

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE !

MAYIBUYE



MAYIBUYE NO 6
1980 YEAR OF THE CHARTER

The Fortnightly Journal of the African National Congress.

BLACK WORKERS REVOLT



POLICE LINE UP AGAINST THE STRIKING WORKERS OF THE 'FRAME' TEXTILE COMPANY.

BIGGEST UPSURGE OF STRIKES SINCE THE EARLY 70's

Over the last few months hundreds of thousands of black workers have been in action in the biggest ever industrial upsurge since the early 70's. The wave of strikes has united workers in a wide spectrum of industries, from the largest employers of black labour such as the textile and motor industries, to the small Uitenhage municipality and the Pretoria basket factory employing blind workers, around demands for higher wages, better working conditions, recognition of trade unions and democratically elected workers' committees, the right to strike and an end to victimisation of union officials. These actions find impetus in the general upsurge of mass actions by the entire oppressed community against racist education, increased rents and fares and the continued incarceration of our leaders and patriots. The workers' actions have therefore given added significance to these campaigns which are an integral part of the escalating struggle against oppression and exploitation, for national liberation.

In what way do these actions reflect a development from old to new levels of struggle and how do they relate to the mainstream of the national struggle for liberation. A brief account of some of the major strikes, which follows on pages 4 and 5, sheds some light in this connection.

sign and 'domestic' white communists dictating to a few black 'communist-inspired agitators'.

Besides the racist element in the enemy's propaganda, there is another motive: the use of anti-communism in a bid to divide those fighting for national liberation. This is a strategy common to all regimes defending the exploitation of man by man. It was used to divide the progressive forces in Germany before the Second World War, paving the way for the triumph of Hitler's Nazis. Our own history is full of evidence of the damaging effects of anti-communism on the liberation struggle; take for instance the split in the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in the 1920's and its subsequent decline after the attack by leading elements in the union on its communist members.

EDITORIAL

THE MOTIVE BEHIND ANTI-COMMUNISM

LET UNITY BE THE BATTLECRY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION!

Smarting from the resounding success and impact of Umkhonto's strikes at Sasolburg and Secunda the enemy has resorted to all sorts of scapegoats in order to hide its profound weakness and vulnerability, the most feeble and common of all these being anti-communism and racism. At no time in living memory before Sasolburg and Secunda has the nation been subjected to such anti-communist and racist drivel from apartheid's spokesmen and media.

Behind the racists' ludicrous assertion that a white ANC member in Maputo, Joe Slovo, and the Soviet ambassador in Lusaka, Solodovnikov, between them accomplished the SASOL explosions, lies their fear of the truth becoming apparent - namely, that black people are not inherently inferior to whites; that black people are not, as they would like to believe, "slow thinking"; that the forces ranged against the regime of oppression and exploitation are the entire people of South Africa - all black groups and democratic whites - not just a handful of for-

EDITORIAL CONTINUED.

The debate about the participation of communists in the struggle for national liberation has long been settled in our own movement. This is what Nelson Mandela had to say on the subject at the Rivonia Trial in 1964:

"I joined the ANC in 1944, and in my younger days I held the view that the policy of admitting communists to the ANC, and the close co-operation which existed at different times on specific issues between the ANC and the Communist Party, would lead to a watering down of the concept of African Nationalism. At that stage I was a member of the African National Congress Youth League, and was one of a group which moved for the expulsion of communists from the ANC. This proposal was heavily defeated. Amongst those who voted against the proposal were some of the most conservative sections of African political opinion. They defended the policy on the ground that from its inception the ANC was formed and built up, not as a political party with one school of political thought, but as a Parliament of the African people, accomodating people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation. I was eventually won over to this point of view and I have upheld it ever since".

In addition to trying to disrupt our fighting alliance, our oppressors seek by the use of anti-communism to separate us from our natural allies, the socialist countries, so as to ensure the defeat of our revolution. They know very well that we cannot hope to seize power - and hold it - from the mightiest army in Africa (which owes its strength to Western military aid) without the arms given to us by the socialist countries. They know that this military assistance was the key to the triumph of other national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Vietnam... They know which forces are helping young African states like the People's Republic of Angola to defend their independence against the racist South African invaders.

Our enemy knows these facts, and for obvious reasons does not want the people to know them.

Hence the nonsense we are being forced to listen to on the state radio and television. The capital of the Soviet Union, they claim for instance has changed overnight for the benefit of the foreign visitors who flooded the city for the Olympics. Alcoholics have been cleared off the streets, political 'dissidents' moved to other cities and children encouraged to go to summer camps out of town to avoid them coming into contact with foreigners!

What the fascists are trying to hide from us is the undeniable achievement of the Soviet Union (and other socialist countries) in dramatically improving the quality of life for all its citizens. Over 30 million children, for example, spend their three month summer holidays in camps and leisure resorts every year, with only a small part of the cost being borne by their parents. These reports remind one of the scare stories in the South African white-owned press immediately after Mozambican independence, claiming that FRELIMO was nationalising everything in sight, children included!

But we are certainly not so "slow thinking" as to be taken in by this latest campaign in the racist media. Our own experience of daily suffering and struggle under apartheid teaches us who our enemies and our friends are; who provides Botha's army with Mirage jets and Saracen tanks, and who provides the heroes of SASOL and Booyens with AK rifles and RPG rocket launchers. It teaches us the wisdom of these words of Fidel Castro:

"...division in the face of the enemy was never a correct strategy, it was never a revolutionary strategy, was never an intelligent strategy.

And in this revolutionary process we have all, from the beginning, been educated in the idea that everything that divides weakens, that everything that separates us is bad: bad for our people and good for imperialism.

And the mass of our people understood the need for unity from the first moment and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became the cry of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people."

1980 - THE YEAR OF SACTU

'The story that appears in these pages has never been fully told before. Many people have written about South African workers, but up to this day we have never heard from the oppressed workers themselves; they have struggled and sacrificed in silence.'

- John Gaetsewe
General Secretary,
South African Congress of
Trade Unions (SACTU)

To commemorate our twenty-fifth Anniversary, SACTU has produced ORGANIZE OR STARVE. The book is based on extensive research which combines life - history interviews and recovered documents spanning the 1950s and 1960s. This 2-year project was made possible through the financial assistance of trade unions and Anti-Apartheid organisations throughout the world.

SACTU urges everyone to read this book in 1980 - the Year of Mobilisation of South African workers against racism and exploitation!

500 pages; 68 historical photographs. June 1980 publication.
Lawrence & Wishart, London.
Available from SACTU, 38 Graham Street, London N1, UK.

(paperback) @£3.50
(hardback) @£7.95



O.R. TAMBO REFUTES ASSASSINATION PLOT

STATEMENT ISSUED BY PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON JULY 23 IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA.

Our attention has been drawn to statements by Brigadier Coetzee, the head of the South African Security Police, whose statements appeared in the Sunday Times of Johannesburg and other media to the effect that the ANC is plotting to assassinate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the Kwa-Zulu Bantustan. These statements follow our criticism of Chief Buthelezi for the role he is playing in helping to suppress the struggle of the workers and students against the fascist regime in South Africa.

These students are fighting against inferior education and this struggle cannot be separated from the general struggle for political and economic liberation. The workers are fighting for higher wages and better working conditions. The mass of the people are fighting against high rents, high prices, high bus fares, etc, and all of these are part of the whole struggle for the liquidation of the system of racial oppression and exploitation.

At the height of these actions, which included a countrywide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, which involved armed actions by Umkhonto we Sizwe, Chief Buthelezi emerged on the side of the enemy against the people. He even ridiculed and attempted to undermine the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. The African National Congress criticised him for this.

The racist regime has seized upon that criticism of Gatsha Buthelezi as a basis to sow discord among our people, naturally singling out the African National Congress and alleging that it plans to assassinate Gatsha Buthelezi. Of course the African National Congress has no intention, no plans, does not even have a need, to assassinate Buthelezi or anyone else.

Reference has been made to our statement which was made by our Secretary General, Alfred Nzo, on June 26th in London. Our statement is associated with these so-called threats. What did that statement say? After criticising this role of Chief Buthelezi, it said those people who place themselves in the path of the struggling masses shall inevitably be swept away together with their racist masters whom they serve. The statement went on to explain that in our region this is a lesson which has been confirmed in the recent past by the victories of Frelimo, MPLA and the Patriotic Front Alliance in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe respectively. South Africa will be no exception. Indeed, the very same lesson is being confirmed in Namibia today. This is not a statement about any indi-

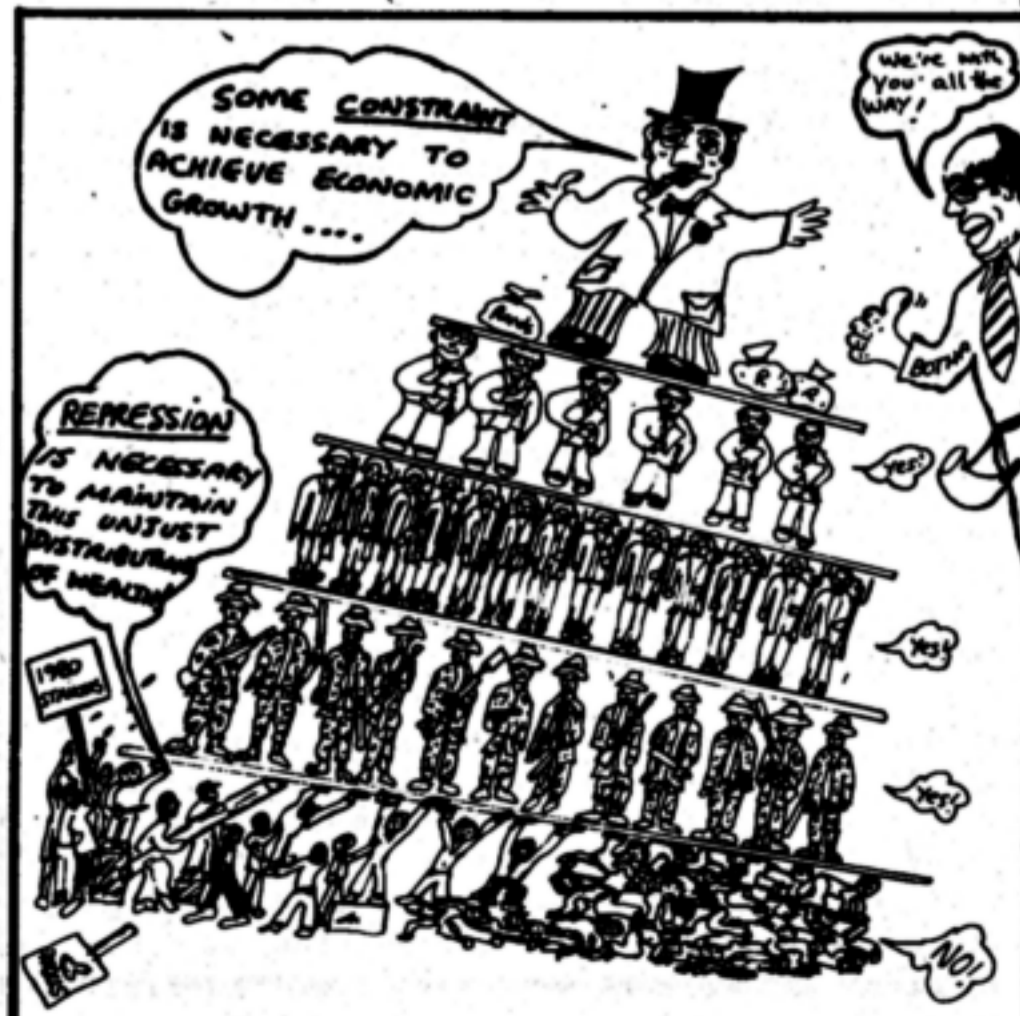
vidual. It is a statement affirming that the enemy will be defeated with those who assist the enemy. The enemy will fail. The struggle of the people will succeed as it has succeeded in these countries. That has nothing to do with assassination of Buthelezi or anybody else.

But why is Brigadier Coetzee, the head of the Security Police in South Africa, toying with this idea of assassination? The South African regime has in the past tried desperately to divide our people by various means especially by the creation of Bantustans, by trying to separate the 'Coloured' people from the mass of the black oppressed and exploited, by trying to set up the 'Indian' people as a separate entity, by dividing the workers into a white privileged working class and blacks.

These attempts are being proved to be failing. We have seen this year an almost amazing level of unity of our people in action. And so it is time for the South African regime to look for a new tactic of divide and rule. This one (and for our people it is a dangerous one if we fall into this trap) is to set our people one against another and generate conditions for mutual strife among the oppressed themselves.

Chief Buthelezi happens to be hyper-sensitive to criticism. This makes him ready instrument at the hands of the South African racists - an instrument for the achievement of their objective of transforming our struggle from being a conflict between the oppressed and the oppressor into a struggle among the oppressed themselves. It is in particular an attempt to separate the people of Natal from the rest of the people of South Africa.

In addition, alarmed by the growing intensity of the liberation struggle as led by the ANC and its allies, the racist regime is trying fruitlessly to discredit and isolate the ANC from the people, and to discourage the international community from supporting our struggle. These attempts will fail dismally. Our people understand the tactics of divide and rule and they will continue to be united in action in the struggle for national liberation.



HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC!

PASS MAYIBUYE ON:

- GIVE IT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FAMILY
- DROP IT IN A NEARBY POSTBOX OR YARD
- STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS SHELTER AT NIGHT
- DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS



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YEAR OF THE WORKER

STRIKE ACTION 1980



JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL WORKERS:

In the biggest industrial stoppage to hit a single employer in South Africa, 11,000 Johannesburg municipal workers went on strike following the sacking of 600 power station workers. The 600 had been striking in support of their demands for higher wages and the recognition of their genuine union, the Black Municipal Workers' Union, instead of another union which stems from the former liaison committee. The strike was crushed by police violence and the deportation of 1,200 workers to the Bantustans.

PINETOWN TEXTILE INDUSTRIES:

More than 7,000 workers went on strike demanding a 20-25% wage increase. Workers' representatives were chosen to negotiate and during the course of the strike large consultative meetings were held. Demonstrations were organised and in some cases barricades erected in the townships. Reports indicate the involvement of the whole local community in dissuading the unemployed from taking over their fellow workers' jobs.

MEAT INDUSTRY:

The entire workforce in the industry in Cape Town came out in support of the striking workers of Table Bay Cold Storage Company (the second action of this kind in the meat industry this year), affecting more than 20 factories. The black community in the Western Cape, and other areas were mobilised to boycott red meat and to support the workers financially, but the strike and boycott were eventually called off because of the management's refusal to back down.

MOTOR INDUSTRY:

Workers at the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage downed tools to back up their demand for a pay increase. At Ford and General Motors the same demands were advanced. Within a few days a number of factories manufacturing spare parts (Goodyear Tyres, SKF manufacturing ballbearings, Hella Lighting for electrical equipment, Borg-Waner) were forced to close down when workers at these factories went on strike in solidarity with the VW, GM and Ford workers. After about three months of determined action a R1,45 per hour rate was agreed upon as a compromise.

SECUNDA (SASOL III)

Thousands of workers downed tools to protest against the murder in cold blood of a fellow worker and the strict security measures at the plant. In the ensuing actions some hostels and vehicles were set on fire and a white employee was burnt to death. The construction site had to close and workers were sent home indefinitely.

Meanwhile a highly successful bus boycott was organised in Cape Town in protest against increased fares. The fourth anniversary of the students' uprising was underlined by an enthusiastic response on the part of the workers to a call for a stay-at-home.

In 1972/73 when hundreds of thousands of workers came out in action in major industrial areas, their demands centres mainly around economic issues. On the other hand, black workers' contribution to the 76/77 students' uprising was in the form of general political strikes without massive independent actions by workers at factory floor. The current wave of strikes, reinforced as it is by the schools boycott and other political developments including the attainment of independence by the black people in neighbouring Zimbabwe, is underlined by both political and economic actions encompassing in some cases action by the black community as a whole. Added to this is the highly organised character of the workers' actions, the best example of which is the motor industry in the Eastern Cape.

Another crucial development since 1973 is that the central struggle of the workers today is for the power to bargain themselves. It is in this light that Putco workers, for example, elected an action committee to lead them during the strike and rejected compromise agreements reached between the employers and the puppet liaison committee. Where liaison committee members sought to articulate striking workers' interests as in Pinetown, they were arrested along with trade union leaders - a development aptly described by one trade union official as the "final nails in the coffin" of the liaison committee system.



PUTCO BUS DRIVERS ON STRIKE

The demand for higher wages is inseparable from the students call for the abolition of school fees, expensive uniforms and text books; from the struggle against rent and fare hikes, and so on, all of which drain the workers' miserable wages, affecting both parents and children. In their pamphlets and slogans students showed their clear understanding of the inter-connection between racist education and the exploitative and oppressive system of apartheid. The students went ahead to secure the active support of their parents resulting in many remarkable joint actions. It is no accident that most of the areas hardest hit by student action also registered the highest number of strikes. In various townships it was the student and the worker, parent and child, who joined hands in erecting barricades against the police.

SASOL STRIKE

Another dimension to the wave of strikes was added by the workforce at the SASOL III plant in Secunda. Firstly, the strike was the result of the sabotage attack by the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Long after the MK units had disappeared into the masses of which they are part, the regime added large numbers of soldiers to the R4,3 million worth of security measures already in existence. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was declared. In such an atmosphere it is not surprising that the tense, trigger-happy soldiers shot and killed an African worker - an incident that sparked off the strike. Secondly it exposed the inability of the regime to defend itself against the increasing onslaught by the people and their army. In deploying its heavily armed troops to protect the installations and so ensure continued production, the regime infringed on the limited rights of the black workers. The workers had to protest, and the regime was forced to shut down the Secunda construction site: a classical case of the nature of 'a people's war where an attempt by the enemy to pull itself out of a military mess leads it deeper into the marshes.

MEAT WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

Many organisations and individuals came out in active support of the red meat boycott. Added to this was the financial support the striking workers received from the community. At the same time most of the workers in the meat industry in Cape Town were steadfast in their support for the strikers of Table Bay Cold Storage. This is the level of unity that saw them through to victory during the Karoo Meat Exchange strike earlier this year. In the latest instance, the bosses showed absolute intransigence and they were actively supported by the regime which imprisoned union officials and 'deported' 42 African workers to the Bantustans. This structural weakness imposed on the African workers by racist laws led the workers and their union to seek community support in order to strengthen their bargaining power. At one stage the sales of meat were 60% down, and the workers were receiving up to R2,000 a day from the sympathetic community.



FASCIST POLICE WITH DOGS, CONFRONT A STRIKING MUNICIPAL WORKER

This however does not mean that consumer boycott should become a substitute for workers' organisation at factory floor level - there is no substitute for trade union organisation. Even in such consumer boycotts, the success thereof ultimately lies with the workers themselves. Their unity and organisation, and consequently their effective leadership in organising and directing the boycott, is indispensable if victory is to be achieved. These are the lessons that emerged from the victory of the workers of Fatti's and Moni's, who managed to organise the biggest consumer boycott in South Africa since the 1959 potato boycott. This boycott, which was initiated and led by the Congress Movement, was in protest against slave labour on the potato farms. It lasted two months and was complete in its success. However, because the farm workers themselves were not organised into a workers' movement (partly because of the racist laws and practices on the farms) they did not play an independent and essential role of withdrawing their labour. The matter was referred to the regime's own commissions, whose findings were never published. As such, apart from increasing community awareness and unity, the boycott did not result

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WOMEN WORKERS OF SEA HARVEST ON STRIKE

in any significant improvement in the workers' conditions, nor in the establishment of a permanent bargaining machinery. Once the boycott was lifted, the workers were once more at the mercy of the farmers.

Community support during strikes is essential, not only to workers who are structurally weak i.e. workers whose bargaining power is lessened by the nature of the industry in which they work (e.g. farm labourers) or by the restrictive laws of the regime (e.g. migrant workers). All workers need the sympathy of the unemployed to ensure their maximum effectiveness once they resort to strike action. Herein lay the strength of the Ford workers last year; and it is the lack of community support which weakened the Eveready strike in Port Elizabeth, 1978. Trade unions must organise even those workers who are out of work - the SAAWU (South African Allied Workers' Union) has already given the lead by suggesting a conference of unemployed workers. In doing this we shall also be assisting the unemployed to involve themselves in an organised manner in action to fight for the right to work, higher unemployment benefits and so on and so forth.

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An argument which has once more been exposed as treacherous by the recent workers' actions is that the way to improve our working conditions is to ensure the enforcement of 'codes of conduct', adopted by various groups of foreign companies. For a start, there is no way of ensuring the enforcement of a voluntary code. There is ample evidence that multinational companies are transgressors of their own codes - Volkswagen, Ford, General Tire, are all engaged in battle with their black workers over such basic demands as real trade union rights and a living wage. Only workers' action forces employers, local or foreign, to agree to our demands.

Once again the response of the employers and the regime to our actions has been victimisation of strike and union leaders, dismissals, arrests, detentions, banning of our meetings,

batons, teargas and bullets. In the majority of cases this did not affect our determined actions. In some cases it did: a hundred of the striking workers at Grabouw Apple Co-operative were forced into buses and taken back to the Bantustans; more than 117 workers were victimised at the end of the textile workers strikes in Pinetown; Goodyear successfully applied the system of selective re-employment and Putco bus drivers called off their strike because of police action against commuters. This shows us that, apart from mobilising community support, we must devise ways and means of defending our union and strike leaders to ensure that none of us is victimised. This, and the demand for reinstatement of all workers without losing our accumulated benefits, are the basic conditions for any agreement with bosses.

The experience of Putco bus drivers once more gave the lie to the regime's cynical argument that bus drivers have no moral right to resort to strike action because of the effect this would have on commuters. On many occasions bus drivers have found themselves bogged down by this argument, with the regime claiming to be the custodian of black commuters' interests, like in the 1976 strike of municipal bus drivers in Durban, and last year when workers of the Batswana Gare Transport Company were even taken to court on these grounds. During the latest bus drivers' strike the commuters in Johannesburg clearly showed their understanding of the forces at play by rightfully directing their anger at the police, who increased their patrols in the city, intimidating and attacking the commuters.

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One of the latest weapons of the regime against independent trade unions has been the Fund Raising Act, in terms of which a union can be prohibited from collecting funds from sources other than its membership. FOSATU has been made a victim of this act, which is a thinly-veiled attempt by the regime to strangle the independent labour movement. The effect of this action has already been felt in Frametex where the union is unable to organise funds to assist the victimised workers because of fear of prosecution; already three of the unions affiliated to FOSATU are finding it hard to function. Workers must be mobilised to fight this anti-union measure and at the same time we must combine both legal and semi-legal methods of operation, if we are to survive.

The response of the regime to our actions, and the current situation in our country, once again introduce the wider question of the role of trade unions in the national liberation struggle. How should trade union leaders and members relate to such campaigns as those against influx control laws, the Bantustan system and other laws and practices of the regime which directly affect our trade union work? Can unions afford to limit themselves to issues affecting workers at the point of production alone? Furthermore, can a genuine trade unionist stay aloof from such national political campaigns as the school boycott, for the release of Nelson Mandela and other politi-

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Year of the Charter

The consolidation of our revolutionary goal - power to the people - through the seizure of political power and the implementation of the Freedom Charter, rests ultimately on the economic clauses or pillars of our programme: "The people shall share in the country's wealth!" and "The land shall be shared among those who work it!" These clauses are the core of our programme, defining more than all the other clauses the substance of our vision of a liberated South Africa.

The people of South Africa, through their delegates to the Congress of the People in 1955, thereby expressed their rejection of that kind of false liberation which simply replaces white faces with black ones at the top of a system responsible for our misery. They opted for that kind of freedom we see being created today in countries like Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua... President Tambo has expressed the significance of the Angolan revolution for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa as follows:

"In the whole of Southern Africa there is a new definition of liberation. The significant thing about the struggle of the Angolan people is that, like everybody else, they had defeated the Portuguese colonialists who were ready to hand over power. Their plan was to hand over political power, which is what the national liberation struggle is about most of the time. But the MPLA said: Have we been fighting for political power only? National liberation - what sort of national liberation? This was the

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cal prisoners amongst whom are dedicated trade unionists? The South African Congress of Trade Unions says:

"... the organising of the mass of the workers for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour is inextricably bound up with a determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices. It follows that a mere struggle for economic rights of the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers."

Many victories have been scored in various strikes. The cornerstone of these achievements lay in the combination of our unity, organisation and determination TRANSLATED INTO ACTION. It is on these factors that the outcome of each struggle depended. Forward to new victories in the Year of the Charter and the Worker! Above all, workers must never abandon the fight for a voice of their own, for independent trade unions.

ONLY THROUGH STRUGGLE IS OUR VICTORY CERTAIN!

key question. Is it the kind of liberation where you replace white colonialist exploiters with black ones, with the people remaining poor, exploited, diseased, ignorant, powerless in fact? MPLA was to take liberation beyond the concept of freedom from the domination of a foreign power. And that is what the second war of liberation was about... The victory of the MPLA defined the kind of liberation for which people take up arms and lay down their lives - no exploitation of man by man, no ignorance, no disease, no poverty, no domination by other means."

The economic clauses of the Freedom Charter do not make it necessarily a socialist programme, since the complete abolition of private enterprise is not envisaged. Our Charter of Freedom is an anti-monopoly programme for the revolutionary democratic transformation of racist South Africa, for the transfer of political and economic power from the white minority and local and foreign big business to the people as a whole - workers, peasants, professionals, small businessmen.

While capitalism will not be wiped out by the implementation of the Charter, in effect the nationalisation of monopoly industry, banking and the mines will place the main levers of our economic life firmly in the hands of the people. Because of their overwhelming dominance in the South African economy, the following would naturally fall into the hands of the people:

* 438 companies (many of them subsidiaries of even larger companies) control means of production which account for more than half of South Africa's manufacturing output.

* Seven major financial corporations which work closely together in the Chamber of Mines admini-

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RADIO FREEDOM IS NOW BROADCASTING REGULAR PROGRAMMES DIRECTED AT THE WHITE COMMUNITY. RADIO LUSAKA CARRIES THESE PROGRAMMES EVERY MONDAY BETWEEN 7.15 AND 8PM. HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY BY PASSING ON THIS INFORMATION BY WORD OF MOUTH OR OTHER MEANS.

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ster all the important gold mines, most of the diamond, platinum and coal mines, and many others.

*In 1972/73 large companies owned farms accounting for 21.5% of all commercial farming land.

*The state-owned sector of the economy is already substantial, covering electricity, transport and communications, chemicals, iron and steel, petroleum, armaments production, industrial promotion finance, scientific and industrial research, and other areas.

But why is it that socialists and non-socialists alike in South Africa agree that the economic clauses of the Charter are an essential part of our programme for national liberation? As we said in our last issue when discussing the clause proclaiming that all national groups shall have equal rights, the mere proclamation of this principle would fail to bring about real equality without the changes in the economy outlined in the Charter. Comrade Nelson Mandela has explained this point in this way:

"It (the Freedom Charter) provides for nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industry, because big monopolies are owned by one race only, and without such nationalisation racial domination would be perpetuated despite the spread of political power. It would be a hollow gesture to repeal the Gold Law prohibitions against Africans when all gold mines are owned by European companies".

To take this argument further, what meaning would 'liberation' have for the thousands of black miners living and working in slave-like conditions, unless these conditions themselves are changed, unless their fate is taken out of the hands of the few greedy men who own the mines and make profits out of the miners' nightmare existence? How can a future people's government ensure that all mine workers receive a just wage, improve their inhuman and dangerous working conditions, abolish the migrant labour system and provide decent family housing at their workplaces, unless the mines themselves are owned by the people's state and the whole economy either state-owned or controlled to "assist the well-being of the people"?

In short, without economic power, a people's government will be unable to fulfil the pledges contained in the Charter - "There shall be work and security!", "The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!", "There shall be houses, security and comfort" - and the economic

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH:

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

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT

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

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

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

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

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

clauses of our programme are the means whereby the state will effect and secure the power of the people and guarantee their wellbeing.

Nelson Mandela summed up the central role of the economic provisions of the Charter in the South African revolution when he said:

"It is true that...the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and goldmining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country...But such a step is absolutely imperative and necessary because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are first smashed up and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people"

MAYIBUYE BRIEFS

U.K. UNIONS SUPPORT S.A. WORKERS

A number of trade unions in Britain have come out in support of striking workers in South Africa as well as the call to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. The motivation for their support was expressed in the following way by one union: "The struggle for liberation in South Africa is the struggle of all working people."

ANNIVERSARY OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

On July 19th Nicaragua celebrated the first anniversary of the revolution which toppled the Somoza regime. In the past year the Sandanista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has launched a campaign to rebuild its economy for the benefit of all its people through a strategy of combining state planning, agricultural co-operatives and limited private enterprise. The FSLN has nationalised banking, insurance, mining and the export trade, initiated agrarian reform and a literacy campaign, reduced basic food prices, halved rents and introduced free education and health care. At some privately owned factories workers have taken over ownership and full scale production is taking place.