

INVESTIGATING THE PAST

Practicing history research skills at Liliesleaf

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Liliesleaf is a site of memory and learning, situated in Rivonia, Johannesburg. In the early 1960s, it was the political nerve centre of the liberation movement.

It served as a place of refuge for struggle leaders and the secret headquarters of the liberation movement.

Today, Liliesleaf is a heritage site where visitors are invited to engage with and reflect on South Africa's history of resistance.

The National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences is an independent statutory body that works to enhance and coordinate scholarship, research and ethical practice in the fields of the humanities and social sciences. Amongst other goals, it promotes the role of the humanities in the development of responsible, ethical citizens.

Why keep history alive?

Are you tired of hearing that old line about studying history so that we don't repeat the mistakes of the past? If you're a student of history, you may well wonder if this makes any sense or is relevant. The conditions that existed in the past are not the same as the conditions we face today. The same people aren't around and the same rules and laws don't apply. Nobody is walking around checking the lessons of history before they decide what to do in the present.

So, what *is* the point of looking back into the past and trying to understand it?

One good reason to study history is that it offers us insight into human behaviour.

“Proper education is a mirror in which man sees the world around him and learns to understand it. The right kind of education enables man to see what the world has been, what it is, and how it can change to suit him or his way of living.”

Moses Kotane

Education can be and has been used to befuddle the minds of the common people. But education can also be used as an important instrument in the struggle for freedom and human progress. It is this kind of education which we need. We must learn geography to know the universe, that there are other countries besides our own and to know the people of different nationalities inhabiting these countries.

We must learn history to know and understand the story of man's development through the ages – the various forms of social organisation and the causes of the rise and fall of those forms of human relationships.”

It helps us to think about the present much more than about the past. History makes us notice patterns and cycles; it helps us to consider the consequences of our actions, especially unintended ones. So history is not just a series of past events. It lives inside you – the historian or social scientist – to see the inter-relationships between things and to weave them into stories. History is alive in the present and offers us tools for making sense of the world around us.

History is a process of enquiry

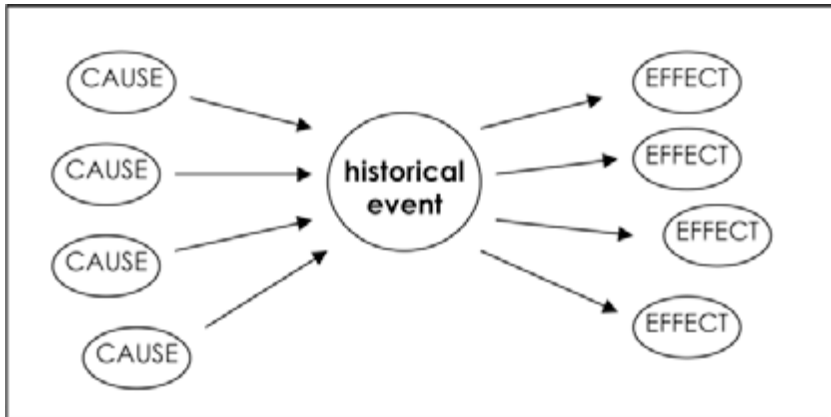
During your visit to Liliesleaf, you gathered information about the events that took place here. This included the purchase of the property in 1961 and in particular, the police raid on 11 July 1963. You also learned about the context of the Liliesleaf story: the situation that existed beforehand in South Africa, and the far-reaching effects that followed the raid. In this way, the history of Liliesleaf provides a window for investigating an important chapter in the struggle against apartheid. It became the focal point of a much larger story.

History research often involves choosing a focal point through which to explore a much larger story. It is where you choose to shine the light of your enquiry. But just as the Liliesleaf story cannot be appreciated without understanding the context within which it took place, your focal point will reveal patterns that start much earlier and stretch far beyond it. It will show itself to be part of a much larger web of events, people, movements, contributing factors, effects, coincidences, trends, simultaneous occurrences and unexpected outcomes. In short, it will show itself to be part of a history that is complex, diverse, and which sometimes can take surprising turns.

"If you only hear one side of the story, you have no understanding at all."

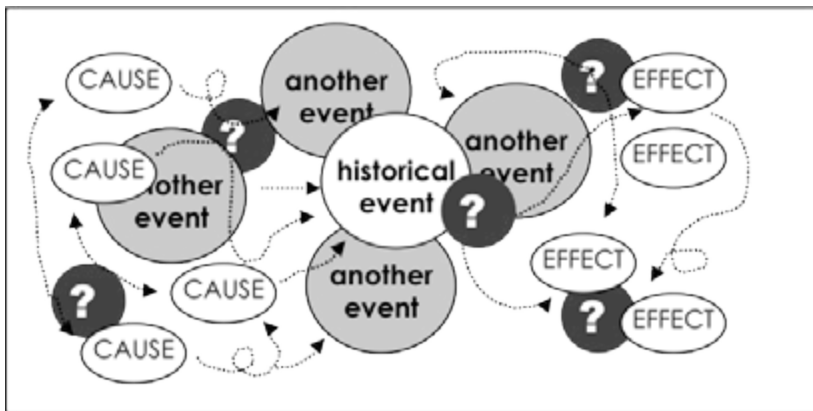
Chinua Achebe

Sometimes people reduce history to a tidy picture of causes and effects, like this:



A neat view of history

Yet, in reality, history is complex. It refuses to be boxed in.



A complex view of history

When you approach history as a process of enquiry, the aim is to uncover connections and deepen understanding, without reducing the complexity of the story.

The history research process

There is no single way to conduct research on history. However, for the purposes of preparing a history assignment, essay or project in Grades 10, 11 or 12, it is useful to give attention to each of the following steps:

STEP 1 - Formulating and refining your research question



STEP 2 - Identifying relevant sources



STEP 3 - Evaluating sources



STEP 4 - Interpreting sources



STEP 5 - Constructing your narrative in the form of an assignment, essay or project



STEP 6 - Including references and a bibliography

During your visit to Liliesleaf, while you were making sense of the envelope of clues, you were participating in a history research process. Although you may not have been doing it on purpose, you probably applied the first five steps of the process above (with step 5 taking the form of a verbal report-back rather than in a piece of writing). Drawing on the social scientist that lives inside you, you probably formulated a research question in your head based on the letter that you received, and then used the sources to uncover facts, stories and connections, which you then wove together to construct an account of the past. Presto! You see, you're already a history researcher.

What are you learning?

The kinds of skills you develop when conducting history research will prove to be invaluable tools during the course of the rest of your life – and particularly in the world of work. These skills are associated especially with the **humanities and social sciences** – that is, all the fields of study and work that have to do with human behaviour, society and development. Some of these skills are presented in the box below. You will also find more information about jobs relating to the humanities and social sciences starting on page 21 of this booklet.

Skills and qualities for conducting history research

- Curiosity: being drawn to asking questions.
- Looking at things from different points of view.
- Gathering relevant information.
- Noticing patterns and relationships.
- Standing back and seeing the larger picture.
- Finding links between abstract ideas and actual events.
- Building an argument.
- Expressing yourself clearly.
- Respecting different points of view.
- Openness to new ideas, perspectives and interpretations.

"History is, strictly speaking, the study of questions."

W.H. Auden

STEP 1 - Formulating and refining your research question

One of the most important foundations for a fruitful history research process is a clear and interesting research question. At school, your research question is often already defined by your teacher, or formulated in your textbook, a history assignment, test or exam paper. For example, your enquiry into the envelope of clues at Liliesleaf could have been guided by the following research question:

How did the events at Liliesleaf in July 1963 contribute to a turning point in South Africa's history?

For a research question to be **clear**, it has to have a focal point and structure. The question: *What happened at Liliesleaf?* is not a good research question, because it doesn't identify a specific time period, nor does it provide a frame through which to interpret information and make sense of events. The question is too open-ended and vague.

For a research question to be **interesting**, it has to stir something inside you. A good research question is one that you *don't* know the answer to at the beginning of the research process. So when you do have the chance to choose your own research question, focus on something that fascinates you.

STEP 2 - Identifying sources

Once you have a clear research question, the next step is to identify sources.

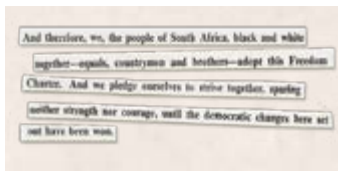
During your visit to Liliesleaf, you received a collection of sources that had already been selected for you and placed in an envelope. These were:



The receipt for the sale of the Liliesleaf property, in 1961.



A photograph of a table taken in the Thatched Cottage.



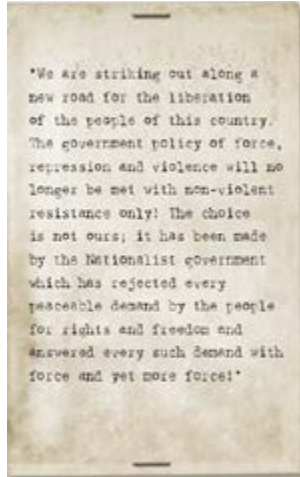
An extract from the *Freedom Charter*, dating from June 1955.



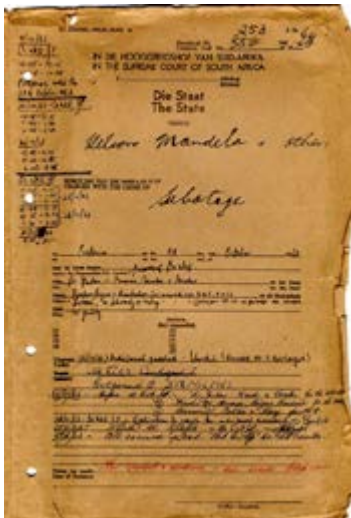
A photograph of policemen in the Main House during the raid.



A photograph of a man in disguise.



An extract from the Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe, dated December 1961.



A copy of a court docket, dated October 1963, concerning a charge of 'Sabotage'.



A newspaper headline about the outcome of the Rivonia Trial.

As you located these sources in the exhibition rooms at Liliesleaf, you probably consulted other sources to help you interpret the ones in the envelope. The history research process usually works in this way: one source leads to another, which leads to another. So it is useful to think of this step as one that runs throughout the research process rather than being wedged neatly between Step 1 and Step 3. You are likely to consult some sources before you even decide on your research question – and add new ones as you proceed with your enquiry.

The next few pages provide some information on various kinds of sources. Thinking of the envelope of clues you received at Liliesleaf, can you name what kind of source each one is? In your history essay, assignment or project, it is recommended that you use at least three different kinds.

Different kinds of sources

Investigating the past is a bit like building a puzzle – we gather fragments and try to piece together a picture. These fragments are what we call sources. Sources contain information that will assist you in your investigation. Even when we have plenty of sources about an event or time in history, it is important to remember that the picture we build is our own construction. We select specific sources and interpret what we find.

Many kinds of sources are used to study history. Social scientists distinguish between sources that convey information in different ways:

Artefacts are objects that people made or used in the past. They can reveal something about the people they belonged to, or the circumstances at the time. For example, at Liliesleaf, there is a trunk belonging to Thwadi Makena,

one of the farm labourers. He used it to store his belongings and when he travelled back to his family in Sekhukhuneland.



Trunk belonging to Thwadi Makena.

Audio-visual sources use a combination of image and sound to convey information. These include movies, television programmes, video clips, animation, raw camera footage, and so forth. Most of the exhibits contain short films that add to and enrich the text and images that are on display.

Visual sources can offer valuable clues to the past – for example, drawings, maps, artworks, cartoons, posters and photographs, to name but a few. The famous aerial photograph of Liliesleaf helps us to imagine what the site was like at the time.



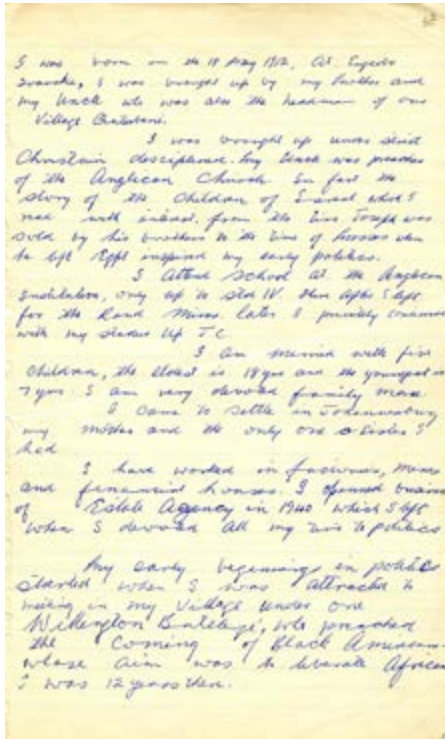
Liliesleaf Farm on the day of the raid c/o NASA.

Oral sources convey information in the form of voice, dialogue, music or sound from or about the past. Recordings of speeches and interviews are good examples. In the kitchen of the Main House at Liliesleaf, you can hear the speech made by Chief Albert Luthuli when he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961.



Radio with recording of Chief Albert Luthuli's speech.

Written sources include all kinds of documents, newspaper and magazines articles, books, reports, web-based content, blogs and tweets, advertisements, diaries and letters. The Kantor biographies written by each of the accused in the Rivonia Trial offer detailed insight into their experiences of the time. Extracts are on display in the dining room of the main house at Liliesleaf.



I was born on the 11 May 1912. At Lydenburg Swaziland, I was brought up by my father and my mother who was then the headman of our Village Bantolani.

I was brought up under strict Christian discipline. My father was pastor of the Anglican Church. In fact the story of the children of Lydenburg was told by his brother to the line of Lydenburg who he left left inspired by early politics.

I attended school at the Anglican Institution, only up to class IV. Then after I left for the Rand Mines. Later I probably connected with my studies up to C.

I am married with five children, the eldest is 18 yrs and the youngest is 7 yrs. I am very devoted family man.

I came to settle in Johannesburg my mother and the only one besides I had.

I have worked in factories, mines and financial houses. I opened business of Estate Agency in 1940 which I left when I devoted all my time to politics.

My early beginning in politics started when I was attracted to working in my village under one Wilkinson Bantolani, who organized the coming of Black Consciousness whose aim was to liberate Africa. I was 12 years then.

Page 1 of the handwritten biography by Walter Sisulu, 1964.

There is another important way to distinguish between sources. The various kinds of sources identified on the previous pages can further be divided into primary or secondary sources:

Primary sources are first-hand sources. They date from the time and place in history that you are studying. Primary sources are interesting because they show what people were writing or saying at the time, how they lived and dressed, and their own accounts of things that happened to them or what they witnessed. Primary sources at Liliesleaf include the signed, original copy of the Freedom Charter, the buildings themselves, various photographs taken during the raid, the Bedford truck used to smuggle arms, and filmed interviews with people who were part of historical events, like the Rivonia trialist Denis Goldberg, and the policeman Hennie Pitout.

Secondary sources are not based on first-hand experience. They are created after the event, or from a distance. Secondary sources use primary sources to analyse, summarise, interpret or explain historical events. They are useful because they can give you an overview or help you to see the connections between things. Textbooks and journal articles are some of the most commonly produced secondary sources. The documentary that is screened in the auditorium at Liliesleaf is such a source.

Think about it

Imagine it is the year 2098 and a group of history students of that time discover a suitcase full of clues about the generation you are part of. They are fascinated to discover how young people like you are living today. What kind of sources are you leaving behind that will tell future historians what your generation was like? Working with your group, decide on ten sources that would give people in the future the most accurate understanding of your generation.

STEP 3 - Evaluating sources

We can't study history without sources. However, not all sources will tell you the same story about the same event. Different sources reflect different perspectives. It is therefore important to find, compare and evaluate a number of different sources relating to your history research question. Once you have done that you can plan how to use the sources you have collected.

In relation to each source you have identified, consider the following questions:

- Does this source contain **BIAS**? Is it skewed by the beliefs or prejudices of the writer, artist, photographer or filmmaker who created it?
- What is the **ORIGIN** of the source? Who created and published it? Can you trust them?
- What are the **LIMITATIONS** of this source? Which facts, details or perspectives have been left out?
- What is the **TONE** of the source? Is it formal or informal, condescending, persuasive, sarcastic, angry, inspiring? What does this tell you about the person who produced it?
- What is the **PURPOSE** of the source? Why was it made or written in the first place? How reliable is it?

"I have yet to see a piece of writing, political or non-political, that does not have a slant."
E.B. White

STEP 4 - Interpreting sources

Interpreting your sources means looking at them all together so that you can identify connections and patterns. Below are some themes to consider.

Time and chronology: Arranging sources from earliest to latest can help you to understand the order and logic of the events you are studying. However, once you start constructing your essay or project (see Step 5), you may choose to organise your discussion of sources more thematically.

Multiple perspectives: How do your sources reveal different experiences of and opinions about the same issue or event? There is no need to choose certain perspectives over others: rather examine and discuss the differences and consider why they might exist.

Cause and effect: What do your sources say about the various causes leading up to critical changes and events? What do they reveal about the effects that followed? A good historian tries to highlight threads of cause and effect without reducing the complexity of history.

Continuity and change: Looking across your sources, what story do they tell? See if you can identify forces that seek to stay the same (the *status quo*), and forces aiming to bring about a change. It is often the friction between the two that holds the key to understanding events in a deeper way.

"The main thing history can teach us is that human actions have consequences, and that certain choices, once made, cannot be undone."

Gerda Lerner

STEP 5 - Constructing your assignment, essay or project

The history research process, as described so far, can be used to prepare different kinds of essays and narratives. For example, the sources in the envelope of clues that you examined at Liliesleaf could be used to prepare a **source-based assignment** or **essay** on a chosen aspect of the Liliesleaf era or context. A visit to Liliesleaf can also be used as the basis for the Grade 10 **history project** on a heritage site.

Your history assignment, essay or project will usually have a prescribed word count, and should include the following sections:

- An **introduction**, where you briefly state your response to the research question and explain how you will go about unpacking the question in your essay. If there are any difficult words or important concepts in your research question, give a definition for each one in the introduction.
- A **body** of writing, which may consist of any number of paragraphs (keeping in mind the requested word count). The body of your essay or project sets out your argument in relation to the research question in a logical way. There are different ways to go about it. For instance, you might present your argument in one paragraph, using any relevant sources as evidence to support what you are saying. Then in the next paragraph, you could present a counter-argument, again using sources to show how this alternative response might be feasible. Then in a third paragraph, you would refute the counter-argument, explaining why your first argument is the more convincing one. Another way to structure the body of your essay is to discuss different concepts or themes one by one, using them as building blocks to lead the reader through various aspects of your research question.

- A **conclusion** that summarises your key points and that re-states, in a nutshell, your answer to the research question. No additional information or new points of argument should be presented in the conclusion. It should purely be a re-cap.
- A **bibliography** (see the next page for more information on how to write this).

"Human history is a history not only of cruelty, but also of compassion, sacrifice, courage, kindness. What we choose to emphasise in this complex history will determine our lives."
Howard Zinn

STEP 6 - Including references and a bibliography

All the sources you use in your assignment, essay or project have to be acknowledged in two ways: in the text itself, and in a bibliography.

In the **text itself**, it is important to indicate when you are presenting information from a source, either by stating this explicitly or by including a reference in brackets. When you quote directly from a source, the words you are copying should always be between quotation marks. After the quote, the reference should give the name of the person or organisation who created or published the source, as well as the year in which it first appeared.

When you don't indicate a source, the reader can only assume that you are expressing your own knowledge or perspective. Most history essays are a mixture of your own perspective on a given topic, backed up by information or evidence from sources. For example, imagine that you wanted to make a point

about Umkhonto we Sizwe in your essay and use a quote from the MK Manifesto to back up your view. Your quote should be referenced as follows:

The leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe were reluctant to take up the armed struggle. The MK Manifesto explained it as follows: "the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless." (ANC, 1961)

In the **bibliography** at the end of your assignment, essay or project, you list all the sources that you used to inform what you wrote. This includes sources you quoted directly as well as sources you read or used more indirectly to develop your understanding and knowledge of the research question. If you used oral or audio-visual sources, these should also be acknowledged. Your bibliography should be arranged alphabetically and each source should be cited according to a consistent formula.

For citing **books**, a good formula is:

Author's surname, author's first initial. (Year published). *Title of book in italics*.

Place of publication: Publisher.

Frankel, G. (2011). *Rivonia's Children*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

For citing **articles from newspapers**, a good formula is:

Author's surname, first initial. (Year published). Article title. *Newspaper in italics*, Date. Page(s).

Hain, P. (2012). Inside Mandela's Secret HQ. *The Sunday Times*, 18 March. Page 6.

For citing **articles and documents found on websites**, a good formula is:
Author's surname, author's first initial. (Year published). *Title of article or web entry in italics* [online]. Available at: give internet address [Accessed day month year].

Fisher, R. (2013). *Fifty Years On: Remembering Liliesleaf* [online]. Available at www.dailymaverick.co.za [Accessed 15 June 2016].

For citing **websites** with no specific authors' names, a good formula is:
Website name (Year published). *Page title* [online] Available at: give internet address [Accessed day month, year].

Liliesleaf website (2017). *The Raid on Liliesleaf* [online]. Available at: www.liliesleaf.co.za [Accessed 2 February 2017].

For citing **photographs, cartoons and artwork**, a good formula is:
Artist or photographer's surname, initial. (Date of original image). *Title of image or artwork if any*. [Type of image] Publisher/Agency.

Magubane, P. (1964). *Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial*. [Photograph] AP Photos.

For citing **an interview**, a good formula is:

Interview: name of person interviewed, place, date.

Interview: AnnMarie Wolpe, Cape Town, 19 August 2016.

Assessment: what to expect

One of the great advantages of taking history as a subject is that it helps you to develop your critical thinking and writing skills. Your essays and projects will be assessed in terms of how well you work with sources and how well you arrange your ideas in writing by connecting information and presenting a convincing argument.

More specifically, in assessing your source-based assignments and essays, teachers and markers will consider the extent to which you have:

- demonstrated thorough knowledge and understanding of the topic;
- extracted and interpreted information from sources;
- identified and compared different perspectives within and between sources;
- explained different perspectives with reference to the context of the period being studied;
- drawn conclusions about the reliability and usefulness of sources;
- synthesised information from a range of sources;
- planned and structured your essay;
- used evidence to support an argument;
- developed and sustained an independent and well-balanced argument;
- and
- written logically, coherently and chronologically.

If you are working on a Grade 10 heritage project, your teacher will be on the lookout for a few additional things (over and beyond the list above) when he or she assesses your work. Your project should demonstrate that you have:

- understood what is meant by heritage and public representations of the past;
- considered the importance of heritage sites, monuments and memorials; and
- thought critically about heritage issues and the ways in which the past is represented.

Using humanities skills in the world of work

The skills you apply in a history research process are essential to a number of jobs. On these pages, we list just a few, but there are many more. If you enjoy investigating questions about change and continuity, about human behaviour and how society works, then one or more of these jobs might appeal to you. Most of them involve working with different sources, finding patterns and connections, and communicating insights to others.

Journalists investigate note-worthy issues and write reports and articles to keep the public informed, or to deepen understanding or debate. There are different kinds of journalism, ranging from fast-paced news reporting to more in-depth research and commentary.

Historians make a living out of studying the past and interpreting the significance of past events for present times. Some historians are teachers or university lecturers. Some research and write biographies about interesting historical figures.

Psychologists are interested in how people think, feel, develop and relate to each other. They enquire into what makes people tick and address problems like anxiety and depression. Some psychologists work with individuals and families. **Industrial psychologists** work with people in groups and organisations.

Curators collect sources from the past and the present. They find ways to arrange and present these sources so that people see things in a new light, or gain knowledge on a given topic. Curators typically work in museums, art galleries or online.

Teachers use humanities skills no matter what subject they teach. They help their students to enquire into different topics, and gather sources that are reliable and relevant to the task. They select and frame information to convey to their students.

Designers use shape, colour and other elements to enhance the way people experience information, objects, and their environment. They gather and combine source material to inform their designs. There are many different kinds of designers, including graphic designers, fashion designers, industrial designers and interior designers.

Development practitioners focus on the socio-economic conditions in which people live. They ask questions relating to community needs and finding solutions to shared problems. This often entails working with many different sources, viewpoints and relationships.

Anthropologists study how people live together in groups. They investigate society and culture, language and belief systems, both in the present and the past. Anthropologists use all kinds of sources to identify and highlight patterns of social behaviour.

Filmmakers create audio-visual material to tell a story, explore a topic or otherwise entertain audiences. Documentary filmmakers often use multiple sources to investigate a question, to unpack its implications and/or to consider it from different points of view.

Lawyers research legal questions, usually related to the cases they prosecute, defend or hear in court. Different sources of evidence are used to build arguments and counter-arguments. Lawyers include attorneys, advocates, prosecutors, magistrates and judges, amongst others.

Game developers create screen-based interfaces where one or more players can engage in games for entertainment, education or social impact. There are also researchers who specialise in studying the responses and behaviour of game players, and the impact of games on individuals and society.

Archaeologists investigate how people lived in the past. They find and study artefacts and remains left behind by previous generations, including objects

and buildings, fossils, bones and skeletons. They use these clues to piece together our history and prehistory.

Digital content managers use different sources of information to create, edit, post and update the content of websites, blogs, social media feeds and other online platforms. Sometimes this means working with a whole team of researchers, writers and graphic designers to constantly develop new material.

"The past is never dead. It's not even past."

William Faulkner

The Freedom Charter

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

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

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

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

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

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

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

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

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

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

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS

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

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

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

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

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

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

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

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

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

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

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

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

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

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose; labour and farm profits shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

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

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

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

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

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

The privacy of the home from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Fan Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

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

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

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

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

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

Child labour, compulsory labour, the fet system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

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

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

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

Unpaid housing prices to be made available to the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

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

Shums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where social centres;

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

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

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

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gen. C. J. van Rensburg
Prof. J. D. van der Merwe

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