

RUTH FIRST } In May 1965, a year after I arrived in Britian, a year after I myself had been released from a prisen cell, I received a copy of a letter - which I have kept over the years.

It was sent out by one of these anonyms people still inside the country - whose own husband happened at the time to be a prisoner tee, in Preteria, in the kind of cell Hugh Lewin of Defence and Aid was then occupying - who managed ^{in those days} to keep in touch w th prisoners' families.

Madam, it reads, ~~the~~ the attorney told me that as my brether-in-law was executed in

^{plain}
A rather/ordinary letter. no histrionics. very little drama. some considerable bewilderment, however understated.
A letter which tells us little enough of the enormity of the execution of a political prisoner in South Africa --

the kind of man who lived a life filled with desperate courage - with who knows what bitterness -
a life of the personal humiliation and suff ring which an African confrents, and which is, if anything, deepened, by his need to do something about it - to join a political movement - resist the laws of apartheid - find the ways and means to do so in c ountry

3rd May, 1965.

Dear Sir,

I don't know whether I am writing to the correct place, because Mr. Mtshizana attorney forgot to furnish me with the address though he wanted to give it when he last saw me.

Sir, Mr. Mtshizana told me that as my brother in law was executed in December he said I was named that I would be the person in charge of his children. I have taken all the furniture actually their stuff from East London and I paid £15 though there is still some other articles which were in the Farm School where his wife was teaching.

My sister and their three children are living with me at the above address. That was my brother in laws wish. The children's names are Lungelwa Bongco aged 5 years, Lonwabo Bongco aged 3 years and Nobunaka Bongco aged 8 months.

Sir, I do very much like to know everything. Daisy is in a farm school, but believe me she hasn't had her pay since January 1965, though she has three very young children and now I have to support the four of them. She was forced to leave even the baby with me she comes back on week-ends.

Hoping I am in the right track,

Yours faithfully,

Eleanor Mbonyeni.

P.S. My brother in law's name was Washington Bongco.

17th May, 1965.

Dear Madam,

I really do not know how to express my thanks because I feel I have not suitable words but one thing I know is that God knows how I feel and may he spare you for a long time to give a word of encouragement and a kind thought especially to me who has been through this awful experience.

The youngest of the three children was nine months yesterday. She is the one who makes me cry day and night because I had to take her away from home and she comes back during the week-end and a very near thing has been done she hasn't had her pay since she started. So you can imagine how grateful I was when I received that money.

My sister too said I should please pass her thanks. We shall be looking forward to you with bursting hearts of gratitude for all the hopes you have given to us. I also thank you very much for the help at their furniture.

The children are still alright though the five year old always wants to know why doesn't Daddy come anymore to see us.

Hoping for your reply,

Eleanor Mbonyeni.

Feb. 19.

3rd May, 1933.

Dear Sir,

I don't know whether I am writing to the correct place, because Mr. Mathison returned to farm with the address though he wanted to give it when he last saw me.

Mr. Mathison told me that as my brother in law was ill in December he said I was named and I would be the person to write the children. I have taken all the minutes actually written by the children and I said I'd though there is still some other children who were in the farm school where the wife was teaching.

My sister and her three children are living with me at the above address. That was my brother in law's wife. The children's names are Unsworth, Ronald aged 5 years, Leonard Ronald aged 3 years and John Ronald aged 8 months.

Sir, I do very much like to know everything. I say is in a farm school, but believe me she hasn't had her pay since January 1933, though she has three young children and now I have to pay for the four of them. She was forced to leave even though she had the case back on week-ends.

Hoping I am in the right track,
Yours faithfully,
Blanche Moberly.

P.S. My brother in law's name was Washington Ronald.

17th May, 1933.

Dear Madam,

I really do not know how to express my thanks because I have not had the words but one thing I know is that I have not had any money for a long time to give a word of encouragement and kind thought especially to me who has been through this awful experience.

The youngest of the three children was giving me the money. She is the one who makes me cry and she has been ill and has to take her way from home and the other back during the week-end and a very near day has been done she hasn't had her pay since she started. So you can see how grateful I was when I received that money.

My sister too said I should please have her thanks. So she is looking forward to you with dutiful regards of gratitude for all the help you have given to us. I also thank you very much for the help in their furniture.

The children are still right happy but the five-year-old one wants to know why doesn't daddy come to see us.

Hoping for your reply,

Blanche Moberly.

CULTURE

CULTURAL MATTERS

South African 'progressive artists must get together to articulate their interests, to organise and identify themselves clearly as a body against apartheid' urged guest speaker Johnny Clegg at the launch on Monday of the Music Association of Natal (MAN).

On a brief visit to Durban shortly after his return from the United Nations' Culture Against Apartheid symposium earlier this month in Athens, Clegg told close to 150 musicians at the launch that in the artistic arena 'the power of the anti-apartheid movements has been reduced and a call made and a motion passed' affirming 'that certain kinds of cultural contacts are beneficial'.

In practical terms that meant that there will be a 'selective boycott against apartheid, which gives musicians more of a space to move in'...

Exiled and overseas anti-apartheid groups now accepted 'there is a libertarian culture here ... and a broad, progressive arts culture where people are not aligned to any political movement, but to what is democratic. Hence the call to make the distinction between apartheid culture and apartheid South Africa.'

Representing the South African Musicians' Alliance, Clegg said he saw the formation of MAN as 'very important, an alliance of different groupings around the country, of progressive principles and a musical forum for all concerned with the music industry'. The group, headed by sound engineer Dave Marks, will tackle a range of issues, from cultural boycotts, both internal and external, to performers' and composers' fees. The purpose of organising, Marks said, was to give musicians some bargaining power, both internationally and locally.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) says it has 'resolved various misunderstandings' and 'clarified issues' in connection with the Mandela concert controversy.

In a statement, the AAM said as a result of discussions with Clegg in Athens, 'it was established that (his) non-appearance at Wembley was not the result of any dogmatic interpretation of the cultural boycott. Nor was it due to the misunderstandings which had occurred between Clegg and the BMU. It was also accepted that the organisers had genuinely not received any message from Mrs Winnie Mandela proposing that Clegg should appear. Similarly, the representations which had been received by the AAM from the mass democratic movement inside South Africa, although relating to his participation at Wembley, primarily dealt with the difficulties between the BMU and Johnny Clegg' ...

The AAM recognised that in planning any such cultural events in the future there needed to be closer consultation with the African National Congress and democratic cultural structures within South Africa.'

CULTURAL MATTERS

Athens Symposium

The Culture Against Apartheid symposium which ended in Athens last weekend will lead to an independent committee of writers, entertainers and other 'cultural workers' to advise on exceptions to the cultural boycott. The Symposium, which attracted prominent artists from 15 countries, including SA, resolved to strengthen the cultural boycott. But participants also agreed on a need to recognise exceptions — not only of artists accredited by 'liberation movements' but also those whose work was seen to reflect or advance the anti-apartheid cause.

'Exceptions will only be made as they come up and in consultation with liberation movements,' said a participant. 'The committee will be under the auspices of the UN but will not include people attached to the UN or to the non-governmental organisations who sent observers' — among them the American Committee on Africa, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the South African Racial Olympic Committee. 'The idea is for members to be a bridge between these groups, the UN, liberation movements and South African artists.' ...

A UN delegate said in the past the committee waited to hear who had broken the boycott but it would now try to approach in advance those artists planning to travel to SA and warn them of the existence of the UN register, formerly known as the 'blacklist'. The UN register, said delegates, applied only to artists coming to SA to perform, not South Africans performing overseas.

Playwright Maishe Maponya said overseas theatre tours were organised by white groups; and musician Johnny Clegg pointed out a difference between conditions in the cities, where non-racial venues were available, and those in rural areas, where they were not. 'One of the most useful results of the symposium was unexpected: that we from the inside were able to inform our fellow artists from the outside on the actual working conditions of artists in SA' reported Nadine Gordimer, one of the participants.

The symposium adopted a resolution calling for an intensification of the cultural boycott, noting that, *inter alia* 'apartheid's culture of oppression is increasingly being countered by the culture of liberation,' and appealed to 'all writers, artists, musicians, composers, entertainers, actors, producers, distributors and their cultural workers in the international community to refuse to perform or to have their works performed in SA.' At the same time, the symposium urged 'the strengthening of structures of consultation inside and outside SA to ensure the broad-based support and monitoring of the boycott' and the support of 'certain cultural contexts' which 'undermine apartheid.'

The only major dissenting voice came from German actor Maximilian Schell, who said he believed cultural exchange to be necessary. American theatre producer Joseph Papp suggested actors' unions in the US follow the lead of their British counterpart, making SA off-limits for members. Said Gordimer in her opening address: 'The new culture the people of SA are striving to build under ugly and dangerous conditions is based on the people's democratic culture and extended to everyone ... For the people of SA, against apartheid, we must learn to use art for its true revolutionary purpose, the discovery and regeneration of the human world: which is freedom.'

South African participants included authors Njabulo Ndebele, Hein Willemsse and Gordimer, for the Congress of South African Writers; playwrights Matsemela Manaka and Maponya; and, living in exile, poets Mangane Serote and Dennis Brutus, and ex-editor Donald Woods. Both the ANC and the PAC sent delegates; the PAC's Lesaona Makhanda addressed the opening ceremony and the ANC's Pallo Jordan the conclusion. Each spoke on behalf of both organisations, indicating a spirit of mutual co-operation, according to participants.

Prominent overseas participants included Nobel Prize-winning author Wole Soyinka, singer Harry Belafonte, actors Glenda Jackson and Schell, and Steve 'Little Seven' van Zandt, author of *I'm not gonna play Sun City*.

Weekly Mail 9.9.88

Congress of South African Writers

Writers and other cultural workers have a responsibility to serve the community because they are products of, and belong to, the community, according to the chairperson of the Natal branch of the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw), Mewa Ramgobin. Speaking at the formal launch of the Natal Cosaw branch at the Durban Resources Centre recently, Ramgobin urged writers to use all the creative resources and advance the struggle for the creation of a unitary, non-racial and democratic SA. The event also saw the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Resources Centre and the launch of the Can Themba Collection.

The legendary Can Themba, known as the 'pioneer of People's Journalism,' died in Swaziland 20 years ago ... Ramgobin said the Collection was named after Themba because in the field of literature and resistance he is of national symbolic significance. 'It is not only a tribute to his writing and to him as a person; it is in a way a salutation to the agonies and effects of a people in bondage ...

Cosaw has pledged itself to:

- Work with the mass-based democratic movement and fellow-cultural workers to determine strategies and tactics 'in pursuit of our principles,' particularly to consult with them in determining the parameters and application of the cultural boycott.
- Resist all forms of censorship and combat all forms of state repression.
- Oppose the attempts to impose cultural domination by the establishment media and to build and encourage structures that will critically manifest the aspirations of the majority of our people.
- Strive to ensure that the production and dissemination of literature in its various presentations, including the oral media, shall reflect the cultural heritage of all people in our country.
- Harness existing resources as well as nurture new and emerging talent.

New Nation 8.9.88

GROUP AREAS DOUBLESPEAK

The Labour Party, which brought parliament to a standstill two weeks ago because of its opposition to the Group Areas Act, this week used the Act to force Africans out of a 'mixed' area. Kleinskool, a mixed area outside Port Elizabeth, was this week declared 'coloured' — a move backed by the Labour Party-controlled Coloured Management Committee.

The move has been sharply criticised and is likely to cause a stir in the light of the party's stated opposition to the

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anti-apartheid sport bodies to the exclusion of racist sport. Sponsors of racist tours must be ostracised.

● Participants to unity talks must pledge support for the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) and other anti-apartheid organisations in their campaign to isolate SA. It must be clearly understood that the purpose is not to punish SA but to outlaw apartheid. *New Nation 17.11.88*

CHURCH MATTERS

NGK Appeal

Dutch Reformed Church Moderator Professor JA Heyns has made a personal appeal to NG Sendingkerk moderator Dr Allan Boesak and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for reconciliation and forgiveness. In an open letter to *Die Kerkbode*, the mouthpiece of the Dutch Reformed Church, Professor Heyns calls upon his 'blood brothers in Christ' to heed the gospel and work towards forgiveness and reconciliation. Professor Heyns says the letter is not written on behalf of the general synodical commission but as a 'Christian to Christians'.

'That is why I do not want to stress differences but to examine everything we have in common ... We are all agents of reconciliation. What we do should not be in conflict with what we say, neither in our public or in our private lives ... Dr Boesak, let us stop telling the outside world that the chairman of the general synodical commission is a liar,' he pleads. Signing the letter 'Your brother in Christ,' Professor Heyns concludes: 'I eagerly await your favourable reaction.'

Sowetan 17.11.88

All African Conference of Churches

All African Conference of Churches (AACC) has called on member churches and affiliated councils to observe December 10, the anniversary of the United Nation's (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by holding public prayers throughout the continent. The call was made during AACC's conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, earlier this month ...

In addition to the violation of human rights in SA, the banning of 17 people's organisations and harassment of the clergy, whom AACC said were 'filling the vacuum' by protesting, were issues of concern to the conference. 'The situation in SA continues to deteriorate. It is confused,' said the conference.

AACC condemned the bombing of Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and Khanya House, headquarters of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) in Johannesburg and Pretoria respectively.

The council also condemned the arson attack on the Port Elizabeth offices of the Black Sash recently.

Despite the harassment of the Church in this country the conference was impressed by the SACC's involvement in the establishment of Human Rights Commission (HRC) by six anti-apartheid organisations. On Namibia the conference expressed its hope that the ongoing peace talks between Angola, South Africa and Cuba would result in a positive solution of the Angolan conflict.

The conference said there was 'still hope that a satisfactory solution will be found, which will make possible the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibia. In Southern Africa the large influxes of refugees and the internal displacement of people is attributed largely to the

deterioration of security in the region as a result of the destabilisation policies and actions of the government of SA,' AACC said.

Mozambique and Angola were identified as countries 'most affected by SA's destabilisation of its neighbours, among other things, by fuelling the atrocities perpetrated by dissidents in the two countries,' added the conference ...

New Nation 17.11.88

SA Council of Churches

The Reverend Frank Chikane believes the time has come for churches to abandon mere rhetoric and take concrete measures to combat apartheid, Ziara News Agency reports. Mr Chikane, general secretary of SACC told the conference of the World Council of Churches that SA had launched a diplomatic offensive aimed at promoting its image as being a 'reasonable regime that wants to talk' while it is still carrying out repressive measures at home.

He cited the State President, Mr PW Botha's recent visit to Mozambique, Zaire and Switzerland as some of the diplomatic examples.

While this was taking place, Mr Chikane said, repression against South Africans had been intensified in the form of banning organisations and newspapers, executions and attacks on church buildings. South African churches had therefore agreed to move beyond talking to action. They should not engage in welfare activities only, but also take action to stop apartheid ...

Star 23.11.88

The SACC is planning a new anti-apartheid campaign, Frank Chikane has told the World Council of Churches meeting in Harare ... He says the campaign will begin early next year. Chikane says details of the campaign still have to be worked out, but the churches have decided to act, irrespective of apartheid and the state of emergency laws.

BBC Monitoring Report (Umtata) 23.11.88

CULTURE — ORAL TRADITIONS LIVE ON

Cosatu's Mi Hlatshwayo, on the role of performers:

'We are in a unique cultural situation in SA ... We have a vast, rich cultural heritage ... The oppressor has used this cultural diversity to justify the continuation of exploitation and oppression. For the oppressed, it has been a great source of inspiration for survival and the struggle for democratic rights. Let us address the oral tradition: where and how has it been used, and by whom?

The first category I want to speak about is the oral tradition which has not adjusted itself to present circumstances in SA. This tradition can be termed a conservative oral tradition. It has been used by capitalists for profit-making and the justification of apartheid. On the mines, for instance, we are made to sing as Zulus on one side, and dance as Sothos on the other side. That is one example of how our oral tradition is being used to enhance the exploitation of people by other people. If you watch channels like TV2, you will also see programmes about the old oral tradition.

About what used to happen in the olden days: soloists and guitarists crossing the veld and mountains would strum their instruments and sing to the mountains about their visions. Today such music is played on television to the accompaniment of modern instruments so that it can be sold in the same way as other products manufactured in factories.

This shows how the capitalist and apartheid forces are

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continuously trying to use that conservative oral tradition to exploit and confuse the masses. We now live in a capitalist society. We no longer live in tribal communes. The oral tradition of the old days does not fit — and can never fit — the situation of today.

Let me move to the second category, which I would like to call progressive or transitional oral tradition. Progressive cultural workers still owe a lot to the earlier oral tradition. Although the apartheid and capitalist forces have conquered our cultural heritage, they do not enjoy a complete monopoly over this terrain. Every struggle, every revolution, will throw up new discoveries and trends at some point that may seem to confuse the present generation. But, at another time, these will become a source of great inspiration and pride to the future generation. The mass uprising by the oppressed, led by the democratic movement, means challenging oppression and exploitation from all angles.

Now the slow-moving chants and slogans are being transformed into vibrant, life-giving toyi-toyi. Many other attempts at transforming our oral tradition are evident, for example at funeral ceremonies in townships and at meetings of workers. Let me quote one example from the hundreds I could give. Madlizinoyoka Ntuzi, a praise poet in Natal, was recruited to the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa). In his own words, he says: 'I left (traditional) praise poetry after being exposed to new dynamics. I realised that praising chiefs was no longer relevant; it was no longer serving my own interests. My new chiefs became the democratic forces, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Numsa.'

In his poetry, he does not only take the content of praise poetry, he also puts a new form, a new style, a new form of dancing, into it. That is a great achievement. It is another attempt to transform the oral tradition, to make it relevant to our situation. There are many other examples which show the power of oral tradition used constructively. Oral tradition is deeply structured in our historical background and has posed itself as a problem to censorship. You cannot censor a word, people carry words with them wherever they go.

The oppressor has not — and cannot — censor the oral tradition. In fact, as I have shown, the oppressor also uses oral tradition to further exploitation and oppression. But oral tradition, if handled constructively, can contribute to human development. *New Nation 17.11.88*

RACIST ATROCITIES

Radicals within the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) have warned that they plan starting a terror campaign against all people of colour. They claim to be breeding and training vicious American Pit Bull Terriers and stocking up ammunition to wage the terror campaign. Two radicals are said to be members of the AWB's military wing, called Aquilla.

This warning was made to *New Nation* in a telephone call two months ago. The caller also claimed that the group had acquired a stock of 'Mini-Ruger' guns, which he claimed used AK-47 shells to use in the campaign. He pointed out that he had been approached to join the group, which claimed to have shot and killed a number of stock thieves and labourers whose bodies were disposed of on a farm in the Western Transvaal. He refused to join the group ... This week, a self-confessed member of the AWB shot and

killed six black people in Pretoria after a caller had warned another newspaper of the carnage a day before. The killer, Barend Hendrik Strydom, a former policeman, allegedly walked up to at least 21 blacks and shot them at point-blank range. In a statement he issued after being arrested earlier this year by the police for possession of right-wing literature, the ex-policeman said he was a volunteer who had fought several times on the border. He was also photographed with the head of a black man and a knife in his hand ...

In March, another seven police reservists were expelled because they belonged to the AWB. All were from the ultra-conservative Northern Transvaal. One of those expelled, Attie Engelbrecht, said that at least 40 percent of all police reservists in the Northern Transvaal were AWB members. 'More than 800 reservists in the Northern Transvaal were either members or sympathisers of the AWB,' he said. He explained the prominent presence in the police of AWB supporters as 'only logical' — these are men who have chosen their careers out of loyalty for the fatherland' ... *New Nation 17.11.88*

Startling new facts have linked the Pretoria massacre suspect, Barend 'Wollie' Strydom, to a horror gun-attack on a squatter camp last week ... police said the previous shootings might have been a 'test run' for the killer. Police are also investigating whether Mr Strydom is linked to an incident in Secunda, eastern Transvaal, when a teargas canister was thrown into a discotheque at a multiracial hotel.

A woman was killed in the squatter-camp shooting at Weiler's Farm near De Deur, Johannesburg on the night of November 8 ... An investigation by the *Sunday Star* has revealed that: ballistic experts say the same 9mm-calibre pistol was used in both incidents; a victim of the Weiler's Farm shooting identified Mr Strydom as the killer from a photograph, although she failed to do so at a police identification parade; at the same parade it is claimed that Mr Strydom admitted responsibility for the Weiler's Farm shooting; the De Deur area is well known to Mr Strydom; and in both shootings, the killer wore police-style camouflage fatigues.

Miss Elizabeth Tsotetsi (25), said she was with her friend, Ms Martha Mosikedi (27), on the night of November 8 when, around 11pm, a car stopped near their shack. 'A man knocked roughly at the door and demanded we open it. Martha said we must open because it sounded like a policeman. We did, and a white man in his early twenties entered and shone a torch at us. He was wearing a camouflage uniform. He ordered us outside, where he told us to lie on our bellies on the ground. We knelt down and the man ordered us to turn our backs to him. Just as I was turning he shot me in the left shoulder. I got up and ran.'

She said 'Martha was hit and fell down. I hid myself in a dog kennel and the man started to search for me. He shone his torch all over ... Eventually the man drove away and neighbours came out ... They found Martha had been shot dead ... This week Ms Tsotetsi attended an identification parade where, she now believes, she pointed out the wrong person. When she was shown a newspaper cutting with a picture of Mr Strydom, she said: 'This is the man who shot us' ... Mrs Olga Lutu, chairwoman of the Weiler's Farm Residents' Committee alleged that Mr Strydom was known as a policeman from De Deur who had visited the camp before ... *Sunday Star 20.11.88*

100 orgs bann'd or restrict'd since 50 & end o 88
Include pol parties, nat orgs (ANC) Yth, Blk parents
funds, students, wmn's, christian, unions teachers & p
professionl grps civic assoc.

Blk Sash report on hangg: SA is wrld leadr
in 87, 167 hangd
More thn 112 people a day setenc'd to whippgs, yr
endg June 88: 40,933, of whom 97.7% blk

Dvd Webster 61st aa activist assassinat'd in SA since
78 (only 1 convict'd) Also more thn 60 in exile (ANC)
John Majola (Swazilnd) Joe Gqabi; Petrus & Jabu Nzim
Ruth, Jeanette, Cassius Make, Dulcie
Inside: Webster, R Turner, the Mxenges Fabian
Rebeiro, Matthew Goniwe.
Bombg o COSATU Hse, blastng o Khotso Hse (SAC of C)
& Khanya Hse (Catholic Bishops), etc. No one charg'd
SA hit squads i front-line states. Gvt declard
policy to 'eliminate & annihilate' all 'revlutionari'

WOMEN: Joyce Mashamba hs nt livd wth husbnd fr 13 yrs
when youngest child ws 1 yr. In 76 bth imprison'd fr
5 & 10 yrs. Whn George released, Joyce again arrest'd
& in detention. Releas'd Febm confined to Pietersbrg,
husbnd lives i Jhbg.

JOYCE MABUDAFHASI lookng aftr paralyzd mothr, cant w
restrict'd frm enterng ed institute, hs 4 childrn who
cant live wth hr.

MARIS-STELLA MEBITJE, detain'd fr 2 yrs, childrn were
nt told she ws detain'd, t eldest (15) told othrs,
13,11,7, tt he ws sure she wld nt hve abandond thm
& must b dead.

*32 trials (political) i Western Cape - Am wearing a prohibited
SWAPO T shirt, breakg restriction ovdr, possession o banned lit
to terrorism & murder.*

REFORM.

No reform cn radically alter nature o Ap or peoples' lives.

No substantial changes i pol power cn come thru changes by & within t systm - SA ruling class wll nt set a precedent i history & abandon t real source o powr willingly.

Precisly to prevent ths tt adjustmnts o secondary imp. made. There may b more action (altho nw stoppd) to remove or alleviate those levels o racial humiliation tt are nt indispensable to functioning o systm. (Cn afford concessions)

Iss ue nt Immorality Act, Mixd marriages, bathng beaches If t essence o Ap were only t segregatd park bench, all-white beach or playng field, t right to marry, fr a tiny few to own houses, thn these wld b signs o a retreat frm systm.

Bt those who see moves as signif. indications o move frm top fr redistribution o powr i favour o a society basd o equality confuse rhetoric wth t reality tt it hides.

Nt a retreat frm white supremacy bt a diff approach to securing tt sup i diff period

ISSUE IS EXCLUSION O PEOPLE FRM SPHERE O DECISION-MAKG

Issue is one o pwr, pwr at t highest level. To exclude people frm sphere o dec-makg i society means their exclusion frm workng out concepts tt govern ec, social, cultural & pol life. Same issue as fr womn.

Kairos (153 theologians, churchmn, Oct 85)

' t Ap regime is irreformable. . . Christians mst learn tt unjust laws o t tyrant shld nt be respected . . . a regime tt is in principle t enemy o t people cannt suddenly begn to rule i t interests o all t people . . . reforms wld hve to be done i t interests o those who electd t gvt.

Liberalism; Botha, Reagn, Thatchr, Kohl - they see SA Tricamera Parl, wth its outhouses fr Indians & so-calld Colourds, as a liberl reform, altho blk maj excluded. Uprisngs, which begn i 76, hve made it clear tt blk do nt wnt a 3rd outhouse i t backyard o white supremacy. They are nt askng to b let in. Wnt to dismantle t 350 yr old structure & hve 1 hse fr maj gvt, non-discriminatory. You cant reform racialism.

Repression & reform ave 2 sides of the same blood soaked coin

de Klerk actd out of instincts not of generosity but of survival.
Only alternative would be a seige economy defended by military might.

White business community support de K's line because they think it will secure their own future.

Whits have not accepted tt they will lose power - has de K? He says he accepts majority rule, but not if its 'simplistic'. He insists on the protection of 'cultural' minorities. (ethnic)

de K has seizd high moral ground as far as Westen world is concernd,
& appears to b settng agenda - ie, Inkatha forcng place at table.

KADAR AT AMSTERDAM

Pik Botha opening up Nat Pty to all is but a way o safeguardng white interests.

Repeal o Land Act means openg up 13% to white capital developmnt while without re-distribution o ownershp o land, 87% is frozen. Same applies to Group Areas.

Spoke of crimes o ommission sch as Crossroads) and commission, sch as elimination o District 6.

Essential conditions are: 1) Universal vote. 2) Unitary - Bantustns theory nw rejectd, bt existence utilised. 3) 'Sophisticatd' majority rule - right to power o full assembly to remove structures o Ap. Guarantee multi-pty system.

90% all newspprs owned by 2 companies, one English, one Afrikaans - & they talk abt freedm o t press.

de Klerk & Co emphasiusing changes necessary bcos Ap doesnt wk, but no recognition o terrible crime o Ap.

PALLO AT AMSTERDAM

The issue in SA is t contest for power.

At meetngs everywhere, clear people have investd very high hopes & expectations in our movement.

Spate o blood-letng in Tvl is without precedent in country (since last July). It begn wth massacre at Sebokeng. Police were warned over & over tt t Inkatha 'peace rally' ws nt a peace rally.

People were bussed in, armd wuth spears, pangas. Police escortd ~~xxxx~~ thm to t stadium for t 'peace rally'. There ws no platform, no loudspeakers. It ws nt a rally, bt an invasion by Inkatha. From stadium, they dispersd, attackd, killd 12. Police did nt interfere.

Subsequently around 1,000 killd. Police ignore or assist. Inkatha doesnt hve t level o support to mount such attacks, nor t organisational capacity to arrange co-ordinatd attacks, nor to produce on a consistent basis t blk propaganda - forgd leaflets -- callng on people to rise up & crush Zulu wth their spears & pride, etc, folloed by well mediated, armd attacks wth factory made spears, knobkerries & pangas. One armd invasion afr anothr.

Why SA's support + CP.

A

ECONOMIC. Capitalism & aprt interwind, & to ths day, capital done very little to mitigate grossest inequalities. KTC squattrrs camp - Ciskei migrants livng i primitive shacks without water, heat, light. Best school rooms consist of discarded ships' containers winched into place out of puny welfare funds of foreign gvts. Teachers nt paid, except by occasional funds donatd by foreign companies.

These people are victims of more economic injustice and incompetence than is to be seen anywhere else i the world. Wht will 'new SA' bring them? Yet even most radical recognise tt SA cant go forward now without massive foreign investment. We face need not to alienate the capitalists. Cannot let investmnt, deterred by sanctions, bcome deterred by blk majority rule. Europe hs given us many hard lessons i needs of economy, & harder lessons still come from African countries thmselves.

Spanish proverb: When you deal with your brother be pleasant but get a witness.

EDUCATION

A

40 yrs running educational system whose chief purpose ws to prevent blks being educated, nw reachd complete breakdown. Generation o young blks who hve nevr learnd hw to learn; SA hs produced people who do nt knw how to learn, who do nt want to learn, & who are incapable of respndng to t normal social processes by which learng takes place.

APARTHEID cnt be brushd aside as tho it ws simply a political mistake. (a minority takng racism to t extreme). It ws economic tool which enabled white SAs to transform a primary econmy basd on subsisntence ag, exception-ally rich mineral deposits & an abundance o cheap unskilld labour into a 1st wrld style economy with modern infrastructure.

POPULATION STATISTICS

South Africa's population (including that of the 'independent homelands') is about 37 million, and will increase to over 47 million by the year 2000 if the current population growth rate of 2.3% is maintained, the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said recently. According to the Central Statistical Services, the 1985 census (revised for undercount) showed a total population (excluding the 'independent homelands') of 27 772 100. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, the following 1985 population breakdown is arrived at when the 'independent homelands' figure is added to the updated census figures: Africans — 24 901 139 (74.1%); 'coloureds' — 2 881 362 (8.6%); Indians — 878 300 (2.6%); and whites — 4 961 062 (14.7%); total — 33 621 863. Since 1985 it is estimated that the total population has grown to about 37 million (although several independent estimates put the real total at over 40 million). The approximate breakdown is as follows: Africans — 28 million; whites — 5 million; 'coloureds' — 3.2 million; Indians — 930 000.

According to the CSS the total 'coloured' population in July 1988 was 3.13 million. In 1985 there were 20 394 Indian births, 83 694 'coloured' births, and 79 558 white births (all outside the 'independent homelands'). The SAIRR estimates that in 1985 there were 576 188 African births... About 2.78 million of the current 'coloured' population is Afrikaans-speaking, which means that at current population growth rates the 'coloured' Afrikaans-speaking population will have surpassed the white Afrikaans-speaking population by the year 1994...

Weekly Mail 2.12.88

AFS 25 m (628 m)

Col nearly 3 m (3.2.)

Indians 900,000

Ws 5 m



**PASS TO POVERTY
OR PLENTY IN
SOUTH AFRICA**



"To respect and protect the human dignity and
the rights and liberties of all in our midst."

South Africa, 1983 Constitution Act.

**At birth, every South African is classified by race — their lives are very different.
Which future for you and your family?**

BLACKS

Official figures show 1 in 12 children die in their first year. In some rural areas 1 in 4 die in their first year.

The government spends about £67 a year educating each child.

From the age of 16 blacks must carry a Reference or 'Pass' Book at all times. Not having it or the required permit stamps means arrest.
It dictates your movements, where you live, where you work.

Official figures show average weekly wages to be about £22.
Domestic workers earn as little as £3 a week.
Over 1 million people have no income at all.

Elderly people may receive up to £18.50 a month pension.

WHITES

In common with many European countries 1 in 72 children die in their first year.

The government spends about £472 a year educating each child.

Whites have identity documents, a 'Book of Life'. You are free to come and go as you please.

Official figures show average weekly wages to be about £90 — but you may earn a lot more.

Elderly people receive up to £48 a month pension.

THE UK CONNECTIONS

- In 1910 Britain helped draw up the Union of South Africa which excluded black representation.
- The UK is the single biggest investor in South Africa's apartheid-based economy.
- There are about 1200 UK companies with investments in South Africa.
- Thousands of people visit South Africa every year, but few see the great poverty that affects black people.

The UK has closer connections than any other country with the scandal of apartheid and the poverty and injustice it causes. That is why it is vital that the British government does all in its power to encourage the abolition of apartheid.

With the benefit of 30 years experience in South Africa and responding to our partners' urgent call, Oxfam is campaigning on behalf of the poor and downtrodden in South Africa.

Add your voice to the call for change.

Contact your nearest Oxfam Area Office for details of the campaign and other activities.

Yes, aware tt:

- * racialism everywhere
- * worse poverty i Asia
- * worse hungri i Ehtiopia, Sahel
- * worse torture i S Am countries
- * worse housng i Lusaka thn Soweto

Bt point abt Ap is its uniqueness - no othr country, no othr society anywhere i wrld bases its laws, its total structure o idea o skin colour. No othr criteria.

also world pollutant - racists everywhere derive life & strength from Ap.
Brit hd powr to construct divided society, powr to sustain it, hs enjoyd & enjoys riches tt come frm it; nw is time fr act o reparation - to shw hw mch powr u possess to help destroy it.

No other moral ground o which people o ths country can stand.

There are times whn movemnts fr solidarity bcome widr & i t process radicalise supportrs, as Vietnam, bringg to Brit bth t horrors & noble passions they rarely experience. "In a country which has long ago found its own politics tired, stale & lackng i any moral imperative, t momentous issues o freedm & repression being fought out i SA allow Brit people a faint involvemnt i a grand political passion."

Sand.

4) TERRORISM - WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

Violence beyond SA.

Carlos Cardoza, Moz Info Services:

'Europe does not know terrorism since the 2nd Wld war. What Europeans are discussing about terrorism is a picnic, is peanuts, compared to what SA has unleashed against the Frontline States.'

6 yrs of full-scale war on its neighbors. Frontline States are devastated with smashed industry, restricted trade, famine, death. By each day's end, war claims the lives of more than 360 small children in Angola & Moz.

'Destabilisation' or 'Total strategy'.

Kopkind. ALIENATION

As he succeeded in segregating its subjects' minds from the experience of their lives. It is not only the physical distance between communities, but also the psychological alienation it imposes on both victims & beneficiaries. We are insulated by luxury, & for the most part do not recognise the monstrous mechanism on which their ease depends.

Joburg suburbs are not communities with complex social relations—they are districts of racial defense & economic convenience. Life is focussed on local 'hyper-markets'. We rarely travel by foot. Pavements left to maids, labourers & bannies wheeling W babies, as if to prepare them for vehicular adulthood.

Living conditions in black townships: It is not only poverty that characterises the townships. Distance, restrictions & alienation rob them of vibrancy.

In 85, regime spent 1.9 million dollars, using 625 miles of fencing to enclose black 'homelands'.

1. TRUTH CONCEALD - WHITE LIVES.

Divided lives - whites insulated by comforts, beauty, do not recognise monstrous mechanism on which ease depends. ~~Sadie: 'Normal'~~. Affluent affluent

'Suburbs' - districts of racial defense & economic consumption
Life focussed on consumption at hypermarkets.
Like LA, don't travel by foot. Pavements left to black nannies trundling white babies in pushchairs - as though to prepare them early for a vehicular adulthood.
Impulse for Apartheid to change does not come from them

Botha, white rulers, while recognising necessity to end restrictions Apartheid places on all, refuse to accept consequences of dismantling Apartheid, - black majority rule.

This is why seemingly progressive steps - recognising black townships, partially removing pass laws - are accompanied by ever-increasing oppression.

This is why system of so-called reforms has failed.

Price to pay: South Africa becomes prison, for Whites as well as Blacks
6 km concrete fence, R100,000 per km, along road dividing Soweto from Diepkloof extension & Crown Mounds.
Razor wire & barred gates surround PE B townships.

In 1986, South Africa spent 1.9 million dollars to construct 625 miles of fence enclosing Black 'homelands'

Price to pay: guns, training, conscription, you (or your son) must serve in army in townships, Namibia, Angola, (ECC)

COUNTER MEASURES + THE CONTAINMENT

1. B/stans - tribl divisions i SA★ Creation o these tribal enclaves encouragd aggressive ethnicity & petty despotism, as in tin-pot dictators i Transkei & Ciskei, as well as far more ominous rise o M G Buthelezi i KwaZulu. Clevr & dangrous, runs his fiefdom like a Chicago ward heelr or Mafia thug, probably accounts fr hs popularity wth US politicians, lookng for ally - 3rd alternative.

Considerable money & support frm US, W Germany & Israe fr hs Inkatha orgs.

(Hs had paymnts frm secret Christian Demo Pty Fund tt also pays Duarte in El S.)

(Wll b t State Depts Jonas Savimbi aftr lib)

The

ANC

THE ANC .

1910 - discrimination institutionalised. (Act of Union)

1912 - formation 13, Land Act. 1st non-tribal org in Af.

respectable, educated Afrikaners who pleaded, petitioned.

2nd World War - Industrialisation, Aspirations to Freedom

1948, Nationalist Party, repressive Leg. Pop Reg Act, Group Areas,

Suppression of Communism Act, led to Defiance Campaign - peaceful protest, informing

police behind a law-breaking. (Gandhi)

Stricter 'security' laws. Breaking law as pol. protest - severe penalties

Banning of leading ANC members. Action & counter action (eg

boycotts, financial aid to prisoners, etc)

As more repressive laws, more militant opp. Congress of Peoples
in 1956 & Freedom Charter. 1956 Treason Trial. 4½ yrs. NOT violent
Pass protests, culminated in Sharpeville, 60. 69 shot dead.

1st State of Emergency followed, 1000's detained without trial, ANC banned.

At this stage, org underground, all avenues closed, MK formed

LUTULI: Who will deny that 30 yrs of my life have been spent knocking
in vain, patiently, moderately & modestly, at a closed & barred
door? What have been the fruits of moderation?

The past 30 yrs have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights
& progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost
no rights at all. It is with this background & with a full sense
of responsibility that under the auspices of the ANC I have joined my
people in the spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly
& boldly against injustice & expresses itself in a determined &
non-violent manner - End of 1952.

TAMBO: We cannot accept the suggestion that we should think & function
within the racial parameters set by the social order we seek to destroy.
Persistent demand to renounce violence. British PM even reached the
extraordinary conclusion that the violence of the SA society cannot be
ascribed to the Apartheid system - We, victims of tyranny, are to blame for
violence unleashed against us.

The argument that we should not use violence to achieve the political objective
of a democratic South Africa ought, surely, to be preceded by the demand that the
Apartheid regime should not use violence to maintain the system of white minority rule.

The problem is not that the ANC is violating some principle. What is the
issue is that we have refused to surrender & submit to the white minority rule.

1. ACT O IMAGINATION.

Start age 7 (Ws 5) Clss o 41 (Ws 19) 7 times more per capita o W ed thn B.

Nt bore wth statistics. U are bright, jump all hurdles: eg $\frac{1}{2}$ o all leave school b4 Std 3 (ie b4 literate evn i mothr tongue) $\frac{3}{4}$ drop out aftr primary school

So typical child starts late, drops out early. Bt u nt typical, u struggle thru 2dary confrontd only wth task o learnng i 3 languages.

High school - majority being movd to reserves, separation. However, Soweto - }ucky

U hve to contend wth Bantu Ed which is inferior; wth firm censorshp o bks, films, to extnt tt Official History o SA pproducd by grp o eminent academicms appeard i SA wth 52 blank pages, bcos they quotd statment on Af nationalism & bannd Afs

^AIf u were i High school i 76, u tk part i revolt which hs scarcely ceasd till today. (Why it startd) Soon revolt ag all Bantu ed.

U escapd deth or injury - 100's died - bt bcame politicsd.

EDUCATION NOTES

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

Brit is centrl participant i unfolding tragedy o SA

Historic, econ links prevent B frm optng out. Frm 1912, B laid framewk o today's SA

B earns more frm SA thn Australia, where holdngs are largr. In Europe

& USA t spread btween sklld & Unsklld at most is 25 - 30%

In SA, somethng like 400%

Eg: Goldfields o SA (cuttg)

Ths same Goldfields lookng i city fr a large slice o t £180 m needed fr Kloof Mine

Brit largest investor, accountg fr half t £10 billion o direct & indirect foreign investmnt.

Banng press only one aspect o represssion i SA

3) REPRESSION: DEATH SQUADS: DETENTIONS ETC.

VIOLENCE WITHIN SA

Human Rights Commission lists total o 19 rights & freedms frm UN Dec o Hmn Rights tt are abrogatd or undr threat. Including:

Entire racial constitution violates Article 2

Art. 3: Rightto life, liberty & security o persn; Judicial executions continue unabated. Ths yr 300 on death row. Multiple...

5: Freedm frm torture or degradg treatmnt. (TV hs shown some)

9: No one shld b subjct to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

10: Fair & public hearng whn criminal charges involvd
30,000 detainid without trial i 3 yrs. Still mny detainid, incldng childrn.

19: FReedm o expression. More thn 300 bannd people. Newspprs.

10, 21. Ffredm o assembly & association:

AA Conf bannd; All outdoor gatherngs (no more thn 2 people may assemble i an opn area); Banng o ANC, restrictions on UDF & 17 orgs
Several hundreds arrestd fr 'gatherings'. *Black Sash demo:*

21. Right to participate i gvt.

Millions o SA's nt allowd to vote.

DIRTY TRICKS

Btween May⁴⁷ & Sep 88, 14 bomb & arsn attacks o offices housng tu's, churches, community & student orgs. Briefngs 35

BUT IT HAS BEEN GOING ON TOO LONG.

People tired o apartheid & SA - no longer a constant issue.
There are two vital reasons:

1) Press, TV, censorship, now almost total. What u cant see, read abt, doesnt exist. There's law & Order i SA today - despite 7 million people without homes who are squatters, despite t daily killings o young activists & students, despite t men waitng on death row. (Tt, of course, is 'law & ordr tt a lot o people i ths country want too)

2) Compassion factor. Famines tt repeat thmselves too oftn, wars sch as Iran/Iraq or Ireland tt go on too long . . .

But there are special reasons why you must not tire of the issue of apartheid in SA.

MANDELA & T SHARPEVILLE 6

+ 80 others on death row - 285.

Mandela/Rivonia men. Cant separate. Nt released.

DELMAS TRIAL - meang o definition o 'treason'. 4 'Mandelas' held fr 3 yrs - immobolisd.

Ebrahim trial - kidnappd. 15 yrs o Robben Island.

OCTOBER ELECTIONS

Blk & white went to polls - bt all separately.
(Importance o classification - changing around)

'Gun-point' election - in huge security operation aimed at 'makng polling stations safe fr t public'. At most, 10% votd, generally nearer 2%.

- . Unprecedented gvt campaigns to stimulate interest i polls
- . Prior votng system - 2 wks R5m on advertisng
- . sharp increase i repressive measures
- . banning o all anti-election prop.
- . banning o all anti-gvt orgs. COSATU & UDF bannd frm campaigng
- . allegations o fraud.

Half t seats nt even contestd. Many hd no candidate at all.

Heunis, explaing discrepancy btween 'high awareness' & low poll: 'One shld understand t fact tt a large numbr o people i t country lack a tradition o elections i t Western sense o t word.'
Scores o sittng councillors defeatd - oftn by unknowns.

IN Natal: Of 1,851 seats, less thn 1/2 contestd.

No candidates i 138 wards, & only one i 796 wards. In remaing wards, only 418 votes registered. Burea figures reflect votes cast, nt numbr o voters. Landlords, eg, allowd to vote once fr each property they own.

WEEKLY MAIL & PRESS RESTRICTIONS

(Role o world's reportrs)

Zwelakhe - more thn 700 days. 10 papers bannd.

JUSTICE

SUBVERSION & JUSTICE

S o E regulations enforce new definitions o a 'subversive ssmnt' SEction One makes provision fr any picture, photograph, print, engraving, lithograph, painting or drawing to constitute 'subversion' Evn publication o white spaces where material hs been censored is considered subversive. T-shirts wth slogans hve been banned. In 87 farm labourer Benjamin de Bruyn, charged undr Internal Security Act; relatd to tattoos on hs body one o which read 'God give me freedom bt t Ws take it away tt's why I am ANC' Ordered to hve tattoos removed, sentenced to 6 yrs (3 suspended)

Thabane Ntshiwa, 23-yr-old mechanic, scratched slogans o steel mug he used fr lunch breaks. Mug confiscated, arrested by SP's, charged under t Internal Sec. Act.

T slogans: PW, we want our land back . . . Release Mandela," barely legible. Ntshiwa immed. fired, i jail 4 mths, so Mag. spoke o hs obligation as a Christian & officer o t law to shw compassion, bt couldnt overlook fact tt canteen sud by 135 others whose passions might hve been whipped up. Sentence: 18 mths i jail - more thn a previous conviction fr culp homicide.

A student sent to jail fr a yr fr spray painting "Away wth Apartheid" & "Botha is a lesbian" on a bldg. He ws also found guilty o furthering aims o ANG, sentenced to 3 yrs (2 suspended) & fined.

2 Soweto men, Jacob Mashigo & Peter Moloi, were jailed fr 3 yrs & 1 yr fr havng a tape cassette wth a pro-ANC song by Miriam Makeba & H Belafonte, & another wth message frm Tambo on it.

Same day another black, Isaac Genu, sentenced to 8 yrs fr hvng clothes in the blk, yellow & green colours o t ANC & wth ANC slogans on thm.

THE JUDICIARY

Since late 50's judges often favour executive at expense of individual; adopting artificial & formalistic interpretations of law.

Judges have rendered harsh legislation more oppressive than even parliament intended. Their lack of independence contributes to crisis of legitimacy facing SA legal system.

Judges could have acted differently. In 1950's courts challenged SA government's attempts to remove coloured voters. Today benches packed with like-minded men who fail to respond to judicial task.

Rule of law is meaningless without social justice.

WORLD'S BUSIEST HANGMAN

285 in condemned cells at last count (Nov 88) 80 are politically-related offences

6 hangd 1st week (mid-Nov) 7 due today Thurs 24th.

Solomon Nonghwati (conviction overturned on appeal, NUM) spent 19 months on death row. 'Darkness was no stranger to me after working on mines for 27 yrs. But I never experienced that kind of darkness I entered into for 19 months.' Describes beginning of each week, waiting for notice of death.

SHARPEVILLE 6 + UPINGTON 25

Application of theory of common purpose is most blatant perversion of justice to obtain conviction for murder. Court concluded none of defendants had contributed causally to death, but assumed each participated by inferring (without evidence) each had intention.
Convicted April 88

Meanwhile, the parliamentary Speaker yesterday declined a petition from the veteran liberal MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, to introduce a motion for the impeachment of a Supreme Court judge.

9/3/69

Mr Justice Strydom outraged the legal profession last year by fining an Afrikaans farmer who had had a labourer beaten to death over several days.

It has since been disclosed that Judge Strydom had a criminal record when he was appointed to the bench for acts committed in the course of pro-Nazi activities during the war.

been conducted on him without our knowledge,' Sedise said. He said the family had engaged the services of a private pathologist to be present at the post mortem, but this had been conducted without him and Lucas had been buried last Saturday. Sedise said his brother, a vegetable vendor, had R690 in his possession on the night of the accident, but only R200 was recovered when his body was identified at the Roodepoort Government mortuary ... *City Press 29.1.89*

A Witbank farmer, Mr Francois J van Zyl (38), who shot a youth dead with an R1 rifle for allegedly stealing mealies on his farm, was found 'possibly liable' for the death by a Witbank inquest court yesterday. Magistrate Mr J Nordier said Mr van Zyl had been 'possibly negligent' in using a firearm against Mr Petrus Masango (17) because a reasonable man would know that the weapon could have injured or killed. Mr Masango died on January 21 last year from a gunshot wound in his chest.

Mr Alfred Masango told the inquest that his brother had not gone to Mr van Zyl's farm to steal mealies, but to kill birds for food ... Mr van Zyl said he fired one 'warning shot' which struck Mr Masango, who died instantly... *Star 20.1.89*

Mrs Helen Suzman is to call for the impeachment of a judge who recently freed a white farmer who had beaten a black labourer to death. The farmer, Mr Jacobus Vorster, was found guilty by Mr Justice Strydom of culpable homicide and was sentenced to five years in jail which was suspended provided he pays the dead man's widow R130 (£30) a month for five years. Mr Vorster and co-accused, Mr Petrus Leonard, had tied Mr Eric Sambo to a tree and beaten him with sticks and ropes two months after Mr Sambo had killed one of Mr Vorster's dogs.

The two white men left Mr Sambo tied to the tree overnight and continued their assaults the next day. They then took Mr Sambo to the police but he died in custody of internal bleeding. The judgment and sentence have outraged the Johannesburg Bar Council which described the sentence as 'so grossly inappropriate as to induce not simply a sense of shock, but one of outrage and concern'.

The Bar Council also criticised Judge Strydom's finding that Mr Vorster would 'suffer embarrassment' if he was found guilty and jailed. *Financial Times (UK) 27.1.89*

RENT BOYCOTT

The Soweto Community Delegation (SCD) said it would 'vigorously resist' a call from Soweto's housing director for 82 000 residents to pay rent arrears. The SCD, led by Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu; SACC General Secretary the Rev Frank Chikane; National Union of Mineworkers' General Secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa; UDF patron Mrs Albertina Sisulu; and activist Sister Bernard Ncube, among others

RACIST KILLINGS

The family of a man who was killed when his bakkie collided with the stationary car of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche have called for an investigation into the circumstances surrounding his death. Lucas Seunkie Sedise, 56, died on the night of January 13, when his bakkie allegedly crashed into the back of Terre'Blanche's broken-down car on a road near Randfontein. Lucas's brother, David Sedise, said lawyers have been briefed to investigate the cause of Lucas's death.

'Despite the fact that his identity document was found in his bakkie the same night, we were only notified three days after his death, by which time a post mortem had already

APARTHEID 'JUSTICE'

44/12

Jacobus Vorster, a 22-year-old white farmer, walked free from court last week after torturing and killing a black farm labourer in a case that is causing uproar in the black community here and earning outraged comparison with the Sharpeville Six sentence. The facts of the case are horrific. Eric Sambo was a 35-year-old tractor driver employed by Vorster's father, Piet Vorster, local chairman of the ruling National Party. In December last year, he was 'lent' to Jacobus to work in the fields. He stopped threshing for lunch and when he returned to his tractor, Vorster's two Rottweiler-doberman dogs were asleep under the machine. Sambo, apparently failing to notice, ran over the dogs and killed them.

He offered to have his meagre wages docked to pay for new dogs. But, according to one report, the old man warned him to leave because Jacobus would be 'livid' when he found out. Sambo took his advice, but a month later he was spotted at the roadside by Jacobus Vorster, who brought him back to the farmstead and tied him to a tree, with his arms stretched around the trunk. Vorster and a friend, Johannes Leonard, 21, beat Sambo with fists, sjamboks and sticks. Vorster also fired two shotgun blasts near Sambo 'just to frighten him a bit'. The next morning they continued to beat him and ordered four labourers to join in. Vorster's aim, according to a source close to his defence attorney, was 'to get him to admit that he had killed the dogs on purpose, so he could lay a charge against him'... They held a barbecue that night in the garden where Sambo was still bound to the tree... during the meal they whipped him again... Eventually they cut Sambo down and took him to the local police station where he died of a brain haemorrhage.

Vorster and Leonard and the four labourers were charged with murder. But the charges were dropped against the four blacks, who turned state witness, and Leonard was fined £120. Vorster pleaded not guilty to murder but agreed to plead guilty to culpable homicide. Justice J J Strydom, a judge with a right-wing reputation in the Northern Transvaal, sentenced Vorster to five years' jail, suspended, as well as paying £30 a month for five years in compensation to Sambo's family, wife + 4 children - £1.500 m all Av. Wage o farm labourer i Tol is £30 mth. Lawyers for human rights org condemn sentence. SA Judiciary unduly attack for death sen on Sharpeville 6. Some to editor: 'shocks indictment o system o justice in SA'

PRESS BLACK/OUT

SILENCING OF ANTI-APARTHEID VOICES

PRESS:

More thn 100 lws bearng o censorshp. Editors/criminal fr contraveng.

Censorshp operates to shield & protect White SA frm reality- poverty, squalor o majority, yrs o oppression givng vent to blk angr & aspirations; preserves myths, prejudices, misconceptions.

It is NOT there fr State security.

Also: Most drastic (draconian) press curbs deprive rld o news o depths o SA crisis. Disappears.

TV & radio news 'warngs' - bt wht are regulations?

S o E regulations reinforce existng laws.

. Nobody, without prior permission o Comm o Police or SP's may take any photgrph or produce TV or film recordng, or make drawing or depiction o any security unrest action, includg t damagng o property or injury & killing o people.

. Prohibition o any film, picturs, reports or drawings o any damagd or destroyed property, injured or dead persons or othr visible signs o violence at t scene where unrest or security action is takng or has takn place. Nor any injuries...

Bans on: all reports abt detainees (problms wth news o recent hungerstrikes) includng court cases;

on all reports opposing conscription; on 'restrictd gatherngs'; on consumer, rent & education boycotts, includng 'illegal' strikes.

Reinforce exstng bans o police, army activity.

All reports ~~no~~ othr forms o 'unrest' to b submittd to pre-publication censorshp (1 month, 15 ou o 62)

Prohibitd publication o 'subversive' statemnts, oral or writtn, also importation o foreign periodicals which report 'activity involvng t gatherng, preparati compilation, recordng, processng or production o news material fr any publication i SA

Decline o free press. RDM, Sisulu, threats to WM, New Nation.

Boesak: "Botha mst answr whethr t purpose o keepng reportrs out o t townshps is so tt our childrn cn b murdered i circumst where therewlll be no witnesses & no record."

Wds press is nt allowd to use: Draconian, white minority regime, & on men, wmn & childrn missng frm townshps, nt to say they hve 'disappeared.' White spaces 'subversive.'

Press hs playd crucial role in repression - nt simply unwilling victim. Conventional Western notions o media objectivity are grossly distortd.

Foreign press shld disregard regs. If expelld, all shld go. By continuing their distortd, limitd, censord reports they are perpetuatng lies.

Truth lies i dungeons fr which drifts no whispr.

This media SILENCE in which foreign press connive, is 2nd factor i bringg 9inevitablity o violent confrontation closer.

Last year SA authorities prohibited activities of 32 mass orgs (UBF etc) 8 more than in all previous 40 yrs of NP rule

SAAMSTAAM (Stand together)

Small community newspaper in Oudtshoorn - 8 page tabloid,
published every 6 weeks if staff not in jail

3 languages: Xhosa, Afrikaans, English.

Contents: From national developments to local reports, radical
poetry, hygiene tips.

Oliphant & paper regarded as 'kankermakers' - shit stirrers

Jackson: 28 days in solitary confinement in 1985, 2½ months detention in 1986

Reporter Patrick Nyuka shot in arm, hand partially paralyzed.

State restrictions on Jackson & Oliphant - house arrest between
6pm & 5am - Jackson may visit girl friend for 3 hours at his house
(3 times a week) & other bans on movement, speaking.

Now paper has been banned.

HEALTH & POVERTY

REPORT OF CARNEGIE COMMISSION

(Research funded by US-based trust.)

. SA has widest gap btween rich & poor fr 57 countries for which data is available

. 2m children are physically deformed fr lack o
~~xxx~~ calories in a country tt exports food

SA has a per capita gross national product more thn 7 times tt o China, bt life expectancy is substantiall lower - 54 yrs compared to 69

In some blk townshps there are almost 20 people to each house & 66 to each pit toilet

T murdr rate i Cape Towm is nearly 3 times tt o NY
In 1986 more thn twice as many people were murdered in t tiny Cape peninsula as in t UK

. Blks account fr more thn 80% o known TB cases & Ws 1 % Gastro-enteritis is biggest killr i t Col communi
♀ 2nd mst common cause o deaths amng Afs.

Measles kills 9 times as many blk childrn as white

HEALTH

TB KILLS AT LEAST 10 people every day i SA
(SA Nat TB Ass) Last yr 62,654 new cases discovered
& disease hs reachd epidemic proportions i Western
Cape. (Disease o poverty, poor nutrition & over
Crowding) (Sowetan, 27.9.88)

There is 1 DOCTOR fr:

Whites,	330
Indians,	730
Coloureds	1,200
Africans,	12,000
B/stan A's,	17,000

Malnutrition is one o main causes o high IMR - causes
eath o 55% o blk childrn un dr 5

LINKING HEALTH & APARTHEID: Trudi Thomas survey o
5,000 families found tt o childrn wth kwashiokor more
hnrthalf were illegitimate, 86 hd fathrs who were
migrant wkrs, 60% frm families desertd by fathrs.

POPULATION STATISTICS

SA's population 'abt' 37m (Minister, Dec 88)

1985 figures: Afs: 25m - 74%; Cols 2.8m - 8.6%
Indians 878 thou - 2.6%; Ws 5m - 14.7%

On t night o Aug 14 there were 280 patients without bed i medical wards o Bragwanath Hos. On t floor, wth nthng bt a hospital-issue orange blankt btween hm & t concrete floor, a frail, sickly old man lay coughng. 'Luckier' patients slept on trolleys or stretchers. Still bettr off were those who had thin mattresses btween thm & t concrete floors o t verandah section. Arms stuck out frm undr beds - drips were attachd o t bed above. An unbearable stench o urine reekd i t ward . . .

A few kilometres away at the 2,000-bed Jhg hosp only 450 bed were occupied. T whole probm is causd by apartheid. SA wastes a minimu o R800-million o its annual health budget o t multiplication o ap health bureacracies - enough to maintain 100 hosp wth 50,000 beds . . .

HOUSING SA, one o t wealthiest countries i Africa, hs abt 7 million blk people without formal housng. They live i backyard shacks, garages, self-built tin & plastic shelters & out in t open. One area - PWV, is surrounded by btween 1.6 & 2.4 m homeless people, Durbn by abt 1.7 m
(Bfgs 40/12)

Residents o Siyathemba townshp nr Balfour hve to walk 10 km to neighbourng white suburb to collect watr. Mains pipe which supp supplies communal taps, burst months ago. Council brought tankrs previously usd to collect nightsoil.

Residents filling containrs threatend by white community.

- New Nation 10.11.88

Bfgs 45/12

In some blk rural areas, residents hve to pay 67 times more fr clean watr thn white residents i Cape Town suburbs (report o SAIRR). Furthr, average watr consumption i blk rural areas i SA is 15 litres a day, whereas WHO estimates consumers need 50 litres

Over 20 m SAs - abt a $\frac{1}{4}$ o pop - do nt hve access to domestic electricity.

One o picturesque ~~sight~~ sights fr tourists i country - old wmn with loads o wood, walkng bneath + pylons.

Ap is crude bt its doctrines & practices respon d to t radical realities o powr & wealth i t wrld - hold a magnifying mirror to racialism everywhere.

U are involvd in Ap nt only thru Brit ec involvemnt bt bcos thru it we are all reducd i stature as humns. We live nt only i t present - our lives as individuals & nations do nt exist fr t momnt. We live i a continuum across generations. Our acts nt wiped out wth our dths bcome woven into permanent pattern.

Underneath my special pleadng o SA is profound blief tt Ap opens up to everyone a question strikng aat root o our very existence as human beings - tt is our total complicity in anythng tt lowers t humanity & civilisat

Last resort, nevr reject reality tt includes othrs - i yr school, home, street, town, country - & widr spectrum o t wrld.

SA litmus paper, test o the moral standards u wll set fr yrself.

WESTERN WRLD NOT DISINTERESTD SPECTATOR I UNFOLDNG TRAGEDY O SA

We are aware o t oppression, repression, t terror & torture,
t injustice & lack o democracy tt exists i many countries othr
than SA.

We know: ~~xxx~~ worse poverty i Asia
hunger i Sahel, Moz
Torture i S America
housng i Lusaka.

But Ap is unique. Nowhere else is racialism elevatd to State
theory & practice & embodied in every important law.

Nowhere else is the essential humanity o people denied,
nowhere else does law & State power conflict so openly wth moralit

Freedm, like peace, is indivisible; & your recognition o that mst
also be a commitmnt to that right, t right o people to achieve
their liuberation, a commitment to understanding, to truth,
to the destruction o Ap.

Ap is crude, bt its doctrines & practices respond to the
radical realities o power & wealth in t world - they
form a magnifyg mirror o racialism everywhere.

You are involved in Ap, bcos thru it we are all reduced
in stature as human beings. We live not only i t present -
our lives as individuals & nations do not exist fr t moment
we live in a continuum across generations. Our acts are not
wiped out wth our deaths, become woven into a permanent pattern

Underneath special pleads on SA is profound belief tt
Ap opens up to everyone a question which strikes at t
roots o our very existance as humn being - it is our
total complicity in anythg tt lowers t humanity &
civilisation o humns

- Last resort, never reject reality tt includes others -
school, home, street, town - country - & wider spectrum
o t wrld

So wht mst u studnts, u privileged, educatd, well-fed, warmly-clothd, decently housd, cared fr - & I suppose, as boardrs, regimntd - wht mst u think abt Ap, or do abt it, viewng ths fearsome evil society frm afar?

1st: Doubt everythng. Dont blieve wht told. Find out. Particularly dont blieve establmnt. Be subvertd.

2nd: Consider involvemnt as British: In 60 yrs, btween 1871 & 1931, 3m Brits settld all ovr wrld, India, Jamaica, Nigeria - nt t least, Sthn Africa; & all those countries supportd settlrs i luxury, & tk out enormous wealth o humn life & materials. Mch o wht u mst value i Brit life & culture cn b said to rest on tt great era o colonial expansion. Bt is it all i t past?

Immense profits drawn frm Sthn Af today shape Brit policy on SA. Condition t way u, yr parliamnt, yr teachrs, yr leadrs, yr industrial & financial establmnts, see Ap.

3rd, U shld nt think yr racial attitudes are uninfluencd by Ap SA. SA's sit crucial, pæcisely bcos so overwhelmingly concernd wth race. Ap is crude, bt doctrines & practices rspnd to radical realities o pwr & wealth i wrld to form a magnifyng mirror o racial domination everywhere.

4th, u are involvd bcos thru Ap we are all reducd i stature as humn beings. We live nt only i t present, our lives as individuals & nations do nt exist fr t moment. We live in a continuum across generations. Our acts are nt wipd out by our deaths, become wovn into permanant pattern.

Underneath my special pleadng on SA is a profound blief tt Ap opns up to everyone a question which strikes at t roots o our very existence as humn beings: it is our total complicity i anythng tt lowers t humanity & civilisation o humns.

In t last resort, u mst nevr reject tt reality which includes othrs: yr neighbours are a part o u, i yr school, home, street, town, in yr country, & i t widr spectrum o t world.

BOYCOTTS

SANCTIONS

MATERIAL AID

PRESSURE ON PUBLIC REPS

INFORM YRSELVES - AAM

X OPPOSE RACIALISM IN BRITAIN

SA IS WORLD POLLUTED

CAMUS - THE PLAGUE.

The allegory of the plague. Dr. Rieux resolved to compile this chronicle so he should not be one of those who hold their peace, but should bear witness in favour of those plague-stricken people; so that some memorial of the injustice and outrage done them might endure; and to state quite simply what we learn in a time of pestilence: that there are more things to admire in men than to despise.

And when the town celebrates the end of the plague, he remembers that such joy is always imperilled . . . he knew what the jubilant crowds did not: that the plague bacillus never dies or disappears for good; that it can lie dormant for years and years; and that perhaps the day will come when it rouses its rats up once again and sends them forth to die in a happy city.

Cicero: Freedom is participation in power

Can change law so th women are guaranteed equal pay with men, but + ultimate test is who sits on + board o management

Humidity
Monks is outraged in me & with me

7) THE SECOND FACTOR - THE STRUGGLE OUTSIDE PRISON.

Spearheaded by yth i 76, frm tt yr onwards people o SA organsd, fought, died, fr right to be treatd as human beings, nt slaves.

Their heroic story is great epic o our times - our people, accused by Ap State o violence whn they resistd evil & violence, facd guns, torturers, death squads, bombs under cars, vigilante gangs, assassinations inside & outside SA - & gradually, bit by bit, exposd to t whole world t true meaning of racism.

Want u to keep picture i heads o children, as young as 11 yrs, who facd sten-guns wth stones & dustbin lids, again & again, - & died, & mournd t dead, & came back to fight.

8) THE THIRD FACTOR - PEOPLE LIKE YOU.

You people o diff countries o wrld, yr response to t world-wide campaigns to free NM, yr recognition o hm as symbol o humanitys desire fr justice, of our hatred o racism, of our need fr liberty & dignity fr all humans.

Your solidarity, your signatures on petitions, yr letters to t Ap state, yr resolutions at meetngs, yr support o f failies o pol. prisoners, yr concerts, yr demos, yr messages .

9) RACISM - CORE ISSUE IN WORLD TODAY

We are told Pres. de K set NM free. He did not. You did - & t people o SA, & o all countries. You freed him and provd once again tt ordinary people can shape wrld events, tt yr actions can change sahpe o history, tt power to end racialism, eliminate any resurgence o fascism, lies in yr hands.

Racism central problm o todys wrld as can b seen by crisis i Mid East, by rac & nationalism poisoning so many countries o Europe & elsewhere. This is wht u mst grasp, & eradicate it fr all time.

THE MEANING OF AMANDLA.

DIVESTMENT

Student grps in US nw pressng universities fr divestmnt o stocks held in corporations & banks wth operations in SA

CAMPAIGN ARISES FRM 1958, whn Nat Lib Movement (explain) launch a boycott campaign in SA & appealed fr world-wide boycott o SA goods to shw solidarity in struggle.

In Dec 58, All-Af Peoples Conf in Accra, calld on African & UN to impose economic snctions against A

* For 20 yrs lib movemnt o SA hs continued ths campaign.

Academic inst. shld set example. Bt many raise various argumnts.

UNIVERSITY O CHICAGO, eg, refusng to discuss divest, argued tt its only obligation ws to seek highest return fr its investors. Th s, o course, is basically tt t need to make direct material profit in whatvr field u operate over-rides all othr considerations. Applies to tremends battles fr conservation, fr preservation o right to live in decent environmnt. Does river, air pollution concern directors o plant? No, obligation is to stock holdrs. Destruction o forests, cancer-inducg agents & experimnts, evn ex. on humn beings (as CIA) - always largr interest over-rides arguments. Ultimately, gas ovens.

2nd argumnt: Wht o othr countries where unjust things take place? Must we thn divest & boycott USSR, Chile, Brazil, Nicuaragua, China, whatever? Wht about Olympic Games? Argumnts re USSR. Everyone must act on wht moves thm most. My experience o people who participate in campaigns sch as against A is tt they are generally also in forefront o campaigns fr liberties everywhere.

But t point is diff one. SA lib movmnt hs calld fr ths campaign as importnt means o confrntg A. Lib movmnts o othr countries do nt necessarily use ths tactic. Anti A movmnt hs adoptd boycott & isolation o SA as central policy o campaigng. We also blieve tt one doesnt try to make comparisons, sayng our opp. is greatr or lessr thn yours, BUT tt there are special reasons why t institution-alised racism o A is a vital immediate concern especially today in a wrld beset wth problems o racial & national adjustmnts.

3rd argumnt: is tt we are hurtng blks in SA more thn gvt by insttting boycotts & tryng to prevent invesmnts.

But blks in SA hve calld fr ths policy thru all their spokesmen, ANC, PAC, whatvr, all ask fr ths. They ARE more representative o t way blks feel in SA thn righteous W's outside who want to 'protect' thm. They say: 4 m unemployd. ~~Low~~ Low wages. Tough lives. Gve same answ when Campaign against Unjust Laws ws wagd - we go to prison anyway fr doing nothng, lets go fr somethng. We suffer as things are. We wld rathr suffer to try to change thm.

OTHER METHODS bringng action: support fr students. Masimbo. Families inside. Dont make doubts abt boycotts excuse fr non-action.
NO ACTION IS EVER LOST.

FROMM P. 166/7. words
158/9 Obedience

F.P. 165/7 Non Aryans were not referred to as
human, but as 'prigunai' sticks - dolls, wood (?)
No one could be faulted - did not need homes,
even a room of their own (on + mine)

Big nights in winter - close to + stars. Thin air -
Jalava, cotton blankets, rags & sacks.
Earth seemed to crack.. under sun, hot. Shade freezing.

NEW BK

Journal 1978. P. 19. 'Henshaw' para

1980. Copenhagen. Increasing animosity towards my
feminism from ANC ~~P. 64~~

~~Re-read to 29 Sep.~~

NOV 21/80. ANC Inquisition^{P.} 64/65

See. nov for 1980

1978: P. 1. Last para - also first - productive *

79: MON OCT 22.

— Womens Mtg. R's attack on 'opting out'

Toni's Exclusion

Anger & pain about R & I divergent paths

TUES 6th NOV 'Battling Housewife'

1980

RUSTY: Irutable, kthangye, difficult. I feel need
to be free - P. 54; always tired

ANC/FEMINISM - P. 16.

1981

RUSTY, P. 2/3

AF. Wonder how + clever ones (last few lines)

The ~~into~~ whole of 81 seems a mean about R.

~~BE~~ 4th page before end - last 2 lines & on.

Those who profess to love Freedom & yet
deprecate agitation are those who want
Crops without planting, This struggle may
be a moral one or it may be physical,
but it must be a struggle, Power
Concedes nothing without a demand.
It never did, and it never will -
Frederick Douglass 1857

* TITANS 2nd MAY 85 Regrets about not traveling
& disillusion abt changg world.

SAT 23 NOV 85 Intimate talk wth
Huddleston re God

P. 260 Fessing on Czech etc

262 Czech protests (Feet)
Russian general

264 Sov. Women's Ctee

265 ART - humanat

268 Ken Grom A story of Ben times

272 ART a Comm. Photo R

273 LAJSCI

~~274~~ Sov Union

~~292~~ R read Gensburg

(in the Czech invasion)
(Blenkie - they call it Red Imperialism -
so Not's history with R. I ?)

298 Slattery & townships

Finished Journal # 6

Now on to # 7

maggie@jacana.co.za

lynda@jacana.co.za

23/07/02

File : C on SAVE AS
E give doc new name

Ⓞ Highlight para. C on minus
EDIT - copy C on blank page
C on Copy gives u new doc

BUS RIDES

Ⓞ Put cursor blank doc
EDIT - PASTE

MARK @: in CT 16-29 Dec

Toni Mobile 27.82.352.4308

at Aloe Ridge Hotel - 20-26 Oct, 21-11. 957.2070

Keith & J: 28 Oct - 2nd Nov, 21.76.6324

Van mobile: 0802.484.759

SANCTIONS

THE WEST MUST DECIDE.

Argument that W seeks change by talking exclusively to Botha regime cannot be sustained. Time long past when SA should have been viewed from perspective of the oppressed.

Pretoria regime refuses to negotiate not because there is armed struggle but because unwilling to give up W minority domination.

Britain refuses sanctions not because they would hurt Blacks, but because they would hurt Businessmen. You and I must choose - to connive in Ap's perpetuation, or work for total elimination. Soon or later must realise that an alternative power is emerging within SA which holds the future of SA in its hands.

You must decide whether to take side of this alternative power & rest of Africa - 500 million people - or remain tied to the doomed cause of 5 million Whites.

The alternative power in our country is as real today as it is impossible to vanquish in the future. The SoE's are attempts to contain this force.

2 powers exist in SA, contend with each other. Cannot co-exist, as fascism & democracy could not.

Times demand progress from opposition to Apartheid to identification with & support for national democratic movement in SA & Namibia.

NO PEACE WHILE AP EXISTS

When we say we are fighting for united, democratic & non-racial SA, we mean what we say.

Very clear - unless our country becomes such, there will be no peace.

As long as Apartheid exists Mozambique will be reduced to ruin & famine, those of its people not mutilated & killed, walking legless because of mines.

Angola will be unable to utilise its own resources, subject to the devastations & incursions of SA in its unseen war; Zambia & Zimbabwe & Botswana will remain hostages to greedy powerful neighbors.

Namibia occupied, stripped of its resources

We aim at the total isolation of SA

SANCTIONS This needs to be pursued. Boycott weapons in sports, & all fields. Food, cultural, economic, political.

PETITIONS 32 young people, youngest 19, oldest 38, but most in early 20's, now await execution in Pretoria. Write to your PM, to Reagan, Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl, to Botha. You can save lives (Rivonia)

Release Mandela & political prisoners.

MATERIAL AID Mozambique. Widows & childrens, students' needs.

No action is ever lost. You won't overthrow Apartheid, but you will strengthen hands of those who will.

British companies still biggest investors in apartheid

April 88

Ben Laurance

AFIFTH of all British companies operating in South Africa have quit the republic in the last two years, according to a report compiled by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

But Britain remains by far the biggest investor in South Africa. And American companies with offshoots there have shown themselves far more likely to pull out.

In the last two years, 104 US corporations have withdrawn, leaving 157 still with operations in the country.

In 1985, just six British companies disposed of all their South African investments. The number for 1986 was 14, and last year, 39 British companies

withdrew. The equivalent annual totals of American companies pulling out were 40, 50 and 54.

The study says: "Already in 1988, three major companies, Rover Group, Suter, and Metal Box have announced disposals or reductions in South African interests." There are now reckoned to be 234 UK parent companies with subsidiaries or related operations in South Africa.

But despite moves to disinvest, many ex-subsidiaries in South Africa continued to enjoy access to technology, product ranges and management expertise from their ex-parent companies, an unsatisfactory situation which reduced the damage that disinvestment did to apartheid.

SANCTIONS

Malvern
21/11/87

Mrs T opposes sanctions fr 3 reasns:

- 1) Wont wk, nevr wk. Yt why impose sanctions on Argentina, against Poland, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Sov Union, Libya?
- 2) Af people & Frnt-line States will suffr. Bt it is leadrs o Af people & FLS's who ask fr sanctions. They say they are willing to suffr consequences, bcos wll help to bring end to Ap.
- 3) Wll deprive West o strategic minerals, t only othr source fr which is USSR. Mst facism b protectd fr sake o raw materials? Do people count less thn plutonium?

SA blcks nevr electd Mrs T to spk o their behalf.

"If the British Government does not apply sanctions against South Africa we urge you to apply peoples' sanctions."

(**Oliver Tambo, President of the A.N.C.**)

"Our children are dying, our land is burning and bleeding. I call on you the people of Britain, in God's name to appeal to your government to apply sanctions against the evil system of apartheid.

"I cannot accept Mrs Thatcher's argument that South Africa's black people would suffer most if sanctions are applied, blacks are suffering now. We have prayed, we have pleaded for decades to the Western Governments in the name of humanity to help end apartheid. Instead we keep being reminded of reforms. We don't want the chains around our necks to be loosened, we want them removed. Apartheid must be dismantled. Our suffering must end. If we don't have sanctions now then heaven help us. If positive sanctions are not applied soon then the future will be catastrophic."

(**Archbishop Desmond Tutu's message to the WAAM rally on 28th June 1986.**)

On 'hurtg blks': It is amazng hw solicitous fr blks Western altruism bcome; it is remarkable tt in SA, t most vehement i their concern fr t blks hve been t W's.

X
Wht SA cnot survive is t collapse o business confidence. AFtr ~~neary~~ 2 yrs S o E, ec pressur forces bsuiness to seek rapprochmnt wth ANC. Bt international action effective: greatest effect o sanctions wld b on business confidence. H Young: 'Morality cn b left aside. It hs nevr been part o t Brit assessmnt. We nw face a pol. imperative which points towards concern'd int. action. . we need to shw wht side we are on in a struggle frm which neutrality affords u n retreat. Sanctions nw go wth t grain o history & self-interest. . AS t country wth more thn mst to lose i t fire, & more thn most to

explain hw it came about, Britain shld fr once consicr leadng t wr
wrld twards a collective position rather than sabotaging any
sch enterprise.

Peoples sanctions (Ireland) (S^Weden)

Britain 'still seeking SA trade links'

Independent 7/2/89

By Richard Dowden Africa Editor

TEN BRITISH trade missions have gone to South Africa, at least half of them assisted by the Government, since it agreed to end support for such missions in 1985, according to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In a report published yesterday, the movement accused the Government of breaking the commitments it made at the Commonwealth meeting in Nassau in 1985 and of "keeping the apartheid regime alive" by defending it from sanctions. In particular, the movement cited the visit to South

Africa a year ago of David Dell, chief executive of the British Overseas Trade Board, and the Department of Trade and Industry's report on South Africa's Mossel Bay offshore gas development, which encouraged British business to seek contracts for it.

A spokesman from the DTI said yesterday: "We adhere to the measures agreed to at Nassau. There is no government funding for trade missions to South Africa

or for trade fairs in South Africa." But the spokesman said businessmen travelling to South Africa got the same facilities as British businessmen elsewhere in the world. "Sir James Cleminson, chairman of the British Overseas Trade Board, has said that there is good business to be done there and we should be doing it," he said.

Britain, which has always opposed sanctions, appears to be observing the letter of the Nassau

agreement but not its spirit. Eight pro-sanctions Commonwealth foreign ministers are meeting in Harare this week to discuss southern Africa. They will concentrate on countries such as Japan and Italy, which have increased their trade with South Africa in the past few years and may send a delegation to try to persuade them to cut it down. Japan is South Africa's biggest trading partner.

The meeting will also seek ways of encouraging new investment for the Frontline states.

Supreme Court orders a new hearing on reinstatement of BTR workers

Strikers in Natal win legal fight against UK company

David Beresford
in Pietermaritzburg

SINGING, dancing and chants of "power to the people" shook a little church in the Natal Midlands yesterday as about 100 people celebrated a victory in their epic struggle against one of the UK's biggest multinational corporations, British Tyre and Rubber (BTR).

An hour earlier, in the provincial capital of Pietermaritzburg, a Supreme Court judge had quashed a key Industrial Court ruling which had threatened to destroy the hopes of nearly 1,000 fired workers in South Africa's longest-running labour dispute.

The judge, Mr Justice Diddcott, had been scathing. He criticised the deputy president of South Africa's Industrial Court for laying himself open to suspicions of bias. The judge vitiated the entire Industrial Court proceedings, ordering a rehearing.

The judgment has brought hope to the trade union movement that the tide may have turned in the dispute, which has been running for nearly four years and has taken on a significance beyond the immediate labour issues.

The union reacted to the judgment by appealing to the corporation's principals in the UK to start negotiations to resolve the bitter conflict.

The confrontation at BTR — which has damaged the image of British business in South Africa more than any other incident this decade — began in 1985. The workers at a plant in the village of Howick, near Pietermaritzburg, went on strike in protest against management's failure to negotiate a recognition agreement with their union, Numsa.

Within days, the company had fired the entire workforce

and, three months later, flatly rejected an offer of an unconditional return to work.

The boycott movement responded with one of the most successful one-day stoppages ever seen in South Africa: an estimated 90 per cent of the workforce in the Pietermaritzburg area stayed away from work. The stoppage developed into a consumer boycott of white businesses in the region, aimed at placing indirect pressure on BTR to settle.

The boycott collapsed, however, largely as a result of the intervention of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, which threatened to take action if the organisers did not abandon the protest.

The involvement of the Zulu traditionalist movement Inkatha — whose trade union, Uwusa, is believed to have supplied much of blackleg labour to fill vacancies at BTR — led to a number of violent incidents.

The worst came in 1986, when so-called Inkatha vigilantes went on a rampage in the township of Mpophameni, where most of the BTR strikers live, killing three people. The dead included the chairman of the BTR shop stewards, Mr Phineas Sibiya, who was abducted from the township's community hall with another union official. Both were then murdered.

In its efforts to force BTR to the negotiating table, Numsa attempted to persuade the holding company in Britain — which, with its recent takeover of Dunlop, is among the biggest corporations in the UK — to intervene. But it was brushed off on the grounds that the dispute was a "local" issue.

The union did, however, persuade the European Commission to set up an inquiry into the affair, which came out in support of Numsa and concluded that BTR was in breach of the EEC code of conduct for

businesses operating in South Africa.

Numsa has won considerable support among trade unionists overseas and has publicised its cause by staging plays based on the workers' experiences, two of which have toured in Britain.

But perhaps its most remarkable achievement has been in keeping the dismissed workforce united over the years.

Solidarity has been maintained through the formation of a workers cooperative, which has set up a thriving business printing T-shirts for the labour movement. Agricultural and health projects maintain the strikers' families.

Many of the strikers have suffered extremes of poverty as a result of the dismissals. A survey last year showed that in Mpophameni township — which was largely dependent on BTR for its income — 31 per cent of households were existing on less than £25 a month.

Numsa's hopes for a settlement of the BTR dispute have lain with the courts and South Africa's surprisingly progressive labour laws. But these appeared to have been dashed in 1987 when the Industrial Court, after a lengthy hearing, dis-

missed a union application for reinstatement.

The union appealed to the Supreme Court for a review of the findings, on the grounds that the deputy president of the Industrial Court, Mr Pierre Roux, had misapplied himself. Mr Roux — while sitting on the BTR case — had delivered a paper at a Johannesburg symposium organised by a firm of industrial relations consultants acting for BTR.

Union lawyers had warned Mr Roux beforehand that they would object to his attendance at the symposium and had brought an unsuccessful application for his recusal at the Industrial Court hearing.

Mr Justice Diddcott said yesterday that Mr Roux's behaviour in this respect was "singularly unwise". He ordered a rehearing, with instructions that Mr Roux should not sit on the case again.

Jubilant shop stewards sped from the court house to Mpophameni, hooters blaring, to announce their win to fellow strikers who had gathered to meet them in the local Catholic church. "We will go anywhere, we will go to the limit," the strikers sang ecstatically.

43/12

X

guilty.

Star 20.10.88

SANCTIONS BITE

Foreign sanctions are starting to hit SA's gold and uranium industry. Chemwes, a uranium producer in the Gencor group, reports that a major overseas customer has said it no longer wants uranium from them.

Mr JC Janse van Rensburg, MD of the group's Western Transvaal, East Rand and Barberton mines, was asked at a press briefing ahead of the publication of the group's gold mining quarterlies, why the buyer had asked Chemwes to stop uranium deliveries. He replied: 'Sanctions'. Because of restrictions imposed by the Atomic Energy Act, Mr van Rensburg was unable to give fuller details. But he said that negotiations were taking place between Chemwes and the customer. Because Chemwes maintained that the contract was still operative, it was continuing to produce uranium. But the halt in deliveries had reduced Chemwes's profit from R3.4m in the June quarter to R827 000 in the September quarter. The ending of the uranium sales will be felt by the Stilfontein gold mine which owns 80% of Chemwes.

Star 20.10.88

STATE OF EMERGENCY

Inkatha: Court Action

An interim order restraining a KwaMashu town councillor and his companion from assaulting or threatening a KwaMashu man who refused to join the Inkatha Youth Brigade was granted in the Supreme Court, Durban, this week. Bongani Phiri said councillor George Vilakazi was a member of Inkatha. He and Johannes Ndlovu were involved in a recruitment drive for the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Phiri said he and others in KwaMashu had refused to join the brigade or become aligned with it. He said those who did not align themselves were regarded as the enemy and some had been assaulted and threatened.

City Press 23.10.88

Natal's Refugees

Natal's refugee situation has posed a theological challenge to Christians. About 20 000 people are believed to be displaced, according to church workers. 'The violence in Pietermaritzburg has changed — from sporadic to endemic. It has simply become another fact of life,' church workers said. They attributed the lack of information about the reality of

SANCTIONS

BRITISH COMPANIES:

- * buy Defence Bonds & pay taxes used to increase aggressive capacity
- * provide strategic technology, equipmnt & fuel to police & military
- * directors accept appointments to serve on key policy-making bodies
- * engage i t prod o arms & othr military equipmnt

British Cos pay salaries to township troops tt are committing atrocities which regime keeps off TV

Conscriptd employees - fighting to defend Ap - continue to enjoy priv o W incomes - make up difference, voluntarily.

* At instllations designatd 'national keypoints' (includg those operatd by BP, ICI, Shell) they finance & provide facilities fr traing & equippng commandos i 'counter-insurgency, riot control' to operate i 'unrest' areas.

LAWS keep ths secret, bt laws thmselves make requirements specific

Every Brit Co speakng against sanctions shld b compelld to disclose fully how they are assiting AP.

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

Sanctions did wlk in Rhodesia & wld b mch more effective (R hd SA to bust sanctions)

Sanctions now go wth + grain of history & self-interest. As + country with more than most to lose in the fire, & more than most to explain, Britain shld for once consider leadg + world towards a collective position rather than sabotaging it

VIOLENCE

POLICE SHOOT 12-YEAR-OLD DEAD

Lawyers for Human Rights yesterday called for an urgent investigation into the fatal shooting of a 12-year-old suspected burglar who escaped from police custody in Senekal in the Free State. In a statement the LHR said the investigation should determine how it came about that Basenki Botsani 'was shot between the eyes and how his body came to be covered with dog bites' ... It would be absurd for the police to contend that there was no other way of apprehending the child. 'An aggravating factor is that children under the age of 14 are regarded as being incapable of guilt. The onus is on the state to prove otherwise', LHR said.

Star 26.1.89

WENT. in NY. ^{Tring BCC Enterprises}
Overseas Sales Dept

What was so undeserig abt Maria Rametsi's
life # + 18. yr old W yth who deliberately ran her
down for only 2 1/2 yr sentence?

Why did Jacobus Vorster walk free from court after he
beat a BIK farm labourer to death?

Why did 105 people die in police custody last yr

Why is 25 still being held - without charge -
100 days after being detained?

Who killed Fabra Ribeiro, Mamolodi doctor who
gave free treatment to blacks injured by security
forces?

Who killed Siculo Ethloms, 18 yr old activist found dead
soon after appearance on CBS TV documentary?

Why did + W soldiers who murdered + Namibian
husbands of Hilida Shifudi & Victoria Mxenge
go unpunished?

Victoria Mxenge - her husband

R
2400



12:50 £1.00

900 K.

~~600 120 + 240~~
~~2000 240~~
255

Torture and prison violence flows naturally out of the SA situation. Violence has always been endemic in that country. This is because a minority retains power by a false theory of the superiority of one race over another, and then when the majority protests, inevitably by the resort of violence physical violence against that majority.

At first the violence committed by a so-called lunatic fringe - farmers taking the law into their hands, the police station in the small town or countryside - then this is legitimated by the state which writes violent action into the law. The state itself becomes the lynch party.

There comes a time in a state where the majority held down by force when violence is the only democratic way of achieving change.

Gladstone If the people of this country had obeyed the precept to eschew violence and maintain order, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained.

The State claims a monopoly on the use of violence

A five-year-old child was expelled from his Kraaifontein crèche near Cape Town because he was found to have coloured people in his family, the PFP spokesman on home affairs, Tian van der Merwe said. This cruel action against a child to satisfy the vile racist attitudes of a few whites in Kraaifontein enjoys the support of the local mayor, Sarel van Deventer.

Sowetan 2.2.89

Natal — most violent place on earth

Natal must be the most violent place on earth, according to the retiring US consul general, Mr Tex Harris, who leaves Durban for Washington today. At a press conference yesterday, his last in the three years he has been in the city, Mr Harris said there were many reasons for the violence in the townships, but his personal observation was that the situation lacked a criminal justice system for all South Africans.

'There is no law or order for millions of people in Natal and KwaZulu. In the time I have been here, that is from September 1987, some 3 000 people have been killed. Yet less than 20 people have been indicted and tried for these township murders. This means that millions of blacks must live in an area which is lawless,' Mr Harris said. Violence in Natal was unique and Natal must be the most violent place on the planet.

Mr Harris said that the 'skewing of standards' by the apartheid system meant that law and order did not exist in the townships as it did in white areas.

'Setting up a system of law and order which all South Africans will be proud of is one of the greatest challenges for all South Africans...' *Citizen 13.7.90*

identification of all Zulus as supporters of Inkatha.

Star 26.7.90

Vigilante terror spreads

The spectre of Natal's bloody civil war is haunting towns as far apart as the remote Eastern Cape hamlet of Aberdeen and the right-wing stronghold of Ermelo in the Eastern Transvaal. More than 50 people have died and scores have been injured in violent clashes in a range of townships in the Transvaal and Cape over the past fortnight. In De Aar in the Northern Cape, civic association president and South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhwu) member, Mr Embrose Hleliqinga Mpephetho, was killed — allegedly by the husband of a leading member of the community. Community leaders claim he and his wife are linked to a vigilante group which has this year been terrorising the township with arson attacks and violence. In the conflict-riddled Cape town townships of Crossroads and Khayelisha, fighting has reached such proportions that children from rival factions are said to be attacking one another in schools.

In the Transvaal, the clashes are occurring between supporters of Inkatha and 'comrades' who support the ANC and Cosatu. The tensions between the two parties seem linked to attempts by Inkatha, which has recently become a political party, to broaden its base and move away from being a regional force. The organisation has embarked on an active recruitment drive in the Transvaal. Hostels, where there are a high percentage of Zulus, are a focus for this recruitment and seem to be the epicentre of the tensions.

In the most recent outbreak of warfare between the two sides, at least 11 people died this week in clashes at a hostel in Kagiso in Krugersdorp. The clashes come less than two weeks after violence devastated the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng. Hostel dwellers there had reported that they were visited by Inkatha and told they must resign from the ANC and Cosatu and join Inkatha and its United Workers' Union of South Africa, Uwusa.

Two days after peace returned to Sebokeng, the township still resembled a war zone with debris stewn and barricades littering the side of the road. For anyone who has covered the Natal war, the scenario was familiar: an endless spiral of accusation and counteraccusation. What is undisputed is that running battles which took the lives of about 30 people occurred between Inkatha and ANC/Cosatu supporters after an Inkatha rally in the area. Cosatu claims the battle was planned in advance and that the police acted in cahoots with Inkatha.

The ANC has claimed that police have armed Inkatha members in the Jeppe hostel for attacks on Sebokeng. It is a hostel in Soweto which was the springboard for an attack on commuters in the area shortly after the Sebokeng war. According to police, about 300 armed men attacked commuters at Inhlazane station. One person was killed and 29 injured before the men fled to a nearby hostel. Commuters said the assailants had said they were looking for the 'mzabalazo dancers' (people who toyi-toyi). Earlier last month, vigilantes killed five Numsa members in a similar attack at Wadeville

station in Germiston. Following the train attack, the Soweto Civic Association moved swiftly to appeal to people to reach an understanding with one other and to foster understanding with the hostel dwellers. Inkatha has been linked to the emergence of vigilantes in the Eastern Transvaal town of Ermelo, halfway between Johannesburg and Swaziland. Ermelo is one of a handful of towns singled out by the United Democratic Front for an indefinite consumer boycott because of its rightwing character. After the gang attacks, armed comrades took to the streets to revenge themselves on the gang which went into hiding, some say at the local police station. The Cats are allegedly linked to Inkatha which recently had a rally in the area, following which the Cats distributed Inkatha literature in the townships. Residents suspect their weapons come from a crime prevention operation in which the group took part earlier this year.

As is the case in Ermelo, it is often the youth of the community who are the centre of clashes. A soccer team linked by researchers to vigilante attacks, recruits its members from the youth. The Eagles Youth Club, originally reported to be involved in vigilante attacks in the Free State, is now recruiting youth in small Karoo towns. In Khutsong near Carltonville where rival youth groups clashed ferociously earlier this year, the civic association says a 'third force' has emerged. Earlier this year, warfare between two rival factions, the Gadaffi Squad and the Khutsong Youth Congress, resulted in eight KYC members being mutilated with razor blades, while at least four G Squad members were shot dead. Now there is a truce between the two groups as they muster their forces against a new vigilante grouping. According to the KCA spokesperson, the vigilante group is a splinter from the KYC, supports Inkatha and acts against anyone who opposes the government. There have been clear links between the state and the vigilantes. Vigilante activity has been 'institutionalised' with the state deriving benefits from vigilante activities. *Star 9.8.90*

Week of Violence Flare-Ups

At Macassar, near Somerset West in the Cape, two Coloured men and a Coloured woman were arrested after they allegedly stoned a number of private and police vehicles. Two trucks were destroyed, one during a petrol-bomb attack and the other when a group set it alight at Khayelitsha in the Cape. Three private vehicles were damaged during separate stone-throwing incidents at Gugulethu, near Wynberg, at Kragstasie, a Coloured residential area near Athlone and at Kraaifontein in the Cape Peninsula.

At Nonzwakazi, near De Aar, three black men and two black women suffered slight injuries when they were attacked by a group of blacks in separate incidents. Knives, pangas and an axe were used.

In the Free State two private vehicles and a Prisons Department vehicle were damaged in stone-throwing incidents and a forklift and a private vehicle were set alight at Rocklands and Manguang, near Bloemfontein.

At the Mandela Square squatter camp, near Bloemfontein, a group of blacks set fire to a delivery vehicle and in another incident at Bolokanang, near Petrusburg,

The problem for the Church here is the way the word violence is being used in the propaganda of the State. The State and the media have chosen to call violence what some people do in the townships as they struggle for their liberation i.e. throwing stones, burning cars and buildings and sometimes killing collaborators. But this *excludes* the structural, institutional and unrepentant violence of the State and especi-

counted as violence. And even when they are acknowledged to be 'excessive', they are called 'misconduct' or even 'atrocities' but never violence. Thus the phrase 'violence in the townships' comes to mean what the young people are doing and not what the police are doing or what apartheid in general is doing to people. If one calls for non-violence in such circumstances one appears to be criticising the resistance of the people while justifying or at least overlooking the violence of the police and the State. That is how it is understood not only by the State and its supporters but also by the people who are struggling for their freedom. Violence, especially in our circumstances, is a loaded word.

It is true that Church statements and pronouncements do also condemn the violence of the police. They do say that they condemn *all violence*. But is it legitimate, especially in our circumstances, to use the same word violence in a blanket condemnation to cover the ruthless and repressive activities of the State and the desperate attempts of the people to defend themselves? Do such abstractions and generalisations not confuse the issue? How can acts of oppression, injustice and domination be equated with acts of resistance and self-defence? Would it be legitimate to describe both the physical force used by a rapist and the physical force used by a woman trying to resist the rapist as violence?

Moreover there is nothing in the Bible or in our Christian tradition that would permit us to make such generalisations. Throughout the Bible the word violence is used to describe everything that is done by a wicked oppressor (e.g. Ps 72: 12-14; Is 59: 1-8; Jer 22: 13-17; Amos 3: 9-10; 6: 3; Mic 2: 2; 3: 1-3; 6: 12). It is never used to describe the activities of Israel's armies in attempting to liberate themselves or to resist aggression. When Jesus says that we should turn the other cheek he is telling us that we must not take revenge; he is not saying that we should never defend ourselves or others. There is a long and consistent Christian tradition about the use of physical force to defend oneself against aggressors and tyrants. In other words there are circumstances when physical force may be used. They are very restrictive circumstances, only as the very last resort and only as the lesser of two evils, or, as Bonhoeffer put it, "the lesser of two evils". But it is simply not true to say that every possible use of physical force is violence and that no matter what the circumstances may be it is never permissible.

This is not to say that any use of force at any time by people who are oppressed is permissible simply because they are struggling for their liberation. There have been cases of killing and maiming that no Christian would want to approve of. But then our disapproval is based upon a concern for genuine liberation and a conviction that such acts are unnecessary, counter-productive and unjustifiable and not because they fall

TRIALS

Farmer Guilty of Worker's Death

A burly Odendaalsrus farmer ruptured the spleen of one of his workers by jumping twice on his stomach because he let cattle stray. This was the conclusion of Welkom Regional Court magistrate AJ Visser this week when he convicted farmer Jan Bezuidenhout, 37, who is well known in rightwing circles.

Bezuidenhout's conviction on culpable homicide charges follows the death of farm labourer Abraham Lekone after he was assaulted on February 18 last year. Sentence will be handed down on August 3. Bezuidenhout's bail was extended ... Lekone's granddaughter Stompana said Bezuidenhout had threatened to shoot her and a woman worker if they told the truth about the assault. She said Bezuidenhout ordered them to say the old man was kicked by a cow.

Odendaalsrus district surgeon Aitton, who conducted the post mortem examination, said Lekone's spleen was ruptured and all the head and body injuries were consistent with an assault ... Earlier, Elizabeth, Lekone's sister said Bezuidenhout had promised to buy the dead man's wife, Micky, a house and a taxi if the family did not lay charges against him. She said he gave them R50 to buy food for the funeral ... *City Press 22.7.90*

Key Figure in Harms Commission Investigated

Ciskei's Attorney-General is investigating 'possible offences and contraventions of the law' by the country's former ambassador-plenipotentiary, Mr Vito Roberto Palazzolo ... Mr Palazzolo resigned from his position on Wednesday after serving for just over two months. In a letter to Ciskei's leader, Brig. Oupa Gqozo, Mr Palazzolo cited his reason for resigning as 'the vicious press campaign' against the Ciskei. Brig Gqozo said Ciskei had been under 'unrelenting pressure' from SA to nullify Mr Palazzolo's appointment.

Mr Palazzolo, who allegedly entered SA illegally after escaping from a Swiss jail, where he was serving a sentence for contravening the country's banking laws, was a key figure in the Harms Commission of Inquiry into cross-border irregularities. Mr Palazzolo was deported to Switzerland and nothing was heard of him until his Ciskei appointment ...

Eastern Province Herald 20.7.90

BABIES

Abandoned baby's centre o contro. aftr she hd been declard Col on basis o tests carried out on hr hair. Gen Neethling, head o pol forensic lab, insistd decision basd on "scientific & anthropol tests datng bck to begngng o century Bt internationally recognisd expert o hair said hair cld ~~nt~~ b characterisd as Caucasian, Negroid or Oriental, bt nt Col; & i any case, a month old baby's hair ws embryonic & wld b shed In one case it hs been found tt 2 infants hd been held i detention fr 3 yrs awaitng racial classification b4 they could b declard i need o care. (Report tabld i Parliament)

SCHOOL CHILDREN

A total of 147 teachers employed by the Department of Education and Training were unable to perform their duties over the last 12 months because they were detained by SA Police, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen said ...

Sapa
BBC Monitoring Report 18.6.87

a girl, Thembeke Jacobs, ws released recently aftr servng an 18-month sentence fr public violence. She will return to a house without parents. Her mother is servng a 5-yr jail sentence fr same offence. Thembeke's age ws 13 whn arrestd, verified by hospital records. (bfgs 33/13. South 18,8.88)

In the past year, Jonathan Williams has lost his mother, has been five times in police custody, and has been forced to leave school. But Jonathan, who turns 17 later this month, has never been convicted of any crime. 'I have become used to being on the run and being detained. It has made me more committed to do the things I believe in,' he said, after his release from detention last week. Jonathan, a member of the Vredenburg Youth Congress and the local church brigade, has been detained three times this year ...

South 17.11.88

WORK

Valindaba is top-security uranium enrichmnt plant. Work force is totally W - nt evn blks to sweep, wsh floors. Head, Dr Roux, expland why: Initially, bcos o Ap principle it ws decided tt separate decontamination rooms wld hve to be built if any non-whites were hired. "And decontamination rooms are very costly, you know."

SPORT

Complaints by white bathers abt presence of the prominent Swaziland golfer, Joe Dhlamini, and his family at a municipal swimming pool last weekend. Police took the personal particulars of Dhlamini, who took part in the Goodyear Classic tournament at the city's Humewood Golf Club, and his family after a holidaymaker had complained to the police.

Weekly Mail 23.12.88

Natal police force has a problem. A man's head was recently found in the body of a shark. The problem is: did head belong to a white man? If it did not, the police are debarred from burying head in the white man's only cemetery. A pathologist is carrying out detailed study of head to determine its colour (Guardian 14/2/78)

RELIGION

Rev Abram Maja, ministr o Presbyterian Church & EC membr o Tvl Council o C's. spent 380 days i detention & is very bitt tt whn brought to court t only evidence ws tt he hd quotd from t Bible. Sec Pol said tt Bible quotes, in certain contexts, cn b subversive. Passage ws containd i documnt read at a memorial service:

'Condemn & punish thm, oh God; may their own plots cause their ruin. Drive thm out of our presence bcos o their many sins & their rebellion against you.' Sec police i evidence said tt to quote tt passage cld b breach o law & subversive

Race is legally mandatd & rigorously imposd, bt there is an Appeals Brd tt allws a few to change caste.

In 84, 558 Cols bcame Ws; 15 Ws bcame Col; 8 Chinese bcame Ws & 7 Ws bcame Chinese; 40 Indians bc Cols, 20 Cols bc Indians; 79 Afs bc Cols & 8 Cols bc Afs.

SIGN AT CAPE TOWN RLWY STN:

'Forwarded baggage for whites tendered by non-whites'

Civil rights lawyers in Pretoria assembling team to travel to remote town De Aar (Cape) to defend non-whites facing charges of 'standing aimlessly on the pavement'. "In my work I have come across some pretty amazing cases" - Brian Currin, head of Lawyers for Human Rights, "but it seems the police have decided that being a non-white & standing on a pavement is a criminal offence."

Simon Swartz, from Col townships, one of those charged, summoned to answer charges of 'unlawfully standing on the pavement & thereby causing an obstruction'. (Telegraph, 13.1.89.)

Returned ANC exile stabbed to death.

A recently returned ANC exile, Mr Trevor Sandile Vilakazi (42) was stabbed to death in Guguletu at the weekend when he tried to break up a fight between two youths. He died of stab wounds in back & stomach - sister said her brother was on way home from performance of My Children, My Africa at Baxter Theatre. Was trying to break up a fight between two youths who subsequently attacked him. Was killed as he fled up the stairs to flats occupied by Cape Town University students. SOWETAN 21/8/90

DE KLERK'S ROLE.

Vig & secret death squads do nt emerge & operate independently o State apparatus, nr cld they continue murderous activities without control, guidance & armng by Ap. security.

Inevitable - to control majority u mst enlist agents frm among people thmselves.

Does de K want to stop violence? Some say it poses threat to negotiating process to which de K committd. But does it? As long as they can evade responsibility it does nt matter - can b to their advantage - White SA benefits frm disunity.

Composition o police reflects society frm which they are drawn. At least 50% support extreme right.

& dont change habits

de K acts out of instincts nt of generosity bt of survival. Only alternative wld b seige economy defended by military might. Whites hve nt acceptd tt they wll lose powr. Has de K? He says he is in favour o majority rule, bt nt if its 'simplistic' - insists on right to protection o 'cultural' minorities ethnic.

IS de K SINCERE? - Yes - to make changes without relinquishg power

CAN PROCESS BE REVERSED -

Yes : Violence is manifestation o opposition to change.

TO PRESSURISE de K IS to strengthen him.

MANDELA'S RELEASE

Familiarity wth violence hsnt prepard us fr today's
Train massacres - taxi ranks - minibuses shotng at
randomrandom - whites in OFS turng blk schools into ha
happy huntg grounds, shotng blk childrn

'Living on borrowd time i Soweto'
Millions live where no law is enforcd, no ordr prevail

In Tvl (aftr yrs in Natal wth 3-4000killd - 20
arrestd) t match tt ignitd wave o V ws undoubtdly
Inkatha. - 14th July relaunch o Ink as pol. paty
(Sparks) Use of vigilantes - old Crossroads 70,000
drivn out, 100's killd, while police lookd on. Same
tecnique - diff colour headbands.

'Third force' is same Frankenstein monsttr tt continues
to arm & fund Renamo, same brutality. 'Destabilisation
is their speciality & testimony at Harms commission
shows right-wing hawks train blk gangstrs to carry out
assissinations, dirty tricks. Traind at special frm,
Vlakplaas, nr Pretoria. Othr military farms i north
train Renamo.

Security forces developd tecnique in mid-80's of
usg blk surrogates to crush resistance.. Intention is
to terrify whites, de-rail negotiatng process, replace
de Klerk wth conservatives, return to propr Apartheid.

Securocrats at heart o ths new destabilisation operatio
suffered serious setbk at Cuito Cuinavale, 88, which
led to withdrawal, end o Botha. de K dismantled powerf
National Security Managemnt System - t military gvt.
Damagd, bt nt demolishd, power struggle, comeback.
Underwrld o dirty trickstrs nt eliminatd. None,
none o leadg figures prosecutd or dismissd.

VIOLENCE

Inkatha/ANC clashes. 'Blk on blk' ~~also~~

Vigilantes and secret death squads do not emerge & operate independently of the state apparatus, nor could they continue their murderous activities without the control, guidance and army by the Ap. Security.

It is inevitable - to control the majority you must enlist agents from among the people themselves.

Who Benefits? DE K new to military & police
Right wing in army & police. Don't change habits

50% of White police probably identify with extreme right -
Composition of P. reflects population from which drawn
Upholders of "Law & order" - i.e. - the establishment.

DOES DE KLERK WANT TO STOP VIOLENCE?

"poses threat to neg process" to which NP committed.

BUT DOES IT?

As long as they can evade responsibility,
It does not matter - can be to their advantage
in # "W." SA can only benefit from disunity on other side.

AT SOME LEVEL (eg POLICE) OPP TO SEN DISENSION
in BIK community - "LIFE OF ITS OWN"

Unbanning - clandestine habits.

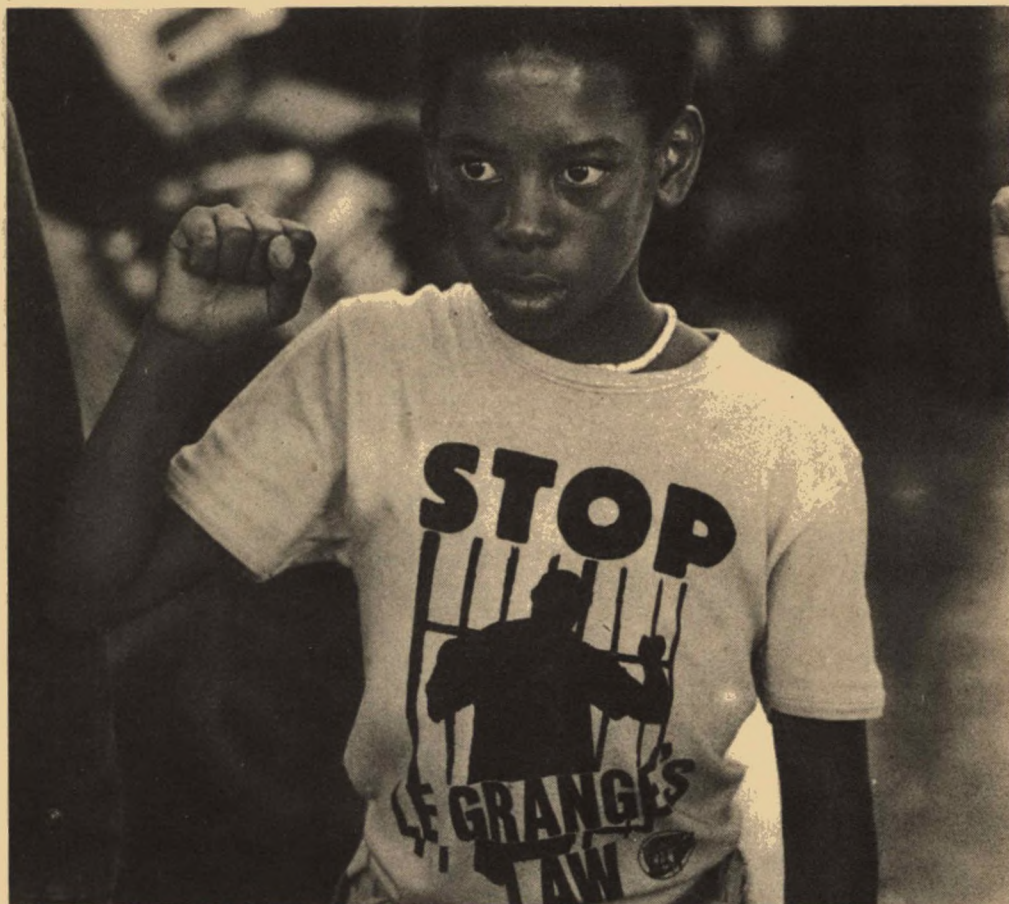
RENAMO - Start as pol weapon - end as gangsters
Natal since Sep 87, some 3000 killed - less than 20
indicted & tried for these murders. BAREND STRYDOM
IT IS AP 'skewing of standards' means law doesn't exist
in BIK areas

VENTING HELPLESS ANGER ON HELPLESS (wife beating)

JUDGES AND JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Kader Asmal

There is a myth prevailing among some commentators that the judiciary in South Africa is still a force for good, and that the apartheid state has gone some way towards maintaining the notion of judicial impartiality and independence.



A demonstrator protests against unjust imprisonment in South Africa

Commentators who believe in the independence of the South African judiciary point to some decisions in recent years

where a few emergency regulations were rejected, but neglect to point out that in every case the superior courts have over-

ruled these lower court judgments. Such ill-informed comments also ignore that the same 'liberal' judges who invoke the 'rule of law' have no compunction in sentencing to death young resistance fighters, even where extenuating circumstances have been shown to exist; or that the wide and ambiguous notion of 'common purpose' is utilised to sentence the Sharpeville Six to death, even though none had any role to play in the slaying of the victim.

But the issue of the role of the judges turns on more fundamental features of the South African legal system. It is not simply a debate among lawyers as to whether a statute like the draconian Internal Security Act of 1982 or the emergency regulations could be interpreted in an even-handed manner so as to protect the vestiges of human rights the accused still have, such as access to lawyers or to their families. The heart of the criticism about the role of the law turns on the question of the legitimacy of the apartheid system. The debate is therefore similar to the moral and legal questions raised about the Nazi laws and their validity at the end of the second world war.

Any legal system run in the interests of a minority and protected by its monopoly of state power must, by definition, be debased.

Clash of Aspirations

But, as with many other aspects of life in South Africa, it was Nelson Mandela, himself an attorney, who presented the case against the apartheid legal system in a heightened way, when he was charged with leaving South Africa without authority in 1962. In his defence, he contended that he could not get a fair and proper trial. He said:

"In a political trial such as this one, which involved a clash of the aspirations of the African people and those of the Whites, the country's courts, as presently constituted, cannot be impartial and fair."

His second contention was:

"I consider myself neither legally nor

morally bound to obey laws made by a parliament in which I have no representation."

In a statement as vivid as his defence at the Rivonia trial in 1964, he trenchantly analysed the substance of the notion of 'equality before the law,' and how meaningless and misleading it was as applied to Africans. Whites monopolise all the rights and privileges of the vote: freedom to travel, right to work, ownership of property.

"The White man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgment over us."

Since the foundation of apartheid laws over a century ago, and especially since its legal entrenchment in 1948, the judges have been an integral part of a system which has robbed the Africans of their land and allocated 13% to 87% of the population.

Conscience of the Judges

The White judges have accepted and operated the pass laws under which over 12 million Africans have been sentenced from 1948 to 1985. None resigned or had a qualm of conscience in operating the Nazi laws forbidding marriage or sexual relations between the races. They have countenanced the pain, poverty and brutalisation of forced removals under which over three and a half million Africans have been forcibly moved from their ancestral homes and dumped in 'resettlement' camps. They have dispensed 'justice' in political trials where witnesses have been imprisoned until they give evidence and where evidence of systematic and persistent torture against the accused had been ignored. No serving judge, whether Afrikaans or English-speaking, has had the slightest tremor of conscience in sentencing hundreds of people to death, giving South Africa the dubious distinction of having the highest number of judicial executions in the world.

More recently, the White judges have gone even further in advancing the cause of the repressive and odious racial oligarchy. Towards the end of last year, a

number of senior officials of the United Democratic Front were found guilty of 'treason' and other offences. None had participated in the armed struggle; none of them had actively campaigned for the ANC or Umkhonto We Sizwe. Yet they were sentenced to savage terms of imprisonment, because the White judge held that their mass, non-violent struggle for the transformation of South African society was criminal because it was part of a conspiracy to bring down the government. In similar vein, the court has recently rejected the plea of Ismail Ebrahim, a senior member of the ANC, that his illegal kidnapping from Swaziland tainted his subsequent trial in South Africa and his sentence of 20 years.

Complicity in Injustice

What has shocked even those who were prepared to give the benefit of the doubt to 'liberal' White judges who continue to dispense apartheid justice was the treatment of young children since the state of emergency began in June 1986. In two years, over 30 000 people were detained without trial. Over a third of these were children, and over 300 of these have been killed by the police and the army. The treatment of the children — torture, casual violence and shooting, ill-treatment, humiliating treatment — has shocked the conscience of the world. A brave judicial protest, even a resignation, would have removed the taint of complicity in a system where children, because of their revolutionary spirit and commitment, have become special targets of the apartheid war machine.

Following the defeat of the Nazis, many of their leaders, and scores of ordinary executioners of Nazi laws, were tried at Nuremburg, especially for war crimes and crimes against humanity, for which there was individual responsibility, including that of judges. It is therefore necessary to remind lawyers and others in the West that they cannot treat in an even-handed way the oppressor and the victim in a system which the United Nations and international law have characterised as criminal and illegitimate.

Prisoner of War Status

Many of the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe charged with 'ordinary' offences before the apartheid courts have not only invoked their right to be treated as prisoners of war but have also refused to plead, because, like Mandela, they refuse to recognise the validity of the racist laws which the courts have sworn to uphold.

"Why is it that in this courtroom I face a White magistrate, confronted by a White prosecutor and escorted by a White orderly? Can anyone honestly and seriously suggest that in this type of atmosphere the scales of justice are evenly balanced?"

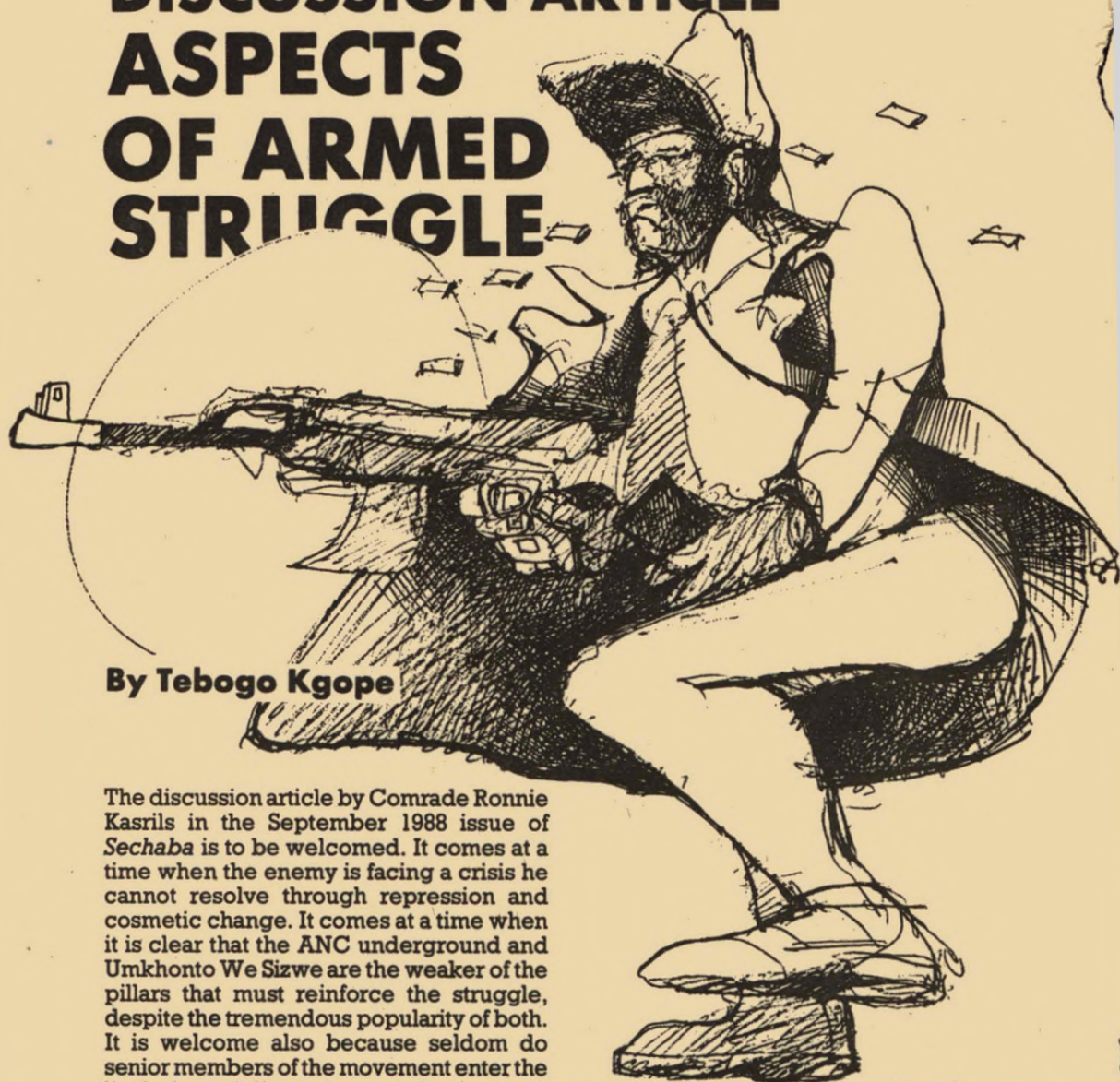
That cry of Mandela's was 27 years ago; but in the statement of the National Executive Committee of the ANC on January 8th 1989, President Oliver Tambo still found it necessary to draw attention to the fact that, because of the Sharpeville Six, Delmas and other trials:

"the judges, magistrates and prosecutors employed to administer the injustice of apartheid have stood out clearly as accomplices of murder, abduction and torture. People, who by any civilised standard should never have been charged, have been sentenced to death so as to quench the judicial thirst for the blood of the Blacks."

The Delmas judgment is a grim portent for the immediate future, where the White courts enthusiastically embrace the strategy of the regime, to undermine the struggle by linking the UDF to the ANC.

There may be liberal White judges who may want to be fair-minded. But faced by the lawlessness of the regime, we must recognise that such judges are providing a veneer to maintain the superficial legality of the apartheid regime. Even more important is the opinion of one of the most renowned legal philosophers of our day, Professor Ronald Dworkin. He concludes that if the vast majority in South Africa are not even given a choice as to whether they consent to the constitutional rules of the society, it is doubtful whether law exists in South Africa at all.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE ASPECTS OF ARMED STRUGGLE



By **Tebogo Kgope**

The discussion article by Comrade Ronnie Kasrils in the September 1988 issue of *Sechaba* is to be welcomed. It comes at a time when the enemy is facing a crisis he cannot resolve through repression and cosmetic change. It comes at a time when it is clear that the ANC underground and Umkhonto We Sizwe are the weaker of the pillars that must reinforce the struggle, despite the tremendous popularity of both. It is welcome also because seldom do senior members of the movement enter the lively fray of discussions on the strategic road towards seizure of power by the masses of the oppressed.

The article immediately locks into the heart of the problem — the subjective weaknesses in our struggle — and correctly attributes them to the absence of clear policy positions as to how power is to be won. One would then have expected that,

having lamented the lack of this vision on the part of the movement, Comrade Ronnie would try to impart his own vision.

This vision, too, would be much broader than the development of the subjective factor, which he gives some attention to. He says that:

"... unless we have a clear vision on how

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