

**ASSESSOR**

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CONGRESS PERSPECTIVE ON THE STRUGGLE.

1. INTRODUCTION

We bring fraternal greetings and a message of solidarity and hope from Natal at a time when the growing and all embracing forces of resistance face a crucial and momentous period of decision, commitment, correct assessment and united action. This is a time requiring courage, fervour and vision guided by discipline and a clarity of thought and purpose. The aim is to harness all the forces which can be correctly regarded as the forces of positive change on the road to victory. But this vision, this clarity of thought and purposeful action draws its direction and inspiration from a clear and undisputed beacon. We need critically to look at our own strength and weaknesses on the one hand as well as the strength and weaknesses and methods of oppressor. It is only upon this basis of reality that a broad strategy for change can be worked out, a strategy whose determined framework allows for changes of detail when this is necessary or desirable.

We will try to show that a correct assessment of reality demands not only a change which is to the benefit of the majority of South Africans, but also won by all of us through struggle. The programme must be designed to encourage maximum participation, to galvanise our strength and minimise our weaknesses and to take every advantage of chinks in the armour of the other side. We will in this paper contend for the rights of National Groups to their culture, the participation of all oppressed people in the struggle for change, and for a path which does not exclude the truly democratic whites from participation in the movement for change. It is only through commitment and struggle that we can do true justice to our history, to the memory of those who died for change, to those who languish in prison or who are banned, exiled or house arrested and to those who continue to suffer under the yoke of this oppression.

2. THE SOUTH AFRICAN REALITY:

2.1 What is the reality in South Africa?

Have we been forced into this fragmentation or is this a united South Africa?

Are our True Leaders, like NELSON MANDELA languishing in prison or driven outside our borders or are they, the Matanzima SS Sebes, Hendrickses and Rajbansis?

Does our Country perpetrate mass removals, use bulldozers to destroy our homes and people and cause the death of innocent people for no reason, or do we live in a peaceful Country where there is freedom of movement and adequate housing, security and comfort for all?

Does our Country show labour exploitation, rank unemployment and migrant labourers torn from their families and pushed into cold lonely hostels?

2.2 What are the defining features of South Africa today?

Are the so-called reforms a few open beaches, open cinema premieres and so-called integrated sport or is there adequate excruciating reality which it is imperative for us to understand if we are to contribute correctly to the struggle?

2.3 South African Reality

Population

Of the total South African population of about 29,6 million 72% or about 21,3 million are Africans with the Indian, Coloured and the White people representing approximately 3,5%, 8% and 16% of the population respectively. The African, Indian and Coloured population together represent 84% of South African people. These 84% are today without any vote or say in the running of the Country.

## 2.4 Political Status

The Government has commenced a devastating design to hive off the majority of South Africa's population into the so-called Independent States and Homelands. In addition it contemplates offers of mock participation in Government structures to the Indian and Coloured in the shape of the President's Council Proposals.

## 2.5 Oppression and Exploitation

All African, Coloured and Indian people in South Africa are oppressed by a batter of unjust, discriminatory, and repressive laws. This highly repressive system ensures the creation of conditions for the super exploitation of Black labour; exploitation which is deliberately perpetrated by South African big business aided, encouraged and supported by International Capital.

## 2.6 Monopolisation of the Economy

The resources of this Country and even of the whole of the Western World is in the process of passing rapidly into fewer hands. The only logical consequence of this development is a drastic fall in the number and viability of small businesses, and industries.

## 2.7 Protection of Western Investments.

We witness, to day the shameless and unjustifiable support of this repressive regime by Reagan, Thatcher and their cohorts. This represents an immoral and undisguised effort to protect their own business interest in this Country at the expense of the lives and freedom of millions of South Africans.

## 2.8 Falling standards of living

The living standards of millions of Black South Africans are under constant attack from big business and Government. rising food prices, rampant unemployment, static wages, rising inflation, increasing general sales tax, rising rents and transport costs, and hopelessly inadequate health care etc. This gives rise to an unprecedented scale of malnutrition, disease and deaths.

## 2.9 Forced Removals

At the time when apartheid is said not to exist in South Africa forced removals accompanied by brutality, violence and death become increasingly prominent features of the South African social fabric.

## 2.10 The Black Oppressor Breed

This vile system has bred and continues to nurture a new degenerate brand of Black Oppressor who unashamedly competes for intimacy with his White counterpart. The Sebes and Matanzimas have undoubtedly joined these ranks with the alacrity with clear indications that the Rajbansis and Hendrickses will join them there soon if they accept the Presidents Council Proposals.

## 2.11 Resistance

But the South African oppressed people are fighting back valiantly the daily struggles of workers for democratic rights, high wages and better working conditions, students for a democratic and equal education, communities for housing, lower rents, cheaper transport and better recreational facilities; and by *althose* forces for full democratic rights.

## 2.12 Crisis

Not only the Botha regime refuse to meet the genuine aspirations of the people to eliminate exploitation, and eradicate oppression the structural constraints placed upon this regime by its own policy of apartheid makes it impossible for him to achieve those results. It is this refusal and inability exacerbated by militant resistance which forces the Government into a deepening crisis

## 3. CHANGE

3.1 It follows from the above that this is an unjust and discriminatory society in which the minority white oppressor possessed of the greatest share of South Africa's wealth seeks to preserve it self and its position by dividing african, Indian and Coloured one from another, African from African, the student, the worker and the businessman each from the other. Furthermore the harsh reality which we are asked to forget is that this system is maintained by violence, and an unashamed use of newspapers, radio television, schools, to, in the words of numerous oppressor arms generals, "win the hearts and minds of the people".

### 3.2 Participants in change

It is accepted by all, that the oppressor in South Africa is the white minority regime. There is however considerable debate and confusion in the ranks of patriots about who the oppressed are. We believe that African, Indian and Coloured South Africans, of whatever class are victims of national oppression; that they are mainly oppressed on the basis of colour. Naked racial oppression, manifested by discriminatory legislation (e.g. Group Areas Act, Black Administration Act, Population Registration Act), separate and unequal amenities, inferior transport services, unequal education, inadequate and insecure housing, the subjugation of Black Women are within, the lived experience of South Africa's oppressed majority. It is through this experience that we perceive our oppression. It is necessary to guard against approaches of a few intellectuals who seek to substitute their own conception of oppression for the peoples perception through their lived experience.

It is precisely because of the magnitude of racial oppression that the Black worker, businessman, student and professional is discriminated against in relation to his White counterpart. At this point in time therefore the possibility of participation in any struggle by the worker, student, businessman or professional across the colour line is remote. The absolute exclusion of whites is unjustifiable on the basis that the movement for democratic change has room for democratic whites, however few they may be. There are 2 reasons for this:

- a) the democratic movement cannot and does not reject the contribution of any individual or group of persons to the process of change.
- b) our struggle involves the creation of a society in which liberated Blacks and whites will live side by side in shared harmony.

On the other hand, there is a shared and common experience of discrimination by African, Coloured, and Indian, of all classes and it is this shared experience which makes it feasible for all to unite in a national struggle against national oppression. The participation in the struggle is therefore not the Indian, Coloured and African alone nor the worker, businessman, student or professional alone but all these forces welded into a popular

unity. While each of the forces referred to cannot act on its own, they cannot be effective as disorderly aggregate either. The struggle is not conducted by these forces simply acting at the same time but as a result of a dynamic interaction between all of them (recognising of course, that some are primary and other secondary) acting together and in unison and creating something new with its own dynamic.

3.5 In short we struggle together for the liberation of our nation not only from white supremacy but also from the bondage of starvation, inadequate housing, high rentals, low wages, racist education, and oppression of women.

## 4. THE PEOPLE

### 4.1 The Freedom Charter

The only document which encapsulates this vision and this theory of our struggle is the FREEDOM CHARTER adopted by the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955. The Charter represents the culmination of a significant part of the history of the struggles of our people which include the Passive Resistance Campaign, Defiance Campaign etc. and of a democratic process in which more than a 1/4 million people participated. It also represents the beginning of a new era of clarity and perspective, of commitment and vision, designed to unite and galvanise the majority of South Africans into an unbreakable dynamic whole. In its reflection of a people's commitment to a struggle for equal distribution of resources, the Charter establishes the national democratic nature of our movement, for it is impossible to achieve these laudable goals without dismantling the economic and social order of this unjust society.

4.2 Many ill-informed individuals and groups have dared to criticise this living instrument of change because it recognises the existence of national groups. The criticism, to the extent that it is intelligible, is that the mere recognition of this fact reinforces division and separatism, and so plays into the hands of the oppressor.

That there are Indians, Coloureds and Africans and Whites (national groups) in our Country is self-evident and undeniable reality. It is a reality precisely because each of these national groups has its own heritage, culture language, customs and traditions.

Our task is to heighten the positive features of each national group and to weld these so that there arises out of this process of organisation a single national consciousness. This national consciousness enables each national group to identify with the South African State and to be an integral part of the new South African Nation. It follows that a national consciousness is not inconsistent with existence of national groups. The state, relying upon the negative features, uses culture to reinforce separation and division. In so doing, it deliberately blunts the positive features or elements which have a potential for change and development and for inter-action between national groups, resulting in the development of a single national consciousness: a consciousness which far from destroying national groups and cultures allows these to exist and develop within itself. The Charter recognises this reality. The failure to recognise the existence of national groups is a grave political error and smacks of the most retrogressive brand of intellectualism. The oppressor far from recognising positive cultural features emphasises ethnicity reinforcing division through it.

- 4.3 Testimony to the Freedom Charter as a living document is to be found in the undisputable fact that its programme has not only survived almost 30 years but has during this period formed a continuing basis for the determination of strategy and tactics for organising people, for welding unity and for raising and strengthening consciousness.

## 5. THE PRACTICE OF CHANGE

- 5.1 But theories are not enough! How can we use these theoretical considerations in the process of achieving that change which we consider necessary. We already said that:
- 5.1.1. The oppressor is the current white regime bolstered by Western Imperialism.
- 5.1.2. The oppressed are all the people of South Africa, Indians, Coloureds and Africans, workers, students, professionals and businessmen.

5.1.3 There are 4 national groups in South Africa, each with its own culture, traditions, customs etc.

- 5.2. Unless we can translate these theories into meaningful action, contribute to the achievement of our objectives we will be r time. Our practical task is to find a link between

5.1.3 There are 4 national groups in South Africa, each with its own culture, traditions, customs etc.

5.1.4 Our task is to weld all features and to mobilise all forces including the democratic whites to work together towards the creation of a national consciousness and

5.1.5 Our goal is the creation of that society envisaged by the voice of the Freedom Charter.

5.2. Unless we can translate these theories into meaningful action which contribute to the achievement of our objectives we will be wasting our time. Our practical task is to find a link between the objective reality and the achievement of our objectives; a creative link which bridges the gap between theory and practice and which enables the oppressed people to act jointly in the process of change. Without this, befuddled politicians are reduced to facile rhetoric and sloganising. If the existence of national groups is a reality and if each national group has its own cultures, traditions and problems, the movement for change is best facilitated by enabling organisation around issues which concern people in their daily lives; issues such as low wages, high transport costs and poor housing.

5.3 The next challenge is to discover that process through which the common day to day problems of people and the root cause of these problems interconnect and articulate. This is a process of struggle involving the participation of both the leadership and the masses through victories and defeats. Participation in this process enhances consciousness which in turn encourages more effective participation. This development of consciousness and increased participation enables both the people and the leadership to relentlessly climb up the formidable mountain of history towards a national consciousness and ultimate liberation.

5.4 Participation by the people and the leadership in the struggle is a necessary prerequisite to the development of unity and fundamental to it but is clearly not sufficient in itself. It would be therefore impossible to develop a national consciousness and a national unity if the struggle fails to transcend day to day issues. But every step in this process can be taken only at the appropriate time in relation to the reality both national and international and in relation to the consciousness of the people. Sensitive assessment and reassessment would dictate the nature of each step to be taken however small. It is in this sense that the detailed tactics remain flexible, but only within the framework of the objectives of the Freedom Charter and of the method of organisation. Rigidity of tactic spells doom because of the failure to recognise ever changing reality and consciousness. The whole process is therefore dynamic and not static.

5.5 But participation by a small group of class of persons in isolation is also not enough in the long term. There must be participation by the majority of South Africans. However, because people are organised around day to day issues which concern different groups, the nature and level of activity and the level of consciousness would differ from area to area, from group to group. This is another expression of the need for flexibility which is applicable not only to different levels of activity, but to the form and structure of organisations as well. It is obvious that the form and structure depends on the nature and level of activity, the number of people involved in his activity and the level of consciousness. The structure of organisation must of necessity be flexible and responsive to changing conditions.

However, the whole process is held together by the common programme contained in the Charter and by a consistency of method and approach. Moreover, this method imposes the duty to search creatively for common issues so that organisation around these will operate as a binding force to supplement the unity engendered by the Charter.

## 6. Political Organisation

6.1 Although the process of liberation has its roots in the participation of groups or communities, around issues of their immediate concern, their ultimate freedom can only be spearheaded by their political organisation.

6.2. The building of a political organisation which is lead by an experienced and tested leadership with an unequivocal allegiance to the oppressed masses remains our historical task.

6.3. Such a political organisation can be built only through the participation of people in struggle, and in turn leads cohesion, thrust and direction, and character to the struggles of the masses.

Ultimately it is the embodiment of the momentous unity of the oppressed masses and it carries within it the seeds of a just, equal, anti-racist and liberated South Africa.

## 7. PROBLEMS CONFRONTING OUR STRUGGLE

Every struggle has its problems, setbacks, weaknesses and enemies. These arise often from an aggressive state, misguided sympathisers, sometimes as a result of our own weaknesses. Our responsibility is to clearly understand these problems and setbacks and devise appropriate responses. "Tell no lies, claim no easy victories" said Cabral. Similarly we must confront our problems honestly and courageously and not shy away from self-criticism. At the same time we must not underestimate the strength, cunning and sophistication of our enemies - both within and outside the Country.

### 7.1. The Danger of regionalism

The political reality in South Africa imposes innumerable constraints on organisational work: state repression handicaps any effort at co-ordination of activity and imposes an uneven and fragmented development of our work. The debilitating repression of the 1960s dismembered the development of our democratic movement and resulted in one or 2 generations of militants growing in geographical historical and political isolation and overwhelmed by local conditions.

These factors contribute to the possibility of the emergence of forms of regionalism and parochialism. We must guard against these dangers, for there is only one struggle. Our obvious task is to struggle against these dangers and strive for an effective unity in action.

## 7.2. Other political tendencies

Every political situation generates diverse political tendencies with their own conceptions of the struggle and their own approach. But the dominant political movement is established over decades of struggle by the unfolding of history. Even though these tendencies are peripheral they require a brief scientific response.

The criteria by which we develop our response are:

- 7.2.1. how is the political reality analysed and understood.
- 7.2.2. what are identified as the principal forces in the struggle.
- 7.2.3. which of these forces in their assessment belong to the people's camp and which to the enemy camp.
- 7.2.4. the political program by which each moves towards its deals.
- 7.2.5. the methods, strategies and tactics they use.
- 7.2.6. the relationship to other political forces.

There are those who believe that workers have a special role in the process of change outside of any meaningful alliance with other social groups. To the extent that their approach generates antagonisms with other political groups, we believe that whilst polemics are important, such antagonisms are not in the interest of either the workers or other social groups struggling for national liberation and serves merely to fragment the unity of patriotic forces. In all humility we suggest that our programme, the Freedom Charter, which has stood the test of time and struggle, remains the most viable basis for our advance to liberation. We are reminded that nowhere in the world has national liberation been attained by workers alone.

### 7.3. Third Force

The oppressors, both national and international, have sophisticated a method by which they subvert, co-opt and create individuals, grouping and even movements. Their sole function is to deflect, disrupt and misdirect efforts of a democratic movement by intervening at moment appropriate to the oppressors upon their instructions. They will persuasively claim to be genuine participants



In the democratic struggle. Misdirected political forces can easily fall victim of these manoeuvres. Continuous and vigorous vigilance is the only safeguard.

#### 7.4. Bantustans

The creation of Bantustans and the establishment of tyrants like Sebe and Matanzima gives rise to challenging strategic problems to our struggle. Firstly, each of their corrupt bureaucracies harbours an administrative elite which rapidly develops a state in the system, owe their allegiance to Pretoria, become defenders of the system and carry out its iniquitous policies. Secondly, they replace the Pretoria Government as the oppressor and commit the most heinous repressive acts in the interests of the apartheid system.

Democrats need to confront this reality, and evolve creative strategies to advance the struggle.

#### 7.5. Imperialism

Western imperialist countries have vast sums of money amounting to billions of rand invested in South Africa. Their only interest in South Africa is to safeguard their investments and maximise profits. They will do anything to achieve this and will not hesitate to subvert our struggle. Their leaders, Reagan and Thatcher, brazenly support the Botha plans and give active assistance to the apartheid regime.

We reject their notion of "constructive engagement". They will be regarded as enemies unless they support the demands of the Freedom Charter.

#### 8. THE ROAD AHEAD

The quest for freedom can never be quelled. We have walked this long and arduous road for 3/4s of the 20th Century. During this period our struggle has grown and our people have become resilient and determined. Their march to freedom will continue relentlessly despite the state repression and regardless of the price paid in lives. This struggle which reached new heights at the Congress of the People in the adoption of the Charter represented a greater maturity to the liberation alliance. A maturity which sustained

the movement, despite its fragmentation through the harsh and <sup>trying</sup> 60s. The growing militancy of the masses during the last decade bears testimony to the resilience of the democratic movement and the Freedom Charter as a living document.

Today we are poised on the threshold of a stage of our struggle in which we will witness the cementing of our unity, the consolidation and deepening of our organisations and the increased militancy of our people. This stage presents us with critical challenges:

1. to intensify our efforts to organise the oppressed;
2. to generate an effective and responsible leadership which will always be fully conscious of the needs and aspirations of our people;
3. to develop a profound understanding of our struggle and propagate this amongst our rank and file.

The road to freedom will be hard and protracted requiring diligence, commitment, sacrifice and above all courage. To meet the challenges posed by a sophisticated enemy we will need creativity and an adherence to principle combined with tactical flexibility.

This is the content in which the eratic Front has the potential to forge our unity across all barriers through a process of organisation and struggle. Democratic forces today have a historical responsibility to collectively strengthen the United Democratic Front at every level across regional and provincial barriers, across racial and class barriers across worker and community barriers, and across rural and urban barriers. Today we call upon leaders and leading militants, throughout our Country and in every sector of organisation to sink their differences and actively reach out to each other to forge lasting bonds which will inspire united action amongst the masses in the unequivocal rejection of Botha's plan. There is a place in the democratic movement for all. All have a significant contribution to the struggle. We commend the initiative to re-establish the Transvaal Indian Congress today. This is yet another historic step forward in the building of a peoples democracy. We join with democrats all over the Country and indeed all over the World and salute the revival of yet another component of the democratic movement. It is impossible to liberate any one national group without freedom for all. It is for this reason that we remain committed to fight side by side to create the society contemplated by the FREEDOM CHARTER.



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## THE ORIGINS AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 'FREEDOM CHARTER'.

The Freedom Charter was adopted at the historic Congress of the People held at Kliptown on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> June 1955. The Charter was the product of important political developments over a long period of time; but this is neither the time, nor is it my taste, to deal with these events. Suffice it to say, however, that <sup>with</sup> after the formation of the African National Congress in 1912, of the Natal Indian Congress & Transvaal Indian Congress in 1894 & 1912, and of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921 political developments accelerated, and came to a head in the decade or so, prior to the actual adoption of the Charter. I shall dwell very briefly with the main political developments during this decade.

### (Passive Resistance Campaign)

I. The moderate leadership of the South African Indian Congress up to 1945 failed to regard the Indian people of this country as an integral component of the struggle for freedom in this country. Consequently, they were

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quite willing to accept an inferior status for Indians in S. Africa, and were extremely wary of doing anything that would antagonize the Govt of the day.

But this policy was thrown overboard when in 1945, the SAIC came under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naicker, Roy Madioo, Naha Sita and others. When the Smuts Govt tabled the Asiatic Land Tenure & Indian Representation Bills in terms of which Indians were to be granted dummy representation, the new leadership dismissed such sham representation with the contempt that it truly deserved. Instead they mobilised the Indian people under the banner of Congress, and launched the now-famous Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946, during the course of which more than 2000 Indians went to prison.

While the Passive Resistance Campaign did achieve a very large measure of success in uniting the Indian people, it also re-inforced Congress's earlier conviction, that the salvation and political future of the Indian people lay in joint political struggles with other oppressed people — especially the African people.

(Joint Declaration of Co Operation.)

This realisation led to the new leadership

exploring ways and means of achieving political co-operation with the African National Congress — upon which the disciplined and dedicated manner in which the Passive Resistance Campaign had been conducted, made a profound impression.

These two factors, — the realisation on the part of the one, and the impressions upon the other — ultimately led to the signing in March 1947, of the Joint Declaration of Co-Operation between the ANC and the SAIC. This Declaration is more popularly known as the Dadoo-Xuma-Naikker Pact.

This Pact was considered to be essential for planning the practical basis of co-operation between the national organisations of the oppressed people in this country. And equally important, it firmly laid the foundations for the dynamic political developments of the Fifties and the early Sixties.

Coupled with the signing of the Pact, was the adoption, in 1949, of the Programme of Action by the ANC. The fundamental feature of the

(4) (a) President of the ANC, and Walter Sisulu became the Secretary-General.

Programme of Action was a shift in the strategy of the ANC. Whereas hitherto, the ANC had, to a large extent relied on deputations and petitions etc, as a means of advancing the struggle, the Programme of Action laid emphasis "on strikes and boycotts, and on <sup>civil disobedience</sup> ~~defiance~~ and demonstrations, as important political weapons, to take the struggle further.

But between the signing of the Pact and the adoption of the Programme, was 1948 — the year which witnessed the coming of the National Party to power. And with the advent of the Nats, a plethora of laws were to find their way into the Statute Book — laws which adversely affected the lives of the oppressed people even further. It was also in 1949 that Dr James Moroka ~~became~~ became the

Among the Nats's early actions was the muzzling of the outspoken opponents of apartheid. Banning orders, <sup>two were</sup> served on several leadership personalities, were viewed as a grave intrusion in the freedom of speech. Consequently, under the sponsorship of the Transvaal ANC, the

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Transvaal Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation, and the Johannesburg District Committee of the South African Communist Party, the Defend Free Speech Convention was held in March 1950. This Convention resolved to stage a provincial strike on the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1950 - as a protest against the bannings, and for the improvement in the conditions of the workers.

The May Day strike was a tremendous success - but the success was marred by tragic consequences. Police brutality against strikers resulted in 19 dead and 30 injured.

With characteristic insensitivity, the Nats <sup>tabled</sup> piloted two Bills through Parliament only a few days later - the Group Areas Bill (popularly dubbed the Ghetto Bill) and the Suppression of Communism Bill (dubbed as the Gestapo Bill).

The ANC summoned an emergency conference - and after deliberations with the SAIC, declared the 26<sup>th</sup> June as a National Day of Protest and Mourning - protest against the two Bills, and mourning for all those who had laid down their

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lives in the cause of freedom.

Workers throughout the country were asked to stay <sup>away</sup> from work on the 26<sup>th</sup> June; shopkeepers were asked to close their shops; and <sup>student</sup> school children were called upon to boycott classes on that day.

It was a tremendously successful strike; but its real significance was that it was the FIRST political strike held on a NATIONAL scale.

Despite such developments, the two Bills became law; and in terms of the Suppression of Communist Act, the Communist Party of SA was declared an unlawful organisation.

The legislation of unjust laws continued unabated, during the remainder of 1950 and the first half of 1951. Consequently, the Executive Committees of the ANC and SAIC met in conference in July 1951 to discuss the disturbing situation that was developing.

This meeting resolved that the ANC & SAIC would jointly declare war on ~~the~~ unjust laws, and launch a mass campaign for the repeal of these laws. It also established a Joint Planning Council to



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prepare a plan for the Campaign, and to co-ordinate the activities of that Campaign.

The plan was ready by Nov 1951, and adopted by the respective national conferences of the ANC and the SAIC. In terms of the plan, an ultimatum was to be sent to the Govt to repeal six unjust laws by the 29<sup>th</sup> Feb 1952. These were the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, and the regulations regarding the stock limitation. Should the Govt refuse to repeal these laws, the ANC and the SAIC would jointly launch the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws (shortly known as the Defiance Campaign). And as a prelude to the launching of the Campaign, mass demonstrations would be held throughout the country on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1952—the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the White man's arrival in this country.

Ultimatums by both the ANC and SAIC were duly sent. But the only response of the Govt was, that should such a campaign be launched, the

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Govt<sup>r</sup> would retaliate with all the means at its disposal.

At a subsequent joint meeting of the ANC and SAIC, it was decided to establish a National Volunteer Board, for calling for thousands of volunteers for the Campaign. It was also decided to launch the Defiance Campaign on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary of the 26<sup>th</sup> June; and that Dr Dadoo, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, and David Bopape, who were all banned, should be the first volunteers to defy.

While the oppressors were staging the tri-centenary celebrations on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1952, the oppressed demonstrated in their thousands throughout South Africa; and at all these demos, our people took the follow vow: And I quote:

"We shall do everything in our power, to the utmost limits of our endurance and sacrifice, to carry out the Congress call to fight against the unjust laws, which subject our people to political servility, economic misery, and social degradation. From this day onwards, we vow to act as disciplined men and women, and dedicate ourselves to the

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struggle for freedom and fundamental rights".

As scheduled, the Campaign was launched on the 26<sup>th</sup> June 1952, with 112 people defying in Jhb, and 30 in P. Elizabeth. And by the time the Campaign ended in December of 1952, more than 8500 volunteers in 37 centres had defied throughout SA.

The Campaign not only focussed attention on the grievances of our people, and raised their political consciousness to unprecedented heights, but it instilled in our people with the spirit of defiance, and inspired them to challenge the perpetuation of racial discrimination. But equally important, it established the ANC and the SAIC as the authentic representatives of the broad masses of our oppressed people, and paved the way for the further advance of the democratic struggle in this country. And last but not least, the Defiance Campaign was the first major effort to implement the Programme of Action, and to build a mass movement.

While the events of 1952 panicked the Govt into rushing further repressive laws like the Criminal

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Law Amendment Act, and the Public Safety Act, our people were inspired into ~~est~~ working for <sup>the</sup> greater unity of the oppressed.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> June 1953, the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of June 26<sup>th</sup>, Chief Luthuli, who had become President of the ANC in 1952, made a national call for our people to light bon-fires at nine in the evening, and around which bon-fires the history of the Black man's struggle for freedom would be related and discussed. In the ~~absence~~ or alternatively, to light candles as a symbol of the spark of freedom, which would never be extinguished from the ~~me~~ hearts and minds of our people.

The latter half of 1953 witnessed the formation of ~~more~~ additional progressive & democratic organisations for people.

Aug 1953, a period of <sup>an</sup> intensive Cold War against the Soviet Union, saw the formation of the South African Peace Council.

The CP Party of SA, which had been banned & had disbanded in 1950, ~~se~~ reorganised itself underground, and reconstituted itself as the

South African Communist Party.

And as a result of the more determined opposition to the Separate Representation of Voters Act, in terms of which the Cape Coloured people were to be removed from the Common Voters' Roll the South African Coloured People's Organisation was formed in September 1953, under the leadership of men like Reggie September & Johnny Gomas.

The South African Congress of Democrats was formed in October 1953, <sup>It</sup> and was the result of the merger between the Job Congress of Democrats, the Springbok Legion and the Democratic League.

The two new organisations, namely, the SA Congress of Democrats, and the SA Coloured Peoples Organisation, together with the ANC and the SAIC, collectively became known as the Congress Alliance.

While on the subject of the formation of people's organisations, mention must be made of the Federation of South African Women, and the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions. — both of which

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became adjuncts of the Congress Alliance.

Fedsaw was a non-racial organisation which was formed in April 1954, and was composed mainly of affiliated women's groups. Among its founders were Helen Joseph, Ray Alexander and Sola Mtswona.

With the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Act, which provided for the racialisation of trade unions, African trade unions which had been affiliated to the Trades & Labour Council, and racially mixed unions which opposed the new policy, broke away from the TLC - which endorsed the new policy. These breakaway unions then joined with the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions to form SACTU in March 1955.

The important thing about SACTU was that it fully endorsed the political involvement of trade unions - the majority of which traditionally avoided politics at the time. And at its inaugural conference, SACTU welcomed the Congress of the People, and endorsed the submission of workers' demands to be incorporated <sup>into</sup> the Freedom Charter.

The idea of the Congress of the People was first suggested by Prof. Z.K. Matthews at a conference of the Cape Provincial Congress, held in August 1953. He wondered, he said, whether the time had not come for the African National Congress to consider the question of convening a Congress of the People, representing all the people of SAfrica, irrespective of race or colour, to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic S Africa of the future. The Conference adopted the proposal, and at its annual conference in December 1953, ~~the~~ the ANC adopted it as well.

It was in March 1954 that the ANC invited 200 organisations to send representatives to a planning conference held at Tongaat. At this conference a National Action Council was set up, made up of 8 representatives from each of the 4 sponsoring organisations. The sponsoring organisations were the ANC, the SAIC, the COD, and the SA Coloured People's Organisation.

Chief Luthuli was the chairman of the NAC, and the secretariat was made up of Walter

(14) 100 000 copies of the Call were distributed in all the major languages

Sisulu (later replaced by O.R. Tambo when Walter was banned); Yusuf Cachalia of the SAIC; Lionel Bernstein of the COD (replaced by Joe Slovo when Bernstein was banned); and Stanley Lellan for SACPO.

The first major task of the NAC was to make the whole country aware of the Congress of the People, as well as to popularize it. To this end, there was a mass distribution of the "Call" for the COP, addressed to all South Africans, Black and White. ~~to be~~ (x) ↑

The "Call" urged the people to send their chosen representatives to the COP — which was advertised as a meeting of elected representatives of the people coming together from every town and village, farm and factory, mine and local, and street and suburb. The COP would be Congress where all would speak freely and as equals, and where they would discuss the changes that must be made to usher in the democratic SA of the future. — changes and demands which would be incorporated into the Freedom Charter.

Apart from this printed material hundreds



of meetings were held, as well as group discussions; and house-to-house canvassing. The central aim of NAC was to get the people to speak for themselves. In so doing, grievances and demands would be easily collected; and these in turn would serve as a basis for drafting the Freedom Charter.

Such a massive task required the establishment provincial and regional committees in all the major centres of the country, as well as the establishment of local committees. And in June 1954, Chief Luthuli called for Freedom Volunteers, to make themselves available to the organizers of the Campaign, for whatever work and wherever they were required. By the end of 1954, 10 000 Freedom Volunteers were available, to carry out the campaign to every corner of the country.

Every demand made by the people at the meetings were recorded and collated for consideration by the COP for their inclusion in the Freedom Charter. And one press report stated that for months, the demands had

(16)

been flooding into the headquarters of the COP on sheets torn from school exercise books, on little dog-eared scraps of paper and on slips torn from leaflets of the COP. In this way, the demands, incorporated in the Charter, would reflect the visions of a future society, filtered upwards from ordinary men and women, and not imposed from the top.

The Congress of the People was held on the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the 26<sup>th</sup> June 1950 - ie on the 26<sup>th</sup> & 27<sup>th</sup> June 1955 at Kliptown. The size of the Congress was remarkable, for 2884 delegates attended the COP. Equally remarkable were the preparations made for housing <sup>and feeding</sup> the delegates. Many delegates travelled long distances, but about 200 delegates were prevented by the police from reaching the venue.

The COP was a colorful gathering, ~~it was~~ for many delegates wore Congress colours. Before the delegates discussed the Charter awards were presented to Father Trevor Huddleston, & to Dr Dadoo & Chief Luthuli.

Each section of the Charter was read, discussed by speakers, and finally adopted by the delegates. Although the proceedings were interrupted by the police, who confiscated large quantities of literature, the Charter was finally adopted.

The COP was the most representative gathering ever to take place in S.A. Not only did the COP give rise to a new spirit of enthusiasm and consolidated the organisational forces of the NLM, but it firmly laid the basis for uniting all democratic forces around a common political programme.

In the resolutions passed, the COP declared that <sup>and</sup> <sup>quote</sup> "all true sons and daughters of SA will work, from this day on to win the changes which are set out in the Freedom Charter. Those who are in the forefront of this struggle will forever hold an honoured place in our history. Those who work against it will be isolated and scorned".  
(unquote).

(18)

The COP also mandated the sponsoring organisations to work together, ~~and~~ to campaign for realizing the demands of the Charter, and to get the Freedom Charter endorsed and accepted by all the democratic organisations of the people.

Although the Charter had been adopted by the COP, this did not mean that the organisations automatically adopted it as well. In July 1955 the executive committees of the four sponsoring organisations met, and unanimously agreed to recommend the adoption of the Charter to their respective Conferences. And so this was done during the latter half of 1955 and the early part of 1956.

11 This brief account traces the origins of the F/C. (a) In so far as it concerns the historical significance, let me ~~preface~~ say

(19)

that SA as <sup>it</sup> is presently constituted, is based only on the will of the White minority.

But the Preamble of Charter states in terms both loud and clear, that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people; "

The incorporation of the hopes, demands, and innermost aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country into the Freedom Charter, signifies their full participation in shaping their own destiny.

As such, the <sup>dem</sup>ocrat of the future democratic S Africa, established on the basis of the principles enshrined in Charter, can ~~not~~ justly claim authority, for it will truly express the will of the people.

Herein lies the first aspect of the ~~(b)~~ Charter's historical significance.

(b) ~~For those who have adopted the~~

(21)

that is democratic; and a racial society to its opposite — a non-racial society.

The nature and content of the Freedom Charter, and are therefore in complete conformity with the nature and content of the N D R . Hence, the Charter ~~be~~ is the pol programme of the N D R .

This is the second dynamic dimension of the F/ C .

(c) But revolutionary as the ~~de~~ Charter is, it is not a FINAL document.

It is true to say that the Charter envisages a society of the FUTURE . But let it be firmly borne in mind, that the socialistically — orientated economic clauses of the Charter, have all the scope of ~~establishing~~ facilitating the establishment of the society of the DISTANT FUTURE .

As such, the Freedom Charter must be viewed as a TRANSITIONARY document — envisaging a society that is in a state of TRANSITION .

??

This aspect of its historical significance must therefore serve as a source of tremendous inspiration & encouragement to the working people of this country — under whose guidance, and above all, under whose leadership, the National Democratic Revolution must be conducted.

(d) I have already stated that the Charter emanates from the most representative gathering ever to take place in South Africa. The Charter has therefore become the common programme of all the democratic forces in our country.

It was this unifying capacity of the of the Freedom Charter, that ~~had~~ firmly laid the foundations, upon which the democratic forces ~~during~~ forged ahead with their historic mission of liberating the broad ~~of the~~ masses of the oppressed people, following the adoption of the Charter.

(e) Never in the history of the N L M in this country has any political statement

(23)

ever caught the imagination of our people as the Charter has done. For 30 years now the Charter has continued to remain a beacon of hope and a source of inspiration to the downtrodden and oppressed masses of this country.

And it will continue to remain so until the Charter each and every clause of the Charter has been fully implemented.

(1) Although the Charter had been formulated and adopted during the campaign for the Congress of the People, the process of its formulation had begun at the time when the White man had first set foot in this country, and had begun the process of dispossessing the indigenous inhabitants of their land, their livelihood, and their liberty.

The progressive crystallisation of the Charter must be seen to have taken place during the numerous Wars of Resistance —



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during the course of which, an untold number of our heroes and heroines made the supreme sacrifice.

The <sup>EVENTUAL</sup> formulation and ~~adopt~~ consequent adoption of the Charter in 1955 stand as a worthy tribute to all these gallant freedom-fighters, as well as to all those who were ruthlessly persecuted for daring to oppose the oppressor.

But worthy as such a tribute is, the <sup>MOST LASTING</sup> FINEST tribute that all democrats can pay to those who made these heroic sacrifices, is to ceaselessly work for, and finally establish, the society as envisaged in the Charter.

(9) And the last but not <sup>the</sup> least, aspect of its historical significance is, that the Charter is a firm statement of re-dedication, and <sup>of a</sup> life-long commitment to the realisation of the type of society envisaged in it.

This is evident in the Preamble which states:

"And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes

25

here set out have been won".

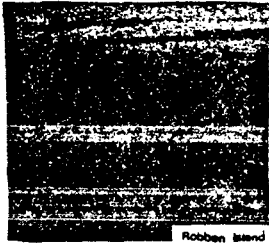
And it is equally evident when it states :

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR,  
SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES,  
UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY".



# The Freedom Charter

adopted at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955



Robben Island

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!



THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED  
AMONG THOSE WHO  
WORK IT!



THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!



THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!



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

**AH4**

Rev "AA 4"

THE FREEDOM CHARTER:

1985 is the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter. It's demands have still not been met. Next year these demands will ring in the ears of South Africa's rulers. If they ignore them. 1984 will be repeated. And no amount of repression will stop that. -Saspu National Editorial Dec 1984.

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## A. INTRODUCTION:

It was in June 1953 at the Cape Provincial Conference of the African National Congress at Cradock that Prof. Z.K. Mathews came up with the idea of a freedom charter. This idea could not have emerged at a more appropriate hour. Because of definite historical limitations it simply could not have been conceived in the 30's and 40's.

From the period following the adoption of the Programme of Action, we witnessed an enormously exciting development when the ANC emerged as a broad mass organisation working in close alliance with progressive trade unions and peasant organisation in the countryside. Numerous mass-based campaigns spearheaded by the ANC and sister organisations of the Congress Alliance had proved beyond doubt, the power of united mass action.

These early 1950's campaigns culminated in the great Defiance campaign of 1952 when thousands of South Africans of all colour defied South Africa's unjust laws and courted imprisonment. It was a massive demonstration that the people were ready to seize power and dismantle the entire machinery of oppression and exploitation. The people were not only shouting "Mayibuye 'iAfrica", but were demanding "Freedom in our lifetime". The concept—freedom—had become a household word. Although the overwhelming feeling at the time was that freedom was imminent, the type of freedom yearned for was not clearly spelt out

It was against this historical background that Prof. Z.K. Mathews proposed as a matter of urgency the need for a declaration outlining the type of freedom aspired to. I want to underline that the idea of a charter of freedom was a product of the objective reality in South Africa. To divorce it from the concrete conditions at the time and seeing it as an invention by a single leader, is a failure to see the historical significance of the document that emerged at Kliptown in 1955.



B. PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE:

The Cradock Conference endorsed the proposed idea unanimously. The final decision to draw up a freedom charter, was taken at the National Conference held in Queenstown in December 1953. From there the idea was discussed and accepted by all other sister organisations of the Congress Alliance, i.e. The S.A. Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats. All that remained to be done was the formulation of definite structures which would be used to transmit the idea to the people - the final arbiters. It was important that all the people and not only the Congress Alliance organisations, state how they see the South Africa of their dreams. Who knows better the deplorable conditions of exploitation and harassment in the factory than the worker himself; Who would relate best the terrible effects of the Group Areas Act, pass raids, racist education and forced removals, other than the oppressed and exploited themselves? Nobody can explain better the effects of landlessness and squatting on farms than the peasant himself. It was then the peoples's responsibility to outline their vision of a future South Africa.

To pursue this ideal, an ad hoc committee was set up, called the National Action Committee for the Congress of the People (NACOP). This committee had to ensure that 1) All South Africans were informed as to what was to take place and 2) that regional structures, independent of any of the Congress structures were formed. The people themselves had to set up their own local committees in the urban and rural areas. It was to be these area committees that were to send their own delegation to the conference. They would not be representing the ANC, SAIC, CPC or the COD.

Volunteers would go around to facilitate the work of the local committees in compiling the demands of the people. These were hectic times, particularly if one takes into account the fact that the government was not relaxing. They were aware that the campaign was also a politicising event. The Congress organisations were being taken to every home in South Africa. This worried them. Already the people of Sophiatown were giving the government a terrible headache. The most popular slogan there at the time was: Asihambi Esophia. Once people say "Over our dead bodies", a signal is given that the government's on it's way out. I am sure that the foremost demand put down by the people of Sophiatown was: "We want proper housing, security and comfort and an end to forced removals and resettlements."

Another aspect which worried the S.A. government was the publication of the following three booklets:

- 1) The country we live in;

2)The world we live in;

3)There's need for change;

All three were intended to assist the NACOP in the campaign and at the same time serve as eye-openers to the cadreship and the oppressed, exploited and fighting people of this country. The first booklet dealt with the structures and evils of the apartheid system. The second booklet sought to persuade our people to invest confidence in the success and final triumph of the national democratic movement. They had to understand that oppression and exploitation was not unique to S.A.; People have suffered in other countries like Asia, Latin America and Europe, but by their own efforts some of these people's have since attained their liberation. Indeed the face of the world had dramatically changed by this time. India was free, China was free, the Soviet Union was consolidating it's socialist revolution and popular peoples organisations in Africa, the then Indo-China, Middle East, Eastern Europe and Latin America were mounting massive counter blows against Imperialism. Some of the leaders of the Congress Movement had been to some of these countries and brought back messages of solidarity and support for the great people of South Africa. This was very much inspiring. If people in other parts of the world have been able to achieve freedom and set out documents similar to the one which we were campaigning for, what on earth could ever stop us? This was the prevailing mood as cadres moved from one area to another distributing questionnaires. The demand of the third booklet i.e. there's a need for change was therefor heartily endorsed by the people.

One can immediately see that the three booklets were very pertinent to the campaign for the Congress of the people. The huge rallies which were organised throughout the country also bore testimony to the fact that the people-black and white-had declared war on apartheid.

### C. The Congress of the People:

The formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions on the eve of the Congress of the People strengthened the campaign and facilitated access to the progressive working class. A great stride. All sections and classes outside the ruling clique were now geared for the big day at Kliptown. For the first time in the history of the liberation struggle, the heroic people of South Africa-black and white-mounted a demonstration that has continued to this day-thirty years after Kliptown-to be a source of inspirarion to the national democratic front. They came in their thousands from every nook and corner of South Africa. They came by cars, bus, truck and cart. They came on foot, on horseback, by bicycle and by train. They were accredited delegates from their respective areas carrying demands for a

people's South Africa. These demands, some of which were scribbled with lead pencil, were hung on the walls of the hall for everyone to see. Some of the delegates had never set foot in an urban area. It was an experience. The spirit was so high that people were not even bothered by the police harassment. It had been anticipated that they would do everything within their power to stop, waylay, harass and provoke the delegates at the Congress. They were bitterly disappointed and had to return to base with bleeding noses and tails between the legs.

All the demands were thoroughly discussed and overwhelmingly adopted. One by one. It was a real people's activity. The preamble of this ever green document set the tone immediately—without any apologies—as to who the people are. It pointed out that "We, the people of South Africa, declare for all and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it—black and white....." This aspect of the declaration was and still is important in so far as it underlines the pertinent point that as much as blacks are not ideologically homogeneous, so is the case with whites; that the concept people in the context of struggle refers to all those classes, social groups and individuals who have been rallied under the banner of a non-racial democracy, whether they be black or white..... The preamble demonstrates the degree of political maturity of the people of this country. The ability to rise above "colour politics" in a situation that is highly charged with racial hatred. What I am saying was displayed at Kliptown some thirty years ago when three prominent leaders were awarded "Isithwalandwe" prize in recognition of their dedication to the cause of liberation. Those three leaders were: Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr. Yussuf Dadoo and Father Huddleston.—the latter being a white man. In certain circles he was dismissed as a fraud who had been planted to hijack the African struggle. That lonely voice was heard at Kliptown in 1955 from certain individuals who subsequently led the PAC breakaway in 1958-1959. But it was severely strangled by the masses who had been taught politics, not at universities and high schools, but through practical confrontation with the oppressor. Father Huddleston stayed with these people, suffered with them, went to gaol with them and above all confronted the Nationalist government with them. Where else must a man prove his worth in this struggle for a birthright. Huddleston was declared a national hero, not by the Anc, COD, CPC or SACTU, but by the broad masses of the people. That was a declaration of recognition which the preamble and the entire charter endorse.

D.A PEOPLE'S CHARTER:

The concept "people" pervades the entire document under discussion. Elsewhere in this paper, I have attempted a running definition of what "people" mean in the context of the national democratic movement. I am now going to introduce an additional dimension in terms of which I shall try to vindicate the position that the Freedom Charter is not a class document. I am going to assert that once you make use of the concept "people" in the context of the national democratic struggle, you immediately usher us into a compromise position/situation. We are in an arena of class alliance—a class compromise. All the existing classes and social groups (Christians, Moslems, intelligentsia for instance) have <sup>been</sup> brought together for purposes of conducting the national democratic struggle. There is no question of playing one class against another. The emphasis is on national unity and the immediate goal of all the classes and social groups in the alliance is the attainment of a popular people's republic in which all those classes and social groups which had been rallied in the course of the struggle will have full participation. The Freedom Charter will certainly usher in that sort of republic. It will not be a republic based on the dictatorship of either the working class or the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it will be a people's dictatorship. I am likely to sound provocative on this point, and I can only hope that I am sufficiently so. For it has been argued in the past, that the Charter is nothing else but a working class (socialist) document. Amongst the champions of that school of thought, are members of the Nationalist government. It was from that point of view that in 1956, they proscribed the Charter as a communist document and the entire leadership of the Congress Movement was put behind bars and prosecuted. Whilst I am prepared to admit that the government of this country has taken it upon itself to dub as communist all popular people's organisations, at the same time I do not want us to lose sight of the fact that the Freedom Charter is not properly understood by a very large number of white people in this country, particularly those who are still under the spell of the Nationalist Party. This had become evident in interviews with prominent government personalities on Robben Island. Hence the hysteria whenever the Freedom Charter is the issue.

There is however another position that asserts quite vicif~~er~~ously that the Charter is simply a bourgeois declaration. It is an anachronism of our time and bears no relevance in what they see to-day as a purely working class revolution for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an ultra left position which of course, finds common ground with the ultra-right to distort and assault the freedoms enshrined in this document.

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Both views seek to attach class connotations to the Charter. To my mind, this fallacy is generated, inter alia, by a lack of understanding of the history of the Charter and as long as we attempt to separate this document from its historical context and see it in abstract as a creation of a single mind, so long will we remain addicted to distortions and falsifications.

The Freedom Charter emerged at a very exciting period in the history of the national democratic struggle. The ANC in particular has matured into a broad mass movement, mobilising and uniting all sections of the oppressed and exploited without any sense of discrimination in terms of class outlook. In that spirit, volunteers who were assigned the task of popularising the Congress of the People were not inspired by any class bias. They visited factories, compounds, mines, churches, schools, universities, shops and business houses in the township and elsewhere. They went to farm workers and talked to peasants in the country side. Various organisations—religious and sports etc were approached and asked to make their own demands. I agree hundred per cent that the working class has and will always be the backbone of our struggle. And I agree that by reason of its overwhelming strength in the national democratic movement, there is bound to be a working class bias all along the line of popular struggle. But in spite of it all, we must refuse to ascribe a class character to a document whose historical background shouts so loudly against such a position.

All peoples programmes anywhere in the world, spring from a given objective reality. Once it has been hatched out the particular programme cannot be detached from its historical incubator. For was it not meant, not only to project the ideal society, but also—and this is extremely important—to influence the situation in favour of the accomplishment of the ideal. You can take any programme from the Communist Manifesto of 1848 to the Freedom Charter, one eye will always be focussed on the present and the other on the future. The position, therefore, is simply that the Freedom Charter, to be of any relevance, had to influence the objective reality in South Africa. African Nationalism—the ideology of the national movement of the time—was the main mobilising vehicle. How could it then, have produced a purely class programme? Incidentally, at that time the ANC was also taking practical steps to contact other liberation movements in a rural Africa which had if any very little sympathies with left wing politics, wouldn't a working class programme have alienated our struggle from the rest of the continent? Certainly that would have been sectarian and suicidal. Again the Charter had to influence the Western world and enhance the credibility of the popular struggle against the apartheid regime—a position which would have been severely weakened had the people of South Africa come up in 1955 with a

document espousing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist world and the Peoples Republics in Eastern Europe would likewise have lost interest in our struggle if the Freedom Charter had turned out to be a purely bourgeois programme. Except for imperialists and outright reactionaries, the Freedom Charter is seen by the entire progressive mankind internationally as the most ideal document to have emerged in this country. It has influenced not only the internal situation, but has succeeded in its almost 30 years of existence to mobilise world opinion against the racist government. It is a charm of the United Nations.

It is a document of minimum and maximum demands—maximum for the progressive bourgeoisie which is a component element in the struggle, and minimum for the working class. In other words, the bourgeoisie will not strive for more than is contained in the Charter, while the working class will have sufficient cause to aspire beyond those demands. What happens after the implementation of the Peoples Charter—i.e. whether there is a socialist democracy or not—will certainly depend on the strength of the working class itself in the class alliance that we call a Peoples democracy. If the working class is strong enough, then a transition into a class democracy will be easily effected. At that point in time, there will be a realignment of forces. Mobilisation will be on a purely class basis and the working class ideology will constitute the engine of the transition. But if, on the other hand, the working class has not been prepared for this historical role and is thus weak in the Peoples Democracy, the bourgeoisie will turn the tables. At that time it will be a relapse to pure capitalist relations of production. So the Freedom Charter takes the working class a step nearer its historical goal, whilst it does not temper much with the Bourgeois order.

It is no piece-meal social engineering and given a chance to be implemented the present system based on injustice and inequality must immediately give way. The type of government it envisages is a totally new democracy. "The People shall govern", it declares unequivocally. The pertinent implication behind this assertion is that our country has never enjoyed a democracy in which all its peoples have equal rights and equal opportunities. The entire power structure is based on economic, political and social domination of the biggest majority. It is a mechanism of deprivation propped up by big capital to perpetuate the life-span of the ruling clique. Representation in the racist parliament in Cape Town is based on colour and property. The vast majority of our people have absolutely no say in the running of their country. It is in this racist parliament where all the anti-people legislation is unleashed and we have no way of protecting ourselves other than engaging in militant and popular resistance. The Freedom Charter will

countenance this sort of situation. It makes the point that every person black and white above the age of 18 years will have the right to vote for a candidate of his own choice or be voted to Parliament to represent his constituency without regard to colour, race or creed.

The present Provincial and Municipal administrations will not be left unscathed since they are ready gadgets at the service of the cliquist parliament to entrench injustice and inequality. All the by-laws that they process are intended to entrench racial and economic domination. These institutions, therefore, remain anti-people and should naturally not see the light of day once the people start governing. They will be replaced by popular institutions which will be geared to come to terms with the interests and aspirations of the people as a whole.

The bantustans, management committees and all other puppet creations which have been imposed on our people to police, menace and maim them on behalf of the supermaster in Cape Town shall be dismantled forthwith. No institution that carries some racial tag of some sort will ~~not~~ be destroyed. All cliques shall have been dissipated and the peoples' will shall bear sway.

"The wealth of the country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people." Monopoly industry and banks shall be nationalised to ensure that all our people have a share of the national cake. That is not the situation at the present moment. Only a handful gormandises the fruits of the sweat and blood of millions of South Africans. They toil at the harbours loading bales of wool to overseas markets and go home in the evening without even a decent coat to protect themselves against the elements. That is the irony of life in a racist South Africa where capitalism has developed to the highest stage of monopoly. In such an economy, the position of the working class in particular becomes unenviable. A deplorable situation where just a couple of men are in control of the lives of millions of people. They can't escape the fatal grip of the monopolists. In the mines it is the same man. You run away and go to the textile industry only to meet the same man. He is running a big industrial empire under different names. Eventually his economic strength will affect the political, social, spiritual and even the family lives of the vast toiling masses. He is not only the captain of industry. He has also become the captain of our destinies. There can never be social justice in such a situation. Exploitation is intense and the pauperisation of the masses is sharp. The Freedom Charter sets us at ease here, particularly the working class. This clause pinpoints an injustice in the production and distribution of our wealth and offers to redress the situation.

But this unfairness in the handling of the material resources of our rich country does not end there. In the countryside, one finds huge tracts of land called farms whose ownership is in the hands of a small landed gentry. Some of them do not even stay at these farms except for certain evenings when they have thought of a braai out in the farms. They own large mansions and castles in the urban areas. They don't work on these farms. They have employed white managers and enlisted the services of squatters (African and coloureds) These squatters till the land and tend the stock of the "groot bees" who may be basking somewhere in Mauritius. They do not own the land and the laws of the country are such that they don't.

Again, the unfairness does not end with the squatters. There are these villagers which are dotting a large part of our own country. The biggest outcry there is land-hunger. These people have been given small pieces of land and the economy is purely subsistence. The land is often barren and unproductive. The best land in the country and the biggest slice of all land is by legislation of the racist parliament, white-owned. Consequently these people die of starvation in the midst of plenty. The Freedom Charter addresses itself to the plight of our rural people when it says: "The land shall be shared amongst those who work on it." It shall not allow anybody to be in possession of huge farms and large mansions at one and the same time. It envisages an equitable re-distribution of land amongst those who work on it. And as long as land is privately owned without the government having any say in the matter, so long will people starve and die. The present system of land tenure is a creation of the cliquish parliament and therefore anti-people. It must be changed, so says the Freedom Charter.

"There shall be houses, security and comfort." Yes. The South African government must be held responsible for deliberately leaving our people unhoused. They and their supporters in big monopoly industry have never taken any interest in seeing to it that the millions who are oozing blood from every pore deep down in the bowels of the earth, in industry and on the monopoly farms are accorded the status of human beings by being decently housed. They were not interested to know where and how the workers slept. All that matters with them is simply that these toiling men and women are back at work on time the following day to create wealth for them. How they came to work and how they went back to their "homes" never bothered the ruling classes. Right up to the present moment, the South African government still



evinces the same frame of mind. There are slums throughout the country. One white teacher in a African school in East London, looking through the window at one of the most sordid slums of South Africa, once remarked: "Man-Only goodness knows how you can survive in that squalor. I can die within a minute there, boy." That is the situation throughout South Africa, but the working class emerged from these situations and made their way to Kliptown through, police cordons, to demand houses. The demand still stands. They know that the South African government would house them if it were not devoting large sums of money in maintaining a vast army of young men who must shoot to kill once the workers make their legitimate demands. They are maintaining a huge well-equipped police force who are equally ready to shoot the hell out of the working class. Every year new vans and hippos will be seen parading the street.

The People must remain unhoused. But the puppets who are greaseboys of the machinery of oppression and exploitation must be decently housed. Look at the "mayoral palaces" of the "councillors" and the large mansions of puppet "presidents" and "ministers" in the homelands, the BMW and Mercedes Benz, some of which are sponsored by the big monopoly companies which are amassing huge profits by squeezing life out of millions of unhoused workers. The people have no houses. But in a democratic Peoples South Africa, there shall be houses because the peoples government will be people-orientated. What about "security and comfort"? We don't have them and we never had them. Pass raids at any hour of the day. The policeman has a license to wake you up at midnight without any eye to decency and privacy and demand a pass. There is absolutely no security and invariably no comfort. The Freedom Charter seeks to restore our human right to housing, security and comfort. That is why it explicitly states that passes shall be abolished forthwith and all identity documents will be the same for all South Africans.

From whatever angle you view apartheid, it remains the same thing.—a statement of evil. When a man denies you even such basic things as education and cultural development, then you start wondering why some people elsewhere in the world still accord him some measure of recognition. The Nats and those who support them have taken education as a weapon in their hands to maintain the relations of domination at all levels. In a single integrated economy, they had devised a system of education to de-educate the majority of the oppressed and exploited to maintain the myth of white superiority. Verwoerd never minced his words when he piloted the Bantu Education Act at the very time when the great people of this country were preparing for the Congress of the People. It had to be that type of education which would prepare the black man for the position of "thatha-lapha ubeke-laphas"

Inferior because you are semi-human. You cannot attain to the level of intellectual and cultural advancement of the white man. After all you never even had a culture.

I am not going to allude to the present crisis in education except just to say it merely vindicates the relevant clause in the Freedom Charter which completely destroys the myth of racist education as we see it to-day. Education shall be intergrated, free and compulsory. It will not be used as a means to advance the material and spiritual content of life in a country whose people shall have been re-united. The education of the child shall be the responsibility of the state. For how can one speak in terms of "compulsory\* education, as we often hear the bantustan captains say, when the entire expense of taking the child to school remains the task of the parent.

All National Groups shall have equal rights.

There is no refence here to the "creation of four nations-whites, Africans Coloureds and Indians" as some detractors of the Charter would want us to believe. In the first place let us correct the silly notion of nations "Creation". Some time back, I was told by someone that Tshaka was engaged in a process of building a "Zulu Nation" when he was assassinated. I am not happy with this friend's observation. I hold the view that building or creating a nation is and cannot be an individual's or individuals' responsibility. To my mind this approach sounds metaphysical and therefor unscientific and misleading. Yes, individuals can and do build bridges. But if they can do the same with nations, I am not convinced.

Nation building(creation) must be seen in terms of economic forces at play. It is a historical process organised by forces other than man who merely becomes a catalyst in an on-going process which he can delay but not stop. I am impressed by the definition that a nation is a historically constituted group of people who stay within the same geographical boundaries, speak the same or similar languages, have the same or similar history, have the same or similar culture, have the same or similar psychological outlook, and who live under the same economic system.

I am ill at ease with the notion-"Okay, folks. Let's build a nation or four nations along these lines." And then a nation or four nations are created. The economic factor, to my mind, determines the constitution of various peoples into a single national entity. Man merely promotes or retards the process. The most positive contribution of capitalism in South Africa, for instance, has been the complete destruction of tribal loyalties amongst the African people. There is no economic basis for the entrenchment of tribalism to-day. Without capitalism the founding fathers' song in 1912: "Zulu, Mxhosa, Msuthu manyanani (Unite) would bear no meaning. It's the capitalist economy

which made the slogan to-day's reality. And I want to believe that the process of intergration has not stopped with the Africans, for instance. Under one economic system there is no way that even broader intergration is stunted. Were it not for the reactionary legislation which hampers intergration and constitution at this level, I am sure that we could have been near accomplishment.

The Charter, being far ahead of the apartheid regime as it is, does not and cannot envisage any separate nations. All it did was to take cognizance of concrete factors in terms of which equality was and is distributed in distributed in terms of race and colour. It does not take a utopian poise, that colour differences shall not be there. All it seeks to assert is that the colour of your skin shall not be used in any way against or for you in practically all aspects of life. We have to be realistic and always remember that we are not going to Icaria or some other utopian island. The baby South Africa that is about to be born must, and will bear it's birthmarks from the parent apartheid. This phenomenon is universal and has been witnessed even in purely working class revolutions. The Freedom Charter, in the circumstances, takes the position of a midwife who must have at hand all the necessary gadgets for the safe delivery of the child, and who must also understand the delicate nature of removing certain unwanted things with which the child came out from the mother. To assume that the baby will be delivered neat and dry is to adopt the position of the most hopeless quack. The Charter steers clear of that stupor. That is why it even goes to the extent of stating that the right of all people to "develop their own folk culture and customs" shall be defended. One is reminded here of the Chinese situation where there was a multiplicity of cultures. The question was - what is to be done to evolve a single Chinese culture? And the answer was that you must allow a hundred flowers to blossom and a thousand thoughts contend. That was not in any way a suggestion for ethnicity. No. For even here in South Africa nothing is going to dissapear overnight - except apartheid. Certain people will still wear certain dresses and certain people will still demand lobola with all that it entails for their daughters. All that is required is that your Afrikaans poems and Hindu dance and dress do not advance sectarianism and ethnicity because the Charter sees that as a crime against the People. The material conditions will be such that all cultures are developed towards the emergence of a single South African culture eventually. The Charter forbids the advancement of a culture that is incompatible with the progress of the Peoples Democracy. Already one does observe a trend towards the mycegenation of cultures in South Africa, and such a process <sup>could</sup> have been long in advance in a democratic non-racial setting where people mix freely, inter-marry and go to the same schools.

I admired Winnie Mandela's traditional garb which was a combination of predominantly all traditional garbs. That is cultural growth. Under favourable conditions, it can compete with other traditional dresses till the best wins the admiration of all South Africans. Not overnight of course. It is going to be a long historical process.

Finally, it is not true to say that the Charter advances the "creation" of any "four nations". On the contrary, it is a catalyst in the process of the emergence of a single, united democratic people's South Africa.

Let us imagine a situation where residential areas are not allocated according to race and colour, where people attend the same schools, where all people have free movement of association and can trade where they like, where delimitation of electoral constituencies is not determined according to race and colour, where there is no tricameral parliament and bantustans. Where there is peace and friendship, where imprisonment shall be for serious crimes against the people and where all laws that smack of the slightest trait of racialism shall be abolished. It may sound quite idealistic when considered in the light of what is going on in South Africa to-day. But that is the firm message enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

It is a condition for peace and friendship, not only inside South Africa which has been rendered strange to peace for over three centuries, but also with our neighbours in Southern Africa particularly with Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana which were threatened with annexation by South Africa when we went to Kliptown. Once internal peace and security have been achieved, then the great people of South Africa will strive for international security and world peace. It will be a genuine undertaking not inspired by any sense of insecurity and fear as is the case with the men and women presently in Pretoria, who are mismanaging our beloved motherland.

Though we shall adopt the poise of non-alignment, we shall nonetheless project the anti-imperialist attitude of the Charter. May this document remain the source of inspiration till the dawn of that great day, which shall be given a name by those who shall see it. It shall be called the Peoples Day of South Africa.

Steve Tshwete



Rev "AH S"

Disc ; FC file: tool story: FC as an organising tool

For the last few years the major task for democratic South Africans has been the building of popular mass based organisations in all sectors. How can the Freedom Charter help us in this task?

Steve Tshete (say who he is) has said:

"The Freedom Charter belongs to the people of South Africa. Everyone of those ten points in the Charter can be used to rally our people anywhere in South Africa."

But to use the Freedom Charter to rally our people and to build our organisations is not something that happens automatically.

We cannot just hand out copies of the Charter and expect mobilisation and organisation to occur.

What kind of document is the Freedom Charter?

The Freedom Charter (FC) is the recorded voice of the struggling people of South Africa. To use it in the task of organising we need to understand exactly what kind of document it is. You can't use a spoon to cut meat. We also need to know what sort of document it is not.

The FC is not in itself a Programme of Action. A programme of action is a plan of action. It sets down tasks for particular groups of people. A programme of action also often makes deadlines, the times by which these tasks must be completed. It sets out methods of work. Programmes of action are essential organising tools. We need to spell out the different steps and stages involved in our various tasks. We also need programmes of action to assess how our work is going. Are we falling behind? Are we on time? The preparations for and the organising of the Congress of the People, for instance, involved many Programmes of Action. But the document that emerged from the 1955 Congress of the People - the Freedom Charter, is not a programme of action.

That is not a weakness of the Freedom Charter. You don't blame a spoon for not being a knife. All this may seem obvious, but too often activists allow their enthusiasm for the FC to blind them about the need for other kinds of programmes too. Although the FC is not a programme of action, the general demands that it lays down should certainly inspire all programmes of action in our struggle.

The FC is also not in itself a party or organisational programme. The FC was not drawn up by any specific organisation. It was not even drawn up by the Congress Alliance, although this alliance made the Congress of the People and the FC possible. The FC was made by the tens of thousands of South Africans, from all parts of

our country. It emerged from the people's struggles and aspirations.

A party or organisational political programme is a more developed statement of position. It will spell out not just the aims of the organisation. It will also indicate the broad strategy and tactics of the organisation in seeking to win these aims. Although the FC is not this sort of document, it should guide all such programmes of progressive organisations.

The FC is the recorded voice of the masses of our people, It is one of the most valuable tools we have in our struggle. We have tried to argue, however, that it also important to understand what the FC is not. Some supporters of the FC fail to see that we also need programmes of action and clear organisational programmes. The FC does not replace these different kinds of programmes.

But let us now look at the positive role the FC can and is playing in organisational work.

The FC - is a rallying call for different sectors of struggle

In the first place the FC provides read-made guidelines for sectors of our struggle. When Azaso meets for its Annual Congress in Soweto, let us say, it meets under a big banner: " Let the Doors of Learning and Culture Be Open"

That same slogan dominates the Nusas July Festival in Durban and the Annual General Meeting of Cosas. Three different organisations working in the general sector of education are able to turn to that particular clause of the FC. In addressing the issues around which they must build organisations, they are able to look closer at the specific demands under the general heading of Learning and Culture etc.

We can see from this that the FC is able to provide general guidelines to specific organisations. We can also see that it provides the basis for a general working UNITY between different organisations - Cosas, Nusas and Azaso - all working in the general sector of education.

The same unifying organisational function can be seen in the recent experience in the Western Cape. In this region, the Cape Housing Action Committee (Cahac) has adopted the FC, and it is using the Charter demand: "Housing, Security and Comfort" as its main slogan. Cahac organises in the Coloured group areas. At the same time the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA), which organises in the African townships, is guided by the FC. The WCCA and the Anti-forced Removal Committee of the UDF (W.Cape) are at present struggling against the government's plan to force all Africans in the W. Cape to move to Khayelitsha. This committee has adopted as its slogan the same charter demand for "Housing, Security and Comfort".

Here we can see how the FC lays the basis for organisational co-operation between different areas. It is inspiring the struggle of Cahac against poor housing conditions in the Coloured areas, and the struggle of the WCCA and the UDF Anti-forced Removals Committee against the Khayelitsha removals.

#### Unity across sectors

We have so far considered ways in which the FC can promote organisational co-operation between different organisations working in the same general sector (education and housing are the two examples used).

But the FC also has the potential to promote unity across sectors. Here is a letter from a student which he wrote last year to the people administering his bursary:

see Feetham lecture

The struggle for better education and the struggle for housing, and security are not unconnected. It would be a mistake for comrades in Cosas, for instance, to only concern themselves with the demand for the "Doors of learning and culture to be opened". Everyone of those ten clauses in the FC are linked together. When we seek to develop and build our organisation it is correct to conceptualise on the most specific demand related to the particular sector of work. But we should never lose sight of the links with other sectors of the struggle.

By linking together a SERIES of demands the FC provides an enormously useful guideline for organisational unity across sectors.

#### The FC and our style of work

The first and most important demand of the FC is that "The People Shall Govern." It is this demand that comes first, and is the demand that summarises all the others.

But if this is our number one demand, it must surely tell us about HOW in the present we should be organising. If one day the people are to govern, ordinary working class people must be developing skills, knowledge, confidence. Leadership in our organisations must be drawn from the working masses. To ensure this our style of work must be democratic. All members of our organisation must know that the organisations are THEIRS, that they are jointly responsible for the organisations.

Democracy is not just the right to vote for parliament once every four years. Full democracy means that the majority of the people have an ongoing say in all aspects of their lives - in the communities where they live, in the places where they work, in the factories, mines or on the land, in the schools where they learn. In all these places working class people, the great majority in our country, need to have a dominant, ongoing and



meaningful say.

#### Charter discipline

In considering the question of democracy it is important to tackle a prevailing error. Sometimes activists speak of themselves as being under "Charter Discipline". If this means their actions are guided in general by the FC, then that is a good thing. But they should use different words, because this is not a case of being under "discipline". The FC is, of course, not an organisation! It is only by being directly answerable to the members and rules and reputations of the people's organisations that one can speak of being under "discipline". In some cases people use the term "being under Charter discipline" to avoid the discipline of our mass democratic organisations - whether they are in the youth, civic, women or labour sectors. Such an attitude is wrong. This error must be exposed.

The FC is a guiding light in our struggle. But it does not replace organisational discipline. To use the name of the Charter to avoid democratic discipline is, of course, to go against everything the FC stands for.

#### The People Shall Govern

Finally, it must be said that the demand that the "People Shall Govern" cannot be fully realised just by building up strong democratic organisations within the existing apartheid state. The FC calls for ... (etc quote the demand and explain in simpler words relating to the various instruments of State power - army police, courts, admin).

ends

**AH7**

PROPOSALS FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN EMERGING FROM THE WORKSHOP HELD ON 20 JANUARY 1984 IN JOHANNESBURG.

A. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN

1. To popularize the Freedom Charter and its ideology.
2. To educate activists about the Freedom Charter and related issues.  
In addition; to build a common understanding and greater cohesiveness at a regional and national level
3. To present the Freedom Charter as a political alternative by linking it to ongoing mass struggles.
4. To consolidate the gains of 1984.
5. To realise the claim that the Charter is a "living document".

B. PROGRAM OF ACTION

1. EDUCATION: A very important aspect of this Campaign is the question of self-education. As activists; we cannot expect to educate the masses unless we ourselves have an in depth knowledge of the Charter. Education can take the form of workshop and seminars. Also; papers on the Charter can be read and discussed in small groups.

Together with self-education; there is also a need for research in order to enrich and broaden our understanding. Apart from self-education; an important task is that of educating the masses. The masses of the people must understand the significance and meaning of the Charter. Here; door-to-door work would be invaluable.

2. GRASSROOTS: In order to "take the Charter to the grassroots"; local struggles; campaigns and demands must be linked to clauses in the Freedom Charter. In this way each local struggle against oppression and each short-term demand would be linked to the demand for national liberation. The above can be achieved in many different ways: Civic Associations can adopt the clause on Housing; Youth Organisations can link the Freedom Charter Campaign to the IYY and so on with women; the Churches and trade unions.
3. RURAL AREAS: During the C.O.P. campaign in 1955 much attention was paid to rural areas so that the Charter would be representative of both the urban and rural areas. In this spirit the 1985 campaign must not be limited to the cities and towns. Every attempt must be made to reach out to the remote areas of the countryside.
4. CULTURE: Culture is part of struggle and struggle is part of culture. Cultural activities should constitute part of the campaign (e.g. songs of the COP should be revived).
5. MEDIA: The alternate press has an important role to play in this Campaign. Also posters; buttons etc. should be produced.
6. IMPORTANT DATES: May Day; Anti-Republic Day; June 16; the 30 th Anniversary SACTU; etc; should be incorporated into the campaign.
7. PHASES OF THE CAMPAIGN:  
The first phase (before June 26) would involve education; publicity and door-to-door work. This would build up to the second-phase which would involve large-scale activities during the period around June 26 (possibly rallies etc.)  
The third-phase covers the period after June 26 during which the Freedom Charter would become a permanent feature of struggles and campaigns.

CO-ORDINATING STRUCTURE: The campaign would be co-ordinated by a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of people from the following organisations or constituencies: RMC TIC; Anti-PC: JODAC; YOUTH; STUDENT; WOMEN; CHURCH; and TRADE UNIONS.

#### D.. THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN AND THE UDF:

The UDF; being a front cannot co-ordinate or spearhead this campaign. However; two points must be made: 1. There is no conflict between the Freedom Charter and the Declaration of the UDF.

2. The Charter is a great document that has emerged from the mass -struggles of our people and the COP stands out as the most representative gathering of our people.

It is for this reason that UDF should play a supportive role and also "bless" the campaign. There is a need for further discussion within UDF on its role as regards this campaign.

FORWARD TO THE 30th YEAR OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER !

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN !

1 Popularise FC & organization

2. Draw Congress forces together & strengthen them.
3. Open understanding of change - Draw links between struggles
4. Establish common ideological approach
5. Consider gains of last year struggle
6. Rec. practical attention
7. Link struggles of today to struggle of the past
8. Integrate charter demands into day-to-day struggle & campaign like IYY.
9. Reach out to rural areas.

Use campaign → internal educ campaign to build unity & common objectives

10 Create National Campaign

2 Coordinate a Campaign

1. Recommended that the 4 orgs RMC, TIC, Juba, Anti-PC spearhead the campaign
  2. Other org should also play a role - eg
  2. AMS & JABA to act as coordinators
  3. Students + Youth/orgs to be recruited as well (Women + worker)
  - 14 Need for equal coordinators
  - 5 Structures at local level
- Need for integration of individuals who are not in structure but can participate - org repr.

Q3 Role of individual org.

1. Great take lies in the individual org & implement the constituent org's program
2. Link class in date to local demands & use classes of class → theme for campaign.

Q4 Role of the UDF

- 1. UDF should support but not lead campaign
- 2. There is no conflict between demands of date & UDF Decl.
- 3. The UDF can not ignore - should seek direction from its affiliates
- NB. 4. Seek similarities between UDF Decl. & FC.
- 5. UDF structure can be used to disseminate information
- NB. 6. UDF has not adopted FC & so must encourage its affiliates who have adopted to popularise FC
- 7. UDF as front could not spearhead campaign

SUMMARY - By Valli

About 160 delegates  
 Member of interim committee which falls away today  
 Summary of papers & Dec. with criticism  
 From planning discussion it is clear that there is uncertainty in FC & no educ. must go ahead  
 Use campaign to challenge state further, Grant nature need to be emphasized.



5. Free textbooks

6. End sexual harassment by pupils & teachers

7. Free and dynamic education for all

Atteridgeville - Oct 83

Craddock

Queenston

Graaffreinet

Tebija

Welkom

Wanathas - Tabor

Nigel - Dedeo

Pompe - Tonahe

Pieterberg

Soshanguwe

Manelodi

Beaumont

Vaal triangle

Katlehong / Ketheleng

Vosloorus

Dereyfontein

Vryburg - Hekkerdi

What do the demands mean

1. Projects appointed by school authorities (principals) to implement → bus boys to implement the system
2. Democratization of student representation + representation of our choice providing a vehicle through which students' grievances + problems can be channelled and discussed.

# The Crisis in Coloured Schools /

Demands of Africa Schools

Reaction of the state Terence  
Emma

Escalation - Forward / Regression /

Conclusion

## Introduction - 1976

Reminds of ongoing crisis for decade  
Education in crisis

Introduction of B. Ed and frustration 1953, 73, 76, 81  
81, 84

Education part of process of endorsement

"There was no place for the Bantu in the European  
Community above the level of certain forms of  
labour"

Another "If the children want to learn SRC so badly why  
call them?"

Unequal distribution of school resources (de lauze)

### Situation (Demands)

2. Democratic student representation & removal of prefect system
3. Scrapping of age limit
4. Proper application of corporal punishment regulation

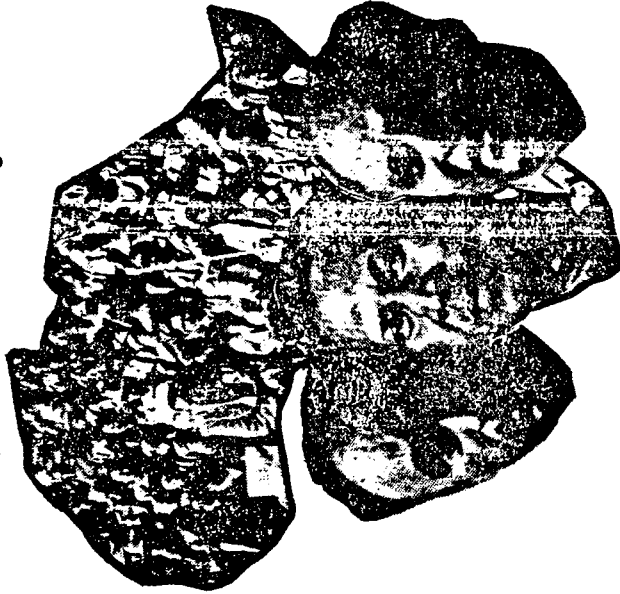


**AH6**

*1946*  
*1946*  
**The Freedom**

**Charter**

adopted by the Natal Indian Congress in 1955.



The Congress road  
to freedom...

Cover: Yusuf Dadoo,  
Albert Luthuli  
and Monty Naicker



Introduction by  
George Sewpersadh  
President — NIC

## If you could make the laws, what would you do?

In 1954, after years of passive resistance and defying of unjust laws, Congress asked the people of South Africa this question.

Over 10 000 Congress organisers spent 6 months going to the people, finding out what type of South Africa we would all like to live in. Millions of people were consulted, and all their ideas were put together. On June 25 and 26, 1955, 3000 delegates, - workers, farmers, students, women and professionals of all races and colours, gathered at Kliptown, near Johannesburg.

This meeting, known as the "Congress of the People", was the most democratic meeting ever held in South Africa. Organised by the African National Congress, the Indian Congresses, Coloured Peoples' Congress, Congress of Democrats (white democrats), and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the meeting adopted the peoples' demands and ideas for a democratic future.

These demands and aspirations became enshrined in the document of the people — the Freedom Charter.

Today after 29 years the Freedom Charter remains an inspiration to all freedom loving people of South Africa. Congress continues to strive towards a democratic South Africa based on the Charter.

Issued by the Natal Indian Congress, P.O. Box 769, Verulam 4340

### THE FREEDOM CHARTER

## PREAMBLE

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

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

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

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

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

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

Printed by Peace Print 20 St. Andrews St. Durban.

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

# **THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!**

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

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

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

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

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

# **ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!**

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

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

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

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

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

**THE PEOPLE SHALL  
SHARE IN THE  
COUNTRY'S  
WEALTH!**

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

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

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

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

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

**THE LAND SHALL  
BE SHARED  
AMONG THOSE  
WHO WORK IT!**

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

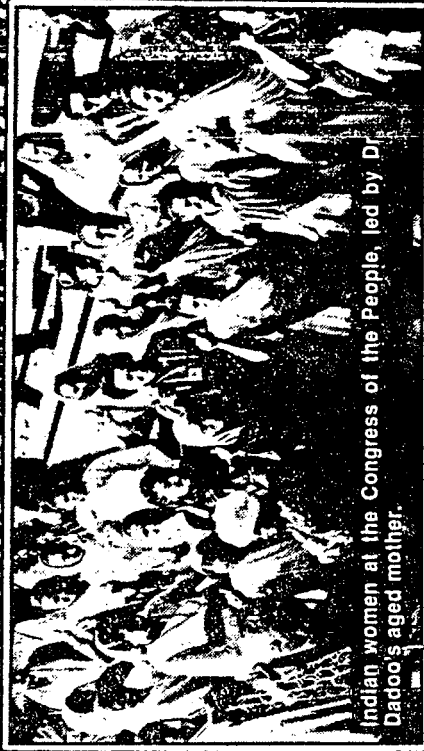
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seeds, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

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

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

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

Some of the 3000 delegates which gathered at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955, to adopt the freedom charter.



Indian women at the Congress of the People, led by Dr. Dadoo's aged mother.

The Charter produced at Kliptown is, line by line, the direct outcome of conditions which obtain — hard, oppressive, and unjust conditions. It is thus a practical and relevant document. It attempted to give a flesh and blood meaning, in the South African setting, to such words as democracy, freedom, liberty. If the Charter is examined, it will be seen that freedom means the opening up of the opportunity to all South Africans to live full and abundant lives in terms of country, community, and individual. It means the end of legalised bullying, the removal of a sub-human outlook.

ALBERT LUTHULI

Thousands of pieces of paper with ideas for the freedom charter were collected from everyone, all over South Africa.

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

**ALL SHALL BE  
EQUAL BEFORE  
THE LAW**

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;  
No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;  
The courts shall be representative of all the people;  
Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;  
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;  
All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

**ALL SHALL ENJOY  
HUMAN RIGHTS!**

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;  
The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;  
All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.  
Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

**THERE SHALL BE  
WORK AND  
SECURITY!**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

**THE DOORS OF  
LEARNING AND  
CULTURE SHALL  
BE OPENED!**

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

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

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace; Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

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

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

Teachers shall have the rights of other citizens;

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



**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

**THERE SHALL BE  
HOUSES, SECURITY  
AND COMFORT!**

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security; Unused housing space to be made available to the people;  
Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;  
A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;  
Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children,  
Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;  
The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;  
Rest, leisure & recreation shall be the right of all;  
Fenced locations & ghettos shall be abolished & laws which break up families shall be repealed.

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

**THERE SHALL BE  
PEACE AND  
FRIENDSHIP!**

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;  
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;  
Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;  
The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their won future;  
The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.



**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

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

1. Popularise FC and organisation
2. Draw congress forces together and strengthen them.
3. Open understanding of change - Draw links between struggles
4. Establish common ideological approach
5. .... gains of last year struggles
6. Present practical alteration
7. Link struggles of today to struggles of the past
8. Integrate Charter demands into day-to-day struggle and campaign like .....
9. Reach out to rural areas  
Use campaign as interud ..... campaign to build unity and common objective
10. Generate ..... campaign

2. CO-ORDINATION OF CAMPAIGN

1. Recomend that the 4 ..... RMC, TIC, ..... and Anti P.C. .... the campaign  
Other org. should also play a role eg.
2. Amos and Jabu to act as co-ordinators
3. Students and youth groups to be represented as well  
Women and worker.
4. Need for regional co-ordination
5. Structures at local level  
Need for intergration of individuals who are not in structure but cannot participate in org. repr.

Q3. ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL ORG

1. Greater tast lies on the individual org. and .....  
constituet 4 organ.
2. Link ..... in dator to local demands and use ..... of  
charter as ..... for campaign

Q4. ROLE OF THE U.D.F.

1. U.D.F. should support but not lead campaign
2. There is no conflict between demands of charter and U.D.F. decl
3. The U.D.F. can not ignore and should .....direction from ....  
affiliats
4. .... between U.D.F. decl. and FC
5. U:D.F. .... could be used to ..... information
6. U.D.F. has not ad..... FC and so must encourage its affiliates  
who have adopted to ..... FC
7. U.D.F. as front could not ..... campaign

SUMMARY BY VALLI

About 160 delegates  
 ..... of ..... committee which falls away today  
 ..... of people and de..... with .....  
 From ..... disc.....it is clear that there is ..... a FC and  
 ..... must go ahead Use campaign to challange state f....., .....  
 need to be

# workshop new A.H 70

VENUE : Knotso House

DATE : Sunday 20th January 1985

TIME : 9 a.m.

## PROGRAMME

- 9.00 a.m. : Registration
- 9.30 a.m. : Introduction and aims of the workshop
- 10.00 a.m. : History of the Freedom Charter and its significance.
- 10.30 a.m. : Discussion
- 11.00 a.m. : Political analysis of the Freedom Charter.
- 12.00 noon : Lunch - Lunch
- 12.30 p.m. : Discussion
- 1.00 p.m. : Structure
- 1.15 p.m. : Breaking into group discussions.
- 2.15 p.m. : Reports back and discussion
- 3.30 p.m. : Summary
- 4.00 p.m. : Closure

## QUESTIONS 1

1. What is the name of your organisation when and how was it formed ?
2. What specific activities has your organisation been involved in to popularise the Freedom Charter.
3. How successful have you been , in linking the Freedom Charter to the day to day struggles of the people.

## QUESTIONS 2

1. What will constitute the content of our programme of action during this campaign ?
2. How will we ensure proper co - ordination of our activities during this campaign ?
3. What will be the role of each individual organisation in this campaign ?
4. What role will the UDF play in this campaign ?

workshop.

2ew AH 7 (3)

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1. Paper on history of charter .....

Change in policy of IC in 1945  
 Passive resistance campaign 1946 signaled the change  
 March 1947 : Joint .....between IC and ANC Dadoo-Nail.. Pact  
 1949 : Programme of ..... by ANC on strikers and boycotts  
 1948 : Nationalist Government and onslaught against people  
 May day strike - 19 December 70 injured  
 Group areas Bill - ANC and IC declined 26/6 day of .....Most successful strike  
 SACP declared an unlawful organisation  
 campaign against unjust laws - by Nov 1951. Adopted by ANC and IC  
 Demand ..... 6 ..... .. Group areas.....  
 ..... limits etc.  
 6 April 1952 to see ..... of campaign it laws not .....  
 Campaign to be launched 26/6/1952 - Defiance  
 Campaign ended Dec 1952. Established ANC and IC as people org.  
 The repressive laws : Criminal laws amendment etc  
 1953 saw more org. of our people - Peace council- SACP reorganised and org.  
 SACPC formed in 1953  
 1954 fedsaw formation  
 1955 SACTU formed Endorsed Congress of the people  
 1957 J.K. Mathews first proposed the congress  
 March 1954 ANC insisted....org. to a congress at Tongaat to plan NEC including people such as ...Cachalia, Stanley Lolan, Luthuli, Walter Sisulu banned and then replaced by Mandela  
 By end 1954 10000 volunteers to....the campaign  
 26/6/1955 congress of people held at Klipton  
 Awards presented to Trevor Huddleston and Cliff Luthuli  
 COP declared the freedom charter adopted  
 COP mandated org. to campaign for charter  
 Later half of 1955 and Early 1956 ....org. agreed to recommend to respective organisations the adoption of the F.C.  
 Charter addresses itself to the National Democratic struggle  
 The charter is the programme of the N.D. movement  
 The socialist cla.... of the charter provides for transitio form N.D.R. to a socialist .....

2. Political.....  
The F.C. - Raymond Sulter

An interpretation of the Charter - We must engage in education campaign for greater understanding.  
 F.C. represented a continuation but also something new- .....  
 of vision of a new society  
 F.C. charter came from the .....mess of people and .....  
 as a peoples document  
 F.C. .... for need of all people irrespective of class  
People document vs class There are two antralictions : class as well as national oppression  
 Systematic national oppression and capitalist supl in ecti.....  
 of struggle for F.C. is therefore also anti-capitalist  
 In the ..... of S.A. the various demands are demands for fundamental reorganisation of South Africa out of context its ..... simply .....

Bew "A H 7"

1. Paper on history of Charter - I. Chuba

Change - Policy of IC = 1945

Passive Resistance Campaign 1946 signalled the change

March 1947: Joint declaration between IC + ANC - Dadoo-Nairn Pact

1949: Programme of Action by ANC on strikes = boycott

1948: Nationalist Government - onslaught against people

May day strike - 14 dead 70 injured

Group Act Bill - ANCA + IC declined 26/6 day of mourning. Most successful strike

SACP declared an unlawful organisation

Campaign against unjust laws - by Nov 1951. Adopted by ANC + IC

Demand double wages, 8 hours day, 4 weeks holiday, 13 weeks leave etc

6 April 1952 to see launch of campaign if laws not expected.

Campaign to be launched 26/6/1952 - Defiance

Campaign ended Dec 1952. Established ANCA + IC as peoples org.

The repressive laws: Criminal Law Amendment etc

1953 saw more org of our people - Peace Council - SACP reorganised + org

SACP formed in 1953.

1954 Fedsaw, formation

1955 SACTU formed. Endorsed Congress of the people

1955 J.K. Mathews first motion proposed the Congress

March 1954 ANCA invited 200 org. to a congress of target to plan

NEC included people such as Yusuf Cachalia, Stanley Lili, Luthuli, Walter Sisulu

(Dadoo + then) replaced by Mandela

By end 1954 10000 volunteers to coordinate the campaign

26/6/1955 Congress of People held at Kliptown

Adwards presented to Transvaal Delegation - Chief Luthuli

COP declared the Freedom Charter adopted.

COP mandated org. to campaign for Charter

Latter half of 1955 - early 1956 opposing org. agreed to recommend to respective

organisations the adoption of the FC

Charter addresses itself to the National Democratic Struggle

The Charter is the programme of the ND movement.

The Socialist classes of the Charter provides for transition from NDR to a

Socialist period.

A.E. unites a broad spectrum of the people.

The process of formation of FC. began when white man first set foot in SA.

Political Analysis

2. The F.C. - Raymond Suttner

An interpretation of the Charter - We must engage in education campaign for greater understanding.

FC represented a continuation but also something new - articulation of vision of a new society

FC Charter came from the broadness of people and authentic as a peoples document.

FC speaks for need of all people irrespective of class.

People demand vs class. There are two contradictions: class as well as national oppression

Systematic national oppression = capitalist exploitation

Struggle for FC is therefore also anti-capitalist.

In the context of SA the various demands are demands for fundamental reorganisation of South Africa out of context - it is merely a study bourgeois

Four Nations. The cultural classes. What does this mean? Does it envisage four nations? National refers to all people, but there is also problems of use of word in National

Groups - clubs, taverns, Churches + African. The FC shall be as guide to what exists in peoples actions - shall be perpetuated. This is going to be problematic but FC shall be a guide to rid our country from racist objectives

All whites are not oppressors & so the view to restore the land to blacks held by Chata is false. Chata drew all those who develop the SA are party SA population

FC/Working Class

FC fundamentally reflect ~~the~~ demands of workers. eg People shall share in the wealth.

Houseing clause reflect demands of workers. So do security of employment. If we believe in socialism then we must struggle for it. Working class leadership must also involve recruiting other sectors so that we can proceed to the 3rd party society. Realising FC is part of struggle for socialism. Rights of workers and other middle elements are guaranteed.

While fundamentally working class demand the FC cater for the aspirations of small traders, small farmers etc who are dominated by big interests.

It is in the interests of socialist to provide for small interests to be left in small hands under workers supervision.

Chata/Woman FC does not deal substantially with problem of women but its struggle for rights of shop assistants & others are dealing with women problem as part of general struggle.

FC states equality of men and women in political rights and employment & wages.

Chata/Peace The rejection of FC shall provide for peace. Apartheid means institutionalised violence against blacks. Struggle for FC means struggle for the people of the whole region. FC says SA shall strive for peace for all.

Chata Today. See review of Chata

Chata while requiring elaboration still speaks admirably for all of us. The main campaign against separate rights for Coloureds, Indians, Africans they are demanding the right that all shall have. Similarly struggles against unemployment, housing etc are struggles to realise aims of Chata. Need also stress the African character of our struggle. Part of struggle is to assert African leadership. The struggle for non-racialism is closely linked to African leadership - the leadership of the majority (not minority ethnic group but simply that the majority shall govern etc.) In the leadership of our struggle Africans do not automatically rise because without end other oppression and no African leadership (ie working class leadership) must actively be struggle for. If we strive for these we will achieve the ideals of the FC and there is no doubt that we shall achieve our ideals.

Structure

1. The Campaign be headed by the four main organisations in Tol - RMC, TIC, Jodae, Anti-PC
2. Gps: GP5 - Workers Eddie Melen, Reporter

Question 1 1. RMC formed Campaign and Newspaper Campaign in 1980  
RMC formed in 1983. Some of its campaigns started -  
Civic bus. Campaign against rent.  
Anti-PC: 7th formation

Question 2 Objectives stated eg struggle org., create viable org., ensure FC seen - the programme 1 action of the movement for change - no cost

Summary Report Back of 1984

Q1 What do we want to achieve? —

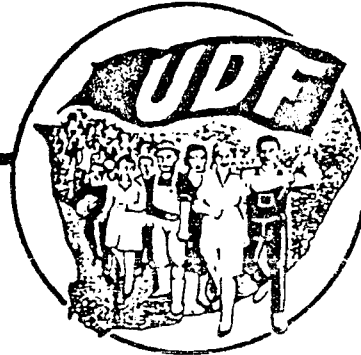


(1) F Thb

**AH8**

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

JDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE  
42 DE VILLIERS ST  
JOHANNESBURG  
P.O. BOX 10366  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

*See "AH 8"*

26 November 1984

Dear Comrades

Enclosed please find *In Alpha file under Sibbess, 198* copies of "The People's Charter in the Eighties" and copies of "Repression in a time of reform."

The former should lay a good basis for discussion of the Freedom Charter.

The latter is available at R2,00 (an amount which Head Office wishes and in fact needs to receive). It gives a good account of the events in the Transvaal and should equip our activists with a fuller understanding of current events.

Both should be distributed selectively and are intended for group-usage rather than for individual consumption.

I trust that you will find them useful.

Yours in struggle,

TREVOR MANUEL  
ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY

The National Office will appreciate it if all applications could reach it on or before February 20, 1985.

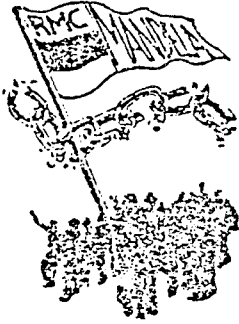
I am looking forward to a prompt and positive response from you.

Yours in the struggle,

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY

**AH9**

# RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN



"The People Shall Govern"

"AH9"

1st Floor  
Portland Place  
37 Jorissen Street  
Braamfontein 2017  
Johannesburg  
Telephone (011) 339-3449

The Secretary

After extensive consultation with a wide range of comrades on 1985 - the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the R M C invites your organisation to a workshop on Sunday 20th January 1985, 9.00 a.m. at Khotso House.

The workshop will basically focus on how we celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter. The following issues will specifically receive attention.

- (a) The form and content of the campaign.
- (b) Structures which will facilitate the running of the campaign.
- (c) Education around the Freedom Charter.
- (d) Linking up our day to day struggles to the Freedom Charter.
- (e) Other issues related to the campaign

We rerequest your organisation to send five people to the workshop.

We further request participants to pay R1.00 registration fee to cover lunch which will be served at the workshop.

The programme of the workshop is attached below.

Yours faithfully

## WORKSHOP

VENUE : Khotso House  
DATE : Sunday 20th January 1985  
TIME : 9 a.m.

### PROGRAMME

9.00 a.m. : Registration  
9.30 a.m. : Introduction and aims of the workshop  
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1.15 p.m. : Breaking into group discussions.  
2.15 p.m. : Reports back and discussion  
2.45 p.m. : Summary  
3.15 p.m. : Closure

### QUESTIONS 1

1. What is the name of your organisation when and how was it formed ?
2. What specific activities has your organisation been involved in to popularise the Freedom Charter.
3. How successful have you been , in linking the Freedom Charter to the day to day struggles of the people.

### QUESTIONS 2

1. What will constitute the content of our programme of action during this campaign ?
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3. What will be the role of each individual organisation in this campaign ?
4. What role will the UDF play in this campaign ?

**AH10**

150 AH 10 "

DRAFT PROPOSAL ON STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

1. FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

- (a) to work towards fulfilling the aims of the Campaign as laid out in the minutes of the Freedom Charter Workshop minutes.
- (b) to coordinate and provide direction to the activities of participant organizations.
- (c) to initiate activities which will take the campaign forward.
- (d) to extend the campaign as broadly as possible.

2. COMPOSITION

Two representatives draw each of the following organisations: RMC, TIC, ANTI-PC, JODAC.

Plus two representatives from each of the following constituencies: Labour, Youth, Student, Women, Civics.

It is likely that this Committee will be very 'Johannesburg' based. However Labour, Student, Youth and Women organisations are working in close contact with each other or else have regional structures. We should try to ensure that representatives to our committee from the constituencies are in close contact with that <sup>regional</sup> regional structures. This will cater for branches of organisation which are not around Johannesburg. But Civics do not have a <sup>regional</sup> regional structure through which they could coordinate their as parts of the campaign. However most of the civics are affiliates to UDF and sit on various area committees. We suggest therefore that we also have two representatives each from the West Rand, Pretoria, East Rand and Vaal area Committees. Here we should strongly recommend that these people are people not catered for by the regional structures of the above-mentioned constituencies

Invite some "representative" from Church of Began = Frank

3. PORT FOLIOS

(a) COORDINATOR

We felt that at this stage it was too sensitive an issue to have a chairperson or president. However we felt it important to have at least one person who is thinking about the committee itself and also had the specific task of drawing up the agenda for each meeting. Committee Members could of course add to that agenda at each meeting.



(b) MINUTES SECRETARY (it speak for itself)

(c) TREASURER

The treasurer would keep the books and make them available to the organisations if requested.

(d) PUBLICITY SECRETARY

(See Publicity Committee below)

(e) ORGANISER'S Committee

There are likely to be many areas and organisation which will not immediately be covered by the committee. The task of the organiser will be to reach out to these areas/organisations and in consultation with the committee work out how to include them in the campaign.

(f) MEDIA SECRETARY

To coordinate the work of the media group.

#### 4. MEETING TIME

(a) Whilst in the process of being established, every week.

(b) Once established, at least every 3 weeks.

#### 5. SUB-COMMITTEES

(a) PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

One of our main function will be keeping the campaign alive in the press through articles, press statements, advertisements of meetings etc. <sup>Further</sup> publicity will be provided by speakers at public meetings (i.e. those that are not organized by us) The publicity secretary will be primarily responsible to the committee for this work, but because publicity is a sensitive issue and sometimes requires on the spot responses we suggest that the publicity secretary works closely with a publicity Committee. This publicity committee will consist of the publicity secretary and two other members of the campaign committee. All these people should be within easy contact with each other and all those <sup>three</sup> should be consulted before statements released etc.

(b) MEDIA COMMITTEE

Most of our propaganda work will be carried through media. Furthermore there are many organisations which do not have the capacity to produce media. This, as well as the activities which the committee initiate itself will require some degree of centralized media production. The media secretary should coordinate the work of a media committee in this regard. The media committee should consist of volunteers from participant organisations.

(c) All other sub-committees should be set up on an ad-hoc basis.

(b) POWERS OF THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

(a) The committee should be able to make publicity and issue statements in its own name.

(b) Cooptation

The committee should have powers to coopt, but this must be done in consultation with the participant organizations.

(c) Fund-Raising & Finance

The committee should be able to fund-raise & open an account in its own name. The account should have a number o signature.

7. General Comments

(a) We are not setting up a political organizations and we should be weary of falling into that trap as the campaign progresses. What we are doing is setting up an effective facilities structures to advance the campaign.

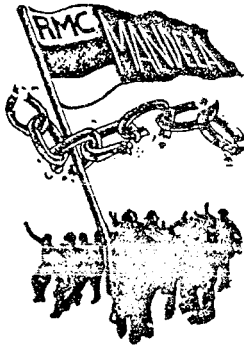
(b) Most of the organizations participating in this campaign and UDF affiliates. UDF is the political fron that is carrying most of our political activity forward. At this point, for tactical reason UDF has so far not decided to formally run the campaign. However, a close relationships between this structures and the UDF needs to be maintained, and in fact the nature of the relationship should be clearly worked out, both from the point of view of UDF and our committee.

*Any unnecessary implication should be awarded. Here is suggestion for setting up a media committee would be thrown into question. Also, where UDF area Committee exist no local structure should be developed.etc.*

**AH11**

# The Freedom Charter

as adopted at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955



## ZULU

I CHARTER YENKULULEKO (Njengokwamkelwa kwayo kumbisango ngomhla 26 June 1955)

BONKE ABANTU BAYOBA NEGUNYA KWEZOMBUSO!  
ZONKE IZZWE ZYOKUBA NAMALUNGELO ALINGANAYO!  
BONKE ABANTU BAYOKWABELANA NGOKULINGANAYO EMNOTHWENI WEZWE!  
UMHLABA UYOKWABELWANA NGOKULINGANAYO KULABO ARAWUSEBENZAYO!  
WONKE UMUNTU UYOPHATHIWA NGENDLELA EFANAYO KWEZOMTHETHO!  
WONKE UMUNTU UYOBA NEGUNYA LOKUSEBENZISA AMALUNGELO OBUNTU!  
KUYOBA NEMISEBENZI NOKUVIKELEKA EMSEBENZINI!  
AMATHUBA OKUFUNDA KANYE NAMASIKO AYOVULEKA!  
KUYOKUBA NEZENDAWO ZOKUHLALA (IZINDLU), NOKUVIKELEKA KANYE NENTOKOMALO!  
KUYOKUBA NOKUTHULA NOBUGANE!  
MAKITHI BONKE ABABATHANDAYO ABANTU BABO KANYE NEZWE LABO, BASHO KHONA MANJE, NJENGOBA NATHI SISHO LAPHA:  
LENKULULEKO SIYOYILWELA SIMUNYE, SIPHASENE, KUYOYONKE IMPILO YETHU SIZUZE AMALUNGELO ETHU ENKULULEKO.

## ISONGA

IMALWA BA TIMFANELO TA NTHUNXEKO HILAH RI AMUKERIKWEK HAKONA EKA NTHLENGELISTANO YA VANHU HI TI 26 KHOTAVUKIKA 1955.

VANHU HINKWVO VA TA VA NI MPUMELELO WO FUMA KU RI HAVA XHLAWUHLEWA KU XIKAKA, MUHLOVO KUMBE RIMBEWU.  
TINKAKA HINKWATO TI TA VA NI TIMFANELO TO FANA, TI THLE TI THLELA TI HLAYISEKA KU RINGANA EHANSI KA NAWU.  
VANHU HINKWVO VA TA AVERIWA RIFUWO RA TIKO.  
TIKO RI TA AVERIWA HINKWVO LAVA VA NGA RI TIRHELA, LESWAKU KU HERISWA MAKWANGA. MPUMO NA WONA WU TA PFUNETA SWISWANA HI THLELO RA VURIDI.  
NAWU WU TA FUMA VANHU KU RINGANA. A KU NGA HA VI NA KU BOHIWA KU NGA SENGWIL.  
VANHU HINKWVO VA TA VA NI TIMFANELO TA VONA.  
MILAWU LEYI SIVELAKA TIMFANELO LETI YI TA HERISWA.  
MINTIRHO NI KU HLAYISEKA SWI TA VA KONA, LAHA VANHU VA NGA TA HAKERIWA KUFANA LOKO VA TIRHA MINTIRHO YO FANA, VA THLELA VA HLAYISEKA KU FANA EKA MINTIRHO YALEYO.  
TINDLELA TO DYONDZA NI TA MFUWO NI TO, PFULEKA, NASWONA DYONDZO YI TA VA YA MANI NA MANI, YI THLELA YINGA HAKELERWIL.  
KU TA VA NI TINDLU, KU HLAYISEKA NI KU TSHAMISEKA KAHLE. UN'WANA NI UN'WANA U TA TSHAMA LAHA A LAVAKA KONA  
KU TA VA NI KU RHULA NI VUNGHANA. AFRIKA-DZONGA RI TA TIKARHATELA KU RHULA KA MISAVA, NI KU HERISA MADZOLONGA HI KU VULAVURISANA, KU NGA RI NA NYIMI.  
HINKWVO LAVA VA RHANDZAKA VANHU NI TIKO RA VONA A VA VULE LESWI LANDZELAKA, HILAH NA HINA HI VULAKA HAKONA LAHA: KU TSHUNXEKA LOKU HI RI KARHI HI PFUNANA, HI KALA HI YA TSHUNXEKA.

## VENDA

THRENDELONZWIWA YA MBOFHOLOWO (Sa rwe rwa vhotiwa kha Govhanganu la vhadzo nga la 26 Febri 1955).

VHATHU VHA DO PHIVA MAANDA A U DIKHETHELA MUVHUSO.  
TSHAKA DZOTHE DZI DO VHA NA PFANELO DZI LINGANAHO.  
VHATHU VHOTHE VHA DO WANA TSHIPIDA TSA LUPFUMO LU RE SHANGONI.  
M. J. A DO KHETHEKANTYWA NGA U LINGANA VHUKATI HA AVHO VHA NO A SHUMA.  
VHOTHE VHA DO LINGANA PHANDA HA MULAYO.  
VHOTHE VHA DO DIPHINA NGA THENDELO DZO TEAHO MUNWE NA MUNWE A RE MUTHU.  
HU DO VHA NA MUSHOMO NA TSIRELEDZO.  
MINANGO YA PFUNZO NA MVELELE I DO VULIWA.  
HU DO VHA NA MADZULO, U TSIRELEDZEA NA MUTAKALO WA MUYA.  
HU DO VHA NA MULALO NA VHUKONANI.  
ROTHE RINE RA FUNA VHATHU VHOTHE NA SHANGO LAVHO KHA RI, SAMUSI RI TSHI KHOU AMBA AFHA: MBOFHOLELO HEYI RI DO I LWELA, RO EMA ROTHE, VHUTHILOMI HASHU HOTHU U SWIKELA RI TSHI DO KUNDA RA WANA MBOFHOLOWO YASHU.

## TSWANA

LOKWALO LWA DITSHWANELO TSA KGOLOLOSEGO  
Jaaka le amogetswwe kwa Kopanong ya Setshaba ka di 26 Seetebosigo 1955.

BATHO BA TLA NEWA TETLA E E TLETSENG YA GO NNA LE SEABE MO PUSONG.  
MOKOKO OTLHE A SETSHABA A TLA NNA LE DITETLA KA BOTLALO MO GO TSOITLHE TSE DI AMANANG LE MOLAO.  
BATHO BOTLHE BA TLA NEWA TETLA YA GO ITHUSA KA BOTLALO MO DIKUNGONG LE LERUO LA NAGA.  
MMUSO O TLA LETLELELA O BE O THUSE BADIRI BA NAGA GO E DIRISA KA MOO BA KA ITHUSANG KA TENG.  
MOAO O TLA DIRISWA MO BATHONG BOTLHE GO SA KGETOLOLWE.  
DIEGATEPELO LE DIKGETHOLELO TSOITLHE TSA BATHO DO TLA FEDISWA MME BOTLHE BA TLA NEWA TETLA YA GO LEKANA FA PELE GA MOLAO.  
BADIRI BOTLHE BA TLA NEWA DITSHWANELO TSE DI TLETSENG TSA GO DIRA BA ITUMETSE.  
MMUSO O TLA BULA DIKGORO TSOITLHE TSA THUTO LE BOITREDI GORE DI TLE DI DIRISWE KE BATHO BOTLHE KA MOKGWA O O KGOISOFATSANG.  
MMUSO O TLA LAMELA BATHO BOTLHE KA MATLO, TLOHMANO LE THOKGAMO MME NAGA YOTLHE E TLA DIRISWA KA MOO GO TSHWANELANG.  
AFRIKA-BORWA E NNE NAGA E E IKEMETSENG KA BOTLALO MME E SEKEGELE KUTLWANO LE BOTLALO LE DINAGA TSA BAAGISANI.  
A BOTLHE BA BA RATANG BATHO LE NAGA YA BONA BA BUE JAANONG JAAGA RE BUA MO BA RE: RE TLA LWELA DIKGOLOLOSEGO TSE RE EMANE THOKO BOTSHILO JWA RONA BOTLHE GO FITHLELA RE BONA KGOLOLOSEGO.

## SOUTHERN SOTHO LENGOLO LE PHATLALATSANG DITOKELO TSA TOKOLOHO

(Le amohetswe sebokeng se sehlo sa batho mohla 26 Phupjane 1955)

BATHO BA TLA NEWS MATLA A TLETSENG A HO BA LE KABELO MMUSONG BATHO BA MEFUTA YOHE BA TLA BA LE DITOKELO TSE TLETSENG HAMMOHO LE TSHIRELETSE MOLAONG.  
BATHO BOHLE BA TLA BA LE KABELO E TLETSENG MORUONG WA NAHA. NAHA E TLA AROLELWA BOHLE BA TLANG HO E SEBETSAMME BA THUSWA KE MMUSO.  
BATHO BA TLA LEKANA PELA MOLAO HO SE LEEMO KAPA KGETHOLLO.  
KGATELLO LE KGETHOLLO DI TLA FEDISWA MME BATHO BA TLA FUWA DITOKELO TSA BOTHO KA BOTLALO.  
BASEBETSI BA TLA NEWA TSHIRELETSE LE DITSHWANELO TSE TLETSENG HORE BA SEBETSE KA BOIKETLO.  
KIKGORO TSA THUTO DI TLA BULELWA BOHLE MME BATHO BA KGOATHLETSE HO NTSHETSA PELE DITALENTE TSA BONA TSA THUTO.  
MMUSO O TLA HLOKOMELA HORE BATHO BOHLE BA NA LE MATLO EBILE BA PHELA KA BOIKETLO.  
AFRIKA-BORWA E TLA BA NAHA E IKEMETSENG KA BOTLALO E BUSANG KA TOKA MME E PHEDISANA KA KUTLWANO LE DINAHA TSE BAPILENG LE YONA.  
A BOHLE BA RATANG BATHO LE NAHA YA BONA BA BUE MMOHO JWALEKA HA RE RE:  
RE TLA LWANELA DITOKOLOHO TSENA, RE THUSANA BOPHELONG BOHLE BA RONA HO FITHLELA RE FUMANA BOLOKOLHI.

## XHOSA

UXWEBU LWAMALUNGELO ENKULULEKO (Njengokwamkelwa kwayo kwihlangano ya Bantu ngomhla 26 June 1955)

ABANTU BAYA KULAWULA.  
ZONKE IZZWE ZIYA KULINGANA.  
ABANTU BAYA KWHLULELANA NGOBUTYEBI BELIZWE.  
UMHLABA UYA KWHLULWA NGOKULINGANA PHAKATHI KWABO BASEBENZA KUWO.  
BONKE ABANTU BAYA KULINGANA NGOKWASEMTHETHWENI.  
BONKE ABANTU BAYA KONWABELA UBUNTU.  
KUYA KUBAKHO UMSEBENZI NOKHUSELEKO.  
INGCANGO ZEMPUNDO NEZOBUNTU BABANTU ZIYA KUVULEKA.  
KUYA KUBAKHO IZINDLU, UKHUSELEKO NOKUPHILA KAKUHLE.  
KUYA KUBA KHO UXOLO NOBUHLOBO.  
BONKE ABO BANTU ABATHANDA ABANTU BABO NELIZWE LABO MABATHI NIENGOKO SITSISHO APHA NGOKU BATHI:  
SIYA KUZILWELA EZI NTLOBO ZENKULULEKO, SIBAMBISANE, UBOMI BETHU BONKE, DESILIPHUMELELE IDABI LENKULULEKO.

## N. SOTHO

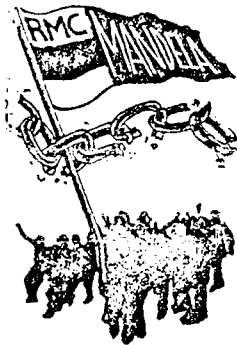
MOLAO WA DITOKELO TSA TOKOLOGO  
YEO E AMOGETSWEGO KONKRESENG (KGOBOKANONG) YA SETSHABA YEO EBEGO E SWERWE KA DI 26 JUNI 1955.

SETSHABA SE TLO BUSWA KE MOETAPELE YO SE MO KGETHILEGO GOBA MOETAPELA YO SETSHABA SE MO RATAGO.  
DIHLOPHA KA MOKA TSA SETSHABA DI TLO BA LE DITOKELO TSE SWANAGO GOBA DITOKELO TSE LEKANAGO.  
SETSHABA KA MOKA SE TLO ABELANA MAHUMO A LEFASE LA GABO BONA. NAGA KA MOKA E TLO ABELWA BOHLE BAO BA E SOMETSEGO.  
MOLAO O TLO TLEMA SETSHABA KA MOKA KA GO SWANA.  
SETSHABA KA MOKA SE TLO IPHINA KA DITOKELO TSA SONA.  
GO TLO BA LE MESOMO LE TSHIRELETSE GO SETSHABA KA MOKA.  
MENYAKO YA THUTO LE SETHO E TLO BULELWA SETSHABA KA MOKA KA GO SWANA.  
GO TLO BA LE MADULO A KGOISOFATSAGO, GO SWANA LE DINTLO, TSHIRELETSE LE BOIKETLO SETSHABENG KA MOKA.  
SETSHABENG KA MOKA GO TLO BA LE KHUTSO LE SETSWALLE SA NNETE.  
BOHLE KA MOKA BAO BA RATAGO SETSHABA LE LEFASE LA GABO BONA BA BOLELA KA LENTSU LE TEE BA RE: RE TLO LWANELA DITOKOLOHO TSE RE DI NYAKAGO KA MO RE KA KGOANAGO KA GONA BOPHELONG KA MOKA BJA RENA GO FITHLELA RE FENYA GOMME RA HWETSA TOKOLOGO YA KGONTHE.

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

# The Freedom Charter

as adopted at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955



## PREAMBLE

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

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

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

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

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

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER.

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

ISSUED BY THE  
RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE  
1st FLOOR, PORTLAND PLACE,  
37 JORISSEN ST., BRAAMFONTEIN  
2017, JOHANNESBURG.  
PRINTED BY SHAM'S PRINTERS,  
BENONI

## THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

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

All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country. The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex. All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

## ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

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

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

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

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

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

## THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

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

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

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

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

## THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger; The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers.;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land; All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

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

## ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial; No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official; The courts shall be representative of all the people;

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

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

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

## ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

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

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law; All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.

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

## THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

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

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

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work; There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

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

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

## THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

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

## THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

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

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

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

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

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

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

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

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

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

## THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

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

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

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

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

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

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