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## PRESS ON TO VICTORY!

It has been a time of victories, of triumphs for the people's struggle within South Africa and Namibia and for our campaigning supporters outside.

In Namibia, SWAPO has gained a majority, in spite of the intimidation and the electoral tricks of the Pretoria regime. That is a victory.

In the bantustans — which have long been in the grip of Pretoria — protest is swelling, as banned organisations are unbanned in the Transkei, as brave and principled leaders challenge the politics of Inkatha in Kwazulu, and Contralesa provides a focus for resistance. These developments represent a victory.

Seven ANC leaders have come out of prison to take their place again as leaders. That is another victory. Those of us who remember the time of the arrests at Rivonia, and those who were not yet born at that time, young and old, we have all united in joy to welcome the leaders back.

These leaders have spoken in the name of the African National Congress — at press conferences, at meetings, and notably at what must have been the biggest political rally ever seen in South Africa. For the first time in nearly 30 years, the voice of the ANC is openly heard inside the country, and it is being heard very clearly indeed. That is a victory.

While we are counting victories, some mention has to be made of De Klerk's scheme for 'group rights' and his moves to abolish 'separate amenities' legislation. We know De Klerk is trying to defuse our struggle, and that these absurd little 'reforms' can never get anywhere near solving the problems of our country. Our people are struggling now for real democracy,

for one person one vote, and will not be content with anything less than political power. However, the very fact that De Klerk finds it necessary to make these gestures and so risk alienating the White right wing, shows he is acting under great pressure. That pressure is from the liberation movement.

It all adds up to one thing — that the struggle has had its successes, and so must be kept up and intensified on all fronts.

The conditions under which the people of South Africa are oppressed and exploited still remain — landlessness, homelessness, high rents, low wages, unemployment, the system of separate education departments that denies to the majority of our youth both general education and specific skills. Political activists are still being arrested and imprisoned, and many are still being sentenced to death. In Namibia, at the time this is being written, Pretoria still keeps a strong military presence, and, after the elections, the police were still persecuting Namibian democrats. In Namibia and all the Front Line States, South African imperialism still seeks avenues for investment, for ways of extracting wealth. The apartheid regime and its allies aren't lying down yet.

The political struggle must go on. The Defiance Campaign must continue (it has used the beaches as a symbol of discrimination, but its demands have always gone a lot further and deeper than that). The struggle of the working class must go on, organised in militant and united trade unions. The armed struggle is a method of resistance which we cannot relinquish yet. The campaign for sanctions must continue.

The attack must press on, on all fronts, to final victory.

# WELCOME BACK, COMRADES!

## STATEMENT TO THE SOWETO RALLY OF OCTOBER 29TH FROM PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



*President Tambo*

This is a joyful day for all of us. It is a day of celebration for all the people of our country. Those who have chosen to turn their backs on our festivity are the small minority who continue to cling to the anti-human concept and practices of racial arrogance, White minority domination and the super-exploitation of the masses of our people. Yet they, too, are part of our heritage. They are part of that history and continuing reality of our country which has meant and means the imprisonment of the best representatives of our people for a quarter of a century and more; the murder of thousands by the apartheid army

and police and their secret murder squad; the detention of tens of thousands under the State of Emergency, including the very young who ought to be free as the wind to enjoy the pleasures of childhood; the millions who have suffered from the daily violence inherent in the apartheid system.

### **Celebrate freedom, life, humanity**

Our continuing obligation to uproot and obliterate the apartheid system contains within it the responsibility to release these slaves of the criminal ideology of White supremacy from the kraals of infamy in which they have incarcerated themselves. In the end, they too must learn to celebrate freedom not oppression, life not death, our common humanity not separation and definition of people according to racial and ethnic groups. But as of now we meet without these sorry souls to celebrate a victory that truly belongs to all the people of our country as well as the countless millions throughout the world who are engaged in struggle to help us end the apartheid system and transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

Comrades Walter, Govan, Kathy, Raymond, Elias, Andrew, Wilton and Oscar, welcome to you all. Welcome back to the foremost ranks of the mass army that is engaged in an heroic struggle to deliver our country and our people out of the long night of apartheid tyranny. Welcome





*The podium at the Soccer City rally on October 29th*

back to active service within the collective leadership of the people's movement, the African National Congress. We extend the same welcome to Comrade Harry Gwala, who should have been with you except for the fact that he is temporarily out of the country for medical reasons.

Dear comrades and fellow leaders, your return is not only a tribute to the relentless and historic campaign to secure your immediate and unconditional release. It is also, in no small measure, due to your own steadfast refusal to be cowed by the rigours of the apartheid prison — the inspiration you never failed to give us by your unwavering commitment to the just cause for which you were unjustly arrested, tried, sentenced and imprisoned.

### **Desire to serve the people**

As we held the fort within the National Executive Committee of your organisation, and inside the command structures of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we valued immensely the comments, observations and suggestions you were able to communicate

to us even while you were in prison.

Even now we continue to pay the greatest attention to the comments, observations and suggestions communicated to us by Nelson Mandela and other comrades still in prison — all of them disciplined members of our movement whose actions are inspired exclusively by the desire to serve the people, to contribute what they can from where they are to the realisation of the noble objectives contained in the Freedom Charter, to maintain an unwavering loyalty to the movement they have served and continue to serve with such distinction.

Indeed, comrade leaders of our people, we welcome you today also as a result of the committed and selfless efforts by Comrade Nelson Mandela, working quietly and energetically behind the scenes. This rally is also in part a tribute to that magnificent struggle by one of our longest-serving political prisoners, Nelson Mandela.

Comrade leaders of our people, compatriots who have gathered in your thousands today, our country has arrived at a crossroads. Whatever road it follows, the destination will be, as sure-





*Part of the audience at the rally*

ly as the sun rises in the east, the final and total destruction of the apartheid system. Which road it takes is a matter entirely in the hands of F W de Klerk and the rest of the leadership of the Nationalist Party. By their actions they will determine whether we go along the road of increasing confrontations and a bitter conflict between the forces of democracy on the one hand and those of racial tyranny on the other. By their deeds they will decide whether we proceed along the road of a negotiated settlement aimed at the total abolition of the apartheid system of White minority domination and exploitation.

### **Intensify the struggle for freedom**

As we meet today to welcome back our leaders, we will without doubt also pledge ourselves to continue and intensify the struggle in whatever form the situation demands until freedom has been achieved. Of this nobody harbours any doubt, including the armed men and women who surround us as we celebrate.

If F W de Klerk finally accepts the positions

the ANC and the masses of our people have upheld for decades by opting for peace with justice, he may yet earn a place among the peacemakers of our country, many of whom have had to bear arms or carry the honoured title of 'Young Lion' as they prosecuted the struggle whose aim is precisely the attainment of peace and justice for all our people and for the entire region of Southern Africa.

We must state it here that if the Pretoria regime seeks the path to a genuine political settlement of the conflict in our country, the way forward has been clearly spelt out in the Harare Declaration which you, the people of our country, and your organisation, the ANC, prepared and which now has the express support of over one hundred countries.

If, on the other hand, F W de Klerk continues to entertain the illusion that he can perpetuate apartheid by the use of force and deceitful manoeuvres, he will need to know that thereby he condemns himself to disappear for ever into the dim mists of history together with the criminal system he will have sought to defend.

### **Cadres within the country**

We are strengthened by the knowledge that within the country we have a powerful cadre of leaders, both young and old, men and women, Black and White, who will, together with the tried and tested stalwarts who have now been released and those yet to be freed, as well as the patriots who are in enforced exile, work in unbreakable unity to lead our people to the deeply-cherished goals of national and social emancipation.

Your glorious rally today expresses exactly that unity, dedication and common resolve. We look forward to the day which is not far from now, when we shall rejoin you within the country as servants of the people to take further orders from these heroic masses as to what new task they give us to perform.

Let me therefore take this opportunity, comrades, to assure you that I am rapidly recovering my health. I am in regular contact with our headquarters in Lusaka, with our international



representatives, and with comrades at home. You, the leaders of our people, gave us a mission — to go abroad, mobilise support for the struggle, and return home to report to you on what we had done. Our mandate will not terminate until we have returned to give you that report in person. Please rest assured of this. Our temporary discomfort has been made so much easier to endure thanks to the great number of messages that so many of you within the country have communicated to us.

I have no words to express my gratitude to you all, except to say thank you again and again. Your concern has been as powerful a spur to my full recovery as the kind and close attention I have received and continue to receive from a wonderful team of doctors, nurses and other hospital staff.

### **Resolute and fearless masses**

To the great masses of our people so well represented at this rally today, we say: you know the task facing us better than anybody else. Continue to unite in action and to act in unity.

Continue to be as resolute and fearless as you have been. Nelson Mandela and other comrades are still in prison. We must free them. The State of Emergency remains. We must end it through our actions. Our organisations are still banned. We must unban them. The fratricidal violence in Natal continues. We must end it, whatever obstacle some might place in our way as we seek to achieve this goal.

The Conference for a Democratic Future is ahead of us. We must make sure it succeeds as a true parliament of all our people and a point of focus to unite the millions of our people in struggle to achieve our common goal. The apartheid system remains in place. We must make the final determined drive to abolish this crime against humanity and, like the sister people of Namibia, take the final step to our liberation.

Compatriots, the future of our country is in our hands. At this historic moment let us act together for freedom now. Our common victory is in sight. Revolutionary greetings to you all.

**Amandla! Matla! All power to the people!**

*London, 28th October 1989*



*Delegates from Cape Town arrive at Soccer City*



# WALTER SISULU ADDRESSES THE RALLY



*Walter Sisulu*

Friends, comrades and the people of South Africa, I extend warm fraternal greetings to you from all of us who have been released recently, from Comrade Mandela and from the hundreds of our comrades-in-arms who still languish in apartheid gaols.

We salute you, the people of South Africa, for the courage, determination and sacrifices you have made under the most difficult and repressive conditions to ensure that the flag of your struggle is held high. Your efforts acted as a constant source of inspiration during our long years in prison.

We salute, in particular, the rank and file membership and leadership of the African National Congress for earning our organisation the mantle of leader of the South African struggle. Let all gathered here send a special Get Well message to our president, Comrade Oliver Tambo.

We salute the United Democratic Front and the mass organisations of the youth, women, students and civics. You have played a decisive role in precipitating the crisis apartheid faces today. In particular, we salute the young lions

organised under the banner of SAYCO for taking the struggle to new heights.

We salute the Congress of South African Trade Unions for organising workers on a scale unequalled in the entire history of our struggle. Your meteoric rise symbolises the centrality of the working class in our struggle.

We salute the students of our country whose heroic deeds were demonstrated in the 1976 uprisings.

We pay a special tribute to the high quality of these mass organisations and the tremendous skill of the new leadership that has emerged.

Today we also remember those of our comrades who are on Death Row. We commit ourselves to sparing no effort in order to save them from the gallows.

We pay tribute to our combatants, and the thousands of unarmed protesters, the real heroes of our struggle, who have paid the ultimate price in the struggle. I ask you to rise in a moment's silence in remembrance of our fallen comrades.

We congratulate our sports persons and cultural workers for their role in our struggle against apartheid.

We pay tribute to our religious organisations. You have demonstrated the powerful force of the good Christian, the good Muslim, the good Hindu and the good Jew in the struggle against evil.

Today we also salute the international community for the invaluable role it has played in complementing the struggle of our people. The support we have received and continue to receive from the OAU and socialist countries will be remembered by the South African people for ever. We pay special tribute to the role played by the Non-Aligned Movement, the member states of the Commonwealth, the United Nations and the Scandinavian countries in supporting our struggle against apartheid.

We also appreciate the contribution of the international labour movement and the World Council of Churches.

We salute the role played by the anti-apartheid movement in the United States and Europe in our struggle.

We salute the role played by the Front Line States and, in particular, the sacrifices Zambia



has made under the leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda, for hosting our headquarters and thousands of our people. We salute also the United Republic of Tanzania, under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and President Mwinyi, who have provided shelter and accommodation to our movement and its cadres since 1964. We salute the role that great African leaders such as Comrade Samora Machel, President Dos Santos, President Mugabe, President Chissano and President Masire have played in the unfolding liberation of our people. We salute President Castro and the people of Cuba for the heroic role they have played in the fight against colonialism in the region.

## **Failure of apartheid**

Today we see the apartheid regime facing a deep and irreversible crisis. All its political strategies of sustaining apartheid have failed dismally. Corruption and scandals plague the ruling class. The bantustans are areas of instability. The tricameral system is in disgrace. Brutal apartheid repression and successive States of Emergency have failed to dent the spirit of resistance amongst our people.

The disastrous policies of successive Nationalist Party governments have resulted in economic chaos. Spiralling inflation is the order of the day. This crisis has been accelerated by the rejection by the international community of apartheid as a crime against humanity. Sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment have isolated apartheid South Africa as the pariah of the world.

The Labour Relations Act and other anti-worker measures have spurred the resistance of the working class. Great battles have been fought by the trade unions to defend the rights of workers. Let us not forget that there is more that unites workers than divides them. We call for the unity of all organised workers under the banner: "One country, one federation."

Friends of the apartheid government argue that sanctions would result in Black workers losing their jobs. We say that it is the abnormal situation in this country which produces such results. For us the central issue is: what is the most ef-

fective strategy to remove suffering? We are in no doubt that sanctions are to a very large extent responsible for making the government responsive to the demands of our people. We call on the world to intensify the sanctions campaign.

As the crisis against apartheid intensifies, the ruling class is becoming more and more fragmented. They no longer have any vision of the future. Today the ANC has captured the centre stage of political life in South Africa.

## **Our ideals an inspiration**

More and more people, Black and White, are being inspired by the ideals of the ANC. The vision of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa is shared by all sections of South African society. These ideas are permeating even through the very organs of repression.

More and more White youth are resisting military conscription. We embrace these objectors as true patriots. In the police force, Lieutenant Rockman and others have begun to show the way. We call on policemen to resist anything that is against the people. They should become part of the people.

In recent months millions of our people have united in mass action under the banner of the Mass Democratic Movement. The sight of hundreds of thousands of peaceful protesters using the streets of our cities and townships as ballot boxes should be an inspiration for us to intensify the struggle for total liberation. We call on our people to join the mass organisations under COSATU and the UDF. The building of disciplined and accountable organisations of our people must remain our principal task. We salute the great efforts being made to organise women so that they may occupy their rightful place in the struggle. While we have made many strides, the carnage amongst our people in Natal is a blot on our noble struggle for liberation.

## **Call for peace**

It is the evil hand of apartheid that is behind the violence in Natal. Reports of police collusion in

the killings abound. We know that it is the general characteristic of the ruling class to divide our people. All who are committed to peace amongst the people must act jointly against the perpetrators of violence. We call on COSATU, UDF and Inkatha to continue their search for peace. All obstacles to the movement for peace should be removed.

We welcome the recent demonstrations for peace by the people of Mpumalanga, Kwa-Mashu, Richmond and Ntuzuma. Ultimately, peace lies in the hands of all the people, regardless of political affiliation. We call on the rank and file of all organisations to work together for peace.

The ANC has consistently, throughout its history, been committed to the politics of peace and negotiations.

I would like to speak from my personal experience. In 1952, I, as Secretary-General of the ANC, together with Dr Moroka, the then President of the ANC, wrote to Prime Minister Malan, calling on him to negotiate.

In 1955, we invited all organisations, including the National Party, to the Congress of the People. They did not come. In 1958 Chief Luthuli, the then President of the ANC, wrote to Prime Minister Strydom, urging him to negotiate.

In 1960 the ANC was banned and thousands of leaders and members were jailed or forced into exile.

In 1961 Comrade Nelson Mandela, who was underground at the time, wrote to Prime Minister Verwoerd and urged him to call a National Convention.

Our pleas fell on deaf ears. That is why we formed Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation. To defend our people and to fight for our freedom.

We stood for peace in 1912 when we were formed. We stood for peace in our long struggle of resistance. We stand for peace today and we will stand for peace tomorrow.

## **Seeking the shortest path to freedom**

In spite of countless bitter experiences, we will not allow the past to stop us from constantly sear-

ching for the shortest possible path to freedom. We are in agreement with the recently-adopted Harare Declaration which says:

*"We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations.*

*Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement.*

*Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created."*

We call on the regime to:

- ★ Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally.
- ★ Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons.
- ★ Remove all troops from the townships.
- ★ End the State of Emergency and repeal all repressive legislation.
- ★ Cease all political trials and political executions.

If such a climate is created, the ANC is prepared, as the Harare Declaration says, to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides. There can be no question of us unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

To date, we see no clear indication that the government is serious about negotiation. All their utterances are vague.

Now the government talks about ethnic elections to choose the leaders of the Black people. This is unacceptable to us. We are looking forward to the election of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. This is where the true representatives of the people will discuss the future.

If the government is serious about a permanent and lasting solution, they will agree to this logical step.

In the meantime, our duty is to intensify the



struggle until we are able to get the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation in South Africa. At this stage we cannot relax on the basis of mere statements.

## Organisation and action

We must concentrate on building mass organisation and working-class leadership in our struggle for freedom.

We must unite in action with the broadest range of apartheid's opponents. We should not allow ideological and other differences to stand in the path of our unity against apartheid.

Education is a vital part of our struggle against apartheid. Parents, students and teachers are objective partners in education. We call on you to work together in promoting the education of our youth, which is inseparable from our liberation struggle.

The Defiance Campaign must continue. We cannot wait on the government to make changes at its own pace.

We call on traditional leaders to join us in our struggle. You must continue to resist apartheid in the proud traditions of Cetshwayo and Sekhukhuni and Hintsa.

We call on those people who are in government-created structures to seize the movement and join the great struggle for freedom.

Let us also strengthen our solidarity with Swapo and the people of Namibia. A victory for Swapo will be a victory for Southern Africa as a whole.

We call on our White brothers and sisters to join us in the struggle for democracy so that we may shape the future together.

Let all of us who love this country engage in the task of building a new South Africa, one which would be truly democratic, in which a new People's Culture shall flourish, in which People's Education will develop the human potential of our people, in which access to People's Health will be a right and not a privilege and in which our environment will be protected for the generations which come after us.

The vision of the ANC has been shaped by the struggles of millions of our people against injustice. The struggle against apartheid is a struggle of all humanity. At the same time we recognise the interdependence between ourselves and the peoples of the world. We share the ideals of peace-loving people the world over. We are interested in the new phase of political openness and peace that is unfolding all over the world. By eradicating apartheid, we will be contributing to peace at home and to world peace. We dedicate our lives to this end.

In conclusion, we reiterate that the stage we have reached in the struggle is irreversible. Hence the need for unity, consolidation and discipline in order to intensify the struggle for liberation.

**Forward to peace and democracy!**

**Long live the ANC!**

**Long live our alliance with the SACP!**

**Long live the working-class movement!**



# MESSAGE TO THE SOWETO RALLY FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

On behalf of the South African Communist Party, on behalf of communists in the ranks of the working class, in the people's army, in the underground and in exile, on behalf of the thousands of SACP supporters here in this stadium today, we embrace you. We are overjoyed to welcome you back amongst our people.

Your great devotion, self-sacrifice and dedication have deeply inspired all of us over these long years. Since that fateful Rivonia raid you have been in our thoughts unendingly. Everything we have tried to do has been bound up with the desire to free you. We have always seen your liberty as inseparable from the liberation of our people and our country.

It is clear what hand has opened the prison door. It is not De Klerk's. It is not Thatcher's.

The force that has liberated you is none other than the masses of our country — struggling shoulder to shoulder and supported by the worldwide anti-apartheid movement. Over the last months, in mass defiance in the streets of the towns and cities of our country, our people have been unbanning the ANC and the SACP.

It is with pride that we have seen our Party's red flag flying side by side with the black, green and gold of our national liberation movement. This symbol expresses the indestructibility of our historic alliance. It also expresses a growing desire by our working people to end not only oppression but also the exploitation of man by man. The achievement of a truly democratic South Africa remains the immediate aim shared by all of us. Such a South Africa will create conditions



# MESSAGE TO THE RALLY FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

The South African Congress of Trade Unions sends revolutionary greetings to this historic meeting of the struggling people of our country, in pursuit of freedom in a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa.

SACTU greets our leadership — comrades Sisulu, Mpetha, Mkwayi, Mhlaba, Motsoaledi, Mlangeni and Kathrada — unconditionally released from the racist's dungeons after years of untold misery. Your unbending convictions and belief strengthen our resolve and commitment to increase the pressure on the apartheid regime on all fronts. We shall continue with our efforts to bring about a South Africa free from apartheid and exploitation. This is the goal for which thousands have laid down their lives and we shall settle for no less! It is our contention that it is precisely through intense pressure and battle that we have achieved what we have done up to this point.

We are certain that the MDM, in particular

the trade union movement, shall benefit greatly from the leadership capabilities of tried and tested stalwarts like Mpetha, Mkwayi, Mhlaba, Motsoaledi, Mlangeni. We recall the words of Walter Sisulu, spoken in 1955, when he said: "Political leaders must know that the struggle of the people depends on the workers and it must be their duty to organise the workers into the trade union movement."

Comrades, SACTU believes that there have so far been no fundamental changes made by De Klerk:

★ 3 500 political prisoners remain in gaol today. Amongst them are Anthony Xaba, John Nene, Mathews Meyiwa, Zakhele Mdlalose — all sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977. We demand the immediate and unconditional release of our leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

★ Thousands are in detention or severely restricted. Curnick Ndlovu is amongst those



enabling our working people to work for a socialist future.

Comrades, as our released leaders assume their place once more in the active leadership of our revolutionary movement, history confronts us with the next crucial steps.

Let us ensure that De Klerk's tactical retreat is turned into a headlong flight. Let us ensure that the regime is unable to move back in good order to the next set of apartheid trenches. The situation demands an all-round intensification of struggle.

Above all, let us ensure that our victory, which is now ripening and within reach, does not turn out to be a hollow fruit. To this end we must ensure the ever more active mobilisation and political organisation of our country's working class. It is a class which, in its millions, stands in the forefront of the struggle for a unified, non-racial South Africa; a South Africa in which democracy will be brought about to its fullest

extent.

The alliance of the working class with those on the land and all other patriotic forces will undoubtedly fulfill the finest collective aspirations of our whole nation. It is this unity, expressed in the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC and embracing organised workers and the whole mass democratic movement, which will put an end to racism in all its forms.

Comrades, in the crucial months ahead we shall be greatly strengthened by the presence of our released leaders in our midst. Together let us spare no effort in the struggle to release our comrade Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

**Long live the African National Congress!**

**Long live the SACP!**

**Long live our unbreakable revolutionary alliance!**

**Victory is certain!**

*Joe Slovo, General Secretary, SACP*



recently detained under De Klerk's regime.

★ Almost 300 patriots are on Death Row. Mangena Jeffrey Boesman was executed under De Klerk's regime.

★ 27 people were shot dead by racist police on September 6th, baptising De Klerk's regime in blood.

★ The State of Emergency remains imposed.

★ Repression is combined with anti-worker legislation in the form of the Labour Relations Amendment Act which De Klerk has shown no signs of withdrawing.

★ In short, all the pillars of apartheid remain totally intact.

SACTU calls on you to remember our patriots on Death Row. We remember Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba, who were executed 25 years ago on trumped-up charges. Today our people are still being executed by the same regime for crimes they did not commit. SACTU therefore calls on you to observe the 25th anniversary of the execution of comrades Mini, Mkaba and Khayinga on November 6th. Let us expose the continued repression under the State of Emergency against the entire democratic

movement, especially the trade union movement.

The most crucial task facing us today is to intensify all our efforts in order to secure:

- ★ An end to the State of Emergency.
- ★ The unbanning of all banned organisations.
- ★ The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.
- ★ An end to all apartheid executions.
- ★ An end to all repressive legislation.
- ★ The withdrawal of racist troops and army from the townships.

SACTU believes that our struggle has to be intensified in order to meet the above demands. We, the oppressed majority, have fought relentlessly to create a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa as envisioned in the Freedom Charter. We shall not deviate from our path of struggle. It is De Klerk who must unconditionally meet our demands as stated above. SACTU calls on you to unite behind the banner of our movement, headed by the African National Congress.

**An injury to one is an injury to all!**

# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## THE CAMPAIGN FOR SANCTIONS

**What follows is taken from a speech Comrade Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC International Department, made to the Southern Africa Coalition in London in October. He dealt with the situation in South Africa and the urgent need for sanctions.**

F W de Klerk and the National Party went to the September elections on an apartheid platform, very clearly stated, very consistently stated. It was that fundamental to the solution of the South African problem must be the maintenance of the notion, and the furtherance of the notion, of groups and group rights. That's apartheid. It runs through the so-called Five Year Plan of the National Party, this notion of groups and group rights. And when De Klerk says — as he's been saying — that the issue of everybody having the vote is no longer in dispute, he sees a process within the context of groups and group rights, within the context of apartheid.

The release of the political prisoners is a retreat. It's a victory of the struggle. But De Klerk is not retreating into positions leading to ending apartheid. He's retreating to positions where he thinks he can defend the apartheid system successfully. The victories which

are scored shouldn't be read as signifying a change of heart, a change of direction, on the part of the apartheid regime.

Mrs Thatcher puts out the notion that the South African regime entered into the negotiations which resulted in the withdrawal of the South African troops from Angola, and in the Namibia process that we're seeing now, as the result of 'talking to,' of dialogue, diplomacy. She doesn't want to mention the fact that the South African army in Angola was in very serious trouble. She doesn't want to mention the fact that there was a whole unit, a big one, of the South African Defence Force in Angola which could have been destroyed. That's why the South Africans went for a ceasefire, because they wanted to pull out their forces, which could have been destroyed.

### **Strength of the arms embargo**

Mrs Thatcher does not want to mention that part of the reason the South African Defence Force got into that situation was because of the effectiveness of the arms embargo. The military balance changed in very specific ways. She doesn't want to mention the fact that the South African economy, because of sanctions, could no longer support that military

adventure.

Pressures brought Pretoria to negotiate that settlement concerning Angola and Namibia, and to demonstrate the point that the South African regime did not enter into that agreement voluntarily, it's been very busy trying to subvert that agreement with regard to the independence of Namibia.

There's a major-general in Namibia, three brigadiers, something like 14 colonels and a whole series of other officers, who are not in military uniform. They are there in excess of the numbers of South African soldiers allowed to be in Namibia in terms of Resolution 435. And what are they doing? They say that they have to take care of the 30-35 000 South West Africa Territorial Force people.

Why the South African regime didn't pay off the South West Africa Territorial Force on the 1st of April is because it did not voluntarily enter into the agreement for the independence of Namibia. It was forced to, and has since been looking for ways and means in which it can produce a result suitable to itself in Namibia.

The Namibian case proves precisely the point that if there is to be any movement at all on the South African question, the struggle inside South Africa and the struggle outside South Africa has to continue and has to intensify.



# THE HARARE DOCUMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

**The OAU Harare Document (printed in full in the October issue of *Sechaba*) will soon be considered by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Comrade Thabo Mbeki discussed the background to this document when he addressed anti-apartheid activists in Switzerland in September. Here is part of that address.**

It became clear that it was necessary to address the issue of negotiations. Everybody is talking about it. Peace in Angola is being negotiated; peace in Mozambique is being negotiated; the international community is calling for the resolution of regional conflicts. What about South Africa?

It seemed to us it was necessary to avoid a situation like the Namibian situation, where principally the major Western powers got together and put together Resolution 435 and all its elements. That was a Western plan, and among its consequences are the problems we are facing now. We thought it was important that, since the issue of negotiations is being put on the agenda, certainly in terms of people talking about it, a negotiating position should be put forward, not by some Western powers, but by the people of South Africa.

A process of consultation took place with the democratic movement, a lot of discussion at home among UDF, the trade unions, the church, among all

sorts of other circles, who are saying, "Let us discuss together, to see if we can elaborate a common position on this issue. If negotiations were to come about, what should these negotiations be, what should be their aim, how should they proceed?" A discussion took place, and of course the ANC was part of this discussion. In the end a document was produced, which we then put to the OAU for its support. The OAU agreed, adopted the document as its own. The OAU took it to the Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade, and the Non-Aligned Summit also adopted it, and will be putting this proposal to the General Assembly of the United Nations later this year.

## **Who defines negotiating positions?**

We thought it was important to do that to avoid a situation where certain forces can intervene and put on the table their own concept of negotiations, and we find ourselves in a situation, if and when that moment of negotiation arises, where we are locked into somebody else's plan, somebody else's thinking. I should emphasise that we did not do this because we thought that De Klerk was ready to enter into negotiations. We thought it was necessary to do it because clearly the matter was being put on the agenda by somebody.

If, for instance, you take the

British government, Margaret Thatcher announced quite openly that, now P W Botha is gone, now is the time to look at the question of a negotiated solution to the South African question. And what does she do? She invites the South African ministers one by one. Invites Pik Botha and sits with him and strategises. Then next calls the Minister of Finance, Du Plessis, strategises with him. Next calls De Klerk and strategises with him.

It's clear that from her own perspective Margaret Thatcher wanted the South African regime to elaborate such a negotiating position, together with her, and that she and De Klerk would come and say to the rest of the world, "This is how we should proceed."

Our struggle has never been a struggle for negotiations. It has always been, and continues to be, a struggle to end apartheid. So, whatever De Klerk is saying, we need to continuously address this question: "What do we do to intensify the pressures, not in order to achieve negotiations but in order to end apartheid?" If, in the course of this process, De Klerk decides genuinely that he wants to sit down and negotiate, we say, "OK, let's resolve the matter in that way."

The international campaign for the isolation of the regime should continue and be intensified.

# APPEAL FROM DEATH ROW

This message from those on death row was read at rallies held in South Africa and overseas to mark October 11th, United Nations Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

*Compatriots, Friends, Comrades and all*  
Circumstances far beyond our own making rob us of a mammoth opportunity of being together in your midst. Be that as it may, please accept from us our comradely greetings, which we convey with commitment and dedication.

Comrades, your meeting today takes place at a time when, ironically, Mr F W de Klerk is promising all South Africans justice. Further still, when the word, 'negotiations' has become synonymous with the word South Africa itself. A large number of compatriots at present condemned, and those still flowing into this dungeon, makes mockery, nullifies and belies all these statements from the ruling Nationalist Party. We are all convinced that the Nationalist Party is steadfastly committed to the furtherance of apartheid policies, because of which, more and even more South Africans will, like us, be condemned to the death cells of Pretoria.

Fellow countrymen and women, the thought that we are awaiting our appointments with the hangman weighs heavily on us, but above all the trauma that our mothers, brothers, sisters, wives and loved ones have to undergo becomes unbearable to us. Though cleverly hidden from us in the letters they write to us, we have learned to read between the lines the motherly pains they have to endure. Even though, surprisingly, our fathers, wives and loved ones still afford to smile and laugh with us during their visits here, what is visible to us, more often than not, is the suffering and tears behind those masks.

We acknowledge with sadness that the spectre of a death penalty knows no boundaries as it looms and affects everyone with the slightest connection with those condemned. If this spectre does know boundaries, it is, however, never satiated as it continues to expand them. Who could tell ten years ago, when they executed

Solomon Mahlangu, that it could ever be us today? Many compatriots had to follow after him; who could tell they were not to be last? It is against this background that, as it is with us today, it could be any South African tomorrow. It therefore becomes of paramount importance that the death penalty against political prisoners be abolished.

The justice of our cause has, of course, immensely sustained us, but much above all your continued untold support for us and our families has no less contributed. It has, indeed, *inter alia*, been the reason we should live and face yet another day, under these horrendous conditions.

Compatriots, we would like to reiterate what is already known, that we are **not** murderers. We did what any freedom-loving person would have done under the circumstances. We are sorry that necessity forced upon us actions that we could willingly have avoided, given the chance, in a society free of racial domination and exploitation. Indeed, we are no slaves to the goddess of war.

We call upon foreign governments all over the world to give all possible assistance to our families. We further urge the governments to invite our families to their countries so as to acquaint themselves with the trauma and suffering they have to go through, coupled with day-to-day life under apartheid and oppression. We also call upon international organisations, institutions and individuals to write letters of protest to the Pretoria regime in support of our people's call for an immediate end to the judicial murder of political prisoners in South Africa.

A Luta Continua!

Yours in the struggle,  
Political prisoners on death row

October 10th 1989



# END APARTHEID EXECUTIONS!

Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayingo and Zinakile Mkaba were hanged in 1964. Since then, the number of South Africans executed for opposing the apartheid regime has risen to 26. One of them, Mangana Jeffrey Boesman, was executed after De Klerk came to power.

These comrades are dead now. They can never be released from prison.

At the time of our writing this, there are 74 South African patriots under sentence of death.

★ Some, like the Uppington 14, have been found guilty by association under the law of 'common purpose,' because they were present at a demonstration where a policeman was killed, or a 'community councillor' or a person believed to be a police informer.

★ Some have been convicted on the evidence of state witnesses who were discredited in court, or who have since retracted their evidence. Most of these witnesses were themselves arrested, detained and put under severe pressure to give the evidence the police wished them to give.

★ Some are trade union activists accused of causing deaths that took place during times of industrial protest, in bitter fighting between trade unionists and scabs.

★ Some are soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and are therefore entitled to prisoner of war status according to the Geneva protocols.

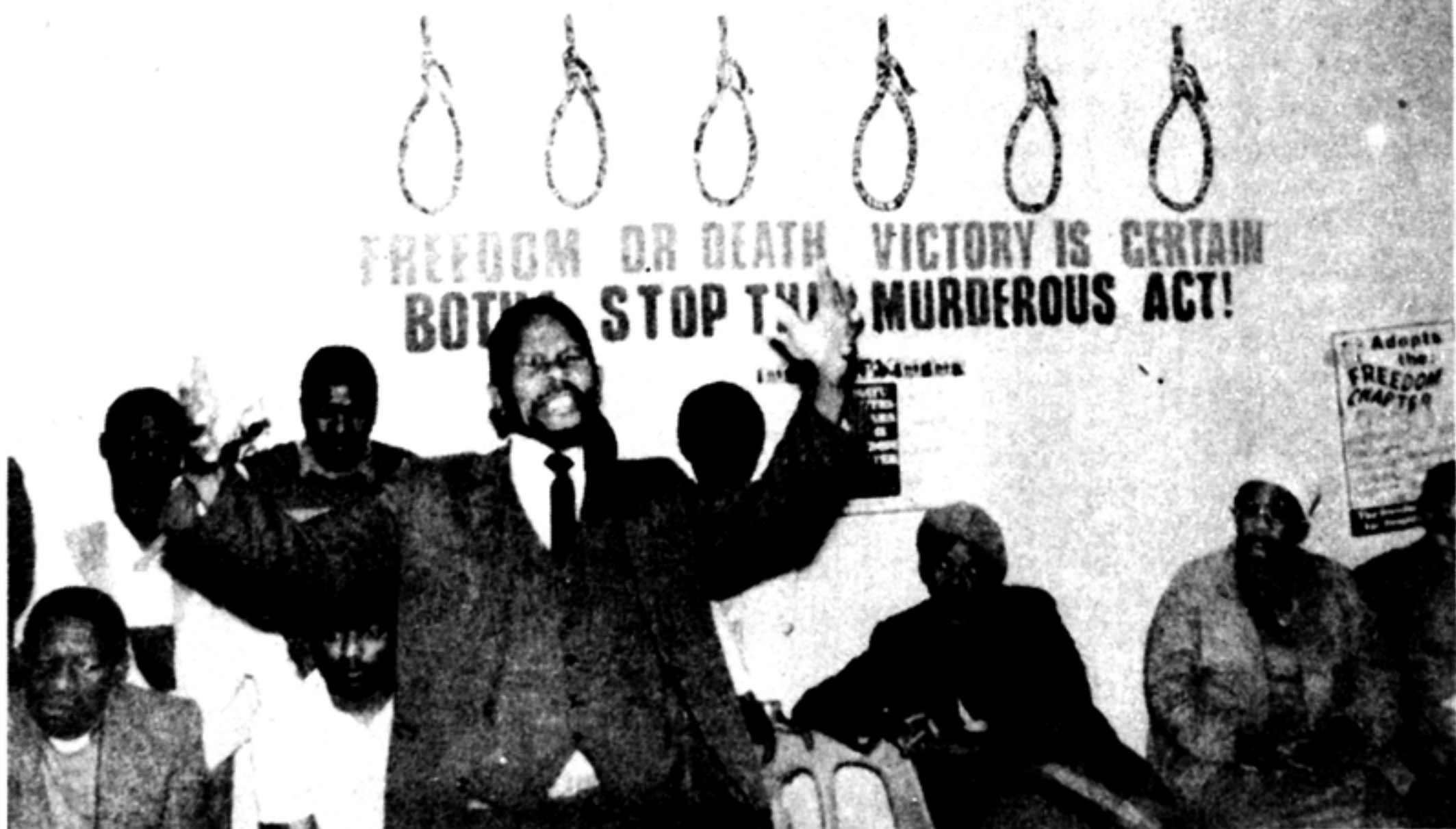
★ All have been sentenced by racist judges in the courts of an illegal regime.

The organisation, Families of People on Death Row (FAPOD), was formed in January 1989. On September 11th, it stated in a message to De Klerk:

*"We do not think there can be serious talk about reconciliation when people continue to be hanged."*

**CAMPAIGN TO SAVE THE PATRIOTS!**

## SAVE THE THIRTY ONE PATRIOTS - DO NOT LET THEM HANG



*The uncle of Wellington Mielies addressing a meeting in 1987, at the time his nephew was hanged*

# VUYISILE MINI

## TRADE UNIONIST, PATRIOT AND HERO

By Carol Trelawney

Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayingo and Zinakile Mkaba were the first ANC patriots to be hanged by the apartheid regime. November 6th 1989 marked the 25th anniversary of their deaths.



*Vuyisile Mini*

Mini, Khayingo and Mkaba were alleged to have given orders for the killing of a police informer, Sipho Mange, whose testimony might have incriminated members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. They were also charged with 17 acts of sabotage, including the unlawful possession of explosives and recruitment

of persons for military training outside South Africa.

Their appeal against the death sentence was dismissed. The World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, which had been formed in 1963 at the time of the Rivonia arrests, conducted an international campaign to save their lives, but during their trial, Vorster, then Minister of Justice, boasted in the House of Assembly that although he had received 3 000 letters of protest, he would be paying no attention to them.

The hangings went ahead in spite of the widespread international protest. The three comrades walked to their death with their heads held high, singing one of the songs Mini himself had composed: *Nants'indod' emnyama Verwoerd!* (Beware! Behold the advancing Black masses, Verwoerd!)

Vuyisile Mini, singer, poet, dancer, actor and, above all, fighter for liberation, was born in 1920 in the area of Port Elizabeth, and was brought up in Korsten. His father was a dock worker and politically active in workers' and community struggles for the improvement of living and working conditions. At the age of 17, young Vuyisile was already active in the local campaigns against mass removals of Africans from Korsten. He fought against bus fare and rent increases. As a family man with six children, he took part in the Defiance Campaign of 1952, and was one of the 156 people charged in the marathon Treason Trial of 1956.



## Activist and organiser

The most active period of his life as a militant trade union organiser spanned a period of ten years between 1954 and 1964. He was an executive member and organiser of the SACTU local committee in Port Elizabeth, and a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

He took up the resolution passed at the inaugural conference of SACTU in 1955, to "organise the unorganised," and to build SACTU into one national, non-racial trade union movement. He worked unremittingly in mobilising workers according to the demands they had submitted to the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955; demands which were subsequently incorporated in the Freedom Charter.

He carried out this work during a period of extreme reaction and repression. Strikes were outlawed for African workers under the Native Labour (Settlements of Disputes) Act of 1953, and the apartheid regime had embarked on an all-out offensive to smash the ANC and SACTU.

He was allocated the specific task of unionising metal workers, and was elected secretary of the Metal Workers' Union. Together with Stephen Tobias, he spearheaded a major organising drive among building workers in the Eastern Cape, and succeeded in forming the African Painting and Building Workers' Union,

thereby opening an opportunity for African and Coloured workers in the trade to unite against class and racial exploitation.

He is, however, best remembered for his untiring work of organising among migrant workers and dockers in Port Elizabeth, and for his role in the Bay Transport strike, which had much sympathy and support in the community.

## Successful strike

After an intensive campaign which started in 1956, Mini, together with other SACTU activists, formed the Port Elizabeth Stevedoring and Dock Workers' Union, which affiliated to SACTU. A year later, these workers carried out a prolonged strike for increased wages and against the use of convicts as cheap scab labour. It took the combined forces of the state and bosses to crush the strike, and through appeals by ANC and SACTU to international working class organisations, they won their campaign against the use of convict labour in the industry.

Mini, Khayingo and Mkaba were murdered by the racist police and the racist courts, but their work on the docks of Port Elizabeth and throughout the country has been carried on through the years, and the apartheid regime has failed in its efforts to eliminate the deep roots of ANC and SACTU militancy among the workers and the community.

## No bargaining with the police

In 1964, in a statement written from the death cell, Vuyisile Mini recounted a visit by policemen who had come to see him. The statement read:

*"They then asked me about Wilton Mkwayi ... They asked me if I was prepared to give evidence against Mkwayi, whom they had now arrested. I said no, I was not. They said there was a good chance for them to save me from the gallows if I was prepared to assist them. I refused to assist.*

*They then said, would I make the Amandla! salute when I walked the last few paces to the gallows. I said, 'Yes.'"*

Mini, Khayingo and Mkaba are not only remembered for their ability to organise workers into unions. We remember them also for the spirit of dedication and resistance they brought to our struggle for liberation. Vuyisile Mini is a symbol of the militancy of the working class in our country.

SACTU has called for November 6th to be observed annually as a day of solidarity with trade unions and workers against repression; a day to demand the unconditional release of all those in detention, to campaign vigorously for our patriots on death row and to intensify the campaign for people's sanctions. Let us make this a day on which we rededicate ourselves to the struggle for which our fallen comrades died.

# DISINFORMATION AND DIRTY TRICKS IN NAMIBIA

Sue Dobson and her husband, Peter, worked underground in South Africa for ten years as activists of the ANC. As a press officer at the Bureau for Information in Pretoria, Sue became involved in covering the situation in Namibia in 1988. In September 1989, she was posted to Windhoek as part of a team of journalists sent from Pretoria with a clear brief — she describes it as "disinformation" — to promote the image of Pretoria and its agencies and supporters, and to discredit SWAPO and UNTAG. She spoke to *Sechaba* in October.

*What was the team that went to Namibia? How was it set up?*

It was known simply as "the contingent." It was set up as the result of a decision by the State Security Council, and was an interdepartmental operation involving the National Intelligence Service, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the SADF and the Bureau of Information. We went to Namibia on September 11th and were to stay until November 16th.

I was chosen for it because I had been covering Namibian affairs for *Policy Review*, the journal of the Bureau of Information.

They became very defensive when it was referred to as a "covert operation." They said, "It's not a covert operation. It just has to be kept quiet." If that's not a covert operation, I don't know what is!

*Can you give us some details about the propaganda you were expected to put out?*

We were to promote the image of SWAPOL, the South West Africa Police, to suggest that they

were maintaining law and order, that Koevoet had been successfully integrated into regular police service and were not intimidating the population.

We had also to promote political parties other than SWAPO, specifically the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the DTA, which is funded and supported by South Africa.

We were to discredit SWAPO. We were to strongly publicise allegations that SWAPO had tortured detainees. To my knowledge at least one interview was carried out with some of those alleged to have been tortured, and this received considerable publicity in the Federal Republic of Germany. It was decided that this particular allegation should be widely publicised in the Federal Republic, and there was talk of taking the person there for interviews to be conducted. Publicity in West Germany was one of the specific aims of the contingent. They saw it as of particular importance, probably because of the established German community in Namibia.

They were also set on discovering an alleged SWAPO torturer, to find him and publish the atrocities he was alleged to have committed.



# ANC STATEMENT

There has been speculation in the South African press concerning Susan and Peter Dobson.

The ANC confirms that the couple are members of our organisation, who have been carrying out tasks for us for several years.

Mrs Susan Dobson's position at the South African Bureau of Information, and latterly with the Administrator-General's office in Windhoek, has provided us with invaluable information. Susan Dobson has access to confidential briefings from senior members of the SADF staff in Pretoria, and her position in Namibia resulted in close association with officers of the Security Branch and NIS. She was able to gain the confidence of Major Derek Brune, Pretoria's Security Branch officer currently serving with the South African occupationist police (SWAPOL) in Oshakati. For more than a year he provided her with transport facilities and granted her free access to the bases under his command.

She had so impressed her superiors that she was being considered for a post in the office of the racist president, F W de Klerk.

Sue Dobson has kept the ANC well informed of Pretoria's dirty tricks campaign against SWAPO, which aims at subverting a democratic electoral process.

Her disappearance is understandably causing confusion and distress in Pretoria.

The Dobsons' hasty departure from Namibia and South Africa was precipitated by instructions from the ANC, when our intelligence sources learned that their arrest was imminent.

**Department of Information and Publicity**

**Lusaka**

**October 18th 1989**

We were instructed to discredit UNTAG, on the grounds that it was biased in favour of SWAPO. To illustrate this — one of the briefings was to produce colour photographs showing SWAPO supporters on the way to the airport to meet President Nujoma, and UNTAG vehicles transporting them. This was supposed to indicate UNTAG partiality towards SWAPO. The photographs would be produced by the South African National Intelligence Service — NIS was going to manufacture them. My briefing was that I should go to UNTAG and confront them with these photo-

graphs. The pictures would subsequently be published in South Africa.

*What terms were used when you were briefed?  
How was your brief described to you?*

It was put to me that it was rather a nuisance that SWAPO was claiming it had already as good as won the election, and we were supposed to be fair to other political parties. "What about the DTA? Nobody mentions the true support for the DTA" — that's the way it was presented to us. It was our task to go out and promote the DTA, to be positive

about it, to mention the extent of its following.

We were also instructed to smear specific personnel. About one of the UN team, for instance, it was felt it would discredit him if we suggested he had connections with the IRA. About Anton Lubowski they said, after he was assassinated, "We want to counteract the publicity Lubowski received. We want to write about what he was really like." We were to suggest that he had become an embarrassment and that he had been murdered by elements within SWAPO.

They didn't specifically try to smear Ahtisaari. They went to very great lengths to create a good relationship with him personally, and to some extent they succeeded, because he was very open to discussions with them. For instance, before I became part of the contingent, when I was still working as a journalist on *Policy Review*, the journal of the Bureau of Information, I had an hour's interview with him. And he had a good relationship with the leader of the covert operation, David Venter.

In the course of my work with SWAPOL, I learned that their security branch had built up a network of informers among the local population in the north of Namibia, and were trying to build up a network in UNTAG itself. The purpose of this was to gain information about SWAPO.

*Did Pretoria hope that what you were doing would help South Africa to gain an influence over the people of Namibia? They were to be the voters in the elections, but they don't have access to the South African and international press that you were writing for.*

The South African and Namibian press was used to gain credibility for these themes, which were extensively used by the South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation on their stations. The power of radio in Namibia is very substantial, and it's very clear that the SWABC has played a significant role in the disinformation, judging from its biased reporting.

In fact, there's been some degree of conflict between UNTAG and Louis Pienaar, the Administrator-General, about the role of the broadcasting corporation, regarding biased reporting and propaganda against SWAPO, so it is clear that broadcasting was part of the strategy.

For instance, officials from the Bureau of Information who had been part of Louis Pienaar's office were organising and putting out a radio programme to boost the image of the Administrator-General. It was a daily slot. The connections between the SWABC and our contingent were very close and there were constant meetings between the contingent and people at SWABC responsible for putting out this programme. I think it extends much further than that particular programme.

The reports we were to write were fed into the South African and international press. It became clear to me that this campaign of disinformation had been going on for several months. For some time freelance journalists had been commissioned by the Bureau for Information to promote these themes even before the contingent went to Namibia. To my knowledge, the stories were also picked up overseas, specifically the torture allegations.

*SWAPO believes that Pretoria is ready to mount a war of destabilisation in Namibia after the elections. Do you think the stories the contingent and the freelance journalists are putting out to the international press might be designed to gain sympathy for such a war? What is your own opinion?*

Most definitely it is clear that Pretoria has adopted a long-term approach regarding the destabilisation of Namibia after the elections, and that this has been in progress for some time. The regime has made use of the press to achieve this. From my contact with government circles, it is clear to me that South Africa is reluctant to accept a SWAPO victory, and will do its best to undermine a future SWAPO government.

*Do you think the campaign of disinformation will have substantially affected the success of SWAPO in the coming elections?*

I believe it's had some effect, judging from the coverage it has received. However, SWAPO is the representative of the Namibian people, is powerful and will win the struggle — no dirty tricks campaign launched by South Africa can change this.



# SANCTIONS-BUSTING AND THE COMPUTER INDUSTRY

While Peter Dobson was doing his national service in the South African Defence Force as a lieutenant in the Military Psychology Institute, he was already working underground as an activist of the ANC. He then worked in the computer industry, and during this time passed on to the ANC information he gained about the strategies the Pretoria regime uses to acquire computer technology, and about the use of computers in the SADF. He made this statement to *Sechaba* in October, in London.

I worked in the South African computer industry over a period of nine years in two different jobs. The first job, for about six years, was with one of the American multinational suppliers, and the second was with a small South African company involved in software development projects. I gained some knowledge directly, through working for these companies. I was also exposed to indirect knowledge, because the South African computer industry is very small in terms of number of installations and the number of skilled people, so it is quite easy to know who is working where and what kind of systems they're working on.

The information I think has been of particular interest to the ANC over that time has concerned the ways in which the South African regime has been gaining access to computer technology, and what they're doing with it. My experience is that in no way have they been cut off from the latest technology; that whatever technology they want they're getting and they're using.

The United States Congress passed legislation prohibiting the sale of computer technology to specific government agencies in South Africa — police, SADF, intelligence and the agency that used to enforce the pass laws when they were still in existence. The regime responded by centralising all its purchasing of systems under one agency, a central computing facility called the Commission for Administration.

### Need for comprehensive sanctions

The way the US suppliers get round the sanctions is to say that the machine is going to the office of the Commission for Administration. That's what appears on the export licence. Then they can later plead innocence if the system ends up at Police or Defence. The clause in the US legislation concerning 'end use verification' is difficult to enforce, as it would involve the inspection of machines in sensitive areas, and the machines can be disguised quite easily, by changing serial numbers for example.

The effect of this is that selective sanctions are impossible to apply. The only way to cut off technology going to the SAP or the SADF is to cut off completely all technology going to the regime.

The backbone of South African government computer systems is IBM mainframes running software called MVS/XA, the most widely used technology in the world. The equipment to run it is being supplied by IBM, by an American company called Amdahl, and the Japanese company, Hitachi. The latest equipment from these three major suppliers is there in South Africa, the largest systems that they could use. The regime is getting whatever support it needs in terms of spare parts and training to install and run the machines.

Chains of companies have been set up, structures that make it very difficult to trace back to

# PROHIBITION ON COMPUTER EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Sec.304(a) No computers, computer software, or goods or technology intended to manufacture or service computers may be exported to or for use by any of the following entities of the Government of South Africa:

- (1) The military.
- (2) The police.
- (3) The prison system.
- (4) The national security agencies.
- (5) ARMSCOR and its subsidiaries, or the weapons research activities of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.
- (6) The administering authorities for controlling the movements of the victims of apartheid.
- (7) Any apartheid enforcing agency.
- (8) Any local, regional or homelands government entity which performs any function of any entity described in paragraphs (1) through (7).

(b)(1) Computers, computer software and goods or technology intended to service computers may be exported, directly or indirectly, to or for use by an entity of the Government of South Africa other than those set forth in sub-section (a) only if a system of end use verification is in effect to ensure that the computers involved will not be used for any function of any entity set forth in subsection (a).

— *From the United States Congressional Record, September 12th 1986*

the original suppliers. IBM, Amdahl and Hitachi aren't directly represented in South Africa any more — IBM made a lot of noise about withdrawing, disinvesting from South Africa. All three are now represented in South Africa by agents, and in some cases they don't buy the equipment directly from the original supplier, but through agents in Europe.

## Expertise is smuggled

In many cases, the training is done in America or in Europe. In other cases, — I've met people who are doing this — American or European personnel fly out to South Africa, supposedly while they're on leave so that the company supporting them can deny knowledge of what they're doing.

The other aspect that is increasingly important is the manufacture of electronics and computer systems in South Africa, because computers are increasingly important. The point has been reached where electronics are the second largest item on South Africa's import bill, after oil. The regime has now decided on a concerted programme to try to stimulate local South African industry and reduce its dependency on international supplies wherever possible. They're trying to become as self-sufficient as possible in the same way that they've done in the armaments industry.

What they have achieved up till now is that they are assembling IBM-compatible personal computers in large quantities. That's being done by commercial companies, and also by an ARMSCOR company. ARMSCOR is a para-



statal company, established by the SADF to co-ordinate armaments research and production, and it has a subsidiary company called Infoplan, which does all their work related to computer systems. They in turn have a company which is assembling IBM-compatible personal computers. My own belief is that they're getting the expertise and components from Taiwanese companies — I have no direct proof about the military side, but certainly there are very close links between Taiwanese electronics companies and South African firms; that's been fairly open and reported openly in the press.

## **Manufacture of computers**

So that's the first level they've been able to manufacture: personal computers. The second level is that they have started manufacturing a mid-range system which runs a piece of software called Unix that's very widely used. It also runs software from an American company called Data General. Data General used to supply directly to South Africa, and their equipment is quite widely used in the SADF.

So what the South Africans are doing in this latest venture is to be able to produce equipment for the future. That has been done through a company called TSM, a subsidiary of Barlow Rand, the biggest industrial company in South Africa, which has extremely close links with ARMSCOR and is very closely involved in armaments production.

So that's the mid-range systems, and then, in the large systems, they've recently announced the first production of an IBM-compatible main-frame system being built under licence from an American company. So over the past few years they put all the investment in place to build up the expertise and the manufacturing capability to become largely self-sufficient in terms of manufacturing equipment — not in large volumes, and maybe not the most sophisticated equipment, but enough to allow them to continue operating for a number of years.

## **Military applications**

Then the final aspect I'm aware of relates to a

particular machine manufactured by an American company called Digital Equipment. The machine is called a Dec Vax. It's particularly well suited to scientific applications, and is widely used in the defence industry. It would be the kind of equipment which is used in simulating nuclear reactions, simulating missile flights and so on. It's a very sensitive piece of equipment, because of its military applications, and is on the Americans' prohibited list for export to socialist countries.

South Africa has the capacity to manufacture that equipment as well. It's an extremely covert operation, which has never been reported in the South African press, and done not through any direct links, but through a number of agencies and intermediary companies. It would be very difficult to trace.

So they have effectively put in place a number of things that they need to remain self-sufficient in computer equipment.

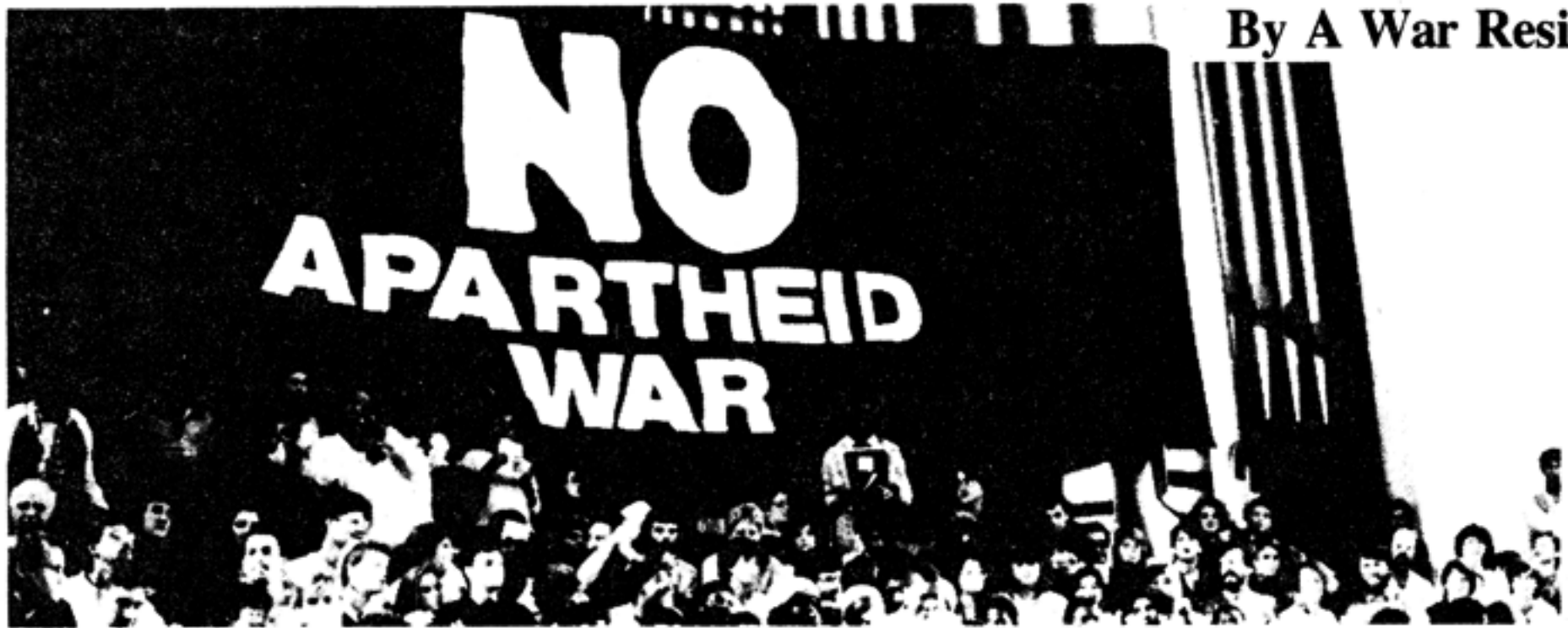
## **Contingency plans**

In case of total sanctions or total embargo, they would be able to continue operations. The problem they would face then — and this is discussed quite openly by senior people in the computer industry — is that they would have no access to new technology. It would be very expensive to smuggle new technology. But what they have achieved is the ability at least to maintain the current technology, keep it running for a number of years, to manufacture some systems and so on.

They've prepared contingency plans for rationing computer systems; so every significant computer user in South Africa is on a register, and they classify those users in terms of how critical their systems would be in their different areas, whether military, manufacturing, financial. They have plans for prioritising those applications and making sure the critical ones are kept operational.

# MILITARY SERVICE DEFIED

By A War Resister



At a time of mass defiance throughout South Africa, White anti-conscription forces have unbanned the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and stepped up mass refusals to serve in the South African Defence Force. Numerous sectors of the White community, including big business, the churches and women's organisations, have extended their support for an alternative to conscription into the South African Defence Force or the South African Police.

In this article, a member of the Committee of South African War Resisters in London discusses the situation and the possibilities for future action.

In September 1989, the launch of the Register of Conscientious Objectors took place at secret press conferences in South Africa. It was the biggest ever demonstration of anti-conscription sentiment in the country, and came at a time of widespread defiance against apartheid. This was not a coincidence.

## Solidarity with the MDM

Speaking at the launch, the acting chairperson of the End Conscription Campaign, Chris de Villiers, said:

*"The timing of the announcement of our stand is to associate ourselves with the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign. We want to show that we are also defying unjust laws in solidarity with the defiance campaign."*

Just weeks before the launch, the ECC had declared itself unbanned at meetings in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. It firmly aligned itself with other organisations such as the Congress of South African Students, the United Democratic Front and the South African National Students' Organisation, which had declared themselves unbanned as part of the defiance campaign. In the mass protests in towns and cities round the coun-

try, banners of the ECC and other organisations have called for a just peace in the land, and for the need to give conscripts other options.

After the launch, the Register grew within days from an initial 771 to over 1 000 individual declarations of refusal to serve in the SADF.

The Defence Amendment Act of 1983 and the state of emergency regulations, which make it illegal to undermine the system of military conscription, lay down severe penalties for refusing to serve in the SADF. These penalties highlight the boldness of the continuing offensive against apartheid military service.



## Service for a just and peaceful country

Anti-conscription forces have succeeded in widening support for those refusing to do military service, and in uniting a broad spectrum of White opinion behind the call for a genuine form of alternative national service. Most of those now refusing to serve have indicated their willingness to do a period of community service outside government departments, so long as it is not defined by SADF strategies and is for the development of a more just and peaceful country.

A consistent view expressed by those refusing to do military service is that the country needs political and not military solutions. In spite of F W de Klerk's proclaiming his peaceful intentions, the SADF remains an integral part of the 'security forces,' with bases in numerous townships around the country, and the withdrawal from Namibia will not bring an end to its repressive role.

Under the specific conditions relating to the White community, opposition to conscription remains, for young Whites, the most important part of the struggle against apartheid. The increasing number of conscripts refusing to serve, and the alliances backing them, are a threat to the racist forces and to the state.

However, if we are to bring about the disintegration of the SADF, organisation and mobilisation within the armed forces of Pretoria must not lag

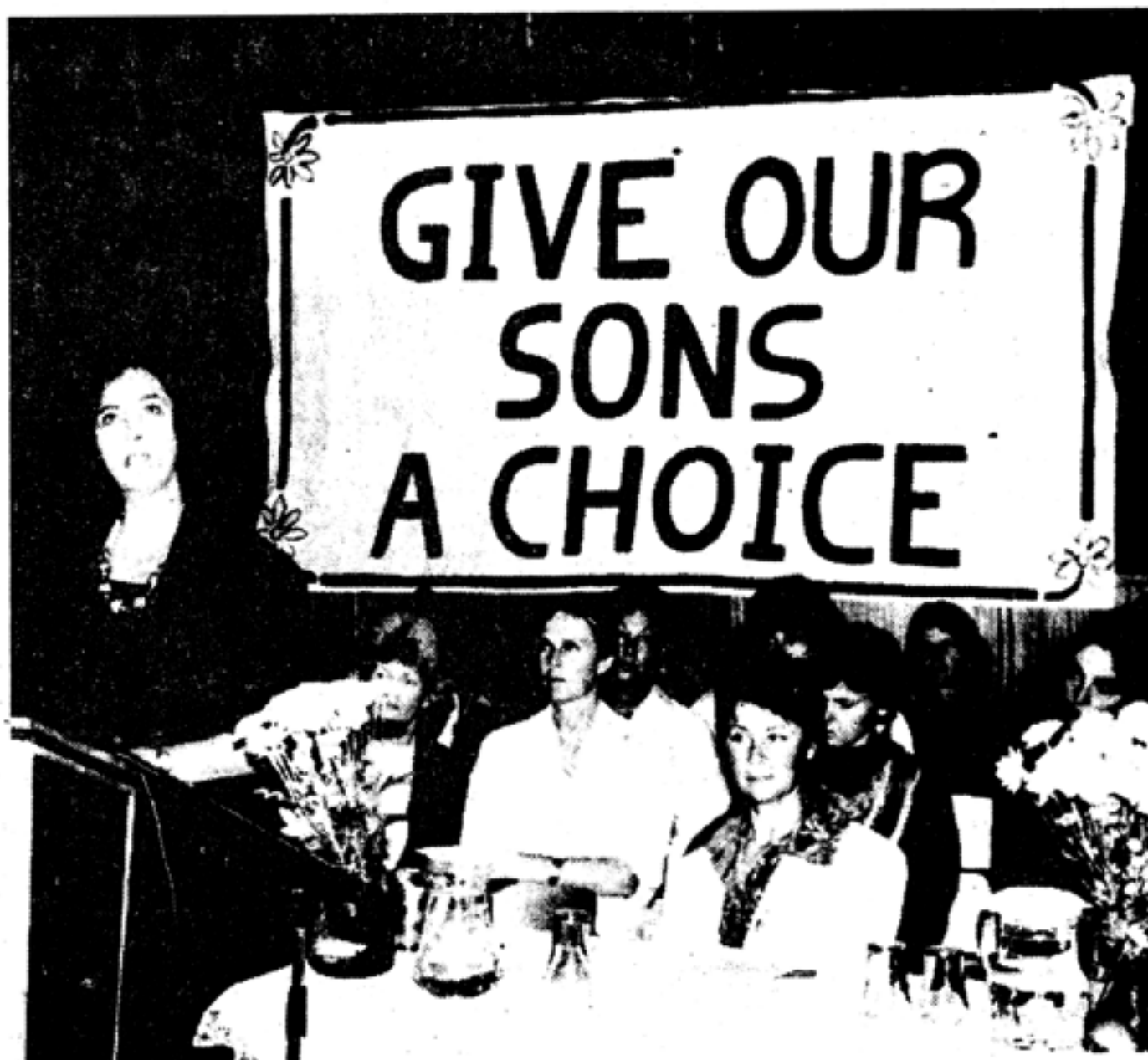
behind resistance outside them. The serious threat to the SADF and the related 'security forces,' namely the police and other auxiliary units, will come from mobilising within the ranks, an area that needs to be prioritised if advances are to be made. Pursuing alliances within the White community has succeeded in mobilising widespread support for alternative service, and the establishment of a Register of Conscientious Objectors has formalised what is a minimum demand for those working within the Mass Democratic Movement: that it is a duty to refuse to serve apartheid.

## Strategies

Whilst anti-conscription forces are a threat to the state, and whilst they operate in difficult

conditions, there is a danger that they will remain a marginal force within the White community. Winning over the support of alienated White conscripts within the army, and mobilising within the ranks needs to be rigorously pursued. Indeed, if these people are not won over by the democratic forces, then the state will continue to rely on their support, or — which is more dangerous — they can be won over by the right wing.

Given that this area of mobilising is a priority, then anti-conscription forces will have to double their efforts, continuing to work on building alliances within the White community, and to work within the military itself. Striking a fatal blow to the military will require both these strategies.



*Press conference on conscription, Johannesburg*

# THE ILLEGITIMACY OF THE APARTHEID REGIME IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

By Kader Asmal

This is an extract from a paper which was delivered at a legal seminar organised by the World Council of Churches and the South African Council of Churches in Harare in September 1989.

No other issue has generated so much international activity as has apartheid over the past 40 years at the United Nations, at regional and inter-governmental levels.

★ Over 250 resolutions have been passed, with near-unanimity in many cases.

★ Two multilateral treaties have been adopted (on the issues of apartheid itself and apartheid in sport).

★ At least one general anti-racism convention demands specific measures to combat apartheid.

★ The 1977 Protocol to the Geneva Conventions specifically describes apartheid policies as war crimes.

★ The only international convention on a statute of limitation excludes apartheid crimes from being time-barred.

★ The prestigious International Law Commission has included apartheid as an international crime.

★ Four advisory opinions have been delivered by the International Court of Justice on South Africa's administration of Namibia, and one contentious proceeding has been initiated.

★ For the first time, in 1977, the Security Council of the United Nations, in passing Resolution 418 imposing a mandatory arms embargo against a member state, referred to the apartheid policies as a threat to international peace.

The role of the Security Council in taking decisions binding on the international community is vital, in a legal sense. Since 1982, the General Assembly has, by increasing majorities, urged states to impose sanctions of various kinds, and, since 1965, comprehensive sanctions. The Secur-

ity Council, through persistent use of the veto by certain permanent members — especially the United States and Britain — has thwarted the expectation of the international community that any form of collaboration is not only morally wrong because it provides aid to apartheid, but is also contrary to basic rules of international law.

Despite this, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 556 in 1984, encapsulating the legal and political basis for the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime. This resolution:

★ Reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa for the full exercise of the rights of self-determination and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in an unfragmented South Africa;

★ Reiterated its condemnation of apartheid policy as a crime against humanity;

★ Demanded the dismantling of the bantustans, and

★ Demanded the immediate eradication of apartheid and the taking of the necessary steps towards the full exercise of the right to self-determination in an unfragmented South Africa.

Resolution 556 cannot be dismissed as a mere expression of what a representative of the Reagan administration once called the "tyranny of the majority" exercised by the developing countries at the United Nations. The permanent members could have vetoed the resolution. The fact that they did not reflects the incontestable nature of the norms of international law supporting the dismantling of apartheid. The legitimacy of the struggle by the people of South Africa can be posited only on the basis that the regime lacks legal authority.

## Authentic representatives of the people

As early as 1973, the legitimacy of the South African government was questioned at the General



Assembly through the recognition of the national liberation movement as the authentic representative of the "overwhelming majority of the South African people."

The following year, the General Assembly refused to accept the credentials of the South African delegation, in effect saying that the General Assembly refused to allow the delegates of South Africa to participate in its work. Only the veto of the Western permanent members averted the expulsion of South Africa from membership of the UN for persistent breaches of its obligations under the Charter. No other state has faced this humiliation, as no other country has been expelled or suspended from nearly every inter-governmental and non-governmental international organisation. The reason for such disengagement from normal relations turns on the nature of the regime.

The legal basis for treating the apartheid regime as illegitimate has now been systematically dealt with in a number of studies. Not only is apartheid an egregious form of gross, flagrant and systematic violation of human rights, it also deprives the majority of the right to self-determination. The establishment of the so-called independent homelands, beginning with the Transkei in 1976, with the attendant compulsory denationalisation of millions of Africans — in itself an international wrong — was an attempt at the partition of South Africa by a regime acting as a colonial power. The international community has characterised the setting up of the bantustans as attempts to deny the entire people of South Africa the right to self-determination.

## Consequences of illegitimacy

The oppression of the authority of the people has been described as a form of political slavery which not only violates human rights but constitutes a "treason against humanity." As a result, it is now accepted that the people in a given community have, under international law, the right to "alter, abolish or overthrow any form of government that becomes destructive of the process of self-determination and the right to individual participation."

The effect of this lack of authority is that the regime can be 'overthrown,' and there is no right under international law it can use to ensure its survival. Indeed, the General Assembly resolution 183L of 1979 strongly condemned "the illegitimate minority racist regime ... for its criminal policies and actions," and reaffirmed "the legitimacy of the struggle ... by all available and appropriate means, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people."

Other states may support the assertion of the right to self-determination by the people of South Africa, and promote its observance. The authoritative International Law Commission (ILC) of the United Nations suggests in a recent report that there could be an obligation on all states to "contribute" to a situation in which the author of an international crime could be "compelled" to stop the breach. As a minimum, the ILC suggests that such a contribution would include refraining from support of conduct constituting an international crime. States could support other states taking counter-measures against the delinquent state. The effect of all this is that all forms of assistance to the apartheid regime virtually constitute aiding and abetting the crime of apartheid, and support for an illegitimate regime.

As the Nuremberg Principles, part of customary international law, impose the duty on corporations and individuals not to assist in criminal conduct forbidden by international law, there is a duty on corporations, other entities and individuals not to provide succour to apartheid.

## Basis for sanctions

This is the basis for **comprehensive** sanctions and for the obligation not to recognise the regime's legislative and administrative acts (save those which touch on personal status, such as registration of births and deaths). Conversely, in accordance with the norms of the new international economic order and state responsibility, there rests in the people of South Africa the right to seek and obtain reparations, after freedom, from corporations and others who continue their collaboration with the apartheid regime.

Further, individual responsibility entails

criminal liability by those who form part of the apartheid war machine — the leaders, the administrators, military and police personnel, judges and executioners who participate in, or order, the gravest crimes under international law, those which amount to crimes against humanity, and war crimes. People who resist apartheid have the protection of international law. The perpetrators of crimes against protected persons (execution of those entitled to prisoner of war status, persecution of children) commit serious international crimes. Those who administer the Group Areas legislation and the mass resettlement schemes, and those who deny basic rights of association and freedom of expression, those who carry out torture or operate the bantustan policy, are guilty of the crime of apartheid. Corporations and individuals who aid and abet them are guilty as accomplices. There is universal jurisdiction for these crimes, independently of the 1973 Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

Arising out of the status of illegitimacy of the apartheid regime, individuals are freed of the bonds and obligations that normally emerge from citizenship. There is a duty not to support violence against the disfranchised majority, or to maintain the apartheid regime. The effect is that laws compelling conscription are invalid, and other states are under a duty to provide assistance to those who refuse to fight apartheid's wars, externally and internally.

## **Status of the liberation movement**

Arising out of the right to self-determination, the national liberation movement of South Africa has rights and obligations at the level of international law and international personality.

There must therefore be increasing recognition of the primacy of the liberation movement in international and regional organisations, and resistance to any moves to diminish its role in future negotiations or to equate its status with other forces inside South Africa not enjoying such a protected status.

Most important of all, the states must understand the implications of the status of illegitimacy of the

apartheid regime, which entails certain duties of non-recognition. The withdrawal of recognition is a minimum response which merely ensures neutrality in the conflict which has an international character. Neutrality is not enough.

The apartheid regime may exercise jurisdiction over South Africa. But the continuing protests, demonstrations, strikes, armed action and rejection of its mandate to rule have shown that the people of South Africa do not owe any allegiance to it. The Defiance Campaign announced by the Mass Democratic Movement in August 1989, with its echoes of the famous Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952, reflects the continuity of challenge to unjust racist and dictatorial powers, and is an assertion of the people's right to disobey laws which have no moral or legal validity.

Effectiveness of control is no longer the sole criterion for recognition. International legal prescriptions which outlaw apartheid arise from the rules concerning slavery, caste and racial discrimination, self-determination, gross violation of human rights, crimes against humanity and oppression, and crimes against peace. The cumulative effect of these illegal acts — not previously identified in a single situation — establish the illegitimacy of the regime.

## **Resistance and rights**

In its introduction to the Constitutional Guidelines published by the African National Congress in 1988, the National Executive Committee of the ANC refers to the Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People as the "first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa."

What has generally been ignored by outside commentators is the Charter's adherence to the notion of legitimacy embracing internal self-determination with its express commitment to a democratic state and its repudiation of the racist nature of the South African 'constitution,' which denied internal self-determination to the majority. The preamble to the Charter proclaims that South Africa "belongs to all who live in it," and that the only legitimate basis of government is one



whose authority rests on "the will of all the people."

The remarkable feature of the struggle against apartheid is the extent to which the demands of the people have been based on the language of rights embracing both collective and individual rights, anticipating developments at the level of international law by identifying not only the traditional liberal rights of freedom of speech, conscience and association but also economic and social rights (described as 'second generation rights') and referring to the need for peace and self-determination ('third generation rights'). In fact, long before international human rights standards were identified through the International Bill of Human Rights, the oppressed, through their representative organ, the African National Congress, expressed their demands by invoking human rights standards and the idea of a fundamental law, contrasting their claims to the very denial of those rights by apartheid society.

### **Humanistic alternative to apartheid**

In 1943, the Annual Conference of the ANC adopted a document entitled: *Africans' Claims in South Africa, including the Atlantic Charter from the standpoint of the Africans within the Union of South Africa*. This document codified the demands of the African people in the form of a Bill of Rights covering both civil and political rights as well as cultural and economic rights, and, according to Carter and Karis,\* represented a "precocious anticipation of a larger and more comprehensive agenda of fundamental human rights." They included the right to choose the form of government, abandonment of the use of force, a Bill of Rights, land, labour and educational rights, full citizenship and the removal of discriminatory legislation.

The 1943 document, together with the Freedom

Charter and the 1988 Constitutional Guidelines, present a humanistic alternative to the paradigm of apartheid. Their emphasis on universal values associated with human rights standards, the need to replace apartheid structures with democratic ones, active opposition to racism in all its forms, and the need for a single, undivided South Africa based on universal suffrage, counterposes the basic ideas of self-determination as understood in international law to the illegitimate doctrine of institutionalised racism. Where these documents are inclusive and all-embracing, apartheid and the structures of the regime are limiting and exclusive. While they espouse the legitimate and concrete demands of the people based on the international bill of human rights, the regime and its organs such as the Law Reform Commission, with its Bill of Rights proposals of 1989, selectively invoke norms which apartheid has, up to now, totally betrayed, in order to protect racial privileges.

The demands of the people provide an alternative to the pretensions and practices of the illegitimate regime. They have a vision of a free and democratic South Africa which can rightly claim its place in the international community.

The dismantling of apartheid is now firmly and incontestably supported by the norms of international law. It is evident that the present apartheid regime lacks authority under international law, and it follows that it has no right to assure its survival. The Freedom Charter and the Constitutional Guidelines provide the just basis for a democratic society based on the authority of the people, the only authority, as Tom Paine laid down in 1794, on which a government has a right to exist in any country. The international community must now choose which it will support.

\* Carter and Karis, *From Protest to Challenge: Documents of African Politics in South Africa, 1881-1964* (1972)



# BOOK REVIEW

*Fruit of the Vine: The Human Cost of South African Wine*, Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1989, £6.95



*The pictures in this review are taken from the book.*

Over the years, the words, 'slave' and 'slavery' seem to have been dropped from our political vocabulary. One reason for this was the much-heralded legal abolition of overseas slavery in 1836. Another was the rise of capitalist mining and industry. Was slavery really abolished in South Africa? The slave bell may have become no more than a decoration piece, but the slave dwelling, the tot system, the gun and the whip, all pillars of slavery, continue.

In our approach to history, too, we highlight the dispossession of the land, the robbery of the common wealth, the racist institution of apartheid, the denial of Black political power and expression; but enslavement remains in the background, in both the historical and the contemporary context.

For over 200 years, colonial South Africa had a predominantly agricultural economy. Indeed, it was only in the middle of this century that industry overtook agriculture. Yet, in political and trade union organisation, agriculture is still unfortunately virgin territory. Back in January, 1930, at a meeting in Worcester, the Western Cape ANC, when adopting resolutions demanding a minimum wage in agriculture, declared in one resolution that:

*"The economic status of Non-Europeans employed in the agricultural districts is worse than chattel slavery."*

Nothing has changed since then. Agriculture in South Africa today is still dominated by a quasi-slave mode of production. Labour relations consist of the whip, the gun and alcoholic drugging.

Today, political and trade union organisers in the rural areas are few, and face the same dangers that were faced in the 1920s and 1930s, still regarded as the most successful period of rural organisation. Activists of the time, like John Gomas, Elliot Tonjeni, Bransby Ndobe, Kennon Thaele of the Western Cape ANC and the CPSA were run out of town, shot at and imprisoned for trying to organise rural workers.

While many people have vaguely heard of the tot system and the appalling conditions farm workers live under, most are fairly ignorant of the total sordid story of late 20th century slavery on South African farms. *Fruit of the Vine* redresses this, in a systematic and readable way. It strips off the gloss on Cape fruit and wines, and exposes the human costs which lie beyond the slick advertising used to combat international boycott of South African products.

Margaret Thatcher and the anti-sanctions lobby, continuing to talk of how sanctions will cause Black workers to suffer, would do well to study this short but punching book. Before they denounce sanctions, they need to study the 300 years of farm slavery and ask whether a slave can indeed get lower than this degradation.

## **Weapon of labour control**

This book starts off at the heart of the farm workers' burden. Slavery! It thoroughly explains the tot system and shows how it is used as a multiple weapon of labour control, both as a wage substitute and as a means of mental control. The book points out how the tot system creates perpetual dependency, causes disunity among workers, promotes informing, assists in population control through side effects, and, through addling the brain, ensures subservience. It puts paid to any notion that the tot system is a thing of the



past, by exposing the fact that the system has been extended in its use. It shows, too, how other systems, like that of tied housing, are used to exert control over lives.

The toll on health of workers and their families through alcohol abuse, working conditions and living conditions on the farms, is excellently recorded. Likewise, the section on education reveals the overwhelming difficulties that youngsters and their parents face, and points out that unless rural schooling undergoes major surgery, farm children will continue to grow up educationally disenfranchised.

The conditions and legal rights of agricultural workers are compared to the advances made in the industrial and mining sectors. It is shown that, because of the advances made by industrial workers, farmers are clearly worried that their feudal-type world will collapse if they don't stop up every gap that may allow industrial workers' gains to infiltrate the domain of agriculture. This makes it even more difficult for rural organisers. Farm workers also remain outside the Labour Relations legal advances. The farmers' law is the only real law on the farms, and its enforcement is well documented.

Workers' resistance in its various forms is also well logged; and the authors pose the constant question of the need for organisation. While the book shows how much is stacked against organisation, it also shows how the power of organised labour in related in-



*A worker moves his bed to another farm*

dustries must eventually succeed in leading moves to bring farm labour into the trade union arena, and so bring farm slavery to an end.

On the issue of wages, the book is damning in its conclusions. Where farm labourers get a wage, if it can be called a wage, they earn between R10 and R25 a week, excluding all so-called fringe benefits such as the tot, housing, medical patch-ups and food handouts. An average farm worker's income is put at R87. The household subsistence level at the same time was put at R380.81. The COSATU living wage demand is R700 per month. In 1985, the total income of wine producers, after tax, was R262 million. The book concludes from these figures that farmers could easily triple workers' wages without hurting themselves.

## **Riches and poverty on the farms**

In human terms, this imbalance results in starkly different circumstances for haves and have-nots on South African farms. The first resistance movements developed on farms in the form of early slave and Khoi revolts. *Fruit of the Vine* clearly shows that the flame of resistance has not gone out, and the farmers have stockpiled more than enough fuel of discontent for an almighty explosion, when workers finally do rise up and overthrow the tyranny.

While the writers have packed a great deal of information into a relatively short text, there are a few important omissions.

The historical roots of farm slavery and resistance are dealt with only sketchily. The character of the oppressed community of today as descendants of both indigenous Cape African people and imported slaves from Indonesia is not touched on. The role of the "Coloured labour preference area" and its effects on farm relations shows the gulf that exists in mode of life between urban and rural Coloured people, but is not dealt with at all.

The relationship between agricultural and domestic work is also only fleetingly acknowledged. While these two areas of work are the lowest paid and most vulnerable, there are other questions of interrelationship. Many domestic workers in urban areas are recruited from farms while they are still children, often never to see their families again. Others



become domestic workers to escape the farms. The questions of child abduction, facilitated by White farmers, and of Black women on farms making up a domestic labour pool for worker recruitment, is a serious omission. Domestic workers share slave-type status with farm workers, as a sort of urban extension of the system.

Another question the book might have dealt with is that of recruitment of Coloured

soldiers. White farmers assist the SADF in a sort of economic press-gang process, where young men surplus to labour requirements are removed from rural areas into the South African killing machine.

This having been said, the book remains invaluable, and will help tremendously in explaining to people abroad that economic progress for White South Africans does not mean progress for Black South

Africa. Where the text takes one to a particular point of understanding, the photographs reinforce the message with stark clarity. White South Africa must never be judged by its words. To take a biblical phrase quite literally: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Above all else, *Fruit of the Vine* drives this message home.

— Patric de Goede



*Child labour on a Cape farm: spraying with insecticide*



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