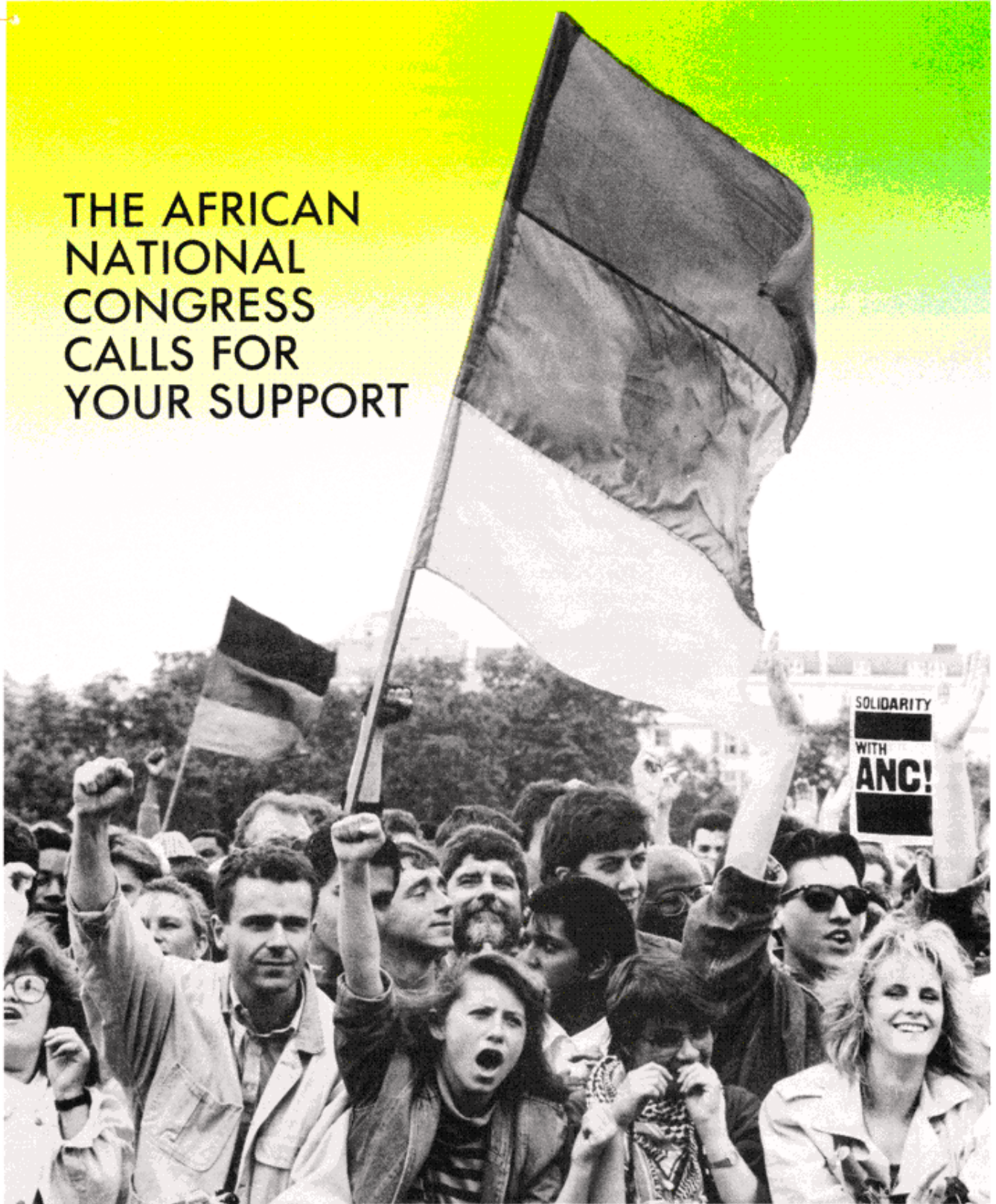


THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CALLS FOR YOUR SUPPORT



South Africa is a land of extreme wealth for the privileged white colonial population, and extreme poverty and destitution for the oppressed black majority. Whites, 17% of the population, receive more than 70% of all income. The poverty that prevails in our country is the direct result of apartheid — the result of white greed and military strength. When we talk of struggle against apartheid we talk of a struggle

against what operates, for the vast majority of South Africans, as a police state. Apartheid is not merely racial discrimination. Its central feature is not the segregation of public amenities. Apartheid means not only inequality, racism, national and racial oppression and exploitation of the black majority in our country, but also the means necessary to enforce it, to defend it and to guarantee its survival in the face of

powerful forces of resistance fighting to defeat it. Apartheid is a form of violence that operates, every moment of every day, against our people and the other peoples of Southern Africa, to perpetuate a white monopoly of political and economic power. Apartheid is everything that progressive humanity opposes, and as such we call on all peace-loving people to make common cause with us to ensure its total

destruction.

South Africa was conquered by force and is ruled by force. Whether in reserve, or, as now, extensively and violently in use, force is ever present. Since the townships were invaded by Pretoria's soldiers in September 1984, over 2 000 people have lost their lives, many more have been injured and permanently maimed, while tens of thousands have been detained and many have simply 'disappeared'.

Lives have been lost ever since the colonialists came to our country. The formation of the African National Congress on January 8th, 1912 created a people's organisation which transcended tribal, religious and class barriers in the fight for freedom in the land of our birth, an organisation which continued, under the new conditions prevailing, the anti-colonial struggle of our people.

Our struggle is fundamentally a national liberation struggle to rid our nation of the colonial oppressor. South Africa, a country of some 30-million people, is being run as two countries, the one colonising the other, the white country of four and a half million people colonising the 27-million black majority, and maintaining control through force and international support.

Mass meetings, demonstrations, deputations, protests, passive resistance and strikes were the hallmark of the half-century of peaceful struggle waged by the people of South Africa. Every avenue of non-violent protest was met with violent repression on the part of the regime, culminating in the banning of the ANC after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, and the declaration of a state of emergency. The regime turned South Africa into an armed camp. The ANC went underground, determined to find new methods of struggle. 1961 saw the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army, our striking force for final liberation. The violence of the regime was now to be met by the revolutionary violence of the people. Since then, the ANC has combined political and armed struggle to defeat apartheid.

Our aim is a war fought by the entire people — in strikes, demonstrations, resistance to forced removals, as well as in the field of armed struggle. Our

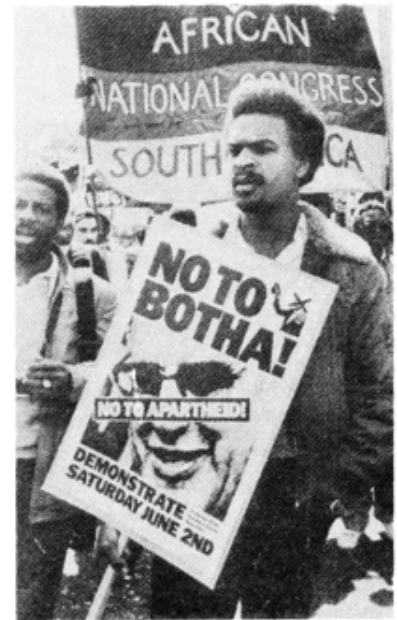
call, to make apartheid unworkable and South Africa ungovernable, has resulted in the severest crisis the Pretoria regime has yet had to face. One of the cornerstones of our strategy to defeat apartheid is the international drive to ensure its all-round isolation.

It is this international support for apartheid that has enabled it to survive — at great cost to our people, with many lives lost. The ANC has issued an urgent call for international solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa. Action against apartheid should not only be action against the Pretoria regime and its allies, but should also be action in support of the liberation struggle. What we need, what we are asking for, is active commitment — moral, material and political — in support of our struggle for freedom.

The African National Congress stands for a new South Africa, a South Africa in which racism shall be a thing of the past, where human dignity and equality shall prevail in the life of the country and its people, where the goals enshrined in the Freedom Charter shall be transformed into a living reality. Before that day dawns, many lives will be lost. Our people will suffer great hardship. But we are prepared to meet this challenge; to make whatever sacrifices are necessary. We ask for your help to rid the world of the crime against humanity that is apartheid South Africa. Your active support, including the imposition of sanctions, will help minimise the loss of life, the terrible human toll that achieving freedom in South Africa will take.

Apartheid cannot be reformed. It has to be destroyed. To wipe out this crime against humanity requires a sustained and determined campaign on the part of our people and the international community. There must be no 'constructive engagement', only total opposition to the racist regime and active support and solidarity for our struggle and the African National Congress.

We appeal to the international community to honour its pledges and obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the United Nations and all treaties and conventions calling for the elimination of the crime of apartheid.



We call on the world progressive and democratic forces to:

- Intensify the campaign to isolate South Africa in the economic, political, diplomatic, military, educational and cultural fields.
- Impose mandatory sanctions through the UN Security Council.
- End all nuclear collaboration with apartheid South Africa.
- Demand the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.
- Demand that the Pretoria regime treats captured freedom fighters as Prisoners of War under the relevant Geneva Conventions.
- Demand the immediate independence of Namibia.
- Demand that the racist regime stop its aggression against the Frontline States and Lesotho.
- Give all forms of support to these innocent victims of fascist aggression and expansionism.
- Boycott all products of apartheid.
- Encourage any organisation you are involved in to work for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa.
- Increase diplomatic, financial and material support and develop solidarity with the ANC. Pledge and work for all-round support for the ANC in its fight for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free and democratic South Africa by all means possible, including that of armed struggle.

ARMED STRUGGLE COMPLEMENTS PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

The struggle of the people of South Africa consists of four interlinked elements — the vanguard role of the underground structures of the ANC; the united mass political action of the people; the international campaign to isolate the Pretoria regime, and the armed struggle, spearheaded by our People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

For more than 250 years our people fought against the colonial invaders. In fact, if it had not been for the arrival of the well-armed British military forces at the beginning of the 19th century, the Boers would have been defeated in their quest to occupy, dominate and enslave our country.

After the military defeat of the long-drawn-out wars of resistance, marked by the crushing of the Bambata Rebellion of 1906, every attempt by the people to assert their demands was met by brutal repression. It became clear that white minority rule, imposed and maintained by force on the people of South Africa, could not be broken without insurrectionary methods of one sort or another.

Yet it was only in the Sixties that the liberation movement, having exhausted every avenue of peaceful struggle, turned to armed struggle as a means to achieve freedom in South Africa.

On December 16th, 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — the Spear of the Nation — proclaimed its existence. In every major centre throughout the country organised bomb attacks against property of the government heralded the introduction of a new element in the revolutionary strategy to overthrow white supremacy.



Soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are the spear and shield of the people. The ANC declared 1986 as the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army.



Building on the tradition of earlier armed resistance to foreign conquest, the liberation movement committed itself to the preparation of conditions in which popular armed force would play a significant role in the destruction of white power.

Our struggle embraces a variety of methods and tactics, the different forms of struggle complementing and strengthening each other. We are freedom fighters set out on the road to build a new society. We are waging a political struggle with arms in hand. We have always defined the enemy in terms of a system of domination and not as a people or a race. Our war efforts are directed at the state machinery, not at civilian targets.

The liberation war we are engaged in is often referred to as People's War, a war which actively involves all the people of South Africa, a war where all the oppressed people are involved in battle against the oppressor, a war in which men and women, young and old, are active fighters.

We hold the firm view that there can be no separation between the military and political leaderships. The army is and must remain the instrument of the political movement. Revolutionary armed struggle is political struggle by means which include the use of military force, and the victory we strive for has as its aim the seizure of power by the people led by their political vanguard, the ANC.

Chris Hani, the Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe and a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, outlined aspects of this strategy in

an interview in 1984 with Dawn, the monthly journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe: '... The careful preparation of the objective conditions of our struggle forces us to pay considerable attention to all aspects of mass mobilisation. Ours is a People's Army fighting a People's War ... Our People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has to fulfil two main elements in our strategy:

(A). To raise the level of mass actions in the country. This means that the army should reinforce the people's struggles. Such struggles are taking place along a very wide front ... Our army has to step up its operations in order to imbue the masses with confidence in their ability to fight back ...

(B). Building a People's Army in order to fight a People's War actually means that our movement and our army must create and consolidate the conditions for the existence, survival, growth and expansion of our army among the people. These conditions should be so organised that no matter how hard the enemy tries to uproot us, our existence and our capacity to attack him over a large area increases ...'

Today, the people of South Africa are on the march. Our demand is for people's power. Apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be destroyed, root and branch. In his January 8th, 1985 address to the nation, President Oliver Tambo said: 'Through struggle and sacrifice, we have planted the seeds of People's War in our country, that is, a war waged by the people against the white minority regime. One of our central tasks in the coming period is to transform the potential we have created

into the reality of People's War. Guided by that perspective, we must build up the mass combat forces that are training themselves in mass political action for sharper battles and for the forcible overthrow of the racist regime. The mass combat forces that are and have been engaged in the popular offensive, these death-defying patriots, must now become part of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the vital cutting edge of our onslaught. It is in this way that we will ensure that the People's Army deepens its roots and grows inextricably among the popular masses. It is in this way that we will ensure that it grows in size, in the spread and quality of its operations and in the weight of every blow it delivers.'

Pretoria's response to the mass upsurge of our people has been to impose martial law, blanket press and media censorship, and the granting of unlimited licence to kill to the racist soldiers and police. Thousands of our people are paying the supreme sacrifice for liberty — laying down their lives in the bitter war that is raging. Pretoria is able to arm, deploy and finance its massive military machine because of the economic, political and diplomatic support granted by Western governments, in particular the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

On November 28th, 1980, the African National Congress, at a ceremony at the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), declared its adherence to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Protocol 1 of 1977 on the humanitarian conduct of war. This is the first occasion on which such a

Declaration by a liberation movement has been formally made before the ICRC. President Oliver Tambo signed the Declaration on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and on behalf of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In a statement at the ceremony, President Tambo said that the United Nations and the ICRC were to be congratulated. They had helped to develop the law so as to extend the concept of an international armed conflict to cover wars of national liberation in which, to use the language of Protocol 1, 'peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination.'

'We undertake to treat members of the regular armed forces of the South African regime, captured by Umkhonto we Sizwe, as prisoners of war. We undertake to be bound by the other relevant provisions of the Conventions. In consequence, we demand that the South African regime make a similar commitment in accordance with the present-day rule of war, to treat the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe as protected combatants ... As we solemnly affirm our adherence to the Geneva Conventions and to the Protocol, we do so in the consciousness that we do not take our standards from those of the enemy, who have shown such shameless and ruthless disregard for all the norms of humanity. Ours is a liberation struggle, and we are imbued with the morality of liberation', said President Tambo.



Soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe receive an all-round education as part of their basic training



LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA

Responsibility for the thousands of people — men and women, young and old — forced to flee apartheid tyranny lies with their organisation, the African National Congress.

It is incumbent upon us to provide housing, clothing, education; to see to the all-round physical and psychological well-being of the many who look to us to ensure their means of survival.

The ANC is firmly committed to the principle of self-reliance. Many of the projects we have embarked upon have

the following aims and objectives:

- Development of skills, training and experience.
- Physical well-being of our people.
- Providing the basic essentials — food, clothing, health care.
- Improvement of the cultural life and social welfare of our communities, wherever they are located.

In this way the African National Congress strives to, firstly, not place undue strains on the countries which have given us refuge. Secondly, our objective is to enable those deprived of

education under apartheid to develop their full potential and talent. Thirdly, we aim to make the most effective use of the tremendous solidarity and support given to us by the international community.

Our goal is to ensure that in the process of fighting for our liberation, we provide the means whereby our people have the necessary skills to grapple with the post-apartheid society.

As Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC said at the official opening of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Col-



The ANC crèche at Mazimbu looks after many young children in an atmosphere free from race hatred and oppression



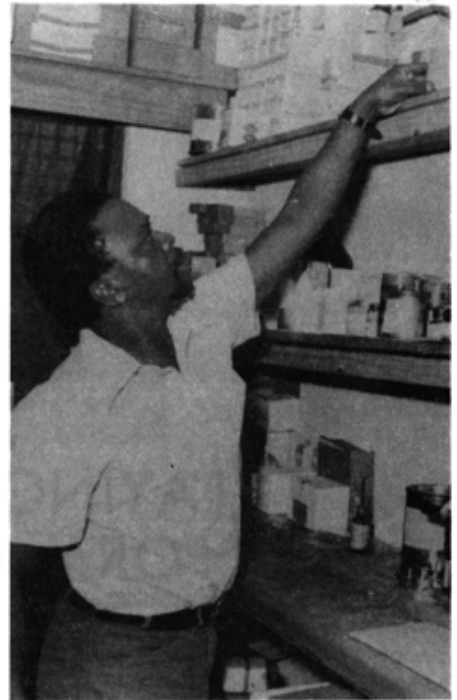
Dressmaking, design and cutting are taught at the sewing workshop at Somafco

lege: 'All are expected to make their contribution in the execution of the struggle for a just, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa ... (We must) provide for the immediate manpower needs of that struggle, and at the same time prepare cadres who will be able to contribute meaningfully to the building of the new South African society as envisioned in the ANC policy document — the Freedom Charter'.

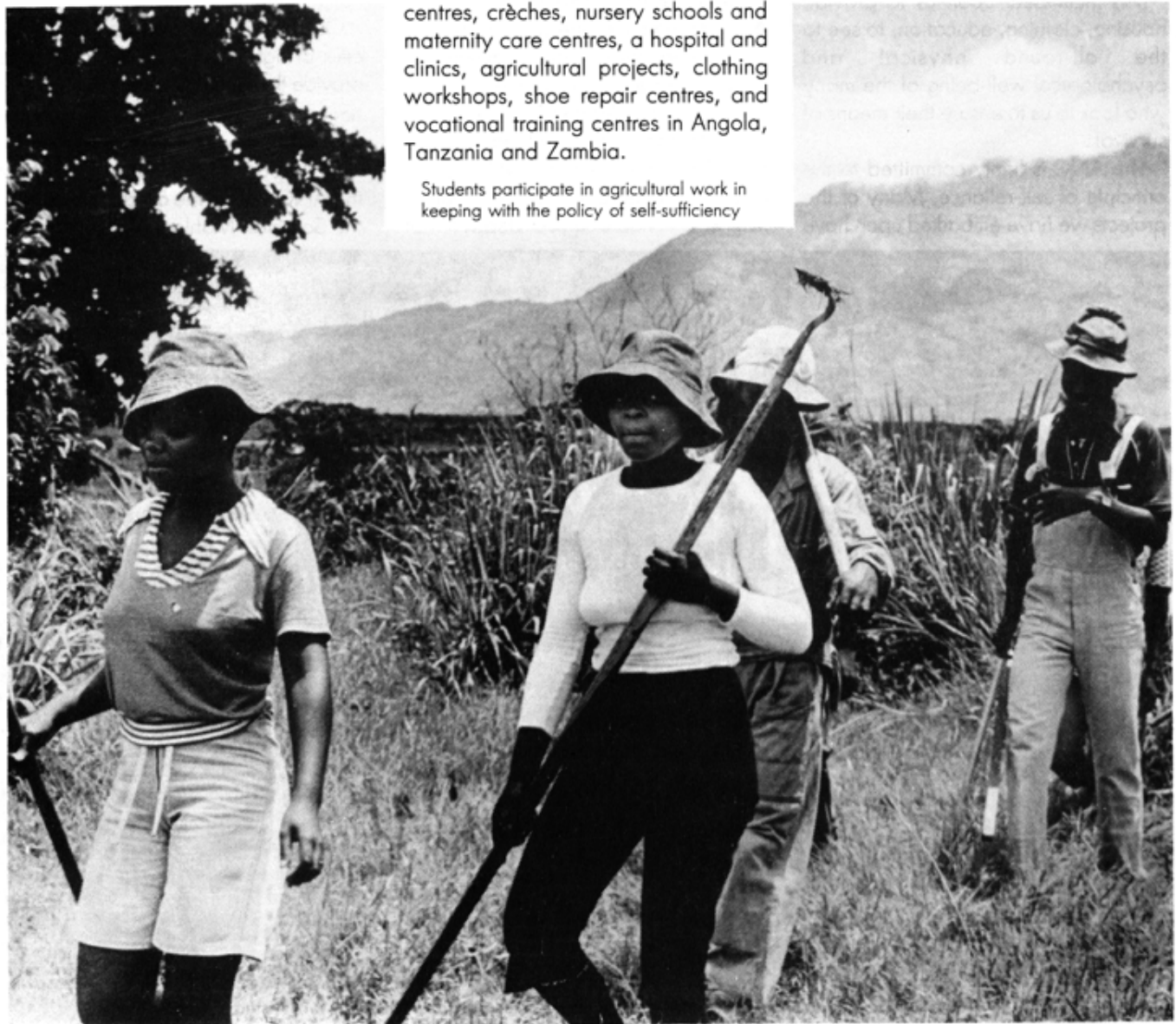
At this stage of our struggle against apartheid we are planting the seeds that will grow and bear fruit in a free South Africa. The principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter are today being enriched by their practical application in the many areas where ANC communities are found, including Angola, Zambia and Tanzania.

With international support we have been able to build and develop the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, as well as recreational centres, crèches, nursery schools and maternity care centres, a hospital and clinics, agricultural projects, clothing workshops, shoe repair centres, and vocational training centres in Angola, Tanzania and Zambia.

Students participate in agricultural work in keeping with the policy of self-sufficiency



Thousands of people are catered for by the ANC-Holland Solidarity Hospital at Mazimbu



THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Ida Mtwana defiantly leads the singing of the anthem when police surround delegates at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, 1955



Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, the National Anthem of the people of South Africa, has its roots deeply embedded in our history and cultural traditions.

Its composer, Enoch Mankayi Sontonga, was born in Lovedale, Cape Province, in 1860. He left school at an early age and went to Johannesburg, where he was employed in various occupations. A Christian, Sontonga was endowed with a wonderful voice, and he wrote both music and lyrics. His songs, sung in churches and concerts, were popular throughout the country. Composed in 1897, *Nkosi Sikelela* was commonly sung by choirs, churches and in African schools and by the turn of the century was known throughout the country. Mankayi Sontonga died in Johannesburg in 1904 — his grave is in the now all-white Brixton Cemetery.

It was SEK Mqhayi (1875-1945), *imbongi yesizwe ikelele* (the national poet), who added seven stanzas to the national anthem. The Xhosa lyric, with the exception of the first stanza which was Sontonga's, was Mqhayi's version, and was first published in 1927.

Nkosi Sikelela, originally intended as a hymn, was sung in all provinces and steadily gained recognition as the people's national anthem. The first verse (Sontonga's) has survived as the basis of the popular national anthem of today.



Enoch Mankayi Sontonga

The ANC adopted *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* as its national anthem in 1925, and all organisations and churches followed suit. It was also at this time that the ANC adopted black, green and gold as our national colours. Today the song has become the national anthem of many countries in Africa north of the Limpopo River, including Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO. Within South Africa the song is sung in many languages, although an English translation can only be literal and loses the poetic and melancholy rhythm of the song — a prayer for the people of Africa.

Today Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelela* is closely associated with and symbolises the struggle of our people for a democratic South Africa. It is heard at protest and solidarity meetings, conferences and funerals. It is sung by workers, women, youth and students, who stand with fists raised while singing — a sign of respect for our traditions, culture and fight for freedom.

Nkosi sikelel' i-Afrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo
Yizwa imithandazo yethu
Nkosi sikelela — Nkosi sikelela

Nkosi sikelel' i-Afrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo
Yizwa imithandazo yethu
Nkosi sikelela — Thina Lusapho lwayo

Woza Moya
Woza Moya, oyingcwele
Nkosi sikelela
Thina Lusapho lwayo

Morena boloka
Sechaba sa heso
O fedise dintwa le Matswenyeho

Morena boloka
Sechaba se heso
O fedise dintwa le Matswenyeho
O se boloke — o se boloke
O se boloke — o se boloke

Sechaba sa heso
Sechaba sa Afrika

O se boloke Morena — o se boloke
O se boloke Sechaba — o se boloke
Sechaba sa heso
Sechaba sa Afrika

TRANSLATION OF NKOSI SIKELEL' I-AFRIKA

Lord Bless Africa
Let its Horn be Raised
Listen also to our Prayers
Lord Bless
Lord Bless
Come Spirit
Come Spirit
Holy Spirit
Lord Bless Us
We, thy Children
NKOSI SIKELEL' I-AFRIKA

THE SYMBOLS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



The Flag:

The colours of the ANC flag are black, green and gold. Black symbolises the people, green the fertility of the land, and gold the mineral wealth beneath the soil. These colours were adopted by the ANC in 1925.



The Wheel:

The wheel dates from the 1955 Campaign for the Congress of the People which drew up and adopted the Freedom Charter. The four spokes represent the main national groups which were represented by their organisations in the Congress Alliance. The wheel rolling to freedom symbolises our goal of a united people developing in struggle, and forging a new South African nationhood.



The Fist:

The fist of our fighting people represents a unified determination born in the fight for national liberation. When people sing our national anthem, they raise their fists and then the battle-cry is echoed: Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona! Power to the People! Mayibuye iAfrika! Africa Must Come Back!



The Spear and the Shield:

The spear and the shield symbolise the early wars of resistance. This tradition is continued today by the ANC and especially its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, which was formed in 1961, 49 years after the formation of the ANC.



Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe:

This is the highest honour awarded by the people of South Africa, through the ANC, to those who have made an outstanding contribution and sacrifice to the liberation struggle.

Chief Albert Lutuli, Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Father Trevor Huddleston were awarded Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe at the Congress of the People in Klipfontein in 1955. Since then outstanding leaders have also been honoured, notably Govan Mbeki, Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph and the 'Rivonia Trialists' — Nelson Mandela, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Walter Sisulu.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL DAYS

Our history, our struggle for freedom, has created days of great significance for the people of South Africa. Among the most important are:

January 8th — Founders' Day

On this day in Bloemfontein — the Africans call the place Mangaung — the ANC was formed in 1912. Representatives came from all over Southern Africa. The call of the day was unity and anti-colonialism. The founding fathers of the ANC had a vision of a united continent free from racism and colonialism.

June 16th — Youth Day

In 1976 the youth of Soweto rebelled against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. This event, as it spread and escalated through the length and breadth of the country, was an example of how such a single issue can become a prairie fire, whose smouldering embers of resistance subsequently

became an inferno, renewing the challenge to every aspect of white minority rule. Since June 16th, 1976, South Africa has never been the same. The ANC has declared June 16th 'National Youth Day'.

June 26th — Freedom Day

It was on May 1st, 1950, that trigger-happy police killed 18 innocent demonstrators in Alexandra, Johannesburg. On June 26 the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, and the Communist Party of South Africa called a Day of Mourning. Since then the Congress Movement has held meetings, rallies, and conferences on this date. It was on this day that the Freedom Charter was adopted in Kliptown by 3 000 delegates in 1955. The ANC regards this day as South African

Freedom Day.

August 9th — Women's Day

More than 20 000 women marched on Pretoria to protest the imposition of passes on African women. In a solemn demonstration of unity and fighting spirit the women sang their defiant song: 'You have touched the women, you have struck a rock'. This day, South African Women's Day, is a symbol of resistance by our women.

December 16th — Heroes Day

On this day in 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed. December 16th has a special significance in the history of our people's struggle against colonialism in the 19th century. Umkhonto we Sizwe announced its existence through acts of sabotage. The era of armed struggle had begun.

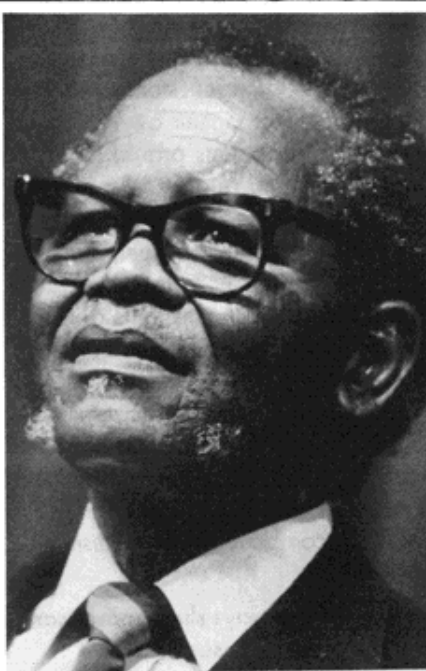
SANCTIONS WILL HELP DEFEAT APARTHEID



President Oliver Tambo has made the following call for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions to be imposed:

'Sanctions are not to be seen as a way of reforming apartheid, nor merely as a gesture of disapproval. Sanctions are a weapon that the international community can and must use against the racist regime — a weapon that can weaken Pretoria's capacity to maintain its aggressive posture. Sanctions are a way of cutting off support for racist South Africa and denying the regime the means through which it can sustain and perpetuate itself.

Sanctions will not and cannot be expected in themselves to bring down the apartheid system. They are not an alternative to struggle by the South African and Namibian people, but an important complement to it. The effect of sanctions, properly implemented, will be to limit the scope, scale and duration of the war that is now raging in Southern Africa. Unless the international community can do this, the repercussions of



the conflict will almost certainly engulf us all ...

Since the opposition to sanctions is based upon a determination to preserve the apartheid system, we must expect that every device will be used to make sanctions ineffective. After all, it was Britain who asked the UN to impose sanctions on the rebel Smith and who was one of the chief offenders in breaching oil sanctions — so there is a lot of ex-

perience there.

But we should not be deterred. Let us remember that if it is inevitable that sanctions won't work and are ineffective there would have been no need to cast vetoes; why flog a dead horse? The veto was used precisely because sanctions can be made effective and can have an impact ...

Apartheid's collaborators must be made to realise that they cannot defend racists and claim to be non-racist. They cannot support apartheid and preach freedom.

They cannot exploit cheap labour in South Africa and continue to trade with Africa and the Non-Aligned countries ... So I make this final appeal to all those who support the liberation struggle: Put these choices before the collaborators. They must be forced to choose between links with apartheid and relations with the majority of the international community, between links with apartheid and links with Africa. Collaboration must be made unprofitable, and it will cease.'

The African National Congress is asking the world to impose sanctions against South Africa to help bring the evil system of apartheid to an end.

Formed in 1912 — two years after the Union of South Africa was brought into existence we sought for decades to secure by peaceful means full and equal citizenship rights in the land of our birth.

The Africans comprise 74% of the total population of 33 million South Africans, yet we have no say in the government of our country. We cannot vote in elections. We cannot sit in Parliament. We are expected to obey laws we had no hand in framing.

The apartheid system means the white minority (15% of the total population; the remaining 11% comprise Indians and Coloureds) — has one of the highest standards of living in the world. We blacks have one of the lowest.

- Whites earn 60% of total personal disposable income in South Africa; Africans less than 30%.
- African wages are, on average, less than a quarter of white wages. Over four million Africans are unemployed.
- Only 13% of South Africa's land is set aside for African ownership and occupation.
- Infant mortality among Africans is five times that of whites.
- The apartheid regime spends ten times as much on the education of each white child as on that of each African child.

For decades we pleaded in vain for meaningful reform. Our petitions were rejected, our demonstrations broken up, our leaders arrested and jailed. In 1961 we embarked on the road of armed struggle, because every other road had been closed. For fighting for our freedom, we are called 'terrorists'.

We are not men and women of violence, nor are we agents of Moscow, as PW Botha alleges. Nor are we trying to drive the white man into the sea. We ask for equal rights and opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of race, creed or colour. There is room enough in our country for everybody.

Why are we fighting?

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group, after investigating the situation in South Africa, came to the conclusion:

A CALL TO THE WORLD



'Put in the most simple way, the blacks have had enough of apartheid. They are no longer prepared to submit to its oppression, discrimination and exploitation. They can no longer stomach being treated as aliens in their own country'.

But, our opponents argue, Botha is busy introducing reforms. Why is the ANC not prepared to discuss them?

The ANC has always been ready to talk. We are ready to talk now if the Botha regime is sincere in its declarations that 'apartheid is dead'. But as the Eminent Persons' Group reported:

'We have examined the government's "programme of reform" and have been forced to conclude that at present there is no genuine intention on the part of the South African government to dismantle apartheid'.

Mrs Thatcher says she opposes sanctions for three reasons:

1. Sanctions won't work, they never work. If that is so, why did she impose sanctions on Argentina during the Falklands war? Why did she impose sanctions against Poland, Afghanistan, Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Libya and other countries with whose policies she disagrees?
2. The African people and the Frontline States will suffer. But the leaders of the African people and of the Frontline

States are the very people who are asking for sanctions. The African people are being shot in their thousands; the Frontline States are the constant victims of South African aggression. They say they are willing to suffer the consequences of sanctions because sanctions will help bring the apartheid system to an end.

3. Mrs Thatcher says that if sanctions are introduced the West will be deprived of strategic minerals, the only other source of which is the Soviet Union. But must fascism be protected in South Africa for the sake of raw materials? Do people count less than plutonium in Mrs Thatcher's reckoning?

The Eminent Persons' Group concluded:

'The question in front of Heads of Government is, in our view, clear. It is not whether such measures will compel change; it is already the case that their absence and Pretoria's belief that they need not be feared, defers change. Is the Commonwealth to stand by and allow the cycle of violence to spiral? Or will it take concerted action of an effective kind?'

'Such action may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War.'

Margaret Thatcher says sanctions will hurt black people the most. But the black people of South Africa have never elected her to be their spokesperson. Sanctions won't bring the apartheid system to its knees, but they will weaken that tyrannical regime, which will mean less bloodshed and fewer lives lost in the battle that is being waged. The life span of apartheid will be shortened — this will be your vital contribution to our freedom struggle.'

The African National Congress appeals to the British people: Help us.

End the shame of British support for the Botha regime. Compel the Thatcher government to fall into line with the worldwide demand for mandatory sanctions against South Africa. And remember, irrespective of what Margaret Thatcher does, **you can impose people's sanctions against South Africa.** Get your local Council to act. Boycott South African goods. Isolate apartheid South Africa in every sphere — sport, culture, education.

Help stop the bloodshed in South Africa. Impose sanctions now!

CHILDREN OF RESISTANCE



When Valiswa Mhlawuli, a mother of two teenagers, was detained by South African police in October 1988, she had already paid the high price of losing an eye in a vigilante attack following her appearance in the BBC film, *Suffer the Children*. Like Godfrey Dlomo, the youth who was murdered in January 1988 after appearing in a US television programme which similarly exposed police

torture of children, she had become a danger to the state.

'I come from a country that has declared war on its children,' Archbishop Desmond Tutu said earlier this year, many months after the regime had reacted against the same accusation launched by the Reverend Frank Chikane at the pathbreaking Harare Children's Conference in 1987.

In June 1976, when schoolchildren protested against being made to study in Afrikaans, the police killed an estimated 1 000 pupils in the ensuing confrontation. Many thousands fled into exile. This was the beginning of Pretoria's war against children.

From 1984, with a renewed challenge to the apartheid state by burgeoning mass organisations across the country, children became part of the frontline of resistance and paid a terrible price for it. Police statistics (which are an underestimate) show that 1 000 children were wounded between 1984 and 1986; over 312 died; 10 000 were detained without trial under provisions which deny a legal right of access to parents or lawyers.

In those two years 18 000 children were arrested on charges connected with unrest, and in many cases sentenced to long prison terms. Some, like 11-year-old Fanie Guduka, spent weeks or months in custody before being brought to trial.

During arrest and in custody most of these children have been subjected to

assault with boots, fists, rubber truncheons or sjamboks. Many have suffered torture by electric shocks, suffocation, being put in a fridge, solitary confinement, bright lights shone in the eyes, repeated interrogation, threats, exposure to dead bodies, listening to the cries of other tortured children.

Ultimately, along with other democratic organisations, the regime outlawed the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee which had gained international stature for its work in monitoring child detentions. Like Valiswa Mhlawuli and Godfrey Dhlomo, and the dozens of South African doctors, lawyers and priests who speak out, the DPSC poses a challenge to the South African regime that it cannot afford to



meet. What kind of regime has to torture and kill its youth in order to survive? Apartheid aptly describes just what racist South Africa means to black people — apart and hated. The life of a black child is traumatic from conception. Disadvantage begins in the womb, as black women endure lack of adequate ante-natal care, inadequate nutrition, poor housing and the crippling effects of apartheid. The child that survives the first few years of life knows hunger and humiliation.

But the thirst for freedom in each successive generation is unquenchable. The Pretoria regime, unable to maintain its rule despite the whip and the bullet, has set out to destroy the future generations both physically and psychologically.



APARTHEID — THE FACTS

Apartheid — Institutionalised Racism

Apartheid is the term used to define the racist ideology and system of the white minority regime. It is an all-encompassing system of institutionalised racism based on divide and rule. At its heart lies a racial classification system whereby the population is classified into four main categories — African, Asian, Coloured and White.

Those classified white determine the political, social and economic affairs of the country. The three categories of black people are further subdivided into sixteen ethnic groups. Every avenue of life is determined according to how a person is classified.

The cornerstones of apartheid are:

- the race classification system;
- the use of the military, police and legal system to uphold white domination and suppress all opposition;
- the bantustans and Group Areas;
- a segregated and ideologically controlled education system;
- denial of universal franchise in an undivided parliament;
- outlawing of non-racial democratic movements.

The system of apartheid in South Africa was established on the basis of colonial conquest. 250 years of armed resistance was brought to an end with the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906, and the subsequent establishment of the Union of South Africa under British rule in 1910.

The ANC was formed in 1912 to unite all the people of South Africa, and to fight oppression and dispossession in a new way. The present-day ruling Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. Since then apartheid has been firmly entrenched. The current 'reforms' are yet another means by which to maintain white supremacy.

Population in Urban Areas

Pretoria's policy is to prevent African urbanisation, and to create pools of cheap labour out of sight of 'white' South Africa. Control of movement is stringently enforced through various forms of influx control built on the legacy of the pass laws, as well as through restriction of access to housing and employment.

Bantustans: Divide and Rule Policy

The apartheid regime has arbitrarily divided South Africa into ten ethnic 'homelands' or bantustans which, together, comprise 13% of the total land area of the country. The remaining 87% is for whites only.

All Africans are declared to belong to one of the bantustans according to the regime's division of the population, irrespective of where they live or have lived all their lives. It is only in these 'ethnic homelands' that Africans are allowed any political rights. Those uprooted by forced removals are dumped in these impoverished areas.

The policy was designed for the requirements of the white economy. Africans are only allowed out of the bantustans to the extent that their labour is needed. Men are separated from their wives and families; the sick, the

very young and the very old eke out an existence, out of sight of white affluence.

Total Population

	Numbers	Proportion
African	26 313 898	74.7%
Asian	913 000	2.6%
Coloured	3 069 000	8.7%
White	4 911 000	14.0%

Population in Urban Areas

	1987	Proportion
African	10 500 000	40%
Coloured	2 200 000	70%
Asian	850 000	93%
White	4 400 000	90%

Forced Removals

Integral to the political repression and economic exploitation of apartheid are mechanisms for population control. In

order to divide, segregate and control the people of South Africa the regime has forcibly removed millions of black people.

Forced Removals 1960-1982

Type of Removal	Number Moved
Removals under Group Areas Act	834 400
Township relocations in bantustans	730 000
Eviction of squatters in informal urban settlements	112 000
Eviction of farm workers and labour tenants	1 129 000
Black-spot and other evictions for bantustan consolidation	687 500
Removals within and between bantustans	30 000
Total	3 522 900

Labour and Trade Unions

There are two main union federations, Cosatu and Nactu. The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the largest trade union federation, has a signed-up membership of approximately one million, organised in 13 unions and

divided into nine regions. Cosatu's policy is to form one union per industry, including a union for the unemployed. Unemployment is estimated to be at least six million, or 48% of the economically active population. Nactu

has 22 member unions and a signed-up membership of about 150 000.

White workers, except for a few who

have broken away and joined non-racial unions, are organised in racially exclusive or segregated unions.

Average Monthly Earnings

	African R/month	Asian R/month	Coloured R/month	White R/month
1985	423	765	552	1 531
1986	500	912	634	1 732

Economically Active Population

	1985	1986	1987
African	6 605 000	6 760 000	6 921 000
Asian	324 000	335 000	345 000
Coloured	1 142 000	1 164 000	1 184 000
White	1 982 000	1 995 000	2 009 000
Total	10 053 000	10 254 000	10 459 000

The Young and the Old

Whites receive monthly payments directly. In contrast, African pensioners are paid only once every two months and, irrespective of health, age or disability, are forced to queue personally at payout points — often for days. Many deaths have resulted from sheer exhaustion. African pensions are R117; white pensioners receive R218.

South Africa is a major food-exporting country. Yet in the midst of plenty thousands of children do not survive their first year of life. Kwashiorkor and malnutrition-related diseases are rampant. There is one doctor per 91 000 Africans, compared with one doctor for 330 whites. While white hospital wards stand empty, in hospitals designated for blacks only patients sleep two in a bed, on floors and in corridors.

Official statistics for 1985 give the following infant mortality rate:

IMR per 1 000	
Africans	80.0*
Coloureds	40.7
Asians	12.7
Whites	9.3

* This is the official figure for urban areas. In the rural areas and bantustans the figure is far higher. For instance, in some areas of the Gazankulu bantustan infant mortality is 28%. 35% of all children under the age of five are malnourished.

Sanctions and Disinvestment

The most effective way in which the international community can contribute to ending apartheid is by imposing comprehensive, mandatory sanctions. Where governments refuse to act, people's sanctions have proved extremely effective.

Since mid-1984 there has been a R30-billion capital outflow due to the sanctions and disinvestment campaigns. 287 companies have divested from South Africa. In addition to the many countries which previously imposed total sanctions, 25 more countries have

imposed various economic sanctions, including;

- a ban on new investment by 20 countries;
- a ban on imports of gold coins by 18 countries;
- a ban on imports of South African iron and steel by 17 countries; and
- a ban on new loans to SA by nine countries.

Education

Pupil/Teacher Ratio:	
African	41:1
Coloured	25:1
Asian	21:1
White	16:1

Economically active population that has not completed more than primary school:

African	84%
Coloured	59%
Asian	24.7%
White	1.6%

Per Capita Expenditure 1986/7

	(R) Including Capital Expend.	R Excluding Capital Expend.
Africans *	476.95	368.56
Coloureds	1 021.41	887.08
Asian	1 904.20	1 714.03
White	2 508.00	2 299.00

* Excluding the bantustans

Military and Police Expenditure:

Apart from expenditure on prisons, security trials etc, the apartheid regime spends over 18% of its annual budget, or approximately R8 489-million, directly on the police and SA Defence Force. This is an increase of 218% over the 1984 military budget. Other 'hidden' items, for instance military health expenditure which falls under the health budget, push the estimated 1988 expenditure to well over R10-billion.

Pretoria's State Terrorism:

Pretoria has repeatedly stated that it will hunt and eliminate the ANC wherever it may be in the world. South African raids into the Frontline States have cost many lives, of both South

Africans and nationals of these independent countries. The massacres at Matola, Maseru, Gaborone, to name but a few, bear witness to this gross violation of human rights and territorial integrity.

Since 1980, 25 people are known to have been kidnapped from the Frontline States and taken to South Africa at gunpoint. More than 50 people have been assassinated outside South Africa's borders.

South Africa — the Imprisoned Society

Apartheid South Africa has one of the highest prison populations in the world because of the stringent controls over all aspects of the lives of black people, and because all resistance to apartheid is criminalised. In 1985/6 the average daily prison population was 111 401, excluding the thousands of prisoners in the so-called 'independent' bantustans. During the period July 1985 to June 1986, 469 055 were admitted to jail. There is gross overcrowding; for instance Pollsmoor Prison was 99% overpopulated in 1986.

The successive states of emergency have seen over 30 000 people detained, including an estimated 10 000 children under the age of 18. Prisoners have been teargassed while in prison on at least 20 occasions. Many detainees have spent years in detention without ever being charged. During 1987 alone 105 people are known to have died while in police custody.

Executions: Pretoria's Judicial Means of Eliminating Opponents

Between 1910 and 1947 there were an average of 21 executions a year. In 1987 alone there were 164 hangings, excluding the 'independent' bantustans — nine of these victims were white. At the end of 1987 a further 267 people remained on death row, while at the end of 1988 more than 80 people are known to be on death row for what are called political offences.

Banning the Voice of the People:

Since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, over 50 democratic organisations have been banned, including the South African Communist Party (1950) and the African National Congress (1960). Virtually all legal opposition has been made a 'treasonable' offence, including wearing the black, green and gold of the ANC. Even funerals are often banned.

YOU CAN CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO HELP THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA



The African National Congress is responsible for feeding, clothing, housing and educating the thousands of South Africans forced to flee apartheid tyranny. Based on the principle of self-reliance, the ANC has established many centres where people grow food, make clothes, are trained and educated. But the demands placed on our limited resources are tremendous.

We need your help to improve the quality of the lives of our people. We ask you to help provide the following items for people of all ages, women and men, young and old, from all walks of life.

WOMEN'S NEEDS

Tampons and sanitary towels
Body creams
New cotton underwear of all sizes

BABIES NEEDS

Nappies
Baby powder and lotions
Dummies, blankets and toys
Bottled baby foods

SPORTS EQUIPMENT AND GAMES

Scrabble and other word games
Dominoes
Drafts
Chess
Playing Cards
Tennis Raquets and Balls
Rugby Balls
Baseball Sets
Badminton Sets
Table Tennis Sets
Football for Soccer

HEALTH NEEDS

Mosquito Netting
Insect Repellants
Dried Milk
Bandages and Plasters
Cotton Wool
Disinfectants
Condoms and
Women's Contraceptives

Photos top to bottom: ANC sports club, clinic and nursery school in Tanzania



TOILETRIES

Soap
Tootpaste and Toothbrushes
Shampoo
Deodorants (non-aerosol)
Anti-septics
Men's disposable razors

MATERIAL AID ENSURES PRACTICAL SUPPORT