the map of South Africa along apartheid lines.<sup>1</sup>

Most of those moved have been Africans forced into the 13 per cent of the land allocated to them. This area consists of numerous fragments grouped into ten units called 'bantustans', most of which are made up of several bits of land. Every African is assigned to a bantustan, chiefly on the basis of language.

The forced removals and resettlement policy has led to huge increases in the number of people in the bantustans. For example, the population of one bantustan (Qwa Qwa) grew from 26,000 to 232,000 between 1970 and 1980.<sup>2</sup> During the 1960s and 1970s over a million African tenant farmers were evicted from farming areas and forced into bantustans, deprived of the land which was their livelihood.

The towns and cities are segregated into separate residential areas for each 'population group'. Under just one law, the Group Areas Act, over 834,000 people, mostly Asian and Coloured, have been evicted from their homes and forced into townships far from the city centres.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Forced Removals in South Africa*, Surplus People Project, Cape Town, 1983
2. *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 20.1.82
3. *Forced Removals in South Africa*, *op. cit.*

*Evicted Africans arrive at resettlement camps in the bantustans to find only the most basic amenities. The lack of proper housing may keep them in camps for months or even years.*



*District Six in Cape Town had a mainly Coloured population but was demolished and prepared for reoccupation as a 'white' area.*





*Communities threatened with removal to the bantustans consistently resist the regime's attempts to dump them there. The government may then resort*

*to using its police and army to force the people to leave their homes.*

## DIVIDE AND RULE

Apartheid imposes separate political structures on the different groups into which it divides the population. Political power and control of the state are in the hands of those classified white. However, the decisions made by the minority government affect the lives and futures of all South Africans, black and white.

Africans are excluded from participation in central government and are denied South African citizenship. Their voting rights are limited to the bantustan structures which the regime began to set up in the 1950s. By 1983 four bantustans (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) had been proclaimed 'independent' by the apartheid regime. The bantustan authorities, lacking legitimacy and popular support, are kept in power by the central government. No country in the world recognises their 'independence'.

In the late 1970s the regime devised plans to draw sections of the Asian and Coloured communities into an alliance with it. White voters approved the plans in a referendum in 1983. A three-chamber segregated parliament has been created giving Coloured and Asian voters a very limited voice in national politics, within the framework of apartheid and under white control. Africans are excluded from the parliament.



*Government attempts to establish subordinate political structures for black people have been consistently rejected because of their divisive nature and very limited powers.*

'A candidate in last week's elections for management committees in the Cape, Mr F Maasdorp, achieved a new South African record. He received a record low of no votes. His opponent in Ward 4 in the Macassar residential area outside Somerset West, Mr A Darries, was not much better. He got four votes - but he won.'  
*Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 18.9.83*

'Eligible voters [in the three provinces] were told they could be prosecuted and fined if they did not register; finally about 320,000 names were inscribed on the first Indian voters' roll in South Africa's history. But by late this evening, it appeared that at least 85 per cent and possibly 90 per cent of eligible voters had not cast ballots. In one Johannesburg district, 98 per cent of the voters stayed away.'  
*New York Times, New York, 5.11.81*

'Two candidates in a boycott-hit apartheid election were running neck and neck yesterday - with one vote each.'  
*Morning Star, London, 5.11.81*

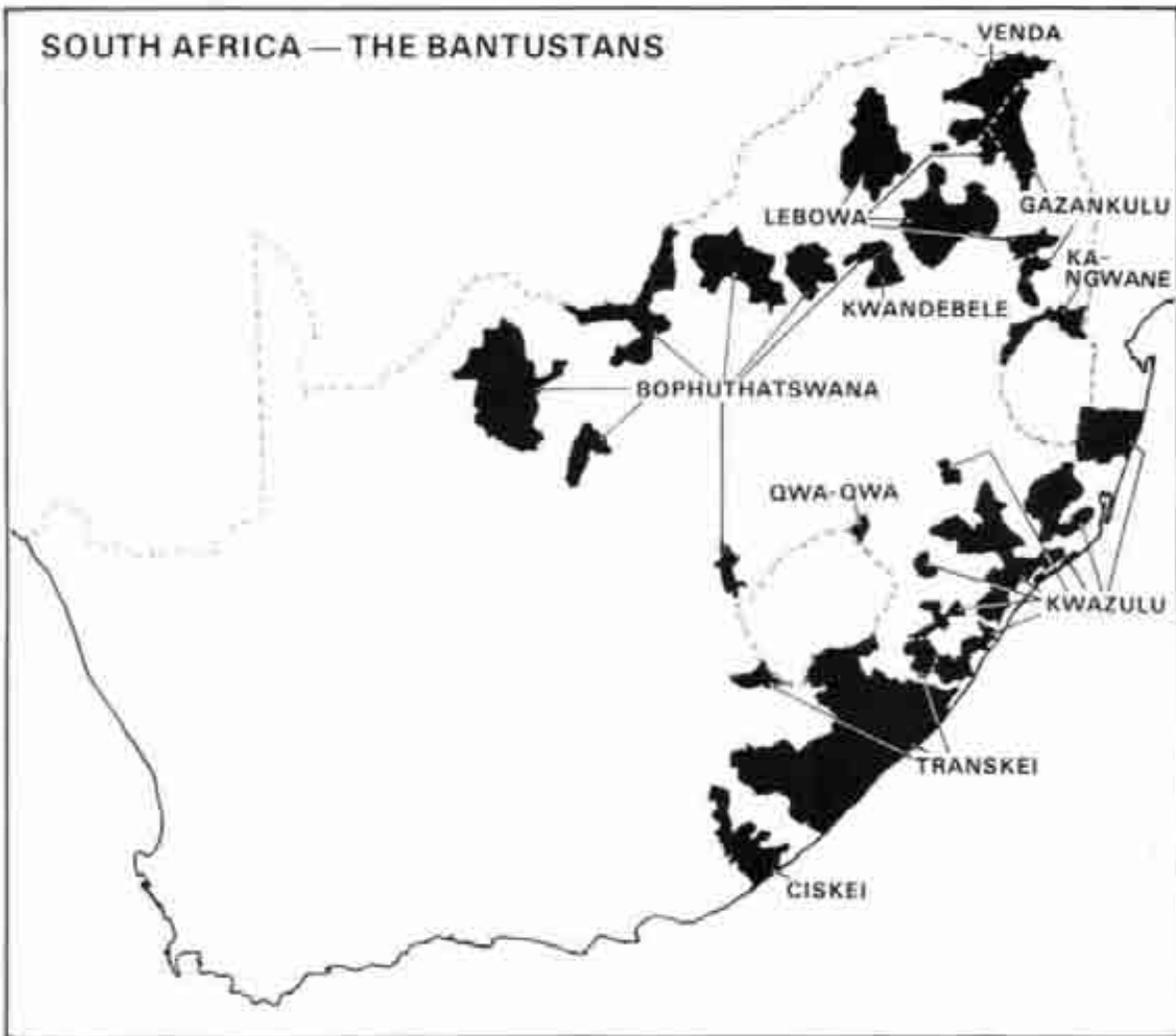
'In Johannesburg's Fordsburg constituency, precisely 17 people turned out on polling day out of nearly 4,000 possible voters. In at least one constituency, Natal North coast, there were more spoiled ballot papers than there were valid votes cast - 1065 against 1064.'  
*Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 8.11.81*

'A striking feature of the election was the exceptionally low percentage polls, especially in the Cape Peninsula. In some areas only about two or three per cent of the potential total number of voters had cast their votes.'  
*Sowetan, Johannesburg, 24.8.84*

'At the Woodstock polling booth for the North-Western Cape constituency, only three votes were cast'  
*Cape Times, Cape Town, 29.8.84*

*In recent years there has been a shift of power from the 'white' parliament to the head of government and the State Security Council (SSC). The SSC, chaired by the President, consists of military and intelligence officers with selected Cabinet Ministers. Here R. F. Botha, South Africa's Foreign Minister, is seen in the uniform of an Air Force colonel.*

## SOUTH AFRICA — THE BANTUSTANS



*Africans are meant to exercise their political rights within these scattered fragments of land known as the bantustans, yet almost half the African population (45 per cent) lives outside those areas. Bantustan residents too demand a vote in a united South Africa.*

## BANTUSTANS: RESERVES OF LABOUR

The bantustans contain few major mineral deposits compared with the rest of the country, and few commercial and industrial centres. They cannot support the populations assigned to them. There are few jobs inside the bantustans for their residents, who are needed to work in the rest of the country, in industry and down the mines. One bantustan, for example, (KwaNdebele) had a working population in 1980 of 38,140, of whom less than seven per cent (2,640) worked within its boundaries.<sup>1</sup>

To find work, people in the bantustans must go to labour bureaux. Registration at the bureaux is compulsory for all African men between the ages of 15 and 65 unless they are self-employed or engaged in subsistence farming. When they first register they are assigned to a particular category of work which in most cases they must stay in for all their working lives.

Most workers recruited in this way are men. It is much more difficult for women to obtain permits to leave the bantustans. In addition, wives of men employed on contract in the rest of the country are usually forbidden to go with them. The population of the bantustans therefore consists of a high proportion of women as well as children, elderly people who are too old to work and the disabled who cannot find employment.

1. *Cape Times*, Cape Town, 22.8.81
2. *Apartheid: The Facts*, IDAF, London, 1983
3. *Cape Times*, Cape Town, 22.8.81

*Bantustan authorities, as part of the apartheid regime, rely on force to remain in power. Tshifhiwa Muofhe, a lay preacher in the Lutheran Church, was beaten to death by the Venda bantustan police in November 1981. All the 'independent' bantustans have either kept the central government's repressive laws aimed at outlawing opposition or introduced similar measures of their own. Picture shows Tshifhiwa Muofhe and his wife Lidian.*



*Since the 1960s the regime has created an urban population of over two million living just inside the boundaries of the bantustans. From these workers 'commute' daily to nearby industrial centres in areas proclaimed 'white'. Daily 'commuters' made up 13 per cent of South Africa's total workforce in 1980.*



*In 1980 almost half the population of the KwaNdebele bantustan lived in temporary resettlement camps. The largest held over 25,000 people.<sup>1</sup>*



## PASS LAWS

The majority of South Africans have no freedom of movement within the country. Their movement is controlled by a system of regulations known as the 'pass laws', which apply only to Africans. The system regulates the flow of workers from the bantustans to industry and agriculture. Even outside the bantustans, Africans cannot move freely between the 14 administrative areas into which the rest of the country has been divided.

Every African person over the age of 16 must carry a set of identity documents known as a pass or, in the case of the 'independent' bantustans, a 'passport'. The pass contains details about the holder, including language group, place of residence, tax certificate and what kind of employment may be undertaken. A worker's pass must be stamped regularly by the employer to show continuous employment.

An African whose pass is not in order can be arrested, and may be fined or imprisoned or be forcibly sent ('endorsed out') to a bantustan. At least 12.5 million people were arrested or prosecuted under the pass laws between 1948 and 1981.<sup>1</sup> Very few are ever represented by a lawyer and cases may take only five minutes to decide. For example, out of 62,000 people who appeared in Johannesburg courts on pass law offences during 1983, only 62 had lawyers to defend them.<sup>2</sup> Most people convicted under the pass laws are unemployed people seeking work. They frequently serve their time not in jail but labouring for white farmers.

1. *Apartheid: The Facts*, IDAF, London, 1983

2. *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 7.6.83, 14.2.84

*Those affected by the pass laws have consistently struggled against them. In 1956 20,000 women demonstrated against government plans to extend them to women. Commissioners courts, which administer the pass laws, have often been the target of bomb attacks as part of the armed struggle.*



*The most modern technology is used to facilitate the control of the African population. At the computer-aided Reference Bureau in Pretoria 15 million sets of fingerprints and copies of 13 million passes are stored.*



*The pass laws are used to ensure a supply of workers for each sector of the economy, in particular agriculture, whose labourers are amongst the lowest paid.*

## MIGRANT LABOUR

South Africa is a rich country with an economy based on mining, agriculture and manufacturing industry. Its wealth is not shared equally but appropriated by the white minority. It is one of the world's leading producers of gold and strategic metals, and minerals account for 70 per cent of export earnings.

From the beginning of large-scale mining the mine-owners operated a system of migrant labour to keep down labour costs. Miners were recruited from all over Southern Africa on renewable contracts. They were forbidden to bring their families to settle with them and were housed in special compounds. This pattern of employment continues. Most migrants today are South Africans forced to leave their families in the bantustans.

The migrant labour system has spread from mining into every sector of the economy. Men and women migrant workers are housed in separate single-sex hostels. Many women migrants work as domestic servants for white families, while others are employed on farms. Domestic workers, both male and female, have no legal protection as there is no minimum wage nor recommended number of hours of work. Most of them must either live in on their employer's premises or occupy beds in single-sex hostels in the outlying black townships. In either case it is illegal for them to have their children or spouses living with them.

*'We had cement bunks, one on top of the other. The plastic mattresses are cold, the cement is cold, and it affects you. You have to be up at two or three in the morning and you come back at four or five in the afternoon.'* Former miner interviewed about living conditions, 1979.





*The wealth of South Africa is produced by a predominantly black workforce, many of them migrant workers.*

*To maintain the migrant labour system, the regime has restricted family housing in the main areas of employment. Families wanting to be together must often make homes from any available materials. Many such communities, known as squatter camps, have been forcibly removed by the government.*

## WORKING UNDER APARTHEID

There are sharp contrasts in the pay and working conditions of white and black workers.

African workers, who make up the majority of the workforce, are employed mainly in the lowest paid sectors of the economy. Although there have been changes in the laws which prevented Africans doing skilled work, restrictions remain strong, particularly in mining, even where not legally enforced. In addition skilled white labour is brought in from abroad under the government's immigration policy.

The siting of black residential areas far from city centres makes transport a key issue for workers. The working day is extended by long journeys to and from work, especially for 'commuters' from the bantustans. For some the journey to work may begin at 2 a.m.

Africans who become too old or ill to work are forced into the bantustans. Pensions vary according to population group and Africans, of whom only a small proportion receive any pension at all, get the lowest rate.

1. *Ruling With The Whip*, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Johannesburg, 1983
2. *Star*, Johannesburg, 13.9.83



Many workers on wine farms receive only part of their wages in cash and the rest in supplies of wine. This is called the 'tot' system: the result is widespread alcoholism among workers. The wine they produce is exported to many countries.



*In July 1983, after a ten per cent rise in bus fares between the dormitory bantustan town of Mdantsane and the industrial centre of East London, thousands of workers refused to travel by bus. Armed police and army units intervened, forcing people out of trains or cars and on to buses. Thousands were arrested or detained. It was estimated that 90 were shot dead by police.<sup>1</sup>*





*Mining is dangerous work, and inadequate safety provisions make it even more hazardous for the miners in South Africa. Between 1973 and 1983 over 8,000 miners were killed and a further 230,000 injured.<sup>2</sup> Miners also*

*suffer from lung diseases and tuberculosis. However, as migrant workers showing signs of such illness are not re-employed, accurate statistics are difficult to compile.*

## ORGANISED LABOUR

The regime plays a major role in industrial relations. Almost all strikes by black workers are illegal so that employers can call the police to any dispute at the workplace. The government has various legal powers to prosecute and imprison workers involved in strikes.

There are severe penalties for workers who challenge their employers over conditions or wages. Contract workers who take industrial action or become unemployed risk being transported to the bantustans. This frequently happens after disputes on the mines, sometimes as an alternative to prosecution.

There are some, inadequate, wage regulation and negotiating procedures, but these do not apply to the sectors with the worst wages and conditions, agriculture and domestic service.

Since the 1970s there has been a rapid increase in the number of trade unions organising workers, particularly in the expanding manufacturing sector of the economy and, since 1983, on the mines. When these unions take up issues away from the workplace, such as rents and transport fares, they often face attack by the government through arrests of the organisers and members or bans on their meetings.

*Many international firms based in Britain, Western Europe and the United States have established subsidiaries in South Africa, where labour is cheap. One such firm, sweet-makers Wilson-Rowntree, sacked a number of workers after a strike at their East London factory in 1980. In protest at this action the local community called for a boycott of all the company's products.*

SUPPORT DISMISSED  
ROWNTREE WORKERS



## In Protest Against 3-Month Ban

**SACTU CALLS FOR  
WORLD BOYCOTT**

JOHANNESBURG

THE South African Congress of Trade Unions has called on trade unions throughout the world to boycott South African goods, declare South African days black and take any other industrial action in protest against the Government's three-month ban on all SACTU meetings.

The ban was imposed on SACTU by the Minister of Labour under the

SACTU immediately went off cables to the ANC African Trade Union Federation, the WFTU and the ICFTU urging urgent protests.

The call of trade unions to the 1980 South African strike black is a call to workers not to send an official South African receipt. It is an extension of the demands being expressed and should be the first of a demand for increasing the domestic economic sanctions against the Union.

Millions have already answered the call for the boycott of South African goods and SACTU con-

tinues to appeal for more support. It has issued a world-wide appeal for workers to join in the international boycott against all South African trade unions as well as workers who have been employed in South Africa since 1977. The I.L.O. has also called on governments to support the boycott by urging the workers all over the world not to handle South African goods.

Mr. John Tshepo, President of the Chrome T.U.C. is said to be committed to an active policy in South Africa and may call for similar



*The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), South Africa's first non-racial trade union federation, was founded in 1955 to unite trade unionists from every group into which apartheid divides the population. Its work was constantly hindered by the authorities, its members harassed and detained. By the early 1960s it had been forced to work underground, and continues to do so.*

*Armed police are frequently used in industrial disputes, as here during a Johannesburg municipal workers strike in 1980.*

## EDUCATION

Educational provision for black South Africans has always been segregated and inadequate. The inequalities were reinforced in the 1950s when the government introduced separate 'Bantu' education for Africans (who were then termed 'Bantu' by the government). At that time the future Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, said, 'I will reform it [native education] so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them.'

The schools are strictly segregated, with very few exceptions, and education for the different 'population groups' is run by separate government departments.

There is a shortage of school places for African children, particularly at secondary level. In addition, many families cannot afford uniforms, stationery and books. Children of farm labourers are frequently employed as part of the labour force, especially at harvest time. Their education is at the discretion of individual white farmers who have the power to decide whether there is to be a school in the area. For white children education is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 16 years, and facilities are of a high standard.

Only a very small number of black students get the opportunity of studying at university level.



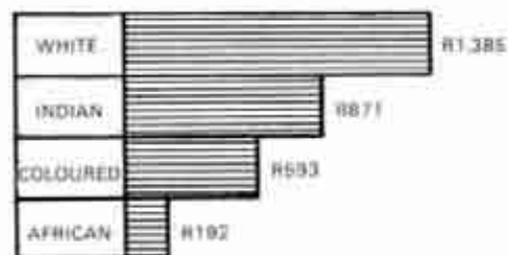
*White schools follow a syllabus of Christian National Education which closely matches the apartheid policy of the government. Cadet army corps and paramilitary training at school camps during weekends and holidays are a compulsory part of school life for whites.*

*Although the government spends more on Coloured and Indian education than on African, school boycotts in Coloured and Indian schools in 1980 showed that all sections of the black majority reject apartheid education.*

*In June 1976 pupils in Soweto, the home of over a million of Johannesburg's African residents, refused to go to school in protest at Bantu education. The protest spread rapidly into a countryside uprising. Further boycotts in 1980 and again in 1983/84 showed that changes since 1976 had not fundamentally altered the system, or made it more acceptable.*

## EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION 1982-1983

(The amounts spent per pupil, including capital expenditure)



Source: Government figures given in parliament.



## INFORMATION

The government controls all information in the country through wide-ranging censorship laws.

Newspapers are severely limited in what they may write about life under apartheid, in particular about government action against its opponents. There are also restrictions on publishing information about prisons, about oil supplies and other matters which the government considers vital to the maintenance of apartheid.

The government issues regular lists of publications (books, magazines, posters, etc.) which have been ruled undesirable. It then becomes a criminal offence to distribute or sometimes even possess such banned material and offenders face severe prison sentences. Political literature produced by organisations opposed to apartheid is frequently banned: the numbers totalled some 20,000 publications between 1963 and 1980.<sup>1</sup> There is also a list of people whose views cannot be quoted nor their work published in South Africa – in 1983 it contained 450 names.

The government even has powers to 'ban' people. Special orders may be placed on particular individuals. They are usually restricted to a certain magisterial district, only allowed to leave their homes between certain prescribed hours and forbidden to attend any gatherings. On occasions a group as small as three people has been defined as a gathering. The government has additional powers to banish Africans from their homes to another part of the country – in effect, to impose internal exile.

### 1. *Apartheid: The Facts*, IDAF, London, 1983

*The first edition of this booklet you are reading was banned by the South African government in 1979.*

*The prison yard on Robben Island, an island off the Cape coast where the majority of black male political prisoners are held. The Prisons Act forbids the publication of any details about prison conditions. (Facing page)*



*All of South Africa's magazines and newspapers are subject to severe restrictions. Over one hundred different laws limit what they may print. Pictured above is a protest against the closure of two newspapers by the government in 1980.*

GOEWERMENTSKENINGSGEWINGS		GOVERNMENT NOTICES	
DEPARTMENT VAN BINNENLANDSE SAKE EN IMMIGRASIE		DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND IMMIGRATION	
NO. 100	10 June 1979	No. 100	10 June 1979
<p>SKRYFTSTEL VAN BINNENLANDSE SAKE EN IMMIGRASIE</p> <p>1. Hiermee word kennis gegee dat die Departement van Binnelandse Sake en Immigrasie 'n nuwe reël van toelating van immigrasie in Suid-Afrika bekendstel. 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## NATIONAL LIBERATION

At every level of life black South Africans have resisted white rule. However, following defeat by the colonial powers they began to unite in one political force in order to regain control of their country.

In January 1912 delegates from all over South Africa founded the African National Congress (ANC). For half a century the organisation explored every means of peaceful protest. As it grew in strength the ANC organised mass campaigns to express people's opposition to apartheid.

The movement for national liberation has always been led by Africans, who were deprived of their land and who are affected most adversely by the apartheid system. However, their struggle attracted support from all sections of the population. In the 1950s the Congress Alliance was formed by the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats (for the few whites who opposed apartheid) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

All peaceful protest has been met with government violence, as in the case of a mass campaign against the pass laws which began in the 1950s. In March 1960 police opened fire on an anti-pass law demonstration at Sharpeville, killing 69 people and injuring almost three times as many. The demonstration was called by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), an organisation formed in 1959 in a split from the ANC. Following Sharpeville a state of emergency was declared, the ANC and PAC were proclaimed illegal organisations and over 22,000 people were taken into custody. Subsequently, ANC leaders, including Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

*The Freedom Charter embodies the demands of the majority of South Africans for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The demands were collected from all over the country by members of the Congress Alliance and then adopted by almost three thousand delegates at a 'Congress of the People' on 26 June 1955.*



ANC delegation to Britain, 1914.

# The Freedom Charter

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

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can exist there unless it is based on the will of all the people.

That our people have been robbed of their homelands, land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on violence and oppression.

That our country will never be progressive so long as all our people live in backwardness, denying equal rights and opportunities.

That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can ensure in all these things the freedom, democracy, justice, peace, and well-being.

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together, united, organised, and united, adopt the Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the Government changes here and here here and there.

#### THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN:

From this and hereafter, South Africa shall be a free, non-racial, and democratic South Africa.

Our government shall be based on the will of all the people.

All citizens of the people shall, in the same capacity, be equal before the law.

All holders of executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative offices shall be elected by universal suffrage of all citizens.

#### ALL NATIONALISED GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS:

There shall be equal rights in all things of the

#### THESE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY:

All who work shall be free to join trade unions, to elect their representatives, to strike, to bargain collectively, and to demand the right to work.

The right to work, through the right to elect of all workers, shall be secured for all workers, black and white, and for all workers in all occupations.

There shall be a living wage, working hours, a national minimum wage, and workers shall elect their representatives to the state.

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*Massacre at Sharpville, 21 March 1960.*

## POPULAR RESISTANCE

Government repression in the early 1960s did not end the struggle for freedom; it only changed its form. The banned organisations continued their work underground.

Resistance was still visible in struggles against particular aspects of apartheid such as housing and education. During the 1970s new legal organisations were formed, many of them sharing ideas of black consciousness. This movement, with a strong educational and cultural base, fostered black pride through recognition of Africa's role in world history. Following the death in detention of a black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, most of these organisations were banned.

The continuing campaigns for improved living conditions have prompted severe retaliation by the authorities. All outdoor meetings have been illegal since 1976 and indoor ones may also be banned by order of a magistrate. Where these measures have failed to deter opposition armed police and soldiers have frequently been sent into action against unarmed protesters. Many community leaders have been detained or charged.

In recent years the campaigns on community issues have become more organised. Many trade unions too have become involved and local organisations have developed regional and national links. As the various struggles and differing strategies have developed, there has been a growing commitment to a unified fight against apartheid.

*Police violence against unarmed students in Soweto in 1976 convinced many more South Africans that change would only come through armed struggle. Thandi Modise (above right) went into exile and trained as a fighter with the ANC. After returning to South Africa she was captured and sentenced to eight years imprisonment.*

*Funerals have become a focus of resistance to apartheid. They provide a rare legal opportunity for black people to meet together in large numbers. Legislation introduced by the government in 1982 aimed to counteract this.*





*The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in 1983. With over 500 organisations affiliated in opposition to constitutional changes proposed by*

*the government and to the apartheid system as a whole, the UDF is an example of growing unity and organisation in the struggle against apartheid.*

## REPRESSION

Almost every form of organised opposition to apartheid is outlawed by specific laws, the most recent being the Internal Security Act of 1982.

The security police possess wide powers to act against government opponents. They may detain anyone and hold them in solitary confinement indefinitely, deprived of all contact with the outside world. Even the courts have no jurisdiction over such detainees, who are held primarily for interrogation. Evidence in political trials and statements by former detainees point to the extensive use of torture by the security police.

Many defendants in political trials appear in court only after long periods in detention. The law also provides for the detention of prosecution witnesses. Statements obtained from witnesses and defendants after long periods in solitary confinement are known to be unreliable, but most convictions in political trials in South Africa depend on evidence of this kind.

South Africa retains the ultimate penalty, execution, for a number of offences, including political ones. In recent years those hanged have included ANC combatants engaged in armed struggle against the regime. In general the courts impose very severe sentences for political offences. Some people sentenced to life imprisonment have been in prison since the early 1960s.

Prisons are segregated, with Africans having the worst conditions. Prisoners have fought for improvements in conditions, such as the right to study, but these facilities have not been extended to all political prisoners, male and female, black and white, and furthermore may be withdrawn at any time.

*This list was compiled in 1978. By 1984 at least 61 people were known to have died in detention.*



*An hour before falling to his death from a fifth floor police interrogation room Lungile Tubalaza told a magistrate, 'I am frightened that if I do not make a statement then I will be beaten'.*



*The oppressed people reject the apartheid judicial system which brands all its opponents as criminals. Here they greet convicted political prisoners on the way to gaol.*



## ARMED STRUGGLE

Armed struggle has always been part of the battle against conquest and repression in South Africa, dating from resistance to the first European incursion in 1652.

During the first half of this century black South Africans campaigned non-violently for their freedom. The government, however, continued to use force. Armed police broke up meetings, forced strikers back to work, shot down and killed demonstrators.

Armed struggle was renewed in the 1960s when the liberation movement concluded that it had to meet the government's armed force with an organised force of its own. Widespread sabotage and armed attacks were carried out by ANC and PAC activists. Mass arrests followed and thousands of people were imprisoned.

The military struggle has intensified greatly since 1976. Most actions have been carried out by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). The number of trained fighters increased after the Soweto uprising when former pupils who fled into exile chose to undergo military training.

ANC combatants are trained to concentrate on specific kinds of targets and wherever possible to avoid civilian casualties. They attack strategic and economic targets such as railway lines, bridges and power stations and symbols of apartheid policy such as pass offices, commissioners courts and bantustan offices. They also attack the regime's armed forces at military bases and police stations.

*ANC guerrillas have successfully attacked a number of strategic targets like the SASOL oil-from-coal refinery specially constructed to ease the fuel shortage which resulted from the refusal of most countries to sell oil to South Africa.*





*The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania is named after an ANC combatant executed in 1979. Here exiled South African school students are educated for life in the liberated South Africa of the future.*



*Soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe in training. Under the Geneva Conventions these combatants should be treated as prisoners of war if captured, but South Africa refuses to comply. Instead captured fighters are put on trial and may be sentenced to death. In 1983 three ANC members were executed.*



## MILITARISATION

South Africa has become an increasingly militarised and armed society. There has been a massive growth in military expenditure and expansion of all the armed forces, including the police, in recent years.

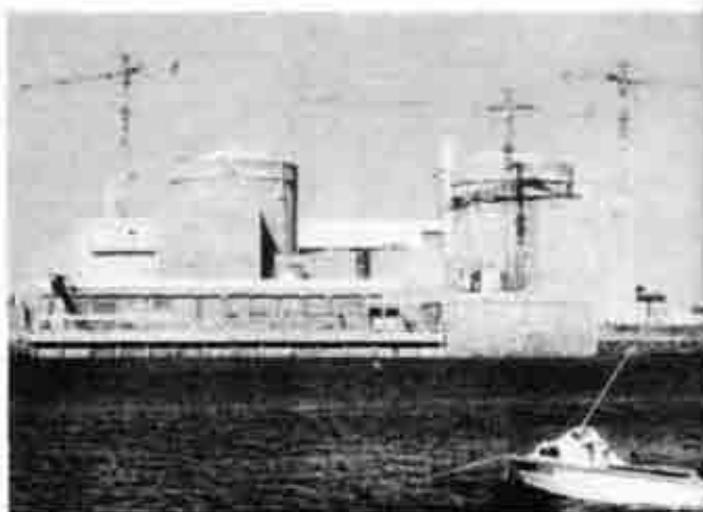
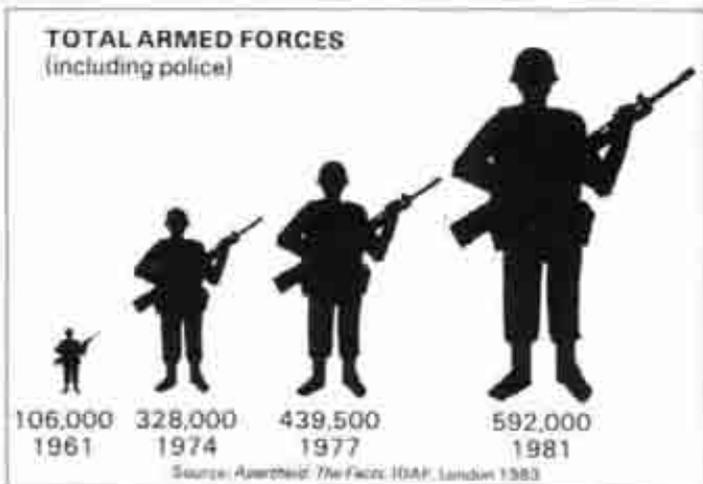
Conscription has been extended. White males between the ages of 18 and 55 years have since 1982 been required to do an initial two years military service followed by periodic camps and service in the commando and reserve forces. A small number of war resisters have rejected conscription. They face exile or prison terms of up to six years as South Africa recognises only very limited grounds for conscientious objection.

By 1983 the government was considering the extension of conscription to the Asian and Coloured communities. Segregated battalions exist for different 'population groups' and bantustan armies have been set up to complement the regular force.

Large-scale civil defence programmes and the large number of white South Africans licensed to carry arms (just under a million people in 1983) are further reflections of militarisation.

A mandatory United Nations ban on all arms exports to South Africa has been in force since 1977. Nevertheless the regime has been supplied with sufficient technological know-how, patent concessions and equipment by its Western and other allies to establish an arms industry. Over 100,000 people were employed in arms manufacture by 1983, and the regime was attempting to export arms.

*Internationally South Africa's military power is seen as a threat to world peace. It has the capacity to produce nuclear weapons and has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This nuclear power station at Koeberg, near Cape Town, produces plutonium as a byproduct. It came into operation in 1984, delayed for a year by an attack on it in 1982 by the ANC.*





*Much of the work of the armed forces is inside the country itself, putting down popular unrest and enforcing apartheid laws. The police are an*

*integral part of the armed forces. They share similar training programmes to the army and carry out joint tasks. They too are armed.*

## AGGRESSION AGAINST NEIGHBOURING STATES

South Africa's military power is a threat to the whole Southern African region. Troops have been used to occupy Namibia and to attack or invade South Africa's neighbours.

Namibia, on South Africa's western border, was a German colony until the First World War. South Africa was then given a mandate to rule the territory by the League of Nations (later the United Nations). The Mandate was revoked in 1966 because South Africa had violated its terms. Since then South Africa has continued to occupy the country illegally.

In the colonial period the economies of neighbouring countries were integrated with South Africa's, which developed rapidly at their expense. Important trade and transport links remain, but since achieving independence the countries of the region have co-operated to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. To this end, they formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980.

In seeking to impose its will on the region, South Africa has pursued aggressive policies.

Angola, on the northern border of Namibia, has come under the most severe attack from the South African forces with three full-scale invasions between 1976 and 1983.

As well as direct military actions of its own, South Africa finances, arms and trains a number of surrogate forces in the region, using them to put pressure on and destabilise the governments of its neighbours. These include UNITA in Angola, the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) in Lesotho and the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) in Mozambique.

Neighbouring countries shelter a large number of refugees who have fled apartheid. On several occasions since 1981 South African forces have bombed and raided the homes of such refugees in Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland.

These policies of destabilisation and aggression have forced some neighbouring states to limit the practical assistance they can give to the liberation struggle in South Africa.



*SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organisation) has been recognised since 1973 by the United Nations as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.*

ambings follow 'disengagement' on  
**Apartheid jets  
kill dozens in  
Angola raid**

**South African troops  
raid targets in  
Mozambique can-  
South Africa blame  
Zimbabwe kil**



**South Africans kill  
37 in Lesotho raid**

By Michael Harkin, Johannesburg

**South Africa threatening  
new raids on neigh-**

**Apartheid jets  
destroy  
Angolan town**

**S. Africa  
Launches  
A Raid On  
Mozambique  
ATTACK**



## THE FUTURE

The struggle for freedom is becoming more intense. Black South Africans are fighting against every aspect of apartheid. They resist the pass laws and the artificial fragmentation of their country into bantustans; they fight discrimination in housing, education and health care, they demand their rightful share in the wealth they create. In spite of greater repression the armed strategy of liberation is gaining increased support, linked as it is to popular campaigns. In particular the oppressed majority completely reject government attempts to make superficial changes in the system and call instead for the total abolition of apartheid. In Namibia, the illegal South African occupation has failed to stop the growth of support for the liberation struggle.

In this period of increased and more organised commitment to liberation, South Africa is becoming isolated from the international community. The spread of independence throughout Africa, Asia and the Caribbean has contributed to a world-wide rejection of the policies of apartheid. The United Nations (UN), the OAU (Organisation of African Unity), the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth have all called for decisive action against the regime. World religions have condemned apartheid. Many international bodies not only condemn it but give practical assistance to the liberation movements as the authentic representatives of the people of South Africa and Namibia.

1. *Star*, Johannesburg, 23.11.83.

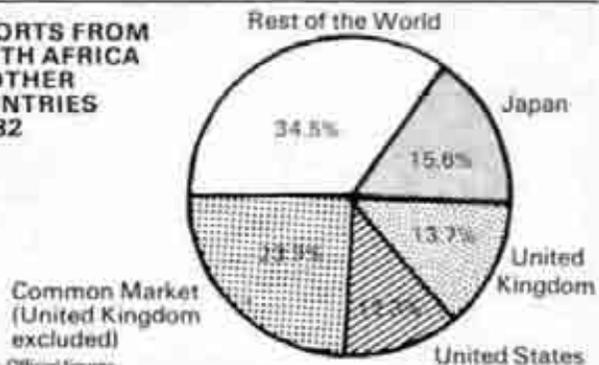


*The United Nations actively promotes a total boycott of contacts with South Africa in military, economic, sporting, cultural and all other fields, in the belief that such sanctions will contribute to the overthrow of apartheid.*



*Meeting on 9th August 1983 to commemorate South African Women Day.*

### EXPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO OTHER COUNTRIES - 1982



Source: Official figures.

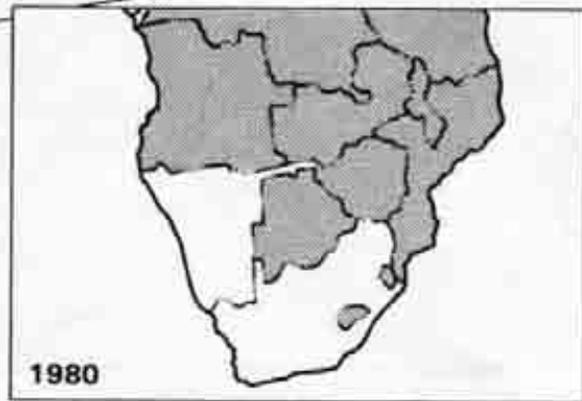
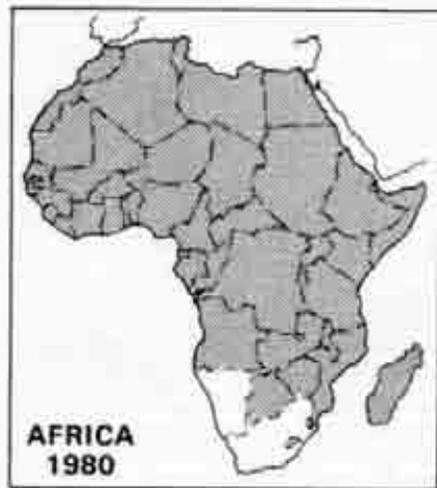
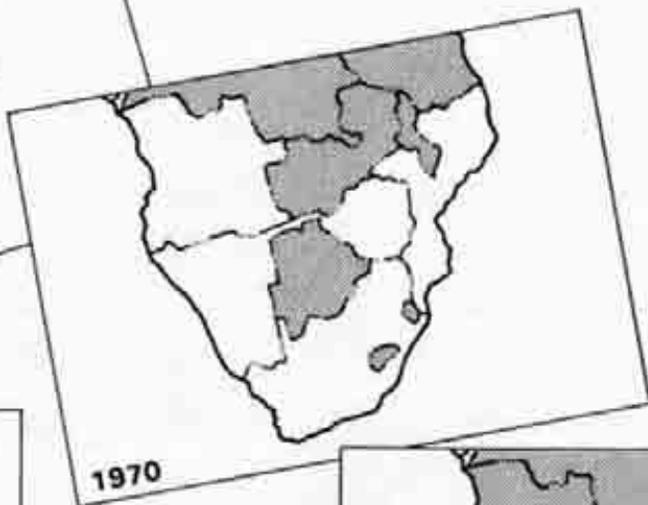
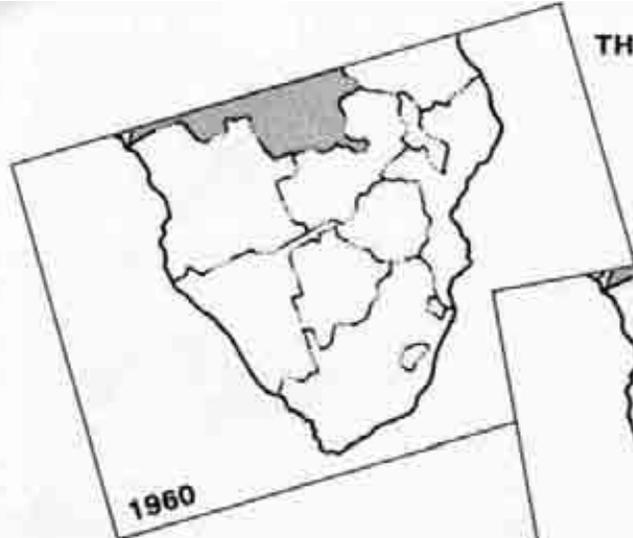
*South Africa's top trading partners continue to give both economic and diplomatic support to South Africa, in defiance of world opinion.*



*Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, has been imprisoned since 1963, and is serving a life sentence. A newspaper survey of black opinion in Soweto in November 1983 showed that Mandela was favoured as a political leader by*

*82 per cent of those interviewed.<sup>1</sup> This is in spite of laws which prohibit any support for the ANC and make it an offence to quote Mandela's words or opinions.*

# THE SPREAD OF LIBERATION THROUGH SOUTHERN AFRICA



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