Ymo'Mvmtomhu-r oice Journd of th- ANC Women's Mon Number 2 and 3, 1987 SE VENTY-PIVE YEARS OF STR UGGLE vTHIS year our vanguard movement is 75 years. This has been 75 years of united struggle against apartheid e0lonialism in our country, which chr sed the period of uncoordinated resistanee t0 apartheid which began as soon as the white settlers came to our country. As wunien we IILH'C been palt 111 this struggle 1111111 118 inceptinn and enntinue IntittSttUP1(11116111056111. 1n thrx Iclenticss struggle we .xenreti 'inater x'ictuues which brought 11111 cheix'heti 3:11:11 wt hheratinn cine xei.;1nt1 we 111505111.1.C1'Ct1.ininCkS, We need 111 Inuit at 11111 gains and 11111111 en them In intenbit) the struggle lint the xcl/llICUiipthCli110111111x) white nnnntit) regime. 1N STRUGGLE 1913-1987 h 1111 back as 1913 the wtinien 111 um ennnh) sitttitl tip tn nppnse lac1xt 11111th enntrel laws which munitexteti themselves in the term 111' petiiiih which they have In carr) tn shuw their status in an urban area 1.1tel in 1918 they established the "Bantu" Wnnienis league whieh channelled anti etgordinatetl their aetivities. During the 19:05:19305um1 1904s nut wenien termed ditTeient committees throughout the country addressing themselvesto the 3 world war& shortage of 111ml. iniiux eentrol and many other issues which directly affected them. Since they were not carrying passes by then and were ilassified as employees they participated in the growing trade union movement in 11111 country which became a tmiiiimi school for them. By 1948 they saw the need of establishing a Wenien's League affiliated to ANC. Many women joined the ANC and its WemenVs League and participated actively in the defiance campaign against unjust apartheid laws. It was during this period that our women saw the need of estubiishing a national womenis movement and thus they founded the Federation of South African Women in 1954, with the ANC Womenis League as the major affiliate body. The federation brought together women 1mm thtTelent racial groups. ditTerent ttiganisatimn anti tliiiitfix'iii haiku _ t iiiiiiic. It was 1th Federatinn 011 5011111 Atriean Women which etganised the historie August 9111 niareh to Pretmia in 1950 With the banning M the ANC' in 19(10i ihe Wnnten's league was subsequenth' hannetl. The Itedetatinn was not banned but most M its leaders were detained. imprisoned. bannetl. bannishetl anti iitil'CCLi into exile. The 19603 witnessed new terms tit organisation. 0111' women 100. went tindergrntintl to meet the new gtHldiIiOllS oti "illegality" of their organisations and state terror. New organisations were foiliied as from the late 19605 which spearheaded the struggles of that time which led to the national students uprising of 1976 which started in Soweto. As from that time our women get together in small groups to address themselves to the revival 111 the Federation 111 South Atriean Women. But with the past experiences they resorted to organising from grassroot level with different names relating to their locality. For example in the Western Cape the. United Womenis organisation and the Wornenis Front (Federation) were fore med. These have since united to form the United Womenis Congress. In the Eastern Cape Gompe Womenk Congress has been established. While in the Transvaal branches of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw). IN Natal the Durban Womenis organisation was founded. IN the Orange Tiree State the Orange Free State Womenk Organisation has been formed.

The 19705 and 198015 have witnessed a greater participation of women in the struggle against apartheid laws e.g, tierced removals, risingl costs of living. detentions and imprisonA inent. bantustans. bad working conditions and general state terror. It was because of this recognition that the ANC declared 1984 as the year 01 South African Women.

LESSONS

What lessons can we draw from the past 75 years of the existence 0t 111,3 ANC which we have been a part 01w?

The first one is that of well coordinate organisation. We have learnt that organisation is a weapon to victory and thus without it we will not reach our cherished goal-Iiberation. This thus calls on us to look whether at present our organisations meet the demanding situation. We have aehieved a lot in this aspect but much still remains to be done. We still have '10 make our organisations viable. We have to see how we can maintain the momentum of our present resistance. We need tQ address ourselves to the problem 01 gettlng women to be ac-TO PAGE 10

El'! 1 IN an effortto stamp out the people's resistance against mass indiscriminate detentions without trial the regime has introduced a new regulation banning any action encouraging criticism of thisbrutality. We must defeat this regulation, which seeks to take-away one of the basic rights we still had Dimsing peaceful means to tight against detention without trial. The new regulation comes at a time when an estimated number of 50 000 people are in detention without trial and of these 15 000 of them are children. it comes at a time when a number of anti-apartheid forces have joined hands here at home and abroad to fight against mass detentions in our country especially those of children. In the recent past a lot of atrocities and brutalities carried by the facist police and SADF have been revealed ranging from gruesome torture, sexual abuse, unprovoked shootings, :gross maltreatment in detention and disappwmces. in Mostcases those responsible have never been brought before-justice. Those who have appeared in court were given very light sentences - to commend them for their. brutalies. The regime seeks now to silence all of us who have been calling for the release of detainees and were able to publicise the brutalities and torture suffered by them. despite the clamp down on the press. The new regulation makes it illegal to initiate or encourage anyone to support a call for the release of detainees. This includes making a statement, written or oral or by telegram. i': To encourage others to sign or support a petition in which a "government" member is called on to free detainees. :3 To fill in cou ons to be used in support of a call on the iigovernmenti to release detainees. ' To attend or advertise a gathering which would honour detainees or protest their detention. To perform any act as a symbolic token of solidarity with or in honour oi detainees. Newspaper maynot pubhcrse reports or advertisements' mviting people to attend meeting for detainees. This means all stickers, posters and T-Shirts which we have produced calling for the release of our children are banned. According to the new regulations we can only strive or campaign for the release of detainees on an individual basis. How can we do this when there are thousands of our people 'detaineni without trial. It has never been our tradition to consider only an individual. Today it is my neighbours child who is detained and tomorrow it is my own two children, and the regime expects me to call for the release of these children on an individual basis.

Again the regime is addressing the wrong question by crushing peoplesi resistance to detentions. The real pror blem in our country is apartheid colonialism which must be eradicated. The regime instead seeks to entrench this evil system and to force it down our throats.

Already this new regulation is being challenged by a number of democratic forces in our country. We as women who know the horrors of detention without trial must be in the forefront of this resistance. Let us use all forums we have in the church, community and workplaces to speak against this new regulation and to continue to call for the release of all detainees, especially those of our children. We cannot be silenced by the very regime which is keeping hundreds of our children in jails when their place is in thehome.

Let us strengthen and join those organisations calling for the release of the children against whom this new regulation is directed. The racist regime must release all the detainees to avoid any campaigns or protests and not make regulations banning campaigns and protests.

FORWARD WITH THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE

OF ALL DETAINEES.

FREE OUR CHILDREN!

SAVE THE LITE OF TERESA

RAMASHAMOLA AND OTHER

PATRIOTS.

Twenty-three patriots are presently awaiting to be judicialinmurdered by the racist regime. Among them is a 24 year old woman a Teresa Ramashamola.

SHE WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH TOGETHER WITH FIVE PATRIOTS.

Mojalefa Sefatsa;

Oupa Diniso;

Malebo Mokoena;

Duma Khumalo; and

Manetsa Mokhesi.

The other patriots are:

Solomon Maowasha (30)

Alez Matsepane (23)

Elile Webushe

Patrick Manginda (23)

Desmond Majola (27)

Dickson Madikane (26)

Josiah Tswane 129)

Daniel Maleke (19)

Mlami Mielies

Mnyanda Tanties

Paul Tefo"(22)

Similo Lennox Wonci (22)

Mziwoxmo Makeleni (22)

Nduniso Silo Siphunuka (26)

Makhezwana Menze (43) and

Robert Mcbride. (23)

VOW P593 3 MOBILISE BAN TUSTANS WW WW W IT is not an exaggeration to say that i the poorest of the poor people of out I country are women found in the bantustans. They constitute the most oppressed and exploited segment of the entire society. Their suffering is a combmation of apartheid laws of influx control, deprivation of political, economic, and social rights, the structural exploitation and under development of the bantustans and the subservient status of women within the sg_called tribal system. This calls on us to reach out to these women who know no other life except that of suffering. Due to the absence of men. through migrant labour in the bantustuns. women have to assume a multiplicity of functions. They undertake dmncstic chores and agricultural Lietivitics and also raise families single P135953 They iiilCC broken families. or a total 1 ack 051163101 facilities, finhanded in these barren uninhabitable loneliness. shortage of water, poor uncitti shortage s and starvation which has led to the many graves found in these areas especially those of childircn. Very tew of them receive any money from their husbands and sons who are working in towns. Moreovert they have 10-hour with humiliationof their husbands who take additional wives or girlfriends in the urban areas and either divide their wages between the two households. or abandon their hnntustan families entirely. As a result most; of the women in these areas are hreadwinners but the law still regards them as minors. on all matters oti itiiportunce t0 the household. They cannot inherit 0i bUV land. This' is one of the major problcms they flitm As women they are excluded From the law or decision making process right from their village. and thus have no say in the whole Bantustan 5ystcm while they are in the majority in these areas. Such Bantustans development policies or programmes ignore the problems and disadvantages faced by women. Many of the plans for these areas which are sekiom implemented are based on. the beliet that men are still the major producers in the rural areas There is a great shortage of educe rational facilities 1n these areas as a result many rural boys and girls do not attend school or leave very early to be employed in the white farms or migrate to towns in search of work. In towns where there is bettet employment women from the

bantustans are classified as Hillegais and they find difficulties in,acql;ir-

ing formal work contracts, housing
WRura/ women working on land they do not own:
41- . - . . . CONTINUED ON PAGE 7
Drinking water remains one major problem facmg rural women.

VOWPagul
A Call to the Peopl
COMPATRIO'IS,

The period we are going through is characterised by a sharpening confront-.tion between our people and the racist regime. Pretoria has unleashed a despemte onslaught to break the people's resistance and block the path of out further advance towards the seizute of power. At this moment the enemy is trying the recapture the strategic initiative seized by the d'einocratic movement of the masses.

The Botha regime has been eompelled. for the third time in three years, to impose a state of emergency; indicating that it can no longer control events except thruugh :1 State of martial law. On May 6th. the fascist regime staged another shtm of arrogance. Through the racist electitms the regime sought once again to demonstrate that power resides only in the hands of an insignificant minority and will remain there fur the brace. ble future. To achieve this. the racists relied on the State of limergene) . an unparalleled shmx of force brutal suppression 8le external uggremtm. Botlm and hisigenerula saw this exercise a: L1 means tttenrisolidttting their hold on potter and shifting the spotlight of South it-Xtrieun polities from the basic issues confronting our country.

Events during; the first half of this V year have disproved this illusion: :k The First four months of 1987 have witnessed a risingy militaney and resolve among the .black workers unprecedented in the history of our struggle. There have been . more workers'strikes during:y these 4 months than the whole of lust year. More and more workers have begun to combine various forms of struggle in pursuit of their demands and are embracing the p0: lieies Of the liberatinn movement. t? In a series of impressive general strikes we have demonstrated the united strength of our entire people. raised the issue of peoples power and reduced Bothuls election tn :1 side show. The giant democratic trade union federation. ('OSATU. has grown and is making tidvunees in many industries. , ' The attem'pts Of the regime to break the rent boycott have not

The attem'pts of the regime to break the rent boycott have not borne anysignifaegnt results. Instend, the people are devising ever better methods of collective self defence.

I t? The two successive State of Emergency have failed to destroy the movement for peopleg power.

Despite the innumerable difficulties we have encountered, the rewport Elizabeth women's organisation members singing at the June 76m (?nmr gimeis fundamental aim of reestablishing its control is being vigorously challenged at all levels.

The actions Of Umkhonto we Si-LWC and popular self-del'enee units and eumbat groups have increased both in number 11nd effectiveness. And a greater number of individuals 21nd gmups are participating in organised actions of peoples war.

Growing eontigents Of the oppressed people are mastering the metods of underground struggle and erlSlunCC.

The youth have moved decisively to occupy their_post as the shock troops lb the national democratic struggle. They have made an invaluable contribution to the sueeess scored in the current revolt: in defiance of state terror they have launched SAYCO, the latgest democratic youth organisation ever seen in our etitmtry. Virtually all sectors of the mass democratic movement are recovering from the initial effects of the emergency as demonstrated by the launch at national level of a broad Spectrum of new organisations. Most significant is the growing unity of our heroic women.

The futility Ofthe White elections has created the potential for more til our White eonrputriuts tn loin the extru-purliumentury struggle. it Despite ButhuS ill-gotten electoral success the tension and divisinns within the racist eztmp have not been resolved.

We enter the second half til 1987 with an untlugging determinutimt 10 hold en tn the strategic initiative and to advance further to peoplek power. The regime is engaged in u eurnpuign to. '

i: weaken and destroy the peoples vanguard. the ANf. the UDF. ('0-SATU und other delnnerutie HI" guniszttinns.

suw mayhem and destruction in the region.

littd puppets trout unitmg the black masses to man their upzrrtheid structures;

ix reverse the tide 0'. isolation that has enveloped its miserable lLlugCI'. We ImVe it in our power to defeat these schemes and utlvunee inure ru' pidly to the goal of peoples power: tBothu and his clique have been wearkened but they have yet to be defeat ted.

WE CALL on all democratic 11nd patriotic South Africans to ensure that the month of June witnesses 11 massive revolt in all fronts: it Let us act in unity to challenge the State of Emergency 21nd 1111 nets of repression.

FROMPAGE 6 Working women must lead been carryiing under the white minority system of apartheid colonii alism. From the Xild" we suffer triple oppression. and exploitation - as a nation of the oppressed. us wurkers and as women by backward traditions.. These manifest themselves in the denial to govern our country. lack of land. discriniinutimi at work. lowcst paid. unemployment poverty. sexual hurrassmeni 'JI work. cgnfinenicnt Io buntustuns. exclusion from labour while r'cgurdcg :13 minors or labour appendages by racist laws. The reality of apurthcid colonialism is that ii rob: working xmnicn and men 01' their x'cr) means uticxistencc. There tire too few jobs. thcrc is nu mime) for tiUUd. there are no houses, Working class hotncholds LH'C characterised b) Ll liiic hing struggle ugziiri;t hunger. pmcrt) 'dHLl picmuturc dCLlIh. The hm hm unh cumpoundcti ilih grim writhirun iihigh smtuins iihgitiniutc xihrtc rninurrt) rtilc thrutrgh htliich. :rriil grim riiixi hurhuiuth istircxxrwir. RESIST OPPRESSION icihm WUl'hHig xmnicn tho xmr thnt h . 3:441an tho pcmpic the democratic Lillti nppmmi murmit) urguniwd tn the democratic nimcmcnt mi ntri' mnmr) nti nhich ihc AN(' ix L1H intergrtrl purl. Lind pl;r_xitig Li Vanguard rulc in the strugglc tinr nzrtrunul lihcmtion. The pitch iii the brittle r'oiiicqtx Ihc tlctcrrninutinn ur' the PC'UPIC it) lebhi .intl ticruging 1x A uni fend themselves against this offensivc. Thus we cannot talk about uppression and exploitation without talking about resistance to oppression and exploitation. As working women we have been been uniintcp gal! and dynamising part of tho struggles waged by our penplc. We played 'J significant role in many trudc union campaigns Lind to the furmutiun of (OSJXTU. ORGANISE MORE This coming perintl xAc :rrc cul lcd upun to act more concrctch lhun in the Dust. As dorncuic workers we have fnrrnediSADWU (South Ai'r'i. gun Dunicstic WUIkCH Union) wcnccd to organise nmrc iwriicn into 11 trurn both the rural .rnd urban dlth.hVU HCCtiIttiWClIith iUICiHiHI Of the. turmm tanniniigrrx hittrrghni h) democratic time unions, civic and political organisations, women and youth organisations for example . the struggle for a 40 hour working week. jobs for till, a living wugct unr employment bencfitE'. iriutcrnity and paternal lcuyg, childcare facilities against sexual harrassment. education

for our children. against rent incrcu-

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sex and cvictiuns. end Of the state of
cmcrgcncy, campaign to free uur'
children. Cultipuigii (01' thc I'clcusc of
Nelson Mandela illld hli political pri-
SOners, the unbunning of the ANC.
and the return of till lhc cxiicd pu-
triots. Ahnvc Llll wc ux working wii-
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and Umkhuntn Wc Si/wc. Wc wlin
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let us exercise our lCllkllllg rule?
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suiarics and the conditions 01' work
are very poor. But due to lilak of
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Iiun their employers on their work
ing conditions and nulurics.
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areas.
The dCanCrZIIiC movement must
inukc a break through to roach out to
"the women in the buntustuns. Moro
rural or Buntuslun Action Commit:
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1005 must be formed, to organise tiicsc areas. Mast 01' these urczm hum Ll rich history of resistance and we have witnessed recently how mun) have stood their ground 0n the question of forced rcrriuvulsi Wc must scrisitise Ihc wnnrcn in lhc hunt!!-ntuns mi LlH the issues which uchct thcni UH u daily basis tag. drinkingI water, employment school for their children. migrant labour 5) 51cm illlkl detentions.

l.ct it be nut task to publicise the plight oi lhnsc dclzriticd in ziryus oli whom so little is heard mi ik'i its work for the LiCSll'llCliUll ot'ihe bmmmm 5) ,xterii hke we did in destroying puppet bodies in the urban areas and estublish revolution ury pemplek conitiilltees. Those bun-IllSILUIb ure purl of our country Smith Africa whose unity is what we must all tight for.

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MOBILISE BANGRUSTANS
'tAsinamalill' (We have no i money)
Why canlt we pay bus fares?
We ha-ve no money!
Why are our families hungry?
We have no money?
Why are our children dying?
We have no money!
This cry against the increasing
cost of living lzttmehed by SACTU
during the popular bus-boyeott in
our eotmtry still rings thrtitigh mtir
major townships. It portrays the tin-
goingy political and eennornie strut.-
gle that hers gripped our cotltttr)
ever uinee. As women who Lllc the
first hit by the risini:x eost OfliVlllg We
lime been in the tore-ttont of this
struggle.
Today the resistunee nrmententi
the protest campaign and the liberti-
tion struggle has continued and has
become stronger than before. More
than ever belore our victory 15 in-
sight. But this does not mean we
must relax. Rather we should in-
tensity our resistance on ull-trents to
liberate our ektllijV.
We the oppressed. have SPCHI Hll
our liVCS turning the wheels of the
'white bosses machines. in the plun-
tutinnst mines and their homes as
"kitchen girls and garden boys". Our
reward has been low wages. rent in-
ereuses. trunsport-fares inereases.
starvation. forced rentovuh untl evier
(ions. Throughout tie lost the right
to exist and apartheid eoloniulisht
has meant a heavy price Ull our llVCS.
lihe raeist rulem in uur euuntry
like all other colonial masters in the
euntinent hate Lllttu)h best pre-
fered and enetitrruged at all e051) the
the Of the migrant labour system to
amass great quantities till wealth from
our human. mineral and agricultural
resources. The direct perpetuation ell
this erttel labour syutem untl the itn-
plcrnentation of the apartheid puliees
are responsible for the bnrdening ol'
our lives txith such injustices such as
high rent) Lind evietinns. Tlltlt is wh)
Llll our etlurts shritiltl be dii'eetetl tn-
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ble urban Working class will denmnd
social securities such :15 better hous-
ing and working conditions, and they
txill ferin eettnotnie. political and
wetnl organisations to tight tut these
rights: it is not in the interest nlthe
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capitalist boss to stientl purl Olinlllsu profits On the betterment ml the life of lnimun luboui'ing tools. The Inigttmt lubour'systent can ensure thttt worker; are hired on enntrtiets and they (NC periodically changed. tl) that there can t be time tier nmnn Ut'gllttihtinn. But that is only ;t'.wish. Due to the development of industry in our enuntr) the eunstunt demand of lubnttr in the permanent industr) hus loreetl the bosses and government In comtruet urban dwelling places tor the work lbree. Thg houses themselves. are intitleqtiutcly built 10 tztke eure nli heulth .ennditions Ull the workers. The rents are made, deliberately high 50 us to be turned ustsuurees ullpml'it let themselves. And the rent will entitinnttsl) rise during the crisis inherent in the eupitzilist system so that the lite nli 21H .Xl'itezin tmrker is worsened Lind burdened while the gtit'ernntent Lllld big private businesses eontinue to quin prbtits even during the erisib hitting their system. The mt net's ml the ineztnx oli trunnpurt. in their eulnuring nannes like Pl'T('(). (lreyhntintls ztntl the Railwznw ate eztlled in to share the spnil. Beenttse ml the regime's iueiztl pdlieies ()lll' IUXHlSlllph are situated severiil kilnnietres awry tronnn the inthistrial Lireus tleeluretl white them. We Blacks iil'C eulletl in onee again In empty nut pockets t0 lilllillCC these big transport business hutises. Llll til whom ure white. The regime is not interested in using the public l'ttntls tt) subsidise the transport lures. Thus time and again like rents and timidstttlTs the lures will rise leaving us without any penny. ennmnie Co-President cookin "C0mrade A/bert/na S/su/u f UDF f-0x0.) 0 IAB: WE lik :: E73 е F:): PU N:Em QQ) tug Uh (EN e: org til

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have demanded the regime to
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rather than Ll local issue The regime
tun .ttlx'ieetl time and again to lUle
into the llt'lltg standards of our pen-
ple. their housing eontlititms etc; but
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this left llx with no ehniee except to
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iHUt groups nznnetl pinthietive Lllltl
ntm-prntluetive. We ure foreetl 1U
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-lines set out by the regime. Aecortli
ing to the pnlitieatl prngrzinnne nl the
CONTINUED ON PAGLi 11
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IN September this year. the ANC
Women's Section will be holding its
second National Conference in the
external mission. The theme of this
conference is "For all-round organis-
ation and greater women's unity for
the seizure of powerli
'l'he l'itst unileieiiee ot the Alri-
eun Nutinnul ('Uiigi'ess Woitieiik See-
IlUll outside (tut country was held in
Scplcmhei WM HI 1/11iillt111 the eu-
pitul cit) () l the Peoples Republic ul'
Angola.
'lilie ennleteiiee will bring together
Ali'iezin Nzitimiul (itmgrcss Wumeii
Hum Illl pm Is ul'tlie WUIld where they
u'rc organised as lunctitmmg UITIIS
carrying nut different tasks in pursuit
lo lihcrute ()llr enuntry limm apat-
llieid colonialism. lhcy will be com-
ing from the 1) .X.. (.unudu. (iuhu.
Suvicl lvlllUll. (iDR. Poland, Rumu-
niu. (/echbslm'iu. llungzir). Bulgaria.
l'nitcd Kingdom. l-iiunce. Sweden.
Denmark. Finland. Holland. Belgium.
beliegul. Nigeria. (ihunu. ligypt; Tun
mniu. Zunihiu. Zimbabwe Atlsttulixi.
and the Federal Republic tit (iet-
mun)?
All delegates to the coutur-
enee-will include the stalwarts. the
June 16 genetutimL the UDF genein
ution. the young lions. Women stu-
dents. Women in our Army Ume
klmnto We Si/we and those de-
ployed in different ANC offices.
The second National WomenS
Section (imit'ercnee will focus ()II the
.ptesent situation in our country. lts
t73mm / to r: Comrade Doreen Motshabi, the late Florence Mophosho, Blanche Laguma and Fre
da Masemo/a -
k . X80 (.
'Comrade H/amas Nkob/ - Treasurer-Genera/ of the AN C havin'g- a chat over a_
snack with some of the delegates at the Luanda Conference.
discussions uill centre around the,
theme and Sub-themes which
includes:
1. An understanding of South Atri-
eun Women in society and hen;
rule in the :ttugglc.
Wumen in umkhonto We Sizwe.
Wmncn in the trade unions.
Womenis organisation at
and abroad.
Wmnen and health in South Atri-
(a. The situation otiehildrcn in South
Attica.
/. Women in Culture
8. Our pluee'und role within the in-
ternal women's movement.
home
4.5)!)
'JI
continuing with discussion over tea-break at the last conference.
Prior to the conference ANC Wo-
men 5 Section units will hold regional
conferences to discuss the above and
come up with other issues to be dis-
cussed. The conference will also dis-
cuss the structure of the Womenls
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Section and elect the leadership Ot: our women's section for the next five years.

- Despite the fact that we the women from instdeM'ill-not De attending. we must have an input to this conference. Let us discuss the theme and the sub-themes of the conference and make our' own contributions. It is our conference too.

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Working Women Must Lead
IN his annual address this year over Radio Freedom, comrade President Oliver
Tambo called on the working class of our country to contribute more than in
the past to the common struggle of liberation from apartheid, oppression and
exploitation. This was a call to all working people, including us the women.
Today, in our country We cannot
talk about the problem the black
working class women tiucc under
the criminal apartheid system
without talking about the war which
is touching every personis life
throughout the length and breadth
at the country.
Since September 19254. the lives
xiii ull sectimis of the oppressed have
hccn transformed by the war which
is engulfing our country. Tlmusunds
Ot mir tlcur mics have died at the
hundls ut the racist scarrity forces.
while scores of thousziiids huvc pas-
sed thruugh the tlctcnlimr centres
uHLi prisons in the course wt thc .xtzitc
mi mncrgcrrcy where the) huxc hccn
mhlwtul 10 the extrema mt physical
llliLi E15) uhnlogiciti tnrtrrrc. ()tir Itmrr-
5111px arid sciitmix have been trum-
tnririeti iirtu htrttlcurtrimtlx xxhcrc'mr-
L-mit) threes LlliLi their purmrttihrur)
tlkiIUllCih lhc Kilbixtnhi'tmisx. "rigi-
lurriex." ( ht xxhutcxcr rrtrmci and gum-
mzmtlm try it) impmc xthite pthI
hchintl u ci'itrd tit tcursmnke. :1 sturm
tit hullctn und a blanket ur repressive
1;:sz to hide their harhartius deeds.
NO SLEEP
Millions oli Utll pcopic hum hecn
torccd into clandestine existence Lil
their places at work. in thc
wirmiunities and even in their own
homes. They do not know :1 moment
ut pence As workers our nights are
rude!) broken by hippus Lind search
lights and raids. while tmr tluys are
shattered by anxiety about the tizitc
uti our tiutiiiiics especially our child-
ren whom we leave behind us we
mil in the homes. offices and fuc-
thries of the parents and reiutixcs 01'
those (recuming nur 'tlHK'lhiiiDS. We
Icmtiin Lil xwrk uncertain xxhcthcr 0v
(1111' return our children xxiii he ihcrc
or not.
IMMEDIATE FRONTLINE
Indeed. the very posmon we ue-
ctipy :15 black women in the labour
market places many of US 7 those in
domestic serxicc in the immediate
tmntlinc of this confi'nnttition. Not
only have incidences of physical as-
sualt on domestic workers dramatic-
LIHV increased since the emergencies
begun. as employers vent their hat-
red and anger against the oppressed
mujm'ity in their immediate vici-
nity. the women who work for them
iWork/na women _ in COSA TU.
Farmworkers produce the nation's food 6 _
Т
in their homes.
The domestic xmrker i5 also duil)
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writironted xxith crimeb being carried out in the tmxnshipt a: she xxashn the bloodatained uniforms of her white employers husband. suns. or brothers. Ot course many 01' us' cannot take this passively. as when M: wish the blood stains we know that e that blood belongs to a black person and sometimes to our own children.

NEW CONDITION

This "new" condition e the war m adds on top of the "01d" burden we as black working women have CONTINUED ON PAGE 7 they Often go hungry

e of South Africa.
aeration he/d in New Brighton.
3k Let us ttbserve June 16th. South
Africa Youth Dalzlu a mannerthat befits the heroism of those
who made this day the landmark
that it is. This day should see a
must massive demonstration of
our resolve to be free through general strikes and heightened mass
and armed actions. A special role
in this period is to he played by
the youth.

June 16th brings into sharper 11% eus the struggle for peoples eduealien. Through our actions in this perititl and beyond. we should remove the regimes lbrees of oeeupatient from the school gmunds: create and strengthen democratie structures of students: parents and teachers in every school. college and university. and 111081 ahead to implement our demand fur peopleis educatiun.
t't Let us mark June 16th in the t

t't Let us mark June 16th in the tradition of the democratic resistance it has come to symbolise. WE CALL on all sectors of the demoet'atie movement to come to the defence of COSATU. Let us defeat the machinations of the fascist aimed at immobilising this noble creation of 'the South African working class. Let us strengthen COSATU and net in unity in all regions and localities and at national level to ensure that it grows in width and depth. Let all factories, mines, farms and other env terprises become the bases of the democratic trade union movement. WE CALL on all communities -urban and rural to establish and

Where enemy , weakened them, let us rebuild and defend the organs of peoples power like the apple of our eye. In the place of leaders detained or killed, let a thousand organisers take their places. liaeh and every resident should ennull'C that the street and village eommittees emittitte to operate. lzaeh and every demoeratie organisation should strengthen the peoples eummittees.

strengthen peopleis committees.

Wlt (All (m all the penple. in partiettlar the youth. tt) farm and engage m self-tlelienee units and C(Hllbdl groups in action against the fascist army. police and death squads the Vlgllulltir Let Us Use all the means at HUr disposal lt) render the regimes threes less and less effective. As units nti L'mkhonto We Si/we merge with popular t'ighting uetaehments. they shall impart to them the skills of peoples wart Such a joint offensive against the fascist murderers shall further reinforce the peoples revolt, which will progressively reduce the

regime's capacity to defend itself. WE CALL on workers. youth. stu-Jents. women. the religious community and their organisations to act deeisively against the regimes strue-'tut'es of repression. in particular the so-ealled Joint Management Committees. We CALL on the businessmen to desist from participating in the financing the Joint Committees and other structures of the regime. repressive ti Let the regimes death squads e the Vigilante hordes , be made inr operative in all localities. It is the repression .. has Management 1 -_x task of the democratic movement to deny the regime the social base from which it recruits these forces. The extent of our work among the unemployed and the rural communities will determine the extent to which the regime can use our brothers against us. t't Let us identify and isolate the in-' corrigible and professional hirelings and let themfeel the wrath of the people. # Let us defeat the regimes attempts to revive the network of the spies and informerywhieh we had immobilised during the height 01 the eurrent revtilt-. Through action we must ensure that none within tut: midst beetimes a tool of the racist oppressors' and murderers. WI: ('ALL On the peuple throughout the eutmtr) to refuse to pay rents and improve UUF means of collcetive selti-detiettee so that thbse al read; engaged in the rent boycoti ehall not be isolated and defeated. WE (ALL ON (TOSATU and all trade unionist to resist any attempt by the regime and employers to crush the rent boycott by deducting rent arrears from the workers meagre wage packets. WE CALL on all sectors of the democratic movement and all our people in their organised formations to support the COSATU campaign for a living wage. WE CALL on our people in the bantustans to rise against the-Qynnieal puppet administrations. More especially, we call on the people of Kwa Ndebele to nip in the bud the "independence" scheme as they 99 heroically did last year. Our campaign against this scheme should aim at destroying the bantustan machinery once and for all. All our people CONTINUED ON PAGE t1 'Some of the children _ the yoUngest aged eight, Who were detainedtand charged with public violence in March 7986.

VOWPage 10' CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1 tive pamCipants 01 our organisations or groups at all times and not only during major campaigns and from there they go back'to their kitchens. We have said our place is in the battlefield of struggle and notjust in .the kitchen. We thus need to address ourselves to an existence of a political programme which will draw and keep women into our organisations and groups. The programme must be eontinous and address itself to the burning issues affecting our women in different areas. urban and rural. This will enable us to attract more women even during this difficult period under the State of Emergeney.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT This brings us to the question of political development of out wemen. We know that as women we suffer a lot of dissabilities under the apartheid system. Political couscousness does not come on its own but must be brought from outside. Thus we need 10 address ourselves to this. We need to reach out to our Wm men in the hantustans. our white sisters. "eoloureds" and Indians the youth. xmtkets especially domestic and farm workers. and the nurses LillLi Either women health workers and professionals.

We need to develop new working methods under the present state terror which seems to have come to stay. This entails looking at how our women at lower leadership level can play a mute active role rathertthun 75 Years of struggle only those at national level. We must protect our leaders, cadres and organisations. We must continue to break fear instilled by the enemy amongst our women and build in them 'eonfi-

dence and determination to fight on

against all odds.

The question of unity is untithet :hallenge we must address in this 75 years of our vanguard movement. The ANC .was founded to unite all the people of South Africa. History thus calls on us at the moment to again as we did in 1954 bring together the different womenis organisutiuns and groups in existence into one womenis movement. This will enable us to coordinate and spenthead out campaigns against the regime. We must not leave qut any womenls groups or organisations from this. We must also not he hindered by the question of. the name. Let this be decided dcnmei'atieully by all women concerned and relate to the existing reality in our enuntry. While establishing this united womenls Federation we must enn-

tinue to strengthen our different grassroots. regional or local groups 01' organisations. as this is where our strength lies. The situation in southern Africa is ripe with promise nfliberution. The 'One industry, one union, one country, one federation. LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM Voice of the African National Congress and Umkhonto We Sizwe, The People's Army RADIO LUSAKA Shortwave 31 mb; 9605 KHZ Shortwave 25 mb. 11880 KHz RADIO LUANDA 7.00 pm. Daily, 10.15-10-45 plr'n. Wed. 53.30-10.00 p.m. Thurs 10-15-1045 pm. Fri 800845 am, Sun 7.30 pm. MoneSat Shortwave 31 mb. 9535 KHz 8.30 pm. Sun E and 25 mb E a RADIO MADAGASCAR 7.00-9.00 p.m. Men.Sat RADIO ETHIOPIA Shortwave 49 mb. 6135 KHz 7.W8.m p.m. Sun 9.3071011) pm. Daily Shortwave 31 mh 9595 KHZ people of the world have put St; much hope on us. we Cullltll tltiil them. They too are actively UbSCI'Ving the 751h anniversary of our movement. We therefore Lite expected to mttrk this jubilee in 11 real extru-ordinury way. We must take it us a mpment of decision and follow the steps of our predecessors Our enuntry, regitm and world 011% 101' HCCdom and peace. Let us together bring this cry to an end. HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE 0 THE ANC WOMEN'S SECTION PASS VOW ON! ' GIVE IT TO.YOUR FRIENDS AND 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 FRUENDS.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9 VUW Page 1 7 Call to the Nation (continuation) in every corner of South Africa, must join in the campaign to prevent the' Kwu Ndebele sell-out. WE (ALL on all democratic and anti-uparthcid forces to intensify the campaign for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and (le tuinees. On August 5th, our leader Nelson Mandela will have spent 25 years in prison. Let us wage a massive 'etmrdiii.ttetl vztmpuign to; their re-Cztse. uniting till groups and individuals genuinely interested in the resulutitm ot' the crisis alllreting Slouth Africa. Wli (f'ALL on the (foluured and Indian Communities to intensify the struggle in their localities and act in unity with the rest of the democratic forces. Let us build and strengthen grassroots organisations, engage in action to make the system unworkable and move ahead to establish organs of peoples power. The ghetto councils and parliament stooges should not be allowed to operate in our midst. Wli (:ALL Oh those of our white compatriots who oppose the system of racist domination to redouble their efforts for the creation of a democratic South Africa. Let us advance from the recent campaign against the racist elections as a more formidable broad front uniting all democratic, patriotic and anti-apartheid forces. The future lies with the forces of peace and democracy. The time to isolate the fascists is now. Only through action shall we minimise the bloodletting and destruction You have no reason to defend White previ/edge--resrgn into which Botha and his generals are ihcreasingly drawing our country. WE CALL on those serving in the regimes institutionis and armed maehineries to withdraw from their evil deeds. and join the overwhelming majority in the struggle for a better South Africa. You have no reason to lefend white privilege. , WE CALL on those whom the regimc intends to appoint to its National Statutory Council to refuse to be drawn into this sinister scheme designed to perpetuate the apartheid system. The demand of the moment is for a non-racial, united and demoo ratio South Africa. WE CALL on all South Africans who genuinely want to see democracy. peace and prosperity for our country to unite in action for a speedy end to racist rule.i 'FE D TRAW members at the graveside of Hector Peterson the first Victim of the June 76 Uprising - from left to right,-Pauline Malaise, June Ml angeni, Albertina Sisulu and Dudu Chili.

This is the moment to build the broadest front possible against the die-hard racists and war mongers. This is the time to end raetst'oppres;iOn, destruction and war against the peoples of So'uth Africa and Southern Africa.

There can be no retreat! Many lives have been lost; many have been tortured physically and psychologically, many more have been driven from their homes and live the life of fugitives. But their blood, their courage and their suffering have spurred us to fight on until final victory. At this hour of decision, the ANC salutes all of you: heroes ofindomitab'le will and determination. Fighters true to the traditions of our brave forebears.

ADVANCE TO PEOPLEIS'iPOWER VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

National Party v there are among others the following plans to ensure complete segregation and iliseparate developmentii between the black and white people:

1. To elear all smaller African residential aress within the white areas and the consolidating of African populations 111 the bantu-Stuns.

The reduction of the numbers of Africans living in the hurban white areas".

Off course the major targets in implementing these policies have been us the women , who are regarded as supertlous labour appendages and thus have no right to be in the urban areas. We have never necepted these crimes and have stood up to organise ourselves to meet the regimes violence which have been a feature in forcing us to move or in evictions. We must continue to resist. Let us be: part and parcel of the defence cpm-i mittees formed in our townships against state violence.

Ix.)

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Make Vigilantes Inoperative
THE failure by the racists to dear
with the African situation politically
has manifested itself in the intesific-
ation of violence on the activists and
leaders of the democratic organisa-
tions and trade union. Extending
their strategy of divide and rule. they
have drafted blacks to carry out acts
of violence - hence the Wigilantes."
OWX CHARACTERISTICS
Whilst the creation of Vigilutttes
has been a countrywide: phcnmttc-
ttmt. the ptmincc of Natal ltus htm-
cx'er in mm characteristics. Firstly
Xutul is the first pt'm'ittcc in mm
.cuuntt') to have "vigilante" groups.
Stunts); ;ts shrill groups kntmrt us
luqntttlu. in the curl) sixties. thc)
5plCJtl 4nd sttcngthcttcd otguntszt-
tiottull). At :1 later stttgc. thq begun
to lie ttscd h) certain political lviglllcs
ttotulth from ltllxdlll'd. Rccczttl) tltc)
haw hccrt kll'; HHl tlllkl ttttctgmtml
mthttt the sttttettttts ttf llllilltl ntttl
m-umtttcttt tigtttcs xxtthttt tltts tttlxtl
org.tmstttutt haw mm and
lwccll
:tgutn
.hMNlJlCLl xrtth xtgtluntc
attacks
Scwtttlly nf ttll thc prmttrgcs in
South Mttttt tho xigiluntcs in Natal
hr the must utguntsctl. Nut tmh that
httt also the must Hcltttls. This 1s hm
t_tttsc Hf th-sit thxtlildlltlll Mllt lulu-
:htt hid the tttgt thttt
1 111t
xxhcrc
thlltc .llttl lls lelel LC
Its 111 llth pm-
ttmti til the tttgtst
mt tlt: rtgt-
Hl VG
1.tt.t:s :sthmt ttsihlc. 'Iltcsc gtt ttp
K hcctt utttrct xxttst RI tti'ics
ulgttl'. 1s tttttlttlt ttsct ht thc tuctst
putty: Jllkl thq 11.1w hush ttpcttl)
lltL'x 9.1!:
gum; tn pttllgc stuttutts tw gut tllttl':
uutllluttllllttt. Furthut tlttlc thctc,1s Ll
ltttttmlt gusc xxttmc utr-c i'tlgtlulllcu runs
ut'wstcd b) the pnltcc and ;t KWLI-
lttltt 'Xll) xtcttt to LClIlullLl hrs rc-
lcnsc su) ittg thut this man xtus llL:ULlCtl
m ftttthcr LlllthleN Ull l DF :tcttxists.
llkc in thc rest Hf thc wtttttr) thc
Httists hmc urtttc tn tclt hcuxth on
the xtglluttws. Thu t'cttsun fur this is
nut hard to fitttl. The XigilutttCs stay
ttt thc tuxmships and kntm tts vcr)
xtcllt It is therefut'e custer fur them
tu fmtl tts nut. Atmthcr rcusmt is that
tl tutltws thc wst of deploying pt)-
licc 1n the tmxtiships beguuse 1er rar-
ttsls ktttm they ll'thc their surm-
gutcshn curt) thcit'idirty xfot'kas Lt
rcsttlt. In mum of nut townships
:tgtttitists Ht) longer can do their
unllx in pcztcc. They mm have In
hlLlC frmrr huth the racists Lllld the
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'r'igilutttcsr Such has been thc cube in
plttccs like l'tttlu/t. lmhztli. l.gtmnnt-
xtllc zttttl many other townships in
Ntttztl.
Tl lli PliOPHTS RliSPONSlz
The pemple have begun to urv
guttisc thc vigiluntcs. They have set
up structures to deal with the vigi-
lante menace. Already in places like
Lumonu'illc (ha: vigilutttcs ltthC hccn
cngugcd and given the taste of their
medicine. The newly fornicd South
African Youth Congress (SAYCO)
hus culled fm thci fmtmution of dc-
fcncc units to dcfzintl the people Lllltl
their lenders against Vigilantesf
However. xxc need to discuss the
prupcr response to tltis problem. WC
need 10 find ;1 wt) to deal ttitlt the
issue politically. like Llll)' pttlltlcnl
issttc thztt hus confronted the pcoplc
at one time or the other.
The first thing to take lttltt CUIlSlv
'dcrutiott is the fttut that thc crtcm)
ths Used the xctt sutttc mlr'ctsc
ItlulCtlLll mtttlittotts that it hutl gmt-
totl. SCCHllLllXt our cffurts 10 pohtr-
wile the oppressed mtttmttttit) has
not touched ouch utttl CVCI')ttttC zttttl
the crtettty ttself hs crtthurked ttlt tr so-
I,"
rtmts propaganda (Lilllplllgll against
the l'cl't)lLlllt)Huf) fm'ccs utttl this htts
'had some measure of sllcccss uniting
sonic of our people especially those
why ut'i- .1 politically tttthtitiutcd.
This therefore tttcuns that the ri-
gilzmtc problem is first and lurc-
ttrost at political pruhlcm uttd HCCLlS :1
political snlutiun. In this CLISC xx'c
llltVC to step up nut politlci/ution
guttlpulgtt ztttd Cdttcalc our people as
to the t'egitteis trtunouvres on the
people. We huve to teach our people
how the enemy tric'ks us into divid-
ing us and tttuking us fight one Lill-
uthcra TltC'I'Czll enemy of thc ricoplc
is the system that keeps us and our
children starving. We also hitvc tu
expose thusc withit the oppressed
community who have sold their suttls
to the enemy :irtd ztrc rcc'rtriting Ulll'
unsuspecting hmthct's to the
work of the enemy.
(10
't
f
h
HARD CORP. TRAITORS
Tho uhovc approach will enable us
to differentiute from those who have
bccn llOt)LlWlllde ztnd hurtl-corc trui-
tors. For the hard core traitors we
need ti) show no mctcy. They must
know that if they choose to do the
tmrk Ofthc enemy. then the pcnplck
it't'uth will he theirs tu lllSlC. It is
against thattt and the racist regittte
that m: should m'gutrisc our tlcfcncc
ttttits.
me'cvcr. wc have to hc curcful
```

that the r'tgilttttto prohlertt thlCS not detract tts ft'nttt the mum isste. The muift issue still I'Cltlttllts ttutttely to scl/c ptmcr illltl tt'uttfcr it fmttr the racist Illltttlll) to tho oppt'ussed mulm'it). Itt tleuling with the Vigilante melxlertr xxc h;tt'c to ho full_x aware that it 1s putt of the huttlt's that we must xxrtt tmxmtls xxttttittg the war nflihemtiutt.

:kSister Bernard Ncuhe President of FEDTRAW held under the racist emergency laws. Fighting for her release and those of all the emergency detainees.