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**AUGUST 1983**



# SECHABA

**official organ of the african national congress south africa**

**Jerry Mosololi**

**Simon Mogoerane**

**Marcus Motaung**



**Judicially murdered by the apartheid regime — 9th June 1983**

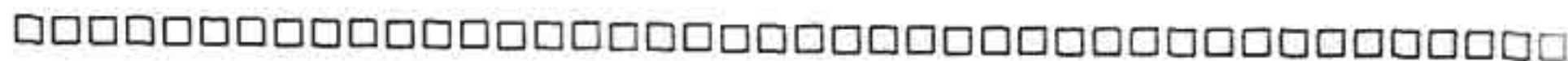
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**DON'T MOURN**  
**MOBILIZE!**

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# SECHABA

## AUGUST ISSUE, 1983



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# The Three Soldiers of the People's Army

On the morning of June 9th, night-long vigils came to an end throughout our country, and the mood was one of grief and anger. The nation had lost three of its sons. Despite unparalleled protest worldwide, despite brave campaigning within South Africa, the racist regime was unrelenting in its purpose.

The judicial murders of Marcus Motaung, Thelle Simon Mogoerane and Jerry Semano Mosololi were carried out in an attempt to affirm the power of the apartheid state. But for the people of South Africa, the executions were a call to battle.

Amid defiant protests in many streets of our towns, the ANC flag was held aloft, and hundreds marched in solidarity with the ANC Three. At the Dube YWCA, the hall was filled with freedom songs supporting the leadership of ANC President, Comrade Oliver Tambo. Bishop Tutu's speech was punctuated with shouts of "Long live the Freedom Charter."

In Durban, four hundred workers and students marched through the streets under the colours of the African National Congress. Police arrived in force at the University of Zululand in Northern Natal, where more than seven hundred students demonstrated and set a police van alight. Fort Hare campus was yet another focus for angry protest. In Vosloorus, home of Thelle Mogoerane, over a hundred school students took to the streets, bearing placards. Their action was proud confirmation of the words of Mogoerane's mother, who declared, "He was an inspiration to the youth in Vosloorus before and after his death."

Indeed, the stand taken by our three soldiers proved an inspiration to our people as a whole. Their deaths evoked more than mourning — they filled thousands more of our best sons and daughters with a stronger dedication, and a determination to take the place of those who had fallen. As with the criminal murder of Comrade Solomon Mahlangu, the racists had failed in their attempts to hold back the struggle. They have

succeeded only in adding fuel to the growing flames of revolution in our country.

The significance of June 9th 1983 was not, however, confined to South Africa. The campaign to save the lives of our comrades had become a major international issue. This was reflected at different levels of the international community. Pleas that the three men should be treated as prisoners of war had come from governments, heads of state, the security council of the United Nations and the European Community of Ten.

Equally important, too, were the thousands of people throughout the world who persistently campaigned in defence of our combatants. Through petitions and letters, demonstrations and vigils, the freedom-loving peoples of the world pledged their support for our just struggle. Their actions, and those of the international solidarity movement, hold profound meaning for the oppressed masses of our country. For the anti-apartheid movements, too, the Three became a symbol of heroic resistance. Their deaths have also brought a period of rededication from our supporters, to strive for the speedy and total isolation of the apartheid state.

What have the executions taught our enemy? The racists fail to learn from history. It was the carnage of June 16th 1976 and the period that followed that steeled the ANC Three to leave our country and become members of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. The apartheid state took their lives a few days before the anniversary of the Soweto uprisings. On June 16th, 1983, state violence exploded again. In Lamontville, Durban, seven-month-old Khanyile Sibeko and two-month-old Siphindile Radebe died of teargas fumes, in their homes. Their deaths, and those of countless others, will be avenged by those whose lodestar will be the courage and conviction of Mogoerane, Motaung and Mosololi.

Perhaps the finest tribute paid to the ANC Three, a tribute expressing the deepest

feelings of our nation, was that made by Mrs Sara Mosololi, when she said,

"Go well, my son. I love you. I am proud of you because you're to die for your people. We'll meet where you are going. You must know the struggle will not end, even after your death."



# BUILDING A COMMUNITY OF MAN

*The meeting the ANC held in London on June 26th was addressed by Mr E S Reddy, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Director of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid. We give here the text of his speech, which included a message from His Excellency Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.*



June 26th is an important date for the United Nations. It was on that day in 1945 that the Charter of the United Nations was signed in San Francisco.

It has been an important date in the struggle for freedom in South Africa since 1950 – as a day of dedication, the day for the launching of campaigns, and the day of the Freedom Charter.

I am happy to greet the ANC on the Freedom Day this year – a year which may well mark a crucial stage in the long struggle.

It has been a long and difficult struggle in South Africa – and the movement of solidarity with that struggle has also a long history. I recall 1943 when, as a student in India, I read about the struggle of the African and the Indian people in South Africa, and was deeply moved.

That was the year when the African leaders met in South Africa to plead that the principles enunciated in the 'Atlantic Charter' should be applied in South Africa as well, and produced a document called the 'African Claims.'

If only the Allied Powers were seriously and unequivocally committed to their own Atlantic Charter, the tragedy and misery that ensued in South Africa could have been avoided. But, regrettably, some of the Allied leaders had no desire to apply the Atlantic Charter to the black and brown and other people who constitute the great majority of humanity. Indeed, the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom declared that he did not become the First Minister of Her Majesty to liquidate the British Empire – meaning, of course, that he rejected India's demand for independence.

How, then, could they liquidate racism in South Africa, which was so immensely profitable?

1943 was also the year when young patriots in South Africa got together to form the African Youth League – an organisation in which the present leaders of the national liberation movement, now in prison or in exile, began their schooling. That was the year when the Council on African Affairs in

the United States, led by Paul Robeson, called for the application of the declared war aims of the Allies to Africa, especially South Africa.

That was forty years ago.

In 1953, in the wake of the Defiance Campaign of South Africa, the United Nations fully recognised the justice of the demands of the Congress Alliance, and warned of the danger if apartheid was not abolished, and a just settlement reached by negotiations among leaders of all the people in South Africa, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

That was thirty years ago.

In 1963, the Special Committee against Apartheid, established by the General Assembly, began its work. From its inception, it has repeatedly warned of the grave threat to peace resulting from the situation in South Africa, and called for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

That was twenty years ago, the year of the Rivonia trial.

Since then, the United Nations General Assembly and numerous leaders of governments all over the world have warned of the danger of violent and escalating conflict with incalculable international repercussions. Even leaders of Western Governments, who were not prepared to go beyond appeals to the Pretoria regime, uttered grave warnings. The call for sanctions against South Africa, which was opposed by every Western State in 1962, is now accepted, in principle, by a majority of Western States – though, unfortunately, by only the smaller Western States.

The inevitable conflict that the world has warned against for so long is today on the daily headlines. I need only mention Angola, Maseru, Matola and Pretoria. We have failed to avert this situation.

Can the international community act even today to minimise violence, to prevent catastrophe, and eliminate apartheid, in cooperation with the people of South Africa? This is the issue that preoccupies the United Nations Special Committee against Apart-

heid, which has, for twenty years, been tirelessly pressing for international action.

I have been requested by the distinguished Chairman of that Committee, His Excellency Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, to convey the following message to you:

"I extend my warm greetings to the African National Congress on South Africa Freedom Day, and congratulate the ANC on the advance of its struggle for liberation.

"I pay tribute to the memory of Ruth First, who fell victim to dastardly assassination, to the three heroic freedom fighters who were executed only a few days ago and to the many others who have sacrificed their lives in the righteous struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa.

"The barbaric terror raids by the Pretoria regime against Maseru and Matola, killing innocent men, women and children, demonstrate clearly that the racist regime is inhuman and is no different from the Nazi regime which devastated Europe.

"There can be no peace, security or stability in Southern Africa unless that country is totally liberated from racist tyranny.

"In the face of the constant acts of aggression by the racist regime — and the massacres and tortures inflicted by it on the South African people — the national liberation movement had no choice but to resort to armed struggle. The Special Committee, and, indeed the General Assembly of the United Nations, recognised the right of the South African people to armed struggle.

"The desperate acts of the racist regime make it clear that an intensification of armed struggle, and the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, have become indispensable to secure the freedom and lives of the oppressed people and to prevent the Pretoria regime from precipitating a wider conflict.

"The freedom fighters of South Africa are risking their lives not only for the freedom of their country, but for the security of neighbouring African States, for the dignity of Africa and people of African origin, and for the principles of the Charter of the

United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"I have noted with great appreciation that the national liberation movement has shown great restraint and firm attachment to its principles. In contrast to the racist regime, it has, even in the course of a difficult armed struggle, avoided the loss of innocent lives and adhered to the principles of the Geneva Conventions.

"I urge the international community to increase its political and material assistance to the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia at this stage — and also to the front line states, which have borne the brunt of aggression and destabilisation for performing their sacred and inescapable duty to Africa and the United Nations, by providing support to the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

"All moves to appease the racists, such as the so-called policy of 'constructive engagement' have proved futile and have only encouraged the racist regime in its crimes.

"The international community must take action with a sense of urgency, to end all collaboration with apartheid, and to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.

"As you reiterate your dedication to the liberation struggle on this Freedom Day, I wish to assure you that the Special Committee will continue its unequivocal support to your struggle."

Finally, I would like to recall that at the turn of the century the Pan African Conference, held here in London, declared prophetically, in the words of Dr W G B Du Bois, that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the "colour line."

Eighty-three years of the century have passed and the United Nations Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination is coming to a close this year — but the world has not yet succeeded in destroying the colour line and building a community of man.



It will not succeed unless apartheid is abolished in South Africa.

The struggle of the people of South Africa is, indeed, the struggle of humanity toward a new world order of justice.

It is a difficult struggle, but one that must be won.

Today is therefore a day of rededication not only for South Africans but for all of us who believe in justice — all over the world.



# WE ARE GOVERNMENT TERRORISTS

## THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE BANTUSTANS

The May 1983 edition of *Sechaba* carried an article describing the appalling conditions and situation in Ciskei, whose security chief, Charles Sebe, made the proud claim quoted in the title above. And although the grotesque cowboy regime of Charles and his brother, President Lennox Sebe, merits special consideration, the fact is that the basic conditions in Ciskei prevail in all the bantustans – even in ‘non-independent’ Kwazulu, where the sophisticated Gatsha Buthelezi presides over similar poverty, overcrowding and disease (including cholera, now endemic) and a programme for removals scheduled to involve half a million people. (1)

Fundamental to the mass misery of the bantustans lies their prime function – to constitute an endless supply of cheap migratory labour on contract to the mines or to farmers, businessmen and industry in the ‘white’ areas. But the apartheid regime reaps other benefits also.

An important function of the bantustans is to help the apartheid regime carry out its dirty work of repression.

Bantustan ‘independence’ means that actions carried out in these territories take place in foreign countries, according to the

regime, and are not documented by the Pretoria government itself, which also disclaims any responsibility for them.

South Africa can portray itself as improving its performance in the human rights field by reducing its detentions, bannings and political imprisonment, when all it is actually doing is passing on these tasks to the bantustan governments.

On April 2nd 1982, the South African Minister of Law and Order stated that 92 detainees were being held under the General Law Amendment Act and the Terrorism Act, giving the impression that this was the total number of detainees in South Africa. What he did not say was that scores of people were also being held under bantustan laws in the bantustans – under Proclamation R252 in the Ciskei, for example. (Proclamation R252, a Pretoria law applying a state of emergency in the Ciskei and giving ‘special powers’ to law enforcement officers, has now become incorporated in the Ciskei National Security Act.) The South African Institute of Race Relations had information about 190 people in detention, including the bantustans, at this time.



*The face of resettlement. These men have been dumped in a bantustan.*

Over the last year (July 1982 – June 1983), of a total of 260 detentions listed in the International Defence and Aid Fund bulletin, *Focus*, 130 took place in the bantustans. The ruse of the 'independent states' has therefore enabled Pretoria to halve its number of detainees, as far as apartheid's own bookkeeping is concerned. During the regime's intensive action against trade unionists in the year 1981-82, a total of 347 trade unionists were detained – but only 104 by the Pretoria government. (2)

As Supreme Courts are set up in the bantustans, trials are taking place in those courts instead of in South Africa, with the added advantage that they are less accessible to the public, and to lawyers and the media. Of the eight trials taking place in June 1983, two were being conducted in a bantustan (Ciskei) including one where the four accused had suffered grievous torture. Yet, although the four are alleged to be ANC members, who by definition are concerned with opposing the apartheid regime, as far as

the apartheid regime is concerned, this whole matter is off the record.

Furthermore, the regime no longer needs to banish people to the bantustans. As they are 'homeland nationals,' it need merely declare them prohibited immigrants, as it did in the case of two people last year – thus effectively banishing them to the Zwelitsha area of Ciskei, without any appearance of repression. (3)

On the more direct cutting edge of apartheid, the South African authorities can be made to look comparatively innocent when they get their brutal boss-boys to do their grisly deeds for them: for instance in Transkei in 1980, where Saul Ndzumu died in detention of 'natural causes,' and in Venda in 1981, where Tshifhiwa Muofhe was 'found dead in his cell.'

#### **Bastions of 'Free Enterprise'**

The past year has seen a dramatic highlighting of the bantustans as 'free enterprise' entre-

preneurial zones, and ideologically committed bastions of the West.

This aggressively pro-capitalist approach has been spearheaded, predictably by the Ciskei, which presented a 'summit conference' of bantustans in November 1982 with a 'Declaration of Intent' stressing 'support for a free enterprise system in contrast to marxist imperialism.'

This aspect of bantustan activities has been accompanied by a flurry of contacts with Western countries, but in particular with the United States, which lifted its 'quarantine' of the bantustans in late 1982. A political officer in the US Embassy in Pretoria, Mr Keith McCormick, then went on a tour of all the bantustans, reportedly to examine the human rights situation. A delegation from Venda has applied to visit the US, reportedly using South African passports. Gatsha Buthelezi's contacts with the US have been substantial, including a visit to KwaZulu from a US Republican Senator and Buthelezi's own tour of the US, where he even took an advertisement in the Wall Street Journal, appealing for support in his opposition to the Presidential Council.

Support for the bantustans has been forthcoming from other Western countries. Within the last few months a French bank has given R16 million credit to Venda, the British firm, Tootal, has set up a blanket-making industry in the Ciskei, and the West German BMW corporation has established a plant in Bophutatswana.

Even more ominously, agents of the most notorious sweat-shops of imperialism are turning their attention to the 'homelands.' According to the British *Financial Times*, (4) the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) "does not evade the point that industrialists from places like Taiwan and Hong Kong are turning their attention to Ciskei because it contains a large reservoir of low-cost labour, which is widely agreed to be amenable to training." The paper describes Ciskei as "an extreme example of a free labour market" — an apt comment in the light of the CNDC's recent announcement that it

has betrayed even the token commitment to the interests of the Ciskeian people that it originally had. A clause included in all agreements between the corporation and industrialists, giving the CNDC the option to buy industries as going concerns after a number of years, has been waived from all past, present and future agreements, in order to "secure permanence to industrialists in the territory and to re-affirm their right to free enterprise." (5)

In the bantustans closer to the Reef, with its concentration of wealthy, leisured whites in search of 'fun,' the 'free enterprise' has led to the development of 'casinostans,' the latest being KwaNdebele. Here, garish opulence and a seamy carnival of prostitution, glittering amid the desolation of hopeless misery and poverty, demonstrates the real meaning of 'free enterprise.'

### 'They Trample the People'

The blood and death in the prison cells of this 'free enterprise' feeds apartheid; the profits go to the faceless magnates of the West and Taiwan, and the disgusting casino proprietors of the Rand, who sift vice as their predecessors sifted gold, and last — and least, but still substantial — to the Matanzimas and the Sebes and the Mphephus, with their million rand estates and fleets of luxury cars. But to the people of the bantustans, this description of Venda goes for all:

"Venda is a land of fear, sudden death, vast corruption, hunger and disease... the Mphephu rule is the reign of terror exerted by a rogue bull elephant. They trample the people. The whole land is captive. With independence they sold us." (6)

### References:

- 1) *Afra Report*, October 1982.
- 2) *Focus*, No 41
- 3) *Focus*, No 42
- 4) *Financial Times*, 12.11.82
- 5) *Star*, Johannesburg, 28.1.83
- 6) *Sowetan*, 24.1.83

# ANC FREEDOM FIGHTERS





# VOICES OF PROTEST:

*"If I give evidence, that would bring no change to the difficulties under which the people are living here in South Africa, neither would it bring about any change as far as I am concerned, because I will still have no right to vote or have any say."*

*(Litha Jolobe, sentenced to four years for refusing to testify, August 1982.)*

The apartheid regime is under attack on every front. It is being challenged even in its own courtrooms, centre of the elaborate system by which it attempts to disguise naked political repression with a facade of judicial independence.

The people's rejection of apartheid justice is demonstrated publicly in many ways. Defendants in political trials can rely on the wholehearted support of their community in and outside the court. During 1982 the apartheid authorities were forced to introduce yet more repressive legislation in a vain attempt to contain the people's wrath. It is now an offence for even a single individual to register a solo protest in the vicinity of a court, whether or not it is in session.

Hardly had the new law (Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings Prohibition Act) been passed when the people showed their contempt for this panic measure of the racist

# STATE WITNESSES IN POLITICAL TRIALS

regime. In August 1982, three ANC comrades were sentenced to terms of twenty years' imprisonment for high treason in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. Faced with the anger of the public gallery the police ordered teargas to be fired into the court.

Another indication of the growing awareness of the brutal reality behind the courts was the campaign against detention without trial, spearheaded after 1982 by the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC). They rejected the slogan of 'release or charge,' and chose rather to expose the unjust nature of the laws which would be used if detainees were charged.

However, it is not only the laws which have been rejected, but the whole legal process. One commentator has said: "What, then, is the role of the courts in political strife? In the simplest and crudest terms... the courts eliminate a political foe of the regime according to some prearranged rules..." This is the reality which is being exposed.

The regime struggles to minimise and repress those external protests, yet the most effective challenge to the courts' credibility has come from participants in the drama themselves, in particular state witnesses. The evidence of state witnesses exposes the nature of apartheid law in two main ways – most dramatically, a growing number of witnesses are rejecting co-option by the regime altogether, and are refusing to take the oath to testify. Other evidence is provided by witnesses who are coerced into testifying, but nevertheless denounce in court the methods used to pressurise them.

#### **Trials Without Witnesses**

"You know the courts cannot function if people do not give evidence." These were the desperate words of Judge van Heerden in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in August 1982, when faced with five witnesses who refused totally to collaborate with the state in its case against three ANC comrades, Patrick Maqubela, Mboniswa Maqhutyana and Seth Mpumelelo Gaba. The three faced capital charges of high treason and terrorism

arising out of a series of bomb explosions in Durban in 1981. The state's case took a heavy blow when five of its chief witnesses refused to take the oath.

The five had been held in solitary confinement for eight months before being brought to court.\* No amount of threats or promises could shake their resolve. Two of them were described as accomplices of the accused, and were promised immunity from prosecution if they testified. Litha Jolobe, a law student, stated, "I am expected to partake in the trial of these people, giving evidence, whereas I had no say in making the laws under which the people are appearing in court. The laws were made by the minority of people in South Africa." He was then sentenced to four years for refusing to testify. After receiving the maximum five-year sentence, another potential witness, Mpilo Taho, left the court with his clenched fist raised in salute. Another witness admitted in court that he had originally agreed to testify, but had changed his mind because his Christian conscience would not allow him to testify against "people who are in the struggling class and who are all oppressed by the nationalist government."

#### **Torture, Threats, Bribes**

A trial which began in February 1982 in the Supreme Court of the bogus independent bantustan of the Ciskei has been characterised by details of the horrific torture carried out by the security police. In May 1983 Siseko Vanyaza went into the witness box for the defence. He told of being detained in August 1981 as a potential state witness. Whilst in custody, designed, according to the apartheid regime, to 'protect' him from intimidation, he was so badly assaulted that he developed epilepsy, and a district surgeon had to try to revive him: "I was instructed to strip naked, a wet canvas bag was pulled over my head and I was throttled until I fell down. Cold water was poured over my body..."

In another case, this time in the Venda bantustan, Dean Simon Farisani of the

Lutheran Church was admitted to hospital at least three times during his detention. He told of repeated beatings to the head and electric shock torture. He was eventually released after seven months in custody, without having been called to give evidence. He had been assaulted by police officers who were later found responsible at an inquest for the murder of Tshifhiwa Isaac Muofhe, tortured to death in November 1981.

Torture of potential witnesses is not only physical but also psychological. Psychiatric

she broke down in tears and asked the court to finish with her so she could go home. She shivered so much that she had to be given a jersey to wrap around her legs before she could continue with her evidence. It was apparently provided by a security police lieutenant who had been responsible for interrogating her during her detention and was now in court to hear her evidence. The girl was cross-examined for eight days by the defence, when much of her evidence was discredited.



*The face of resettlement. These men have been dumped in a bantustan.*

school boys in Swaziland in September 1980. Both relied heavily on the evidence of very youthful witnesses who were isolated from their community by both detention before the trial and *in camera* proceedings in court during which they gave their testimony anonymously.

A fifteen-year-old schoolgirl at Mpetha's trial who had already been held for eight months told the court of her reactions to the news that the trial was to be adjourned: "I wanted to know why. I asked because I wanted to go home. I couldn't stand it any longer." After two days in the witness box

in Kempston Park, in which the four defendants were acquitted because of the unreliable and unsatisfactory evidence of the state witnesses. The magistrate ordered an investigation into the cases of three witnesses in particular, who he found had been threatened and frightened by security police. At least two witnesses testified that they had been told to fabricate evidence. Another state witness gave evidence in such secrecy that not only the court, but the corridors too, were cleared so that the person could enter and leave unseen.

One of the four defendants in the Kemp-



ton Park trial, Innocentia Nonkululeko Mazibuko, had herself previously been sentenced for refusing to testify in a political trial. She was one of at least ten such witnesses called at the trial of former Soweto Students' Representative Council leader, Khotso Seatlholo, and Masabata Loate. On a single day in February 1982, seven of them, including Thami Mazwai, news editor of *The Sowetan*, were sentenced to periods of between nine and eighteen months in gaol. Before Miss Mazibuko's twelve-month sentence was completed she had been made the defendant in a 'terrorism' trial in her own right.

The immediate and obvious penalties for state witnesses who step out of line are prison sentences for one of two offences — either for refusing to testify at all, or for perjury in the case of someone whose evidence in court differs from an earlier statement made during detention or interrogation. In reality penalties may be even more serious.

Modika Tsatsa refused to testify in a court case in March 1981. He had already been in custody for over a year and had been charged himself, although these charges were dropped and he was subsequently held as a potential state witness. He was sentenced to three years for refusing to testify but, as this was reduced to one year on appeal, he was due for release in March 1982. When his family arrived to take him home they were told he was now being held in preventive detention. He was still being held in July 1983, and his health had deteriorated so badly that he had required two months' care in a psychiatric ward. Another recalcitrant witness, Titi Mthenjane, was repeatedly detained after the completion of an eighteen-month sentence. Eventually he was charged under the Terrorism Act, and in July 1982 was sentenced to five years, though he, too, required psychiatric assessment during his trial, when he showed signs of schizophrenia.

Malesela Moloise was summonsed as a state witness at the trial of the Moroka Three. He was driven to the court daily by Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe, a notorious traitor who was a willing state witness at

many political trials. Moloise, though called as a witness, refused to collaborate with the regime. He would not answer questions put to him and so weakened the state's case. In November 1982 the traitor Selepe was eliminated, and in April 1983 Moloise was charged with murdering him. He was sentenced to death on June 6th 1983.

### **Voices of Protest Will Not Be Silenced.**

It is clear that in spite of the draconian powers at its disposal, the regime is unable to stage manage its show trials to its satisfaction. Resistance amongst state witnesses is high. In just fifteen trials during 1982 and early 1983 at least 41 witnesses refused to testify, or were charged with perjury following their evidence.

Figures such as these, culled from newspaper reports of trials, are likely to be an underestimate. Most witnesses are only known about when their rebellion in court attracts attention, as when Michael Coetzee, a former student from the University of the Western Cape, at first refused to take the oath and then swore allegiance to Oliver Tambo. However, with the increased use of *in camera* proceedings, reporting is becoming more difficult, and, in addition, witnesses who indicate in advance of a trial that they intend to refuse may find themselves sentenced in a separate and unreported court hearing.

Nevertheless, the voices of protest from the witness box will not be silenced and will continue to denounce the apartheid system.

*\* The regime first introduced powers to detain potential witnesses with the '180 day law' in 1965. The provisions have been strengthened over the years in the face of increased resistance, and it is now possible to hold witnesses for the duration of a trial, providing only that charges have been laid within six months of the date of detention.*

**FREE**

**NELSON MANDELA!**



# ANNOUNCEMENT

# INTERNATIONAL

## Fourth FRELIMO Congress

The ANC was among 74 fraternal parties and organisations represented at the the Fourth Congress of the FRELIMO Party in Maputo in April. Messages from the fraternal delegates helped to influence the mood of the congress.

When our President, O R Tambo, was to deliver the ANC message, President Machel referred to him as a 'comrade in arms,' the most hated man by the South African regime and yet, internationally, the most loved by all peace-loving people. He then burst into singing a South African freedom song, 'Asikhathali noma siyaboshwa' – 'Oh, we don't care, even if we go to gaol.' The hall joined in a powerful chorus.

There was a solemn moment when the Lesotho delegation was called on to address the Congress. The gathering was told that the speaker from Lesotho had survived three attempts on his life as a result of the activities of racist South African agents, and that some of his colleagues had fallen as a result of these murderous activities. His speech was very modest, but effective.

There were moments of great excitement and joy, and also sad moments, when people recalled the days of Kongwa and Machinwea camps in Tanzania, when the struggle de-

pendent on patriots who could not read or write, but who were men and women who had made it possible for FRELIMO to reach its present stage. Two weapons used in those days were presented to the Congress, and the veteran who presented them had repaired them. At that time he could not read, or write his name, but the struggle had educated him as it unfolded.

While introducing the veterans with whom he had trained in Tanzania and Algeria, President Machel was overwhelmed with emotion and could not proceed. Congress burst into 'Kanimambo FRELIMO!' It was another very solemn moment.

The Central Committee report was presented by Comrade President Machel. It was lengthy and minutely detailed; it took nine hours to present, and spread over two days.

It was extensively discussed by the national delegates during plenary sessions, and the way the delegates responded to the report was impressive. They expressed their views freely, frankly and constructively over matters concerning their country. They expressed their concern over matters detrimental to the well-being of the people, and pressed for those matters to be attended to. (Details of mistakes made and suggested solutions to problems can be found in the Congress pamphlet entitled, 'The Enemy Within'.)

Throughout the discussions, delegates minced no words in voicing their concern over the ideological, political and economic problems facing the people. One problem was the high influx of people into the urban areas, despite the efforts being made to improve the lives of the people in the countryside.

Another problem discussed was that of the distribution of goods. An example was given of how the national radio announces the arrival of goods in the shops when, in fact, these goods are already being sold on the black market. Sometimes goods are available in the shops for a short time, only to reappear on the black market. Mozambique is the only country in this part of Africa that trades with and receives goods from the socialist countries, but some of these goods reach shops in countries like Swaziland. Delegates emphasised that black marketeers should not only be punished, but should be made to point out the warehouses they got their goods from.

At the same time, the delegates told Congress that they were satisfied that conditions had changed for the better, and that, even though there are shortages, Mozambicans share the little that is available. The delegates felt proud that they can produce their own raw materials and process them themselves.

The delegates also discussed the economic problems caused by armed bandits, Mozambicans used by the South African racist regime to destabilise Mozambique and sabotage the economy of the country. One woman, speaking in an African language, told Congress about how they had once left a child in a pool of its mother's blood, and how children had to watch while their mothers were murdered. Delegates told Congress how they are fighting to neutralise these bandits, whose treacherous deeds have hardened the people, made them more determined to fight back and defend their lives and their country.

The delegates also spoke about projects such as irrigation, the building of hospitals.



*Namibian student, Maria Shikangala, addresses the Africa Liberation Day rally in Guyana.*



*Enemy of FRELIMO – Pretoria's spy plane, shot down as it was violating Mozambican air space in May. It had no pilot, but a camera was found on board.*

schools and houses, and electrification of the countryside.

The theme of the Congress was, 'Defend the Party, overcome underdevelopment and build socialism.' The new flag of the party is red in colour, with a golden hammer and hoe, and a star at the top corner.

In all, 130 people were elected to the Central Committee, 13 of them women.

#### **Netherlands Cultural Boycott Conference.**

The ANC Chief Representative in the United Kingdom, Ruth Mompati, spoke at a weekend conference on the cultural boycott, held by the Netherlands Committee on Southern Africa, at Utrecht in Holland. The conference was also addressed by Pendukeni Kaulinge, secretary of the Women's Council of

SWAPO and a member of the SWAPO Central Committee.

The conference was attended by people connected with culture and the arts, and called for economic and cultural isolation of South Africa, and support for the ANC and SWAPO.

A writers' panel at the conference was addressed on behalf of the ANC by the South African writer, Cosmo Pieterse. Also on the programme was the performance of a play written by two South Africans now living in Europe.

#### **Guyanese Solidarity with ANC and SWAPO**

An Africa Liberation Day rally was held in the Caribbean country of Guyana in May, at the site of the Umana Yana Liberation Monument.

The rally was addressed by Rashleigh Jackson, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the People's National Congress Government of Guyana. He said, "The unprovoked aerial bombing of the people of Mozambique by South Africa reflects the success of the liberation forces within South Africa, led by the African National Congress..."

"The resolute fight against oppression and for freedom and liberation should be saluted by freedom-loving people throughout the world."

Speaking of the Namibian struggle, he said, "Now, irrelevant considerations like the presence of Cuban troops in Angola are being raised to thwart the aspirations of the Namibian people."

"The Security Council must now act decisively by the use of all measures under the Charter of the United Nations...to bring the South African racists to heel."

The rally was attended by a large crowd. Among them were a number of Namibian students, one of whom addressed the rally. The students, under the sponsorship of SWAPO, are on scholarships given by the People's National Congress Government of Guyana, in an arrangement made through the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Other Caribbean countries which have given scholarships to Namibian students are Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Cuba.

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# SPORTSMEN SAY NO TO APARTHEID

*"International sanctions against South Africa in the field of sport are directed to apartheid itself; are responsive to the horrors of the whole 'moral deformity' that apartheid represents; are designed to help the many-sided struggle for the eradication of this evil system and the release from bondage under it of the majority people, the black people, of South Africa."*

*"Apartheid sport is sport in apartheid South Africa; cosmetic changes in club houses and sports arenas that leave intact the*

*whole hideous apparatus of institutionalised racism do not change the character of apartheid sport, or qualify the case for sanctions against it. I cannot stress this too strongly, because the tactic of apartheid's architects and apologists is to deflect the international campaign by diverting our gaze from apartheid itself."*

So said S Ramphal, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, in his opening address to the International Conference on Sanctions

# THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



## Needs YOUR Support Now

against Apartheid Sport, held in London on the 27th to the 29th June, 1983.

The conference was organised by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. It was attended by representatives from the United Nations and other inter-governmental bodies, governments, international sports organisations, the ANC and SWAPO, as well as by individual sportsmen.

Filbert Bayi of Tanzania, former holder of the world record in the 1500 metres, said, "I don't like to compete with people who support apartheid, and I don't like to compete with people who have competed with athletes from South Africa." This principle, known as the Third Party principle, which provides for sanctions against those who collaborate with South Africa, was fully endorsed by the conference.

The conference was informed about positive steps towards isolating the apartheid regime which have been taken by the Irish and Dutch governments, among others. The

French government was praised because it used its influence to cancel the proposed South African tour of the French rugby team, and the governments of Ireland, New Zealand and the United Kingdom were called upon to bring about the cancellation of the pending Lions/All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa in July 1983.

Addresses were given by representatives of sporting bodies, such as the International Table Tennis Federation and the Federation Sportive et Gymnique du Travail of France.

There were also reports of campaigns conducted by individuals; for example, in the United States, Arthur Ashe is involved in drawing up a list of sports men and women who refuse to co-operate with apartheid. The Chairman of the conference, H E Victor Gbeho of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, announced that while maintaining the blacklist on the one hand, the United Nations will honour all those sports men and women who have refused to play with apart-

heid, by presenting them with a special certificate.

"The time has come for the voice of the athletes to state clearly, yes to sport, yes to friendship and NO to apartheid," said Nikolaj Baloshin of the USSR, five times European wrestling champion. Soccer stars Brian Stein (Luton Town) Chris Houghton (Republic of Ireland and Tottenham Hotspurs) Ricky Hill (England and Luton Town) and Margitta Gummel, GDR swimming champion, endorsed this stand by their presence. There was applause for a message from Graham Mourie, the New Zealand rugby captain who refused to play the Springboks in 1981, and Chris Laidlaw, another former All Blacks captain, appealed to athletes to avoid the temptation to earn a 'quick buck' by going to South Africa. The conference welcomed a statement by John McEnroe, the tennis champion, in an interview with the newspaper *Newsline*, in which he said he had turned down an offer of one million dollars for ten days in South Africa. "I believe in equality," he said, "everyone having the same rights as the next guy, everybody having equal opportunities."

In contrast, the exiled South African tennis player, Jasmat Dhiraj, talked about his own experience of being unable to break into the international tennis circuit because the International Tennis Federation does not recognise the non-racial tennis body in South Africa.

### **Sporting and Military Links**

Sport has become one of the major levers for the apartheid regime to gain credibility and acceptability. A number of cosmetic changes are used to pave the way for even greater diplomatic, political, economic, military and nuclear collaboration. Abdul Minty of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, warned the conference that, at times, under the guise of sport, members of the South African racist Defence Force enter countries and use these opportunities to gain military benefits as well.

Representing the ANC, Aziz Pahad said, "London is the heart of all sporting conspiracies with South Africa. It's no coincidence that...the Thatcher government will be building their new airfield on the Falklands in collaboration with the South Africans." He stressed the need to tackle the case of the individual sportsman, and specifically referred to the tennis player, Kevin Curren: "South Africa will glory in his victory over Jimmy Connors. It was not a personal victory, but one for the South African racists."

On the other hand, precisely because of its mass appeal, a sports boycott (like a cultural boycott) will contribute to getting greater public support for total, mandatory sanctions against such time as normal sport can be played in a South Africa liberated from apartheid. Recurring throughout the conference was the theme that no normal sport can be played in an abnormal society, a point that was made by a documentary on BBC television on 28th June.

### **Appeal – Support the Struggle**

The conference appealed to sports men and women, including administrators and coaches, to refuse to participate in sports activities with South Africa, and to support the struggle for justice and freedom, though such a stand may involve sacrifices, particularly financial sacrifices.

It requested states to deny visas to sports men and women and sports representatives from South Africa.

It appealed to sporting bodies to withhold support from sporting events organised in violation of the Olympic spirit and United Nations resolutions.

It called upon the International Olympic Committee to take action against countries who continue their sporting contacts with South Africa, and declared, "Further, the Special Committee against Apartheid should consider holding a meeting in Los Angeles early in 1984 to assess the impact of any action taken by the IOC on this request, and to determine what this would imply for the 1984 Games."



# LETTER TO THE EDITOR

that the majority of the Jamaican population was strongly against the tour, and I am sure that your organisation is aware of the decision of the respective Governments and Cricket Clubs of the region (West Indies) to discipline these rebels. They are banned for life from playing cricket for their respective clubs, countries and the West Indies. These cricketers must be seen as Judases, supporters of apartheid and traitors. Jamaica's stance against apartheid is well known, we signed and support the Gleneagles Agreement.

In 1976 the African States withdrew from the Montreal Commonwealth Games in a protest against New Zealand collaboration with apartheid sport. After the above event, a team of rebel cricketers from England toured South Africa. They were banned from representing their country for three years. They were followed by a tour by some Sri Lankan cricketers. They were debarred from representing their country for twenty-five years. And now it is the rebel players from the West Indies (black players).

At present, there is a South African playing cricket for England, and another one playing for Australia. It may be said that they are naturalised citizens of the above countries. But the fact still remains that they were born in South Africa and developed their cricketing skills in that country.

The whole manoeuvre is a serious matter because some countries will now start asking the question, 'Why should we not play with racist South Africa if a team of black players from the West Indies can do it?' This cricket conspiracy is a very carefully orchestrated plot. A plot to bring back South Africa in international cricket.

The West Indies is the present champion of world cricket, and, I believe, with the help of Pakistan (which has the second best team in the world), India, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe, should call a meeting with the international cricket 'Rulers' and work out ways and means to deal with the cricket conspiracy of South Africa and its friends.

Dear Sir,

Revolutionary greetings in the name of Nelson Mandela.

First of all, I must apologise on behalf of the youth of Jamaica and the West Indies, about the most shameful event that has ever taken place in the history of West Indian cricket: the tour of the sixteen REBEL West Indian cricketers to South Africa.

I can assure your organisation (ANC)

I also believe that the Commonwealth countries should call a heads of Government conference to review the Gleneagles Agreement, because it is not working. The process of collaboration with apartheid can be halted if we act jointly and collectively. New Zealand entertained the Springbok rugby tour – England banned their cricketers who played cricket in South Africa for three years – Sri Lanka barred their players who toured South Africa for twenty-five years – and the West Indies ban their players for life. I do not believe we should have three different disciplinary measures or actions for a similar 'crime.' For example, players from X country might play cricket or football in South Africa, and that country may not do anything about it.

Comrade, we, the youth of Jamaica, need reading material on the struggle of our black brothers and sisters in South Africa. You know how the imperialist press works – it feeds the Third World countries with deception and misinformation, they tell us what they want to tell us. I am more fortunate than most Jamaican youths, because I have studied, lived and eaten with South African students for three years in Cuba, and they educated me about the struggle in South Africa.

I want to make a contribution to the liberation struggle in South Africa by educating as many people as possible, especially the youth, about apartheid and how dangerous it is. I am a teacher by profession.

**Long live Nelson Mandela!**  
**Long live O R Tambo!**  
**Long live the ANC!**  
**Long live Umkhonto We Sizwe!**  
**The struggle continues – victory is certain.**

– *L.V. Thomas*

*St Andrew,  
Jamaica.*



# BOOK REVIEW

## UNITY IN ACTION

*Unity in Action – a Photographic History of the African National Congress, South Africa, 1912-1982.*

This book, a pictorial history of the ANC, is the first of its kind published by the ANC. It tells in visual form the story of the seventy years of oppression and resistance. Its theme is unity in action, depicting the struggles of the peasants, workers, women, youth, African Indian and Coloured.

Some of these pictures are rare and hitherto unpublished – they were not taken in a studio but on the field of battle. For instance, the telegraphic address of the ICU in Cape Town was, “I see you” (p. 25) – this being a translation of what the Cape Town workers then called the ICU – “Indiyakubona, Mlungu” (I see you, white man).

The ANC documents, such as the Freedom Charter, Programme of Action and the manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwe, enrich the visual impact of the pictorial history.

In the words of O R Tambo, President of the ANC, who wrote the foreword:

“To this day, historical distortions permeate political rhetoric and are used to underpin the ideology of the ruling class and to provide legitimacy for some of its most heinous expressions: racism and exploitation are institutionalised...the distortion is deliberate: it is used to condone white privilege, to entrench the oppressive and exploitative system and to justify the use of violence to retain power in the hands of the minority. Even the events and developments of this century, within our living memory and experience, are falsified...

“For the black majority, relating our people’s history is not a matter of academic interest alone – the preparation of

a report of neutrally observed and agreed facts. Rather, recording our history accurately is a revolutionary act. It serves to enhance our understanding of the past and guides our way ahead; but in addition, it strikes at the very heart of the enemy's ideology and rationalisations, and unmasks the attempt to conceal the inevitability of victory for our struggle.

"This pictorial history, commemorating the 70th anniversary of the ANC, is a contribution to that endeavour. All too frequently cameras, like historians, focus on the rulers, and relegate the people to the background. Most books on South African history tend to be illustrated with photographs of governors, racist ministers, military parades and the leisured white minority. The photographs in this book, many of which were taken by the militants of the liberation movement, place the people of South Africa in the centre – depicting their lives, their conditions, their resistance.

"This is their story – a South African History."

The book is available from Sechaba Publications.

FM

# ● AKIN TO SLAVERY

*Allen Cook, Akin to Slavery, International Defence and Aid, London, 1983, 50p*

Of all the systems directed towards exploiting the labour of the black man in South Africa,

the hiring out of prison labour must be the most exploitative. No denial of human rights can be more flagrant, and if the Reagan and Thatcher governments were, indeed, the defenders of 'human rights' that they profess to be, they would have denounced it long ago. The worker is used, in the words of the writer of this pamphlet, "to the financial profit of persons or organisations whose primary interest is to exploit the prisoner's labour to the utmost, yet who carry no responsibility, either to the prisoner himself or to society at large." (p. 7)

Broadly, there are two systems.

Under the 'contract' system, the prisoner is maintained within the prison, at the expense of the state. He may receive a wage so low as to be negligible. He may receive no wage at all, for many prisoners not eligible under the prison regulations to be paid for their work, nevertheless take part in contract work, as certain political prisoners do on Robben Island, gathering seaweed from the shore.

The other system, the 'lease' system, is the most infamous, and has been the occasion for the most shocking abuse of human beings, as the prisoner is handed over to the custody of the employer, and there is no form of supervision or check on what provision the employer is making for his accommodation and welfare.

Though the 'lease' system was abolished in Britain itself in 1802, the British administration in the Cape introduced it and encouraged it there during the nineteenth century, and extended it to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State after the conquest of these two territories. Well into the twentieth century, it was still being used by De Beers and certain engineering firms. (On the construction of the Swartberg mountain pass, 150 prisoners died, many of them frozen to death; the contractor was congratulated by the Minister for Public Works on giving "wonderful value for money.") In 1953-54, the Afrikaner Nationalist Cabinet finally decided that prison labour was to be handed over only to farmers.

Frequently, all the farmer has to pay to get his labour is a bribe, in the form of a bottle of whisky or some such, to an official known as the 'prisoner's friend.' The prisoners are often despatched straight from court, and though the law provides that they must give their consent before being sent to a farm, it seems that most of the time consent is not asked for, and outright refusals are ignored. After that, they are completely at the mercy of a white farmer, who enforces his own rules, with guns, dogs and a sjambok. From the farmer's point of view, this labour is even cheaper than workers employed in the usual way, and some farmers have been known to use their influence with the local police to get their labourers arrested, and returned to the farm as prison labourers. One effect of the situation is to keep farm wages down.

For the last thirty years, in spite of reports in *Drum* magazine in 1952 and again in 1955, in spite of Ruth First's investigation into conditions on the potato farms in the Bethel district in 1959, in spite of declarations from the International Labour Organisation and from the United Nations, in spite of various cases that have come out in the press from time to time, the practice continues. It has been pretty well covered up, considering the efforts that have been made to expose it.

The cover-up has been achieved in a number of ways: the prisons and the police, who make the arrangements, keep silent, and the farmers' guns and dogs keep reporters out, just as they keep the prisoners in; official terminology is designed to conceal the truth (for example the leasing out is referred to as part of the 'parole system,' and prisoners on farms as 'parolees'); and there is the complicity of the local police (when one prisoner, having completed his sentence, was not released, he escaped and went to the police, who returned him to the farm).

This pamphlet is, therefore, welcome. It is comprehensive, factual, well documented. Case histories, in an appendix, are fully given. The writer is clearly impelled by a

passionate indignation, and so he succeeds in keeping in the mind of the reader the appalling human suffering involved in this evil and obnoxious system. It is one of the reasons we are fighting a struggle for liberation; it is an integral and typical part of the system we are fighting against.

JM

## ● THE TRANS-NATIONALS PROTECT THEIR PROFITS

*W R Bohning (ed), Black Migration to South Africa, A Selection of Policy-Orientated Research, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1981, £5.70.*

Apart from the Maputo study on Mozambican migrant labour, led by Ruth First a few years ago, this is the first major study on the **contemporary** migration of labour to South Africa, that has appeared with the intention of ending the system. Research teams in Lesotho, Swaziland, Denmark and Geneva, initiated by the International Labour Office with UN support, have combined to produce this informative study.

Its gradualist approach notwithstanding, the object of the study is to put on the agenda the destruction of the present system of labour migration to South Africa by recommending "ways and means for reducing the migrant-sending countries' dependence on employment opportunities in South Africa under the migrant labour system as it has been constituted by the ruling minority."

There are few more important questions than this for the economic independence of Southern Africa, and the impact on the South African economy of the withdrawal

of this labour power, is crucial to the liberation struggle.

In the course of their research work, the authors uncover the dilemma of South African capital in protecting the long-term reproduction of its labour supply.

### Policy of 'Internalisation'

The policy evolved by the South African state and elevated by it to the level of 'theory' is referred to as 'internalisation.' By it is meant more than simply substituting internal South African workers for the 327 000 migrants at present recruited from Malawi, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The word refers to a process, intended to deal with capital's sense of uncertainty that the supply of migrants, on relatively long-term contracts, from the independent countries of Southern Africa, will be maintained. Making a virtue of necessity, the policy is also concerned with using (to its own advantage) the mass of unemployed Africans that has characterised the South African economy over the past two years.

The thrust of the study as a whole, however, is to put forward practical mechanisms to hasten the withdrawal of non-local workers from South Africa. The aim is to provide strategies to reconstruct the economies of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique, and develop an infrastructure for modern industry and agriculture that will enable these countries, for the first time in over a century, to reproduce their labour power for the benefit of their own peoples.

The impact of such a plan on the South African economy is too complex and problematical to forecast, but it would have the effect of challenging capital to restructure its labour force in a way that would help it to cope with a restricted, less experienced labour supply — particularly on the mines, whose workers from Malawi and Mozambique are engaged on contracts two or three times longer than those for local workers — and to adjust its rural-urban policies, as well as its wage structures, to provide an adequate distribution of labour power to the

farms, mines and manufacturing industries.

All sectors of South African capital are therefore vulnerable to effective African resistance, especially in mining, where the encouragement of African trade unions, and a sudden rise in wages, has recently taken place, possibly to make the industry more competitive with manufacturing, but also to ensure uninterrupted mining production.

The disparity between wages in manufacturing and mining, and the competition for labour that it causes, may be offset by a lowering of wages in manufacturing, as investments continue to be diverted to the Bantustans and border areas. State intervention to secure this may partially explain why relocation policies are currently being escalated, and the promulgation of the Orderly Movement of Persons and Resettlement Bill.

### The ILO Attitude

The ILO study, however, is more concerned with the effect that 'internalisation' and the planned withdrawal of labour power will have upon the supplier countries. Hence the strategy suggested is a gradualist approach for a "compensated withdrawal," which (they note) "could only take place if the gold mining industry in particular, and South Africa in general, realised they could no longer unilaterally define the rules of the game, and that it was in their economic and political self-interest to play by the new rules."

In the process, however, the phased withdrawal would occur over the next fifteen years, and the labour system that has historically reproduced the apartheid structures will continue, with a UN back-up fund, supplemented by capital's own contributions, until the end of the century. The authors' insensitivity to the internal and external pressures on the apartheid regime, and to the armed struggle, lead them to accept the apartheid state as a given fact until, at least, the year 2 000 — which (coincidentally?) the Anglo-American Corporation believes is the time that the gold on the Witwatersrand will have become a wasted asset.

### Chamber of Mines Protects its Profits

The Anglo-American Corporation is seen as the most prescient of all representatives of South African capital. It argued for 'internalisation' in the late sixties. It foresaw the vulnerability of its industry through industrial conflicts and declining supplies of labour from the independent African countries, and pressed for increases in mine wages and heavier local recruitment. This occurred in the seventies, but only with what some believed was divine intervention, manifested by a leap in 1972 in the price of gold, to the order of 39% over the previous year, rising to 65% in 1974. Labour policies were, in effect, influenced by a consistent rise in the price of gold for over a decade. Not only did the price of gold rise from R25.80 per fine oz. in 1970 to R168.90 in 1978, but working profits per African employee increased astronomically. In 1971, the profit per African employee was R929.15; in 1978 it was R4 162.50, that is, more than five times the wage of an African mineworker in 1980. Working profits per ton of ore mined increased from R4.48 in 1971 to R22.40 in 1978.

The protection of these profits depended on the stability of the labour supply, and on avoiding a sudden cessation of this supply, as in 1974, when Malawi withdrew its labour power, and at a stroke deprived the mining industry of 25% of its labour force. (It was reduced from 422 181 in 1973 to 364 658 one year later.)

The reliance of apartheid on workers from abroad has up till recently been one of the significant features of the system: in 1964, 51% of all African miners came from countries outside South Africa, while in 1977 this figure was 45%.

The extent to which the mine owners have been sensitive to the source of their labour supply may be seen in the sharp decline of migrants between 1973 and 1974, the critical years, when traditional policies of recruiting labour were involuntarily reversed, and 1977, when the number of non-South African migrants fell by more than

130 000, from 335 000 to 203 500. Malawian migrants declined in number by 120 000 between 1973 and 1975 – by deliberate action of the Malawian government – and in 1976. When Mozambique (not entirely by design) reduced its own supply. In all, 69 465 fewer Mozambicans entered the South African labour market over the space of two years (from 118 030 to 48 565). The shortfall was offset by the increased labour movements from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, who supplied 108 500 workers in 1973 and increased that number to 136 000 in 1977, the peak year of the Mozambican reduction.

The pattern of the Chamber of Mines' policy of 'internalisation' had become clear by 1979, when the total non-South African labour on affiliates of the Chamber was 204 000, supplemented by 274 000 from within South Africa. The mine owners' object is to continue the shift towards the employment of local workers by drawing increasingly on the local labour supply. Whether the employers in South Africa have acted deliberately or reactively, capital has drastically reduced its dependence on Mozambican labour, and shifted it to Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, where it sees the continued reproduction of the labour supply as less problematical.

The shift in the significance of Mozambique relative to the other countries is very stark when the numbers are considered. In 1966, Mozambique exported 109 000 workers to South Africa; in 1979 only 19 000. Lesotho sent 64 000 in 1966 and 109 000 in 1979. The importance of the local labour force and the full measure of contingency planning on the part of the mining sector is evident in the increase of the local South African mining labour force from 130 000 in 1966 to 274 000 in 1979.

The dependence of capital on labour power from within South Africa has exacerbated a whole range of conflicts that may be very far-reaching, and the ILO study is valuable for the insights it provides on these. The sharpest point of conflict is likely to



*This photograph of prison labourers on a farm was taken by the late Comrade Eli Weinberg before the Prisons Act made such photography illegal.*

turn on the competition between the different sectors of capital — mining, manufacturing, farming, — for a restricted labour force, and on threats to the profitability of capitalist enterprises caused by changes in productivity.

The important policy instrument used by the mines to give effect to their internalisation strategy, has been the use of wage increases to attract labour. African cash wages on the mines accordingly rose from R350 p.a. in 1973 to R813 in 1980. The rise was

not entirely gratuitous, for there were serious labour conflicts on the mines. But the policy virtually reversed the traditional very low wage policy of the Chamber of Mines, where wages had risen by 391% between 1931 and 1973 (from R71 p.a. to R350 p.a.). By comparison, wages in the manufacturing industry increased by 925% in the same period.

All this served to reduce the rate of capital accumulation, and would have continued to do so, but for the increase in the capital/



labour ratio within the country. With changes in technology, and the need of the industry for a smaller but more productive labour force, the crisis of labour has recently been made less acute for capital. In effect, recent developments within the economy, characterised by the restructuring of capital this time, served to reduce the growth of demand for African labour in manufacturing and construction, and have been the cause of mass unemployment. The 'crisis' is not one of a labour shortage, but of the distribution of the right kind of labour.

Since the reason for the existence of migrant labour has been to obtain maximum profits by means of a large labour force oscillating between urban and rural sites, the system has frequently resulted in extended periods of unemployment, and little training in skills. The industrial colour bar and racial job barriers have equally excluded Africans from access to skilled occupations. This policy of deliberate underdevelopment of skills and continued shortage of skilled labour has, over the years, impeded the development of the machine tool, manufacturing and engineering industries. A smaller, more productive, technically efficient work force is, however required now, and this is what the migrant system has never encouraged. With the current tendency to revise traditional labour practices, it would not be too far-fetched to suggest that, among other things, the encouragement of African trade unions is part of the process of incorporating the African work force in capital's battle to relieve white labour of its monopoly of skills.

### Complexity of Forces.

Whilst *Black Migration to South Africa* does not address all the issues and is not without its problems, its survey of migrant labour supplies, its historical overview of changes in social relations on the land, the case study of conditions on the gold mines and recommendations for the reduction of dependence on migrant labour in South Africa, are invaluable studies for all who seek the ending of apartheid. The detailed chapters on labour

migration in Swaziland and the plight of migrant workers' families in Lesotho are likewise serious contributions to the study of the South African migrant labour system. Although there may be reservations about the conclusions it draws, this ILO initiative to promote careful research on the crucial issue of migrant labour in Southern Africa can only be welcomed.

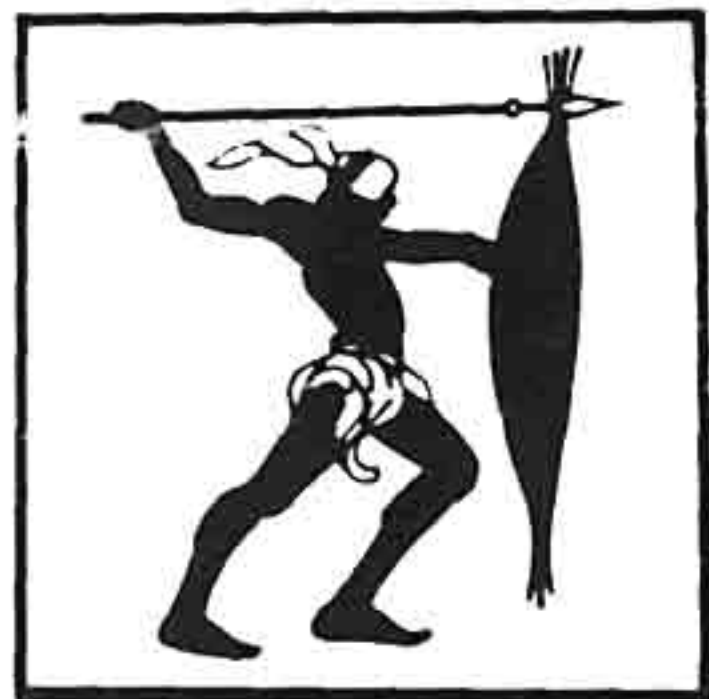
The depth of South Africa's economic crisis still needs much analysis.

This is especially so, if capital's current recasting of the labour structure, and other changes, real and apparent, are to be seen in perspective. The changes encompass a virtual demographic revolution; sweeping reversals in industrial practice, and increasing recourse to the notion of 'internalisation.' It is evident from the simultaneous changes being made in industrial relations, the urban areas, the countryside, and in the political arena, that the representatives of the country's capital have been forced to adopt significantly new high-risk strategies in response to the many pressures upon it.

The result has been to destabilise the whole system, and to produce strains within the ruling party, as well as to generate much antagonism from its rightly styled 'conservative' fragments, whose supporters believe they have more to gain in maintaining the status quo than in departing from it.

Add to this, the escalation of the armed struggle; African resistance to relocation; intensified rural struggles and urban and industrial confrontation, and it becomes clear that the state is neither sufficiently united nor sufficiently unchallenged to resolve its problems at its own pace, nor to pursue its policies exactly as it wishes. It is this perspective that is absent from the ILO study on South Africa's incipient labour crisis. It aims at the heart of the apartheid labour system, but is designed to take the sting out of the process of dismantling it, both for the countries that reproduce the labour power for the South African economy, and for the South African state itself.

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Greetings  
to

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ALL LANDS

