

AUGUST 1986



# SECHABA

official organ of the African national congress south africa

Now that you have touched the  
Women, you have struck a rock  
You have dislodged a boulder  
You will be crushed



Wathint' abafazi, wayithint imbokodo uzokufa  
The singing as they dispersed echoed over the  
city, and the women began a new freedom song  
9 August 1956 — 20,000 women gathered in  
Pretoria to protest against the pass laws.

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## AUGUST 1986

### EDITORIAL

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# THOSE WHOM THE GODS WISH TO DESTROY THEY FIRST MAKE MAD



This is what is happening in South Africa. The racists have been running mad since the beginning of June, or even earlier. They detained and arrested more than 4 000 people. The aim of this swoop — bigger than the post Sharpeville arrests in 1960 or the post-Soweto detentions in 1976 — was to immobilise Black opposition and then attack the leaderless Black masses. The removal of "agitators" meant the arming of vigilantes — Black puppets — who caused havoc in places like Crossroads where the police were seen turning a blind eye to the attacks on the UDF activists and houseless people. The words "return to peaceful conditions" mean use of coercion and punishment against all political opponents of the regime. This state of emergency is directed against political opposition and not against active unrest itself.

The racist regime pinned its hopes on the belief that the state of emergency would "correct" a "misconception" overseas that South Africa is on the verge of a revolution. If that perception could be changed and a semblance of "normality" restored to the country, then the reform process would be able to continue and relations with South Africa's trading partners could improve.

But the racist regime shot itself in the head. Internationally it is more isolated than before.

Since September 1984 close to 2 000 people have been killed. In May this year 213 people were killed — the highest monthly figure since 1984. A total of 754 people had been killed during the first five months of 1986 compared with 879 during 1985 as a whole. This means that the average daily fatality rate has more than doubled, having gone up from 2,4 to 5 a day. Perhaps the racists are murdering our people in such big numbers in the hope that by the end of the day in South Africa we shall have a White majority.

Apartheid is diametrically opposed to truth. Journalists — including foreign journalists — are walking on a legal minefield. The media are prohibited from announcing, disseminating, distributing, taking or sending within or from South Africa any comment or news about the "conduct" of security regarding the maintenance of the safety of the "public" or "public order", without the permission of the Commissioner of Police

The journalists are prohibited from being present, for the purpose of reporting, in any Black residential area or any area where unrest is occurring. The orders apply to the written word, photographic activity, television and radio reporting. Those foreign correspondents who don't

comply are expelled, those who do are rendered jobless. We now have a situation where the racists do not only have total control of "unrest news" but where a criminal is reporting about the crimes he is committing. He even chooses the words for us. The journalists are forbidden to use words such as "draconian" "riot-torn" or "White minority government".

During this state of emergency Gatsha Buthelezi once more unashamedly revealed his true colours. He addressed a rally, "the biggest political rally since the state of emergency" in Soweto. The police authorities gave special permission for the rally to take place waiving a ban on all outdoor gatherings of this kind.

In Soweto Buthelezi said nothing except to expose himself as one of the puppets. He did say that he had come to Soweto to be with the people in their hour of need. But the problem is that he arrived at the stadium in a helicopter accompanied by two White men in plain clothes. After the rally he was whisked away in the same helicopter. The people he addressed were bussed in from as far afield as Natal.

This provocation of the people of Soweto — for this is what it was — was meant to terrorise our people and to bring back the ugly memories of the 1976 clash between hostel dwellers and the residents of Soweto. The racist regime wanted to impose a "Buthelezi solution" on our people. This explains why Buthelezi was heavily protected by the South African police and guarded by the armed thugs of Inkatha. This incident took place a few weeks after a church service in Elsie's River was broken up by police and all those who were present arrested. If there was any proof needed that Gatsha Buthelezi is on the other side of the fence, this is it!

Whilst all this is happening Margaret Thatcher tells us that sanctions won't work because they

will hurt Blacks most. One thing which needs to be said is that the Blacks in South Africa have never elected Margaret Thatcher to be their spokesman. Indeed the Eminent Person's Group has made their report but she is now trying to bury that report.

This whole futile exercise by the Thatcher government of sending Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary to Southern Africa is meant to by-pass the EPG report; to avoid the question of applying comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid and to bulldoze the Common Wealth mini-summit in August. One thing Thatcher did not consider is the opinion of the people of South Africa whom she pretends to be representing. Our people and their vanguard, the ANC, have categorically stated: We shall not meet Sir Geoffrey Howe!

Our people have reacted to these developments. Strikes by thousands of miners were reported in many parts of the country; the leaders of the democratic movement have decided to go underground and units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army, have intensified their armed attacks. The people are saying: The struggle continues. A characteristic feature of these armed attacks is that now they have entered the "White cities" emphasising to the Whites the reality of war. Our people are saying; we shall not only die for freedom; we shall kill for freedom.

These people who are sacrificing everything need to be supported. Internationally there is a lot of good will. This good will should be reinforced by a clear understanding of the politics of armed struggle in the South African context. The liberation struggle in South Africa is causing a crisis for racists and before things have come to the crunch the racists have run mad and those whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first make mad.



# WE HAVE DECIDED TO LIBERATE OURSELVES

*This is the text of the address President Tamba gave to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, on June 23rd, 1986.*

Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Exactly eight months ago to the day, in Nassau, the capital of the Bahamas, heads of states and government of the Commonwealth countries assembled to debate the South African issue, strictly from the point of view of what the Commonwealth wanted to do to bring about an end to the apartheid system. The question was whether sanctions or no sanctions. Part of the reason why we are gathered here today is that that question has not yet been resolved. The invitation to us to address you on this occasion, which we greatly appreciate, and your presence, demonstrates the profound interest and concern of the Royal Commonwealth Society over developments in Southern Africa. We meet to address the same question that the Commonwealth faced in the Bahamas.

## **The On-Going Debate on Sanctions**

It would seem to us clear that in the recent past a good deal of progress has been made towards the clarification of these issues, not only the issue of what should be done to end apartheid, but also the question of what should take the place of apartheid. The current international debate hinges, therefore, on the question of how to make this country, Britain, take its proper position among the countries of the Commonwealth and the majority of the international community of nations.

As we know, in its recalcitrance, Britain is not alone. The problem of how to act effectively on the South African situation boils down to the question of how to win, how to compel, the support for the cause of the victims of apartheid of the United States, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany. The positions that these countries take are supportive of a crime against



humanity, the permanence of White minority domination over the Black majority. Recently the debate has come to a concentration of the effectiveness of measures sought to impose upon Pretoria in order to bring about as peaceful a resolution of that country's problems as possible. Questions are being raised about the effectiveness of economic measures, the possibility of their adoption universally, their impact on a liberated, post-apartheid South Africa, their effect on the independent sovereign states of Southern Africa and related issues. All these questions are part of the on-going debate.

But there are pointers, very clear pointers, on the direction that this debate is taking. I have referred to Nassau, the striking unanimity of the Commonwealth countries, save for the position of Britain. From Nassau came the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons. They were directed to examine that situation and see whether the Pretoria regime was ready to behave in such a way as to make it unnecessary, perhaps, to consider sanctions.

The Eminent Persons have passed their judgment, and it is in the hands of the international public. Twice in the recent past, the United Nations Security Council has met again, to consider action arising out of developments in Southern Africa. Twice, resolutions intended to see the international community take action, were defeated by the veto exercised against those resolutions by the United States and Britain. Last week, a World Conference to discuss sanctions against South Africa met in Paris, attended by many countries of the world, with delegations led by foreign ministers. That Conference came to the conclusion that the demand of the situation in South Africa for those who want to see a resolution of that problem is sanctions.

### **Idle Talk While Violence Continues**

And we think it is important that as we debate these questions, we should never forget that there is a horrendous situation in which violence is being perpetrated against millions of our people every day — as a matter of course. We refer here not only to the daily shootings, the bestialities inflicted on demonstrators and detainees and the vicious campaign of terror carried out against all who are opposed to the apartheid system — churchmen, whole religious communities, students, professors and teachers, workers, peasants, mothers and even children. No one is excepted. Nor is this the end. It is certainly not the beginning. This is the situation we have endured since the beginning of the apartheid era.

It simply gets worse and worse. Thousands, hundreds of thousands, of people have perished under the apartheid system and because of it. The suffering has been massive and it worsens day by day. The imposition of a state of emergency is evidence of a worsening situation. And so in a sense the international community does not have the leisure to be taking its time, debating such inconsequential issues such as the fact that action in the form of sanctions will affect all the people of South Africa, including the victims of the apartheid system.

It is idle, in the face of the destruction in terms of life which the apartheid system has caused, to be saying nothing should be done, because Blacks will suffer. That kind of argument displays lack of knowledge, lack of appreciation of what apartheid has been and continues to be.



It is the pain of apartheid that we want to stop by ending apartheid. We are not asking for pity for our suffering. We are asking to be supported for the sacrifices we are ready to make and are making. The burdens that sanctions will bring upon us are a sacrifice we are prepared to make.

### **We Ask for Support, Not Pity**

The death that we suffer in the course of struggle is a sacrifice we are ready to make. We ask for no pity. We ask for support from those who, we believe, in our position would feel compelled to do what we are doing to seek to end the pain of apartheid. It should also be remembered that as long as the apartheid system and the apartheid regime feel free to take their own time over what should be done, for so long shall we wait, before those of our people who have been consigned to prison for more than two decades, shall be released. Outstanding leaders of our people and many others are being held this minute as caged animals simply because they dared to demand the liberty of our people. They were caged, Mr Chairman, when I came into this hall. Minute by minute they are still there. To their credit, their morale is as high as it ever was before, because they continue

to have faith that the international community is on their side — not simply by way of declarations, but because of its great potential to change the fortunes of the apartheid system in favour of the majority of the people, not only of South Africa, but the people of Southern Africa as well.

We speak also of the inhuman burden imposed on millions of our people who have been banished to the bantustans, the countless numbers of children who die from sheer hunger, the tens of thousands at Crossroads, and others like them, who are being forcibly uprooted and literally shot and butchered to compel them to live elsewhere to satisfy the apartheid designs of the Botha regime. When we talk about sanctions, we are addressing the current, ongoing misery that these people must bear.

In addressing the question what is to be done, it should be borne in mind that as each day passes and no action is taken, so an extra day is added in the perpetuation of this crime against humanity. Those who refuse to act accordingly make the resolution of the South African problem more complicated. But because our people are not sitting passively, suffering bravely, they are challenging the apartheid monster; they are seeking to do and achieve what the international community would want to see — an end to the crime against humanity.

### **Report of the Eminent Persons' Group**

There is no need for us here to go over the ground that has so brilliantly been covered by the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons. It should suffice that we emphasise only some of its conclusions. These are that the Botha regime is determined to maintain the apartheid system of White minority domination by force; that its so-called reforms constitute an attempt to strengthen this system; that violence against the people is an inherent feature of this system, and that the firm belief that the leading Western powers will not impose sanctions has encouraged the Botha regime to pursue its apartheid policy regardless of its complete rejection by our people and the rest of the international community.

The Group of Eminent Persons has also recognised the fact that, in the light of all this, we have no alternative but to fight and has correctly warned of an impending catastrophe of immense dimensions. To avoid that eventuality, the EPG has called on the Commonwealth and indeed the rest of the world to impose effective economic measures, which means sanctions, against apartheid South Africa.

One of the most pressing questions that arises from all this is what the British government should do in response to this Report, to the situation which obtains in South Africa and to the



*Riot police, central Johannesburg, 1985.*

demands of the public, both here and abroad. We believe that the British government can no longer shirk its responsibilities to act decisively in support of the democratic, anti-racist forces of our country. The fact that this country also has the honour to be one of the permanent members of the Security Council imposes on its government an obligation to act for justice and peace in South and Southern Africa.

Failure to do so not only lowers the prestige of the Security Council but also puts in question the usefulness to the world community of the institution itself. It surely cannot help to strengthen the Commonwealth, of which the people of this country are justly proud, that one of its leading members, the United Kingdom, should treat its collective view with contempt.

### **We Call For**

#### **Comprehensive and Mandatory Sanctions**

What we are calling for, and have been calling for for decades, are comprehensive and mandatory sanctions now, and we are convinced, advisedly, a long drawn-out conflict in South Africa will most certainly result in the destruction of the economy, to say nothing of the scale of death of which the EPG and leaders of the Commonwealth such as President Kaunda have so repeatedly warned.

The argument for selective and incremental sanctions is flawed exactly because it perpetuates Pretoria's belief that this country and South Africa's other trading partners will only act merely to defuse pressures for meaningful action. It is also an argument for imposing sanctions in such a manner that South Africa should be permitted the possibility to adjust and to weather the consequences of each specific action.

Take, for instance, the call for a ban on new investment. The fact of the matter is that new investment in South Africa has all but dried up because of the obvious crisis in the country and the related parlous state of the economy. Simply to impose such a selective measure would be to send a signal to the Botha regime that the British government is still resolved not to act in any serious way.

The argument for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions is, of course, that such a massive blow would make it almost impossible for the apartheid regime to continue in power for much longer. Such comprehensive measures would of

course include financial and trade sanctions, an oil embargo, the termination of air and maritime links, ceasing of all co-operation in the nuclear field, and the closing of all loopholes with regard to the embargo on arms and other materials related to the military capacity and the repressive state machinery of the Pretoria regime, as well as other measures within the sphere of comprehensive sanctions.

### **We Have Decided to Liberate Our Country and Ourselves**

It will certainly be argued by some that we are being exceedingly unreasonable to make such a call. To this we can only reiterate the point that the alternative to all this is that we will be left with nothing but the inevitable choice to fight it out with everything we have. Indeed, we will always be doing this. The consequences of this are, as was once said, too ghastly to contemplate.

And yet, the prospect of something too ghastly to contemplate can be no deterrent to a people who are determined to have their freedom. It is not the power of the apartheid machinery, or even its efficiency, that is the determining factor. It is our humanity. It is the fact that we are people, we are human. We have decided to liberate our country and ourselves, to get rid of a crime against us and humanity. We will make all the necessary sacrifices to achieve that end.

Those who equivocate on the question of economic sanctions, are preparing conditions necessary to ensure that what most people would want to avoid does in fact occur. It has been called a 'bloodbath,' — 'the reduction of South Africa to a wasteland.' Prospects of a bloodbath and the reduction of South Africa to a wasteland will not stop this struggle. We would much rather that no blood was lost, that the country was left intact, but not at the expense of our continued enslavement. It is in the hands of the international community, perhaps today I should say in the hands of the Commonwealth, especially the head of the Commonwealth, to intervene on our side, on the side of humanity.

In the light of this it will not do to persist with arguments that the Black people and the neighbouring states will suffer from the imposition of sanctions. We have dealt with that. The key factor is that in the absence of sanctions, the conflict with all its consequences will multiply itself a hundredfold, and more. We believe also



that the time has come for an end to the interminable debate about the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of sanctions.

### **Pretoria Fears Sanctions**

Practice itself has answered this question. To add to this, the Pretoria regime has admitted publicly how much it fears sanctions, exactly because of their effectiveness. According to the Proclamation declaring a State of Emergency earlier this month, it is an offence to "encourage or promote disinvestment or the application of sanctions or foreign action against the Republic." If sanctions were of no consequence and would have no effect, it would not have been necessary for Pretoria to adopt such a position.

We are at war against the apartheid system and its inhumanities, for the right to be human in a land of humans. We, therefore, are determined to fight. Alone if necessary. In that sense we view sanctions as a complementary form of action to the struggle we are waging, and must intensify, within the country. We do not see sanctions by themselves as ending the apartheid system. We see them as aiding the speedy end of the apartheid system. An important element in that struggle is the mobilisation of all our people, including our White compatriots, to act against the apartheid regime. The argument that sanctions would drive Whites into a laager fails to take into account the fact that many Whites are in fact joining this struggle. We are convinced that as the price for maintaining the apartheid system rises, so will it be clear to many more of these White South Africans that the time for change has come.

We are convinced that a consensus in favour of sanctions has emerged in this country. We are encouraged by the positions that various sections of the British public, including sections of the business community, have taken. We are convinced that, given the political will, there exists today the possibility to oblige the British government to act in a meaningful way.

### **Racist Arguments**

At the same time there still exists a great reservoir of opinion in this country which cannot be described in any other way than racist, I'm afraid. This was reflected in a newspaper yesterday which made bold to state that "African Blacks, inside and outside the Republic, (are) for the most part so backward." "African Blacks" means

Black people in Africa. Some, of course, are in South Africa. They are all "backward." And the point that is being made in the article is that the international community tends to forget the factor of race — they are "backward" because they are Black. The writer concludes that they are backward and White supremacy (in South Africa) is there to stay.

These comments are made in the context of explaining the positions of the British Prime Minister in opposing sanctions, and suggests that she appreciates this fact of 'backwardness.' But the writer also believes that — we submit wrongly, we wait to be proved wrong — that the majority of the British public are also aware of this 'backwardness' and therefore the permanence of White supremacy in South Africa. And if that is the position, who would want to oppose White supremacy, if it is going to be there for ever? This is given in explanation of the position of the British government. It is an opinion credited to the British public.

If the Commonwealth breaks up because of the intransigence of the British government, it would be an unfortunate but inevitable conclusion that those who have the power to decide will have been influenced by such racist notions as were reflected in the newspaper to which we have referred. The impression we have, that the British government considers as not very important the views of the Commonwealth as opposed to those of its Nato and EEC allies, emphasises the need for the British government to act correctly if it is not to be seen to be contributing to the exacerbation of world racial tensions. And we trust that the countries of the Commonwealth will not allow themselves to be dragged into an alliance against the people of Africa, however 'backward' they may be, into an alliance against the people of Southern Africa, into an alliance with apartheid. The time calls for great firmness.

### **Immediate and Unconditional Release of All Political Prisoners**

We have, in the past, said that the unconditional release of all political prisoners is a prerequisite to any consideration on our part of a negotiated settlement of the South African question. Nothing has happened in this regard except a continuing and stubborn insistence by the Botha regime that these leaders, as well as the ANC as such, must renounce violence — and this is a situation in

which the most massive violence against our people is being perpetrated every day, violence which is being hidden behind the most comprehensive news blackout that our country has ever seen.

We are convinced, as the EPG was, that the Botha regime is not ready for negotiations. Nevertheless, we remain of the view that the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners must continue to build up to even higher levels of intensity. Surely it should be obvious to everybody that once these patriots are released unconditionally and the situation thus created for all our leaders across the entire spectrum of the democratic movement to come together to have the possibility of discussing the situation as it is today, and its demands, as well as the way forward, the possibility will arise of therefore addressing even the question of negotiations as a leadership. Once this happens, then it is possible to address the question of negotiations, on the basis that a demonstration has been made by the Botha regime of its seriousness about negotiations.

### **Pretoria Has Never Negotiated**

Those of us who have lived in Southern Africa over the past ten years have experienced the Pretoria regime's attitude towards negotiations. The record is dismal. It has never negotiated

anything seriously. Not with the Mozambicans, not with the Angolans, not with the Namibians. We do not want a repetition of so-called meaningful negotiations. Pretoria must prove its bona fides. It is not possible to negotiate with someone you totally distrust in regard to his aims about negotiation. We will not participate in giving the Pretoria regime the possibility of extending its lease of life by pretending to be negotiating. But it can demonstrate its serious intention to negotiate. Its words do not add up to anything. It is its actions that must speak.

The next few weeks are very important to us because, by their concrete actions, the government of Great Britain, the rest of the EEC and the United States will demonstrate whether they are ready and willing to take sides against apartheid by imposing sanctions or whether they insist on continuing to underpin White minority rule, which prevails in our country. If the Botha regime, as it claims, has not used a tenth of its might against those who want to see a new order in South Africa - a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa - if they have not used one tenth of their might against us, then neither have we used a tenth of our strength. We count on all who are present here to act in support of our cause; to push the British government to join those who would want to stop the Botha regime from pushing South Africa over the brink. I thank you.



with the view that disease arises out of the material conditions of the masses, a view which forces a preventive, politicised approach to health care. High quality health care, including occupational health schemes, generous compensation, pensions and social services, which are available to Whites, are also part of the reward demanded by White workers for their continued support of the apartheid regime.

### **Insults and Violence**

On a personal level within the health services, the oppressive, colonial relations of South African society are vividly illustrated. Black patients are daily degraded, humiliated and insulted. The joy and beauty of childbirth becomes a brutal, degrading experience for our women in the dehumanising squalor and overcrowding of Black hospitals. Confused patients have plasters with details of their ward stuck on their foreheads as a favourite way of ensuring that they do not wander far. Another method is to handcuff patients on the floor to the bed overnight.

Insults, verbal abuse and violence by staff, including senior doctors on occasion, are commonplace. Being ill in hospital is no guarantee against the immediate and all-pervasive violence of the oppressor. One report speaks of the majority of Black patients at a number of mental hospitals having been beaten or assaulted by staff or having witnessed assaults on other patients by staff.

"In contrast, no White patient ... reported ever being assaulted by a nurse or ever having heard of such an occurrence ... the violence ... grows out of the mentality of apartheid, which treats Non-Whites as inferior, and accepts the degrading of their humanity as a matter of course."

Being ill in hospital is also no protection against exploitation. Thousands of mentally ill Black patients are the subject of a business deal between the regime and a private company paid on a per capita basis for custodial care. Under the guise of "work therapy," patients are hired out to local firms as cheap labour and are also used for the building, maintenance and repair of the institutions which house them. The conditions in these institutions and the almost total lack of patient care have caused an outcry internationally. The private company, Smith Mitchell & Co, have been granted what are called "sole rights" to such

institutions in the bantustans.

### **Experimentation**

Our people's physical ill-health is also the subject of callous exploitation by the White medical profession and researchers. They and the foreign doctors who come to South Africa revel in the gross disfigurement of our people by poverty and starvation-induced disease. A "tremendous variety of clinical material" is on offer at Black hospitals, attracting vermin from abroad who make statements like:

"I can think of no other place in the world where the opportunities for studying chronic disease are so great."

Under the guise of what they call "scientific detachment and objectivity" but which is closer to the experimentation practised by Nazi doctors like Joseph Mengele, these 'scientists' spend years and build careers studying the effects of malnutrition on our children, as it stunts their growth and permanently retards their intellectual development. Some of these studies are 'prospective' — that is, the children are observed for a period of time, sometimes years, without interfering with any of the 'variables' of the experiment, in this case, chronic hunger.

The White medical profession is taught its medicine on the backs of the masses before setting up private practice in the posh White suburbs of Pretoria, Cape Town and Johannesburg.

The frankly parasitical nature of apartheid health care is evident in the much wanted transplant programme. The majority of donors are Black and virtually all the recipients are White. There are moves by foreign companies to buy blood and blood products from the bantustans, sold by the masses in their desperation to stay alive.

### **Health Care: Agent of Colonialism**

Health workers are subject to the same discriminatory practices as other workers in South Africa. Skilled technical jobs are overwhelmingly occupied by Whites; Black health workers at almost every level, especially nursing, are paid substantially less than their White counterparts. The health services are profoundly undemocratic both for workers and patients, with doctors in particular being almost unaccountable, and wielding great power. All sorts of

The campaign, suspended during the First World War, in conformity with a decision of the South African Native National Congress (as the ANC was then called), was subsumed in the nation-wide political actions that followed the end of that war. In the OFS, the focus of women's resistance, the regulations remained requiring them to carry passes. Elsewhere, women were quick to respond militantly to any attempt to introduce similar requirements. But the question of passes was not seen in isolation from the other major grievances of the Black people, and anti-pass campaigns not only influenced, but were themselves often interwoven with, or encompassed, other demands, such as that for higher wages.

### **1919: "Passes Prevent Money"**

Recognising that the pass laws prevented workers from withdrawing their labour, or threatening to, in order to improve wages or conditions, an anti-pass campaign was launched on the Rand in 1919. *Passes Prevent Money* was the title of a Transvaal ANC pamphlet at the time.

Though women were not required to carry passes in the Transvaal, they participated in the campaigns, and the experience of the OFS clearly influenced the methods used. In most of the Rand towns, passes were collected from workers and handed in, pickets were mounted, mass meetings held, and attempts were made to rescue prisoners being taken from the courts to the gaols.

In Benoni, where women formed only 8% of the local African population, 58% of those arrested were women. In all centres women were prominent on the picket lines, and in collecting passes. When mounted police attacked resisters demonstrating outside the Johannesburg courthouse, a pregnant woman was among those trampled under the horses. The report of the Native Commissioner on these events says:

"... it is clear to me that certain women did all in their power to excite and encourage their men to take action against the police, and attempt to rescue their friends who had been tried and sentenced by various magistrates."

The authorities were concerned about the extent of opposition to passes among women. Increasingly, officials commented on the way in which the persecution of women in the OFS, and their resistance, had led to militancy among the Black population, which on the Rand had spilt over into labour 'unrest.'

### **Women Not "Pass-bearing Natives"**

Every time municipal authorities in the OFS tried to enforce passes on women, new campaigns were begun and the pressure grew on the regime to act. The threat of similar resistance had prevented authorities in the Cape from introducing special health and other checks for domestic workers, and requiring them to register.

Women in all parts of the country were demanding that Pretoria enact legislation exempting them from having to carry passes, and they formed the Bantu Women's League to organise resistance in support of this demand. But the authorities prevaricated for some years, before finally excluding women from the definition of "pass-bearing Natives."

For Pretoria, the priority was to meet the needs of the mines for cheap male labour. The role of women in the system was not as yet defined, and except in certain local areas women were not regarded as a necessary part of the urban labour force. It was possible, therefore, for 'concessions' to be made to defuse what the authorities saw as a very troublesome and unnecessary problem. Accordingly, the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 excluded women from having to carry passes.

In the APO newspaper, "Jimmy, the Office Boy" concluded his praise poem to the women resisters:

*The battle now is over, but long years after this,  
Old women to their piccaninies will tell the tale,  
I wis,  
With pride and with laughter will the story long  
be told,  
How the brave women of Waaihoek fought in the  
accursed days of old.*

However, the war was not yet won. Though women brought an end to passes in the OFS and prevented their extension to all parts of the country for nearly 40 years, African women were gradually subjected to the laws and regulations that curbed the freedom of all African people.

In the four decades that women remained unencumbered by the requirement to carry passes, various attempts were made to limit their freedom of movement, on occasions regionally, and with increasing frequency nationally. These attempts derived either from the need for their labour in particular localities, or because women were seen



*Women's anti-pass demonstration in the Fifties*

as a key to controlling the urbanisation of the African people, and reducing, if not preventing entirely, their permanent settlement in what had been proclaimed as 'White' South Africa by the ruling minority. Women were thus included in some of the general regulations designed to limit the movement of the African people and control their residence in the urban areas.

Through the 1930s and 1940s, women formed anti-pass committees in various towns to resist local regulations, and in many cases succeeded in stopping or slowing down municipal and local authority actions.

In Potchefstroom, the municipality imposed lodgers' permits as a means of controlling those who wished to live in the location. Even children were required to purchase the permits in order to live with their parents! The residents tried to seek redress through the courts, but arrests continued, until the women decided to take matters into their own hands. They called for a general strike, and under the leadership of Josie Palmer/Mpama, they successfully brought the town to a standstill. To men who argued against such direct action, they simply retorted: "Give us your trousers; we will take off our dresses." More than 15 months after the strike, and following continued resistance, the town council capitulated, but by then many of the people's leaders and political activists had been forced to leave the location.

### **Wathint' Abafazi**

In the 1950s, when the regime decided to impose passes on women throughout South Africa, women's sustained resistance deferred the implementation for eleven years.

By then, women were full members of the African National Congress, and the Women's League had been built up into an effective organisation, with branches throughout the country. By 1954, women of all races had come together in the Federation of South African Women, which played a key role in organising the campaigns against passes.

Immediately the imposition of passes was mooted, women began to organise protests in both rural and urban areas. Hundreds of thousands signed petitions, which were delivered to Pretoria on August 9th 1956, when 20 000 women assembled before the Union Buildings in dignified silence. Pretoria was shaken that day also by the defiant refrain: "Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo, uzokufa," — "Now you have touched the women you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed." But the regime was unmoved.

Women were coerced and forced into taking passes. Many continued to refuse, and those who had passes burned them. Thousands were arrested. In some areas such as Zeerust, resistance to passes combined with opposition to Bantu

Authorities, and led to direct confrontation. Women were whipped and some were shot. In Johannesburg and elsewhere, the gaols were full to overflowing as batches of women, hundreds strong, courted arrest, and often taunted the police. At the last Conference the ANC was able to hold legally inside South Africa, a national tribute was proclaimed on a banner: "Makabongwe Amakhosikazi"— "Let the Women Be Praised."

### **New Onslaught Against All Passes**

Though women remained determined not to accept passes, their campaign was suspended as preparations began for a national campaign against all passes, which was to lead to the banning of the ANC and a new phase of the liberation struggle.

Since 1963, women have had to carry passes, and restrictions on women entering the urban areas have been imposed as part of the regime's strategy of confining the African people to the Bantustans. Women have been condemned to eke out a living on barren soil, caring for the old, the sick and the handicapped, bearing children

and rearing future generations of exploitable labour. They have been banned from entry into the urban areas of South Africa except in very limited numbers as domestic workers contractually bound not to bring any dependents with them, even suckling babes.

But even after the carrying of passes became compulsory, some women refused to comply. One of the leaders and stalwarts of the struggle against passes, Annie Silinga, refused to carry a pass till her death in 1984 at the age of 74. Many women have come into the urban areas regardless of the law. They have led precarious lives with their families, subject to pass raids, harassment and threats of removal, as at Crossroads and the many other 'squatter camps.'

Now, as preparations are once more in hand for the final onslaught against passes (whatever their name might be), men and women will draw strength from the experience of the history of resistance to passes. Inspired by the example of the past, and armed with the knowledge of the importance of unity and of direct action, together, we will march to victory.



# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## **JUNE 16TH-26th**

The period from June 16th to the 26th — the time of two of our great anniversaries — was a time when the whole world was watching South Africa. The Commonwealth meeting in August was drawing near; the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group had just published its report on its visit to South Africa; the conference on sanctions took place in Paris. Heightened political activity inside South Africa, the declaration of another state of emergency and the news blackout — all these attracted more international attention, and the Reagan administration in the United States, the British Government and other European governments came under increased pressure from their own people to adopt sanctions against Pretoria.

News has been coming in from our regions about the activities our local offices organised and took part in over this period.

## **Angola**

In the People's Republic of Angola, our heroically, the period was marked by meetings at factories and at the university, by a press conference, a photographic exhibition and a cultural performance. Signatures were collected for the Release Mandela Campaign.

## **Benelux Countries**

All over Holland, there were a series of manifestations from May right through to June 26th, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of Soweto. On 16th June there was a massive demonstration in front of the South African racist embassy in The Hague. On the 17th, the FNV, the largest trade union federation in the Netherlands, organised a huge rally in order to pressurise the Dutch Government to impose economic sanctions. Our ANC unit organised various fund-raising concerts and other cultural events, expositions and information stands, in public places.

In Belgium, Aktie Zuidelijk Afrika organised a demonstration in front of the Bourse (the Stock Exchange building) attended by hundreds of people, and from there the demonstration was extended to the South African Embassy. Comrade

Lazarus Mphahlele of the Youth Section was interviewed by the press, and his TV interview was shown at peak viewing time. June 26th was marked by a press conference, and a photographic exhibition showing the participation of the youth in the struggle from 1976 onwards.

## **Bulgaria**

On June 17th, the People's Republic of Bulgaria awarded its highest peace prize, the Dimitrov Prize Laureate, to Nelson Mandela, because of his role in fighting for peace and social progress.

Bulgarian workers organised two meetings to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, one on June 13th and one on the 16th.

At the meeting on the 13th, Dobromil Dobshév, speaking on behalf of 1 400 journalists, paid homage to the fallen heroes and to those who are still incarcerated, and reaffirmed the support of the Bulgarian people for the struggle of the people of South Africa. The meeting called for immediate and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and sent a telegram to the United Nations, appealing for the campaign against apartheid to be intensified.

## **Egypt**

In Egypt, June 16th coincided with the culmination of a five-week campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, during which over two million signatures were collected, and numerous publications on Mandela were issued. The campaign was sponsored by the Union of Arab Journalists, the Union of African Journalists, the African Society, the Egyptian Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity and other mass organisations. Mass meetings were held throughout the country, and there was a series of radio and TV panel discussions.

On June 16th, a press conference was organised. There was a mass rally, in which all the political parties in Egypt participated, and at which a message from the President of the Republic was read. The ANC gave radio and press interviews.

## **Finland**

In Finland a joint meeting for ANC and Swapo

The news of the strike came as a "shock to the market" in city circles in London where the price of gold mining shares fell immediately. A sub-committee of the cabinet appointed by the government on 13th August got to work.<sup>2</sup> As it turned out "The situation was not all one of gloom. The stock market in gold shares was barely ruffled and Kaffirs ruled very firm and fairly active, the labour situation being disregarded..."<sup>3</sup>

### Organising The Workers

The first attempts at organising African mine workers had been undertaken by T.W. Thibedi in the early thirties, but not much had come of them. Many investigations had been made with regard to the conditions of employment of African workers in the gold mines, and it was resolved, as they were among the most deprived and exploited in South Africa, their needs required urgent action, but many difficulties were placed in the way of the African Mine Workers Union to organise. Over several years strenuous efforts to organise over 300 000 workers on the mines were made. Organizers and workers were arrested for their efforts. War Measure 1245 pro-

hibited meetings of more than twenty persons on mine property without a special permit and Measure 145 made all strikes by Africans illegal.<sup>4</sup>

On August 3rd 1941, under the auspices of the ANC, a conference was convened for the purpose of inaugurating a trade union for African mine workers. The leading protagonist of the idea was Gaur Radebe, who had been appointed Secretary for Mines in the Transvaal African National Congress. The conference was attended by representatives of all the leading African trade unions, and in addition a number of White trade unions gave their support.

A committee of fifteen was elected and work immediately begun. The committee was instructed to proceed and build up an African Mine Workers' Union in order to raise the standards and guard the interests of all African mine workers. A statement by the African Mine Workers Union said: "The pay and conditions of employment of Africans on the mines can only be described as a notorious national scandal. While the wages of every other group of workers in the country have advanced the African miner received the same £3 monthly paid by the mines



*JB Marks, President of the African Mine Workers Union at the time of the strike*



*JB Marks, (right, with back to camera) distributing leaflets outside a mine compound*





# POLICE CHIEF ON RAND SHOOTINGS

## EVIDENCE ABOUT CAUSES OF MINERS' STRIKE

*Communist leaders on trial:  
(left to right) Lucas Phillips, Fred Carneson, Moses Kotane, Ike Horvitch and Bill Andrews*

in 1900 despite the greatly reduced buying power of the pound, the work, and the physical exhausting character of the work performed dangerous to life and health."<sup>5</sup> The strong demands of the new union led the government to establish a Commission of Inquiry into the conditions of employment on the mines.<sup>6</sup>

In the Report of the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission<sup>7</sup> the average wages of the surface workers were quoted as 2s 2 3/4d per shift. In 1942 the wages of the 300 000 odd Black workers were £12 700 000 while the White workers consisting of only about 30 000 received £20 400 000.

At the annual conference of the union held in April 1946 it was resolved to demand ten shillings a day for African miners "in accordance with the new principles for an improved standard of living subscribed to by our government at the U.N.O." This figure of ten shillings had been advocated for years by the White trade union movement as the minimum for unskilled work.<sup>8</sup>

### **White Strikers Not Batoned**

Hostility came from the employers and government, as much as from the White Mine Workers' Union which interestingly enough was on strike

at Blyvooruitsig at the same time as the African strike. The White miners, though their strike was illegal, were not batoned back to work, nor was any form of violence used against them. The government entered into negotiations with these White strikers and their union, and finally a peaceful settlement was reached.<sup>9</sup>

On Sunday 4th August, the union held a public conference on the Newtown Market Square, Johannesburg, attended by over 1 000 delegates, where the following resolution was proposed: "Because of the intransigent attitude of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines towards the legitimate demands of the workers for a minimum wage of ten shillings per day and better working conditions of work, this meeting of African miners resolves to embark upon a general strike of all Africans employed on the gold mines, as from August 12th, 1946.

### **Standing Firm**

After the decision was taken the president, J. B Marks, stressed the gravity of the strike decision and said that the workers must be prepared for repression by possible violence. "You are

*continued on page 18 ...*

# THE SOLDIERS WHO WILL NEVER DIE OR FADE AWAY!



**Eldridge Yakithi**

Member of the New Detachment, fell in a dash with police on the old highway between Kingwilliamstown and East London.



**Peter George Johnson (Tom)**

A commander in the June 16th Detachment. Fell in a fierce shootout with the racist army in the Western Transvaal.

## FADE AWAY!

*As part of the marking of 1976 as the year of MK, the Peoples' Army, Sechaba brings you some of the heroes of the Roll of Honour of Umkhonto we Sizwe.*

*Since the declaration of the state of emergency Umkhonto we Sizwe has intensified armed struggle. These armed attacks, happening as they did in the so-called White areas, have certainly brought the reality of war to the White population.*



**Harold Lulamile Dantile (Morris)**

Member of the June 16th Detachment. Fell in the attack on Lesotho by SADF commandos in 1985.



**Victor Lunga Khayilane**

Member of the Moncada Detachment. Fell in the Eastern Transvaal after an attack on the Sasol oil refinery complex.



**Jerry Nine**

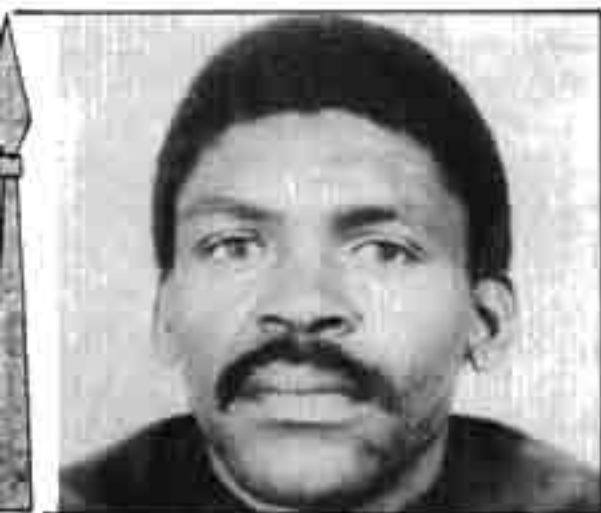
Member of the June 16th Detachment. Jerry fell in a shootout with the so-called Bophuthatswani police.

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*Miners' "food" shovelled into metal containers*

challenging the basis of the cheap labour system," he told them, "and must be ready to sacrifice in the struggle for the right to live as human beings."<sup>10</sup> Both the decision to strike and the date of the strike were moved from the floor of the conference and not from the platform, the union secretary James Majoro emphasizing that it was for the miners themselves to decide.<sup>11</sup>

One worker said "When I think how we left our homes in the reserves, our children naked and starving, we have nothing more to say. Every man must agree to strike on 12th August. It is better to die here than go back with empty hands". The strike motion was carried unanimously. A letter conveying the decision to the Chamber of Mines adding a desperate last minute appeal for negotiation was as usual ignored.<sup>12</sup>

During the strike, tension grew among the affiliated unions of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and representatives of the affiliated unions gathered at a hall in Rosenberg Arcade where the Council and some unions occupied offices. News arrived that more workers had been killed, and many more injured. This meeting constituted the General Council of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

#### **Strong Action Needs Strong Unions**

At the same time, on the afternoon of 12th August the Executive committee of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, concerned about the strike and the fact that the leadership, Marks, Majoro and several other members of the African

Mine Workers' Union committee, had already been arrested leaving the workers without leadership, held a meeting in the same building. During this meeting I was elected chairman of the strike committee and a resolution was drawn up supporting the workers condemning the police action.

The resolution was put before the General Council but the meeting felt it was not strong enough. Senator Basner was present, and made a strong attack on the Council for not giving a clear directive. He demanded a strong resolution and action. He was supported by the meeting and after heated discussion, there was a proposal by Ambrose Makiwane of the African Gas and Power Union that a general strike be declared within 48 hours.

The motion being carried, it was left to the Council to implement the decisions. Trade unionists, members of the ANC and the Communist Party and supporters rallied. Duplicated leaflets were distributed throughout Johannesburg and outlying areas. Many of the militants who demanded the general strike disappeared from the scene and when called upon in the night to assist they were not at home, and as Gana Makabeni put it, "they hid behind their wives' bums."

The Johannesburg City Council in great consternation on hearing of the impending general strike requested out of the blue, the Council of Non-European Trade Unions to send a delegation to meet with them on 13th August. The

delegation consisted of Mayor Jessie McPherson, Councillors Ben Weinbren, Labour Party and Member of the National Executive Committee of the South African Trade and Labour Council, and E. P. Robinson, United Party and a director of the Robinson Deep Gold mines. Drooling with sympathy and concern, they were making an urgent appeal on behalf of the City Council that if the strike carried on the essential services (hospitals, electrical services, etc.) should not be affected. Weinbren spoke at length about his efforts to organise Black workers but when reminded of a cable sent by South African Trade And Labour Council to the World Federation of Trade Unions he was at a loss for words.

On the 13th August the SA Trades and Labour Council received the following cablegram from the World Federation of Trade Unions: "Please inform WFTU of origin of latest strike movement stop submit report on its development and give details of incidents which took place stop WFTU wishes to be informed very speedily."

Without consulting the full NEC three members of the Subcommittee of Enquiry, Messrs. G McCormick, S Kemp and the secretary of the Council, Mr W J de Vries sent the following cable in reply to the WFTU: "Your cablegram refers stop Native Mine Workers' Union not affiliated to South Africa Trades and Labour Council stop we were not consulted by them on the desirability of the strike stop committee of this council investigating origin and incidents connected with strike stop would appear to be due to government and Chamber of Mines' refusal to meet Native Trade Union and failure to implement in full recommendations made recently by government Commission of Enquiry into conditions of Native labourers on mines stop police methods controlling strike drastic but warranted stop such action was necessary to maintain law and order preventing chaos in country."<sup>13</sup>

It is also worth noting that the White Joint Mining Union Executives offered their services to the Chamber of Mines to keep the industry going in event of the Africans striking.<sup>14</sup>

### **Charges of "Conspiracy"**

Following the strike a political trial was brought about. 50 persons were arrested and charged with conspiracy under the Riotous Assemblies Act and infringement of War Measure 145. The accused

were J B Marks and other leaders of the African Mine Workers' Union and also included Moses Kotane, Y M Dadoo, Michael Harmel, Brian Bunting, and myself and they were sentenced to fines ranging up to £50.

More arrests were to follow when the entire Central Executive committee of the Communist Party was arrested on a charge of sedition. The case eventually was thrown out and withdrawn in 1948.

The miners' strike was one of those great historic incidents that, in a flash of illumination, educate a nation, reveal what is being hidden, destroy lies and illusions. The strike transformed African politics overnight. Timid opportunism and servile begging for favours disappeared. The Natives' Representative Council which in a sense embodied that spirit, adjourned during the strike, never really to function again. In a very profound sense, August 12, 1946 marks the true beginning of the modern South African people's fight for freedom.<sup>15</sup>

### **Footnotes:**

- 1 Union of South Africa: *Report of the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission on the Remuneration and Conditions of Employment of Natives on Witwatersrand Gold Mines*, Pretoria, 1943.
2. E Roux: *Time Longer than Rope*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1964, p339.
3. O Walker: *Kaffirs Are Lively*, London, 1948, p.18.
4. E Roux: *ibid*, p.336 & B Bunting: *Moses Kotane — South African Revolutionary*, London, 1975, p.125.
5. B Bunting *ibid*, pp.131-132
6. E Roux: *ibid*, pp334-335
7. *Report of the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission on the Renumeration and Conditions of Employment of Natives on Witwatersrand Gold Mines*, 1943, published by the Union of South Africa U G No 21 — 1944
8. E Roux: *ibid*, p.338
9. E Roux: *ibid*, p.341
10. E Roux: *ibid*, p.338
11. B Bunting: *ibid*, p.132
12. A Doyle: *1946 the Great African Mine Strike, Fighting Talk*
13. *Garment Worker* 8(2):19 March/April 1947
14. B Bunting: *ibid*, p.136
15. A Doyle: *1946 The Great African Mine Strike, in Fighting Talk*, 15(5):15

# THE HISTORIC 1946 AFRICAN MINERS' STRIKE

*by James Madhlope Phillips*



On 12th August 1946, tens of thousands of African mine workers came out on strike demanding "ten shillings a day!".

The strike brought several gold mines on the Witwatersrand to a standstill. Their solidarity and defiant action will for ever be commemorated by the working class and the liberation movement as a heroic and historic event. It was a giant step forward towards freedom from exploitation and oppression from the bloody-handed, gold fingered mine moguls who rule and own the Chamber of Mines and the government for that matter.

On 12th August six large mines completely stopped and several others were affected. On the 13th of August, though beaten and bloodied, they succeeded in bringing more mines to a halt. 32 mines of the 45 on the Rand were reported to have been affected. Altogether about 100 000 workers were involved in the strike.

## **Police Terror and Violence**

As is usual, the mine owners (Chamber of Mines) and government colluded, and ordered the police to employ all measures to force the workers to return to work. Police terror and violence on a mammoth scale was the price the defiant workers had to pay for their action. Their heroic strike continued for five days. Looking back on those days it would seem that an avalanche had struck, as the forces of reaction panicked and presented the workers' challenge as a conspiracy of a most violent nature. The strike was condemned as being organised by agitators.

The servile press answered the call of their paymasters and panicked the public with

gruesome reports. The Rand Daily Mail headline read "A foolish strike." J.B. Marks' name was spelt "Marx" — a communist, intemperate, agitator making wild speeches and absurd demands. The Cape Times and The Star followed in similar vein such as: "Thousands of armed workers march on Johannesburg armed with choppers, iron bars, knives and dangerous weapons."

The police, ever ready with guns, bayonets and batons, drove two thousands miners from the compounds to their mine shafts at Sub Nigel Gold Mine and during the operations according to official reports "six were wounded and six crushed to death in the panic which ensued". Some 2 000 police were transported in lorries to the affected areas to deal with the situation. Men and women tobacco workers marching in support of the miners from Langlaagte industrial estate were intercepted by police, charged, batoned, bayoneted and injured, and a pregnant woman felled by a policeman lost her child.

The government was congratulated for its skill and courage in dealing with the strikers.

British promoted field marshal Smuts was not "unduly concerned" and parroted in parliament the press reports by saying "the strike was caused by agitators".

The impact of the miners' action spread pandemonium in the millionaires' exclusive Rand Club and the Chamber of Mines, fortress defender and treasure house of the precious metal worth over £2 000 million, which had passed through their coffers since 1884.<sup>1</sup>

was organised by the youth of Finland, to mark the 10th anniversary of the June 16th Soweto uprisings. It was attended by parliamentarians and representatives of trade unions, solidarity and anti-apartheid organisations and youth organisations, and was addressed by members of both organisations and leading public figures in Finland.

The Finnish national singer, Ari Voutilainen, sang songs and the poet, Kristiina Halkola, recited poems for South Africa's freedom from the apartheid regime.

### **German Democratic Republic**

Two meetings were held, one at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena. The other meeting, in Leipzig, was held jointly by the ANC and the youth organisation of the GDR.

The ANC mission, which has diplomatic status in the GDR, held a diplomatic reception.

### **Italy**

On June 14th, youth and students demonstrated with placards outside banks financing the racist regime, and on the 15th the Soweto anniversary was commemorated at church services, both Catholic and Protestant, throughout the country. On the 16th, there was a rally in front of the racist embassy in Rome and a mass rally in Milan, as well as rallies and public meetings all over the country. The Honourable Alfredo Reichlin, trade union leaders and Comrade Benny Nato Debruyne, ANC Chief Representative in the region, addressed another mass rally in Rome on the 18th.

On the 17th, ground staff at Rome international airport refused to handle a South African Airways flight, and on the 18th, ship workers at the port of Genoa refused to handle cargo from a South African ship.

By the 20th, the offices of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs were being inundated with messages from political groups, church organisations, trade unions and other groupings, all demanding sanctions against the racists. Messages were also sent to the embassy.

### **India**

The Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, sent the following message on 16th June:

"Ten years ago, an outrage was perpetrated in South Africa against the conscience of mankind,

when 350 school children, who had peacefully assembled to protest against the imposition of Afrikaans language, were gunned down by the police of the racist regime. In the demonstrations that followed, over a thousand school children and others lost their lives.

"The anniversary of Soweto is a grim reminder that the Pretoria regime's policies have not changed. Terrorism has been unleashed on a massive scale with the fresh proclamation of emergency and the assumption of draconian powers by the racists. All those who care for freedom and equality the world over stand with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. We demand an end to racism. We demand the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

"I am confident that our common struggle will triumph and the people of South Africa will soon live in freedom."

### **Norway**

On June 13th the Norwegian Council on South Africa organised a demonstration outside Parliament in order to put pressure on the Norwegian government to isolate the South African regime. 25 trade union organisations took part.

On June 16th, about 1 000 people, representing all organisations belonging to the Norwegian Council, trade unions and several youth organisations, marched through Oslo to demonstrate in support of the struggle against apartheid being waged by the ANC and the mass democratic movement inside South Africa. All speakers called on the Norwegian government to cut off all links with the racist regime immediately.

### **Sweden**

On June 14th, youth organisations held street meetings in five locations around Stockholm. They collected money in support of the South African struggle, provided information for the public and mobilised support for the ANC.

On June 16th, about 800 youth, representing some 25 Swedish youth organisations, assembled in central Stockholm to demonstrate in solidarity with the fighting youth of South Africa. They were addressed by their own leaders and by Anne-Marie Sondbom, former mayoress of Stockholm, and now Sweden's ambassador-at-large. After the meeting the youth marched to the racist South African Legation, where a strong

resolution was read out, calling for the unbanning of the ANC, COSAS and other banned organisations, the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, and demanding that the Swedish government impose total sanctions against the apartheid regime.

The Municipal Workers' Union, the largest union in Sweden, sent the following message to Lusaka on the occasion of June 16th:

"We send you thoughts of solidarity in commemoration of the Soweto massacre of 1976. We support you in your struggle for human and political rights, in your struggle against apartheid, in your struggle against your criminal government. The 650 000 municipal workers of Sweden are on your side."

### **United Kingdom**

In Britain, the anniversaries were observed by local authorities all over the country, from Scotland to the south of England. Trees were planted, streets and squares were re-named, ANC flags were raised over town halls. In London, the boroughs of Brent, Hackney, Islington and Lambeth held meetings, and the borough of Camden held an eleven-day festival, from the 16th to the 26th, with public meetings, conferences and workshops, films showing the struggle for freedom in South Africa, and musical events.

The presence in Britain of President Tambo during this time greatly heightened public interest in the ANC. The ANC office in London was flooded with requests for speakers, and extra comrades were called into service for four weeks' full-time work to help with the organisation.

All this activity came to a climax on Saturday 28th, with a march from Hyde Park to Clapham Common, organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and generally judged to be one of the biggest demonstrations in London in recent years. At Clapham Common there were speeches calling for sanctions against South Africa, and a music festival; the ANC, SWAPO and the Anti-Apartheid Movement each had a marquee where literature was sold and videos shown.

### **United States**

Signalling growing disapproval of the Reagan administration's open collaboration with the Pretoria regime, massive demonstrations were

held on June 14th throughout the United States, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Thousands gathered in New York, New Orleans, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles and other major cities to remember those slaughtered in the 1976 massacres and to demand the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the regime.

Approximately 150 000 people flocked from Boston, Washington DC and Philadelphia to join New Yorkers marching from the United Nations, Harlem, El Barrio and other communities to the Great Lawn in Central Park, making this the largest anti-apartheid rally in US history.

The rally was organised by the New York Anti-Apartheid Co-ordinating Council (NYAACC), a broad coalition of over 200 labour, civic, religious, student, community and activist groups, that was founded in August, 1985, in response to State President Botha's declaration of a 'state of emergency.' The rally featured leading anti-apartheid activists from the US, and leaders of the ANC and SWAPO. ANC Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo, following a resounding welcome, gave a stirring speech detailing the courageous resistance in South Africa, and calling for even greater mass support in the US for the ANC's call for total sanctions.

The crowd was particularly moved when a special message from Winnie Mandela was read by artist and activist, Harry Belafonte, one of the founders of Artists and Athletes Against Apartheid.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, chairman of the National Rainbow Coalition, Randall Robinson, a founder of the Free South Africa Movement, and other prominent activists, reiterated the call for support of sanctions legislation pending in the US Congress.

In the face of rapid deterioration of Black, Latino and working class communities, and the increasing joblessness and homelessness in the US, demonstrators demanded that US multinational corporations withdraw their investments from South Africa and invest in rebuilding US cities instead.

Anti-apartheid activists assert that the June 16th commemorations, in particular the support expressed by protesters for sanctions legislation proposed by Rep. Ronald V Dellums of California, assisted in creating the climate for the re-



cent passage of the most far-reaching anti-apartheid bill ever considered by the US Congress. The Dellums bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives only a few days after Soweto Day, would require the total withdrawal of all investments in South Africa by

the approximately 500 US companies doing business there. Investments by US companies total over \$15 billion. (Both houses of Congress must agree on the bill before it is sent to the White House to be signed into law.)

### AUSTRALIAN CITY ADOPTS SANCTIONS

In March, the city of Fremantle in Western Australia issued an anti-apartheid declaration, in which it declared "its abhorrence of, and its firm opposition to, the apartheid regime of South Africa, and its illegal occupation of Namibia."

It resolved — among other things — to boycott goods known to originate in South Africa; to boycott South African Airways; to discourage advertising of South African goods and services at public sites in the city; to recognise the role in the South African freedom struggle "of women, youth, organised labour, and the major liberation organisations — the African National Congress and the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia."

### WELSH HONOUR FOR NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA

On 9th May, the Freedom of the Borough of Islwyn in Wales was conferred upon Nelson and Winnie Mandela. It was received on their behalf by Neil Kinnock, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, who himself received the award at the same time.

In her message, Winnie Mandela wrote:

"... we thank you for the Freedom of the Borough conferred upon us, which, as always, we accept in a representative capacity, for the children, for the prisoners, for the exiles, for those standing trial, for those in detention, for those who have died, and for the mothers, and for the fathers and brothers and sisters who weep for them."

### SWEDISH TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY WITH THE ANC

On the 21st May, T T Nkobi, Treasurer-General of the ANC, was in Visby, Sweden, to receive a gift of one and a half million Swedish crowns (approximately 200 000 US dollars) from the Swedish Municipal Workers' Union.

The union is the largest in Sweden, with a membership of over 600 000, and has taken a positive stand on the question of economic sanctions and the total isolation of South Africa. The money was collected by members voluntarily contributing an hour's wages in support of the ANC.

*ANC Treasurer-General T T Nkobi, with Sigvard Marjasin, Chairman of the Swedish Municipal Workers' Union.*



# JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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*This communique was issued jointly by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the African National Congress, on 16th April, after a meeting in Lusaka.*

Delegations of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) and the African National Congress met in Lusaka on the 15th and 16th of April, 1986. The delegations were led by Archbishop Denis Hurley and Oliver Tambo, presidents of the SACBC and the ANC respectively.

The two bodies met as a result of their common commitment to bring a speedy end to the evil system of apartheid and to transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

The delegations agreed that the meeting was especially necessary because of the persistent and escalating violence of the apartheid regime against the majority of the people of our country, those of Namibia and Southern Africa as a whole. The Catholic delegation expressed its concern about the growing counter-violence of the exasperated victims of the system. The delegations agreed that the apartheid system was the cause of this situation and that peace in our region can only be achieved through the complete abolition of the system of White minority rule.

They recognised that apartheid cannot be reformed, but must be ended in its entirety. Accordingly, they agreed that the Pretoria regime cannot be an agent for change; rather, it is the principal obstacle to the emergence of a democratic government representative of all the people of South Africa.

The meeting agreed that democracy in South Africa cannot be achieved without effective action. The ANC delegation explained its position with regard to the armed struggle. The Catholic delegation pointed out that, though it understood the reasons why the ANC resorted to force, it felt it could not identify with this aspect of ANC strategy. The delegations discussed ways in which each organisation could contribute even more effectively to bring an end to the apartheid system.

The SACBC recognised the fact that the ANC is playing an important role in this struggle and that it will occupy a similar position in a free South Africa. It therefore considers it vital that there should be continuing contact between the ANC and the

SACBC. The SACBC also recognised that it is necessary for the Catholic Church to engage in specific actions to increase the pressure for genuine change in South Africa. Mere condemnation of the apartheid system is not enough.

The ANC welcomed the fact that the Catholic Church stands opposed to the apartheid system. It sees the Catholic Church and the religious community in general as an important force in the struggle against apartheid, for justice and peace. It respects the right of the Church to determine its own strategy for change, but is convinced that a firm basis exists for common action by all those who are genuinely opposed to apartheid, both to liquidate this system and together to shape the future South Africa.

The two delegations agreed that it was important further to intensify the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees. They also agreed that the people of South Africa have a responsibility to express their opposition to Pretoria's campaign of aggression and destabilisation against the independent states of Southern Africa.

The meeting also agreed that the Catholic Church has a responsibility to mobilise its White adherents not only to reject apartheid but also to act against it. In this regard, it is vital that the White population should recognise the fact that the Black majority, from experience, knows the South African Defence Force and the South African Police as instruments of oppression and repression. The meeting accordingly recognised the importance of the campaign to end military conscription.

The delegations agreed that the international community has a responsibility to increase its own pressure for a speedy end to the apartheid system.


The meeting was held in a cordial atmosphere. It was inspired by the realisation that the attainment of democracy, justice and peace in South Africa is a matter of great urgency. It proceeded from the common understanding that there can be no neutrality in the struggle against racism and apartheid.

Moved by a common concern to see all the people of South Africa, both Black and White, living together in peace and as equals, the SACBC and the ANC agreed that they would continue to maintain contact with each other.

# VIGILANTES:

## APARTHEID'S VIOLENT SURROGATES

by Kgomo tso Bapela



Today, in the face of the most genocidal onslaught since colonial conquest, it is necessary to look closely at the seriousness of apartheid's criminal acts, and at their escalation in the recent period. For it is clear that criminals who act with impunity simply continue their crimes and indeed increase them — exactly what we see in South Africa today. Furthermore, under their new Emergency rules, the apartheid criminals have drawn a veil of censorship over their deeds, and it is important that we examine the trends over the past year in order to highlight the type of crimes continuing — and indeed escalating — behind the information blackout in South Africa.

One element in this situation that we must examine is the role of police-supported vigilantes acting against our people, both activists and non-activists alike.

The vigilantes were first visible in 1983, during the bus boycott in Mdantsane in East London. The Ciskei authorities turned a football stadium into a Nazi-type concentration camp. Since then, they have become a common feature in the violent political scene in South Africa. Not that this was the first time the racist regime had used Blacks to further its aims; but it was the first time they had been used in this fashion.

Vigilante groups are set up, organised and supported by pro-apartheid forces. Their targets are always people resisting apartheid or bantustan rule, and their purpose is to complement the legal violence by the police and army. The advantage of this to the regime is that it is difficult to attach blame for vigilante atrocities to its own official armed forces. And because the vigilantes are usually recruited from the Black community, their actions — and resistance to them — can be presented as 'Black-on-Black violence.'

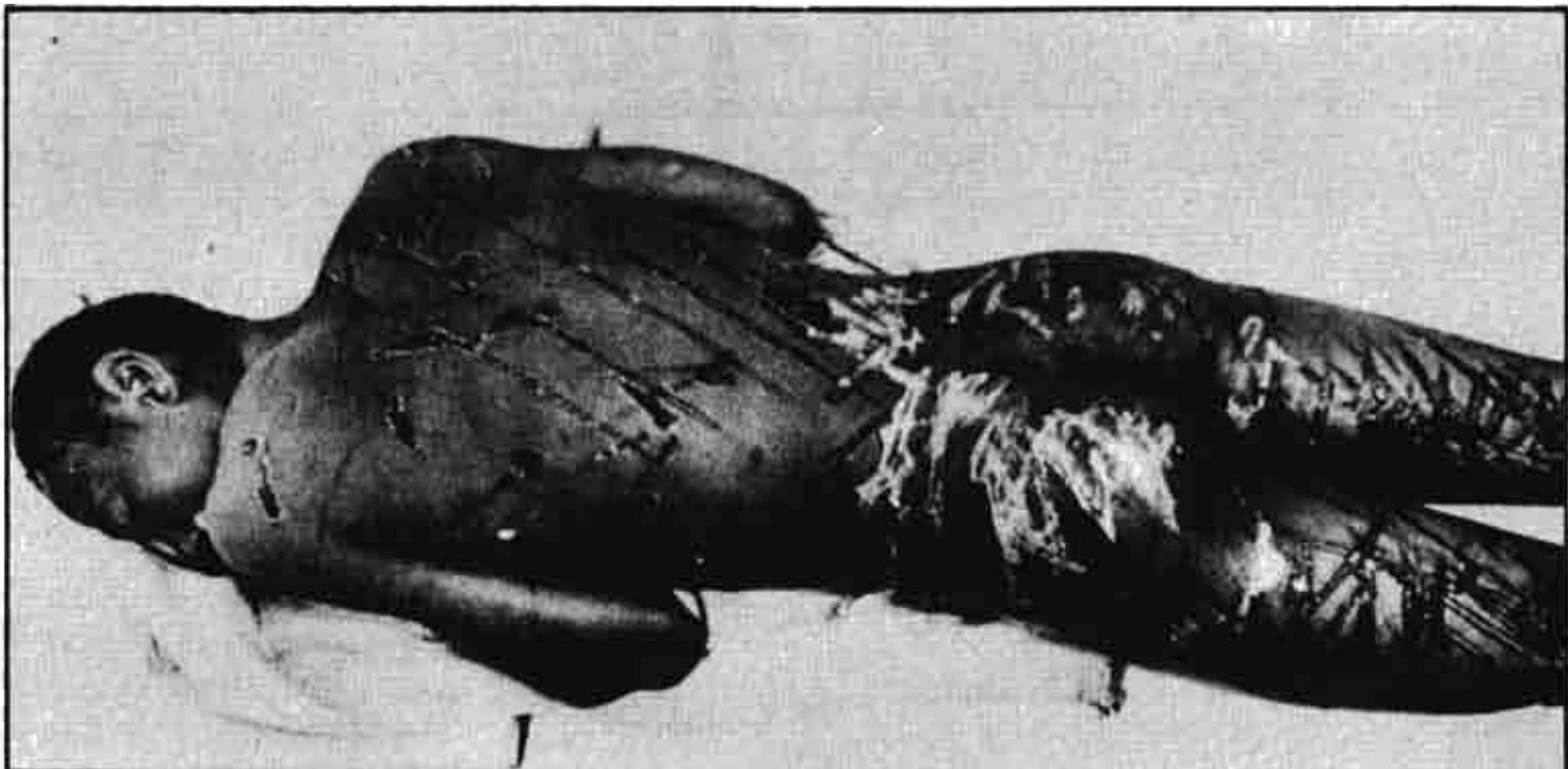
### **Racists Try to Justify Their Racism**

This 'Black-on-Black' phrase has become popular with the regime, as the racists try to justify their racism through attributing savagery, tribalism and in-fighting to Black South Africans. In turn, the regime hopes this portrayal will justify its official repression and denial of human rights to the mass of our people. But once again, the racists have miscalculated, and the truth has come out. Vigilante violence is now firmly exposed as originating with the regime and its agents.

In the meantime, however, many vigilante crimes continue as the regime tries to regain control of the townships. While vigilante groups often use sticks and sjamboks, in many cases they have resorted to petrol bomb, and even hand-grenade, attacks on the homes of activists. From Tumahole near the Vaal, to Leandra and Crossroads, the pattern has crystallised and spread.

■ In Crossroads, over May and June, vigilantes, armed, assisted and directed by the police, attacked three surrounding squatter settlements. Their aim was to root out anti-apartheid activists. community leaders they had driven from Crossroads in January, and to win state favour for themselves. In the battles that followed, they were able, with the direct intervention of police and army, to render 70 000 people homeless, with close on 50 dead.

■ In Thabong and Fort Beaufort, vigilantes linked to puppet community councils have acted as private armies to terrorise local democratic groups, and coerce consent for the councillors. At least one of the victims in Thabong sustained more than 100 raw cuts and weals from a



*Typical wounds inflicted by vigilantes*

wholesale sjambokking session at the local authority board offices. In Fort Beaufort, 20 affidavits incriminate the local police station commander, a Captain Grobler, in the beatings.

■ In Leandra, 50 UDF supporters, who had long opposed forced removal of their village, have still been unable to return home after vigilantes forced them to flee in January this year. When they tried to return in May, the vigilantes, assisted by two Whites, attacked them with pangas. Thomas Ditshego, the son-in-law of the popular Chief Mayisa, assassinated by vigilantes in December last year, had his eye gouged out. Police observed the attack without intervening.

■ In direct association with the "Chief Minister" of the soon-to-be-independent bantustan, KwaNdebele, a large gang of vigilantes has committed terrible acts against people opposing bantustan rule or incorporation into the bantustan. In January, 400 residents of Moutse were abducted by this gang, taken to KwaNdebele, and viciously thrashed on a slippery wet floor for a whole night, all the while having to shout pro-KwaNdebele slogans. Again, vigilantes and police are working hand in hand there.

Special mention must be made of the atrocities committed on a vast scale by Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha vigilantes. Amongst the numerous people abducted and hacked to death by Buthelezi's butchers — even before the launch of Inkatha's own trade union body — were unionists Thabo

Mokoena, Mandla Ndela and Ian Zamisa. Since the launch of UWUSA by Inkatha, however, attacks on, and killings of, unionists have risen to the extent that the Natal branch of COSATU has called on its members to form defence units against "state-sponsored Inkatha functionaries."

Youth and UDF activists like Nunu Kheswa and Toto Dweba have suffered the same brutal fate as the murdered unionists. Toto Dweba's family had to hold a separate burial ceremony when his hands were discovered in a canefield two weeks after the main funeral. University and school students, too, have been injured and murdered by Inkatha — most notably at Ngoye University, when nine students died in 1984, and in KwaMashu in May this year, where several students' representative council members were killed.

Civic leaders have also been attacked by Inkatha thugs. Umlazi Residents' Association chairperson, David Gasa, had his home petrol-bombed twice, and he received a number of death threats. Tobias Mgebhozi of KwaDengezi Residents' Association, and three young UDF supporters, were killed in February of this year, in attacks bearing all the hallmarks of Inkatha's impi style.

#### **Armed Busloads Attack Mass Meetings**

Not content with attacks on individuals, Inkatha vigilantes have sent busloads of armed men to attack mass meetings and, indeed, entire town-

ships. A notable case here is the massacre of 19 people at a memorial service for UDF lawyer, Victoria Mxenge, after she had been gunned down outside her home. In an orgy of violence after disrupting the service, the Inkatha thugs attacked the homes of UDF supporters with petrol bombs, and shot at people trying to put the fires out. Here is the story of student activist, Dube Khabela, attacked by vigilantes:

"A petrol bomb was thrown into the large bedroom where my mother, sister and sister's child were sleeping. The child was killed instantly. I borrowed a car and drove my badly burned mother and sister to the hospital. On the following Saturday, I went to visit my mother but was informed that she had died. On the following day, Sunday, I went to inform my sister, Rosena, but was informed that she, too, had died. My younger brother, Aubrey, had been shot by a group of men earlier that month."

The collusion between vigilantes and the state was clearly shown on June 29th. Then, at a time when under the state of emergency all meetings of the UDF were banned, the regime allowed Buthelezi to hold a huge rally at Jabulani Stadium in Soweto. The London *Guardian* of June 30th reported the presence at the stadium, not only of South African police, but also of KwaZulu police (though Soweto is hundreds of miles outside their area of jurisdiction) and local Inkatha supporters:

"KwaZulu police with shotguns kept an eye on the thousands of people who poured into the amphitheatre. Many of them were Zulu migrant workers from hostels in Soweto ... staunch, even fanatical supporters of Chief Buthelezi. They carried sticks, spears, pangas and battleaxes. They were not disarmed but were allowed to descend into the pit of the arena, where they formed a human barrier between Chief Buthelezi and the crowds on the seats above.

"Inkatha flags were placed at intervals along the top of the crescent-shaped amphitheatre."

Townships that have opposed KwaZulu bantustan rule, and Inkatha's style of politics, have come under attack on several occasions, such as the Inkatha invasion of Lamontville in October 1985 which left three dead and 12 injured. Inkatha-linked vigilantes have also been reported from Chesterville, Hambanathi, Imbali (near Pietermaritzburg) and Mdadeni (Newcastle). In

Chesterville, mothers have resorted to standing vigil every night to guard their homes and children against Inkatha's impis.

The need to do this can be seen by the size of Inkatha's vigilante force. Inkatha central committee member, Thomas Shabalala, who has publicly declared how he aims to leave hundreds of UDF supporters dead on the battlefield, has a paid impi of 200 under his control, financed out of taxes imposed on people in the Lindelani area.

Although they are probably most severe in Natal, vigilante actions have spread to many parts of our country, leaving behind them a string of corpses, injured people and damaged property. It was reported in the *Johannesburg Star* of December 3rd 1985, that in Tumahole, for example, Lefu Rasego, 19, was hacked and beaten to death with garden implements by vigilantes.

### **Policemen Help with Dirty Work**

Where police have had less success in setting up formal vigilante groups, they have relied on "off-duty" colleagues and unemployed individuals to do the necessary dirty work. And dirty work it is. At least eleven activists' homes in Atteridgeville have been hit by petrol bombs thrown under cover of darkness. Evidence in the Pretoria supreme court has showed police to be deeply implicated in these attacks, as was reported in *The Sowetan* of October 25th, 1985.

More evidence comes from a 20-year-old youth, Mlungisi Maseti, who has made affidavits describing his involvement with police in firebombing the homes of Cradock leaders. More recently, Abraham Zwane, 19, revealed in June how he was paid R500 to be part of a vigilante death squad that left a woman dead, a man badly injured, and eight homes burned to the ground.

In Alexandra, the same late night attacks have happened, and the pattern is repeated, along with numerous deaths and injuries in Soshanguve, Kroonstad, Tsakane, Mamelodi, Mankweng, Namakgale, Lenasia, Moutse, Brits, Kagiso, Ackerville, and even in White Uitenhage, where the house of an anti-apartheid sportsman was razed by fire.

### **White Vigilante Bandits**

White vigilante bandits have also engaged in very severe crimes against our people. Regularly, they have been invading Kagiso township where one



*Side by side: Inkatha members and the police*

of their victims, Stephen Matshogo, 22, died after a beating, so badly pulverised that he was described as unrecognisable as a human being, and his head was pulp. Other Kagiso residents were dragged from vehicles and homes and beaten unmercifully with rifle butts, pick handles, truncheons and stones. Two were shot in the heart. A nine-month-old baby, Kate Tsele, was teargassed and had to be hospitalised. One doctor saw 22 victims in one day. Said one activist:

"No one escaped the rain of blows; toddlers, pregnant women, the elderly, the infirm — if they had a black skin, it seems they felt the sting of the whip and the thud of the truncheon."

Violence by vigilantes, police and White thugs might start off as 'unofficial' activity, but the official involvement of the regime is being increasingly exposed. Because the police are now not escaping blame, a new criminal strategy is being developed. The regime is now moving towards legalising, and more directly organising, the violence.

As a result, the discredited community councils are being assisted in setting up their own private police forces, and in many cases, the recruits are erstwhile vigilantes. That this is a most serious development can be seen from the plans made for the Alexandra council before its collapse.

In Alexandra, the State made available R75 000 to recruit a 50-strong force, and equip them with 10 vans, 11 shotguns, 40 revolvers, 10 rubber bullet riot guns, 80 riot helmets and shields, 40 sjamboks and a bomb blanket. Altogether, the regime has allocated R25 million

to the councils for similar purposes.

This is the tendency in many African townships. In the Coloured areas of Queenstown, a vigilante squad has already been formalised and incorporated in the army.

The racist regime has become more violent today than before. Its use of vigilantes is a sign of its desperation. Our people, unarmed and disarmed, are very vulnerable to vigilante attacks. They have become fugitives and refugees in their own residential areas.

### **The People's Determination Strengthened**

The activities of the vigilantes seem to show a certain pattern, a strategy the racists are devising to divide our people, to break their unity, to destroy their spirit of resistance and determination to struggle. After the murderous attacks by the vigilantes on the Crossroads people, the racist regime felt bold enough to tell the people to go to Khayelitsha — a move the racists had not been able to bring about for years.

But these actions do not demoralise our people. On the contrary, they instil courage and determination. The funeral of Goniwe, Calata, Mkhonto and Mhlawuli in Cradock demonstrated this, when people turned the sad occasion into a massive demonstration of solidarity and commitment to the ANC and SACP.

The ANC is convinced that the vigilantes will disappear with apartheid. So will UNITA, the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army and Mozambique's MNR. In this year of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army, we have pledged to remove these evils from the face of Southern Africa.

ensuring the "security" of the prisoner, made it easier for his gaolers to beat him up overnight. It also ensured a hostile public gallery, and Zondo's parents were later to complain of the "arrogant and threatening" attitude of others in the gallery when they attended the trial — they said they heard remarks like, "Kill him and the whole family," and were told they would "pay" after the trial.

At first Zondo wanted to conduct his own defence, but Justice Didcott told him such a course would be "dangerous," and assured him that the state would provide both senior and junior counsel if his friends and family could not afford to brief counsel themselves.

When the hearing began on Monday 17th March, before Justice Leon in Scottburgh, senior counsel had already withdrawn from the case, and Zondo was represented by Mr T L Skweyiya, acting on his own. In spite of Justice Didcott's promise, there was no senior counsel for the defence for several days, by which time much of the evidence for the prosecution had already been led. On Thursday, 20th March, Mr Skweyiya asked for an adjournment till April to give him time to find senior counsel. He said he had already asked thrée, without success. Justice Leon replied merely that there were over 20 senior counsel in Natal, granted an adjournment till 24th March, the following Monday, and told Mr Skweyiya that if he had not found counsel by then he would have to proceed alone. "This court is not prepared to be messed around," he said.

### **The Prosecution's Desire for Haste**

It seemed that the reason for the intransigence of the court in this matter was the prosecution's desire for haste. The state was ready to call one of the 'accomplice' witnesses whose testimony too often forms the basis of the state case in South African political trials, and who are promised indemnity if they give evidence satisfactory to the police. The prosecution claimed that the safety of the witness would be prejudiced if he had to wait some weeks.

It was this witness, his identity protected under the name of 'Mr X,' who clinched the murder charge. Zondo had claimed that he had acted alone, so that if it is true that Mr X had been there at all, Zondo must have been trying to protect him. Zondo had also said that he had intended

only to blow up the offices of South African Airways, and that after he had placed the mine he had tried unsuccessfully to telephone a warning from a public callbox.

Mr X gave a long and circumstantial account of his association with Zondo and his own part in placing the mine. He said this had been done on instructions from "high authority" in Umkhonto We Sizwe, that the action had been planned in retaliation for the murder of members of the ANC during the South African Defence Force raid on Maseru that had recently taken place, and that afterwards Zondo had been "happy" about the deaths, but "disappointed" that there hadn't been more.

Before Mr X went into the witness box, a number of witnesses had given evidence about the effects of the explosion. It was a long and harrowing recital of death and injury. There arose out of it an incident which cast serious doubts on the integrity of the court: while passing the dock, a distraught father (his daughter had been killed and his son badly injured) punched Zondo in the face. A spectator in the gallery was heard to say, "Kill him." It was flagrant contempt of court, and the judge should have summarily dealt with it. It was heard, seen and later commented on by both prosecution and press, but Justice Leon said he had not seen the incident nor heard the remark, and took no action except to say that no one was to lay hands on the accused, and that anyone shouting remarks would in future be removed from the court. The *London Morning Star* of 3.4.86 commented that this incident took place in an atmosphere of "lynch mob, courtroom hysteria." Justice Leon did little or nothing to restore law and order.

This was not the only time the judge refrained from exercising his right to control the way the prisoner was treated. On three days running it was reported to him in court that the accused had been beaten up by the warders in gaol the night before. He had the power to order that Zondo be removed to another gaol, but each time, his response was only to ask for another report the next day.

### **Defence Application Refused**

Another disquieting aspect of the case was the judge's refusal to accede to a defence application for the accused to be sent for psychiatric examination. Mr Skweyiya claimed he had not been

able to get proper instructions from his client, and called the young man's father, the Reverend Aset Zondo, of the African Evangelical Church in KwaMashu, near Durban. The Rev. Zondo said that after being in the hands of the police in 1983, his son had become "mentally deranged," and had had to see a doctor; that he had showed signs of "great strain," and had left home soon after. The prosecution called a policeman, who said he had had no difficulty in communicating with Zondo while interrogating him in Scottburgh in January, and a psychiatrist, who spoke to Zondo for an hour and then told the court it would be "a waste of time" to send him for observation. This testimony was accepted, and the trial went on.

Senior counsel was finally secured (Advocate Kuny came from Johannesburg) and Zondo appeared in court after the Easter break. He was sentenced on Wednesday, 2nd April, just over five weeks after first appearing in court, 17 days after the beginning of his trial, and after some seven days of hearing.

In giving judgment, Justice Leon said he had taken into account that Zondo was motivated by no base reason, only the desire to serve his people. Once again, he was using fine phrases to cover his actions, for he then passed the death sentence five times (he repeated the words five times over) and added a sentence of ten years for the sixth charge, that of attempted murder. He refused to grant the accused leave to appeal.

Before he was sentenced, Zondo told the court his story. It began with a police attack on a prayer service in KwaMashu in 1981. "We were doing nothing, but we found ourselves the victims of the police," he said. He was recruited into the ANC and left the country. After his return he was arrested, and promised his release if he "laid a trap" for two others. He agreed, but after his release decided to leave the country again rather than betray his comrades. He went to Maputo, where, soon after, he experienced the South African Defence Force raid on Matola. He then went for military training — "I had to fight the South African government with arms." He returned to South Africa in 1985, just before the SADF raid on Maseru.

It was the story of a sensitive young man, loyal to others and considerate of their rights and feelings, who had been shocked beyond endurance

at the violence he continually saw being done to his people. At the end of it, he apologised to those who had lost their "friends and kids and families," in the explosion at the shopping centre.

### **Where Are the Murderers?**

The South African police have never brought anyone to court for the massacres of people peacefully demonstrating against the policies of the regime, nor for the murders of political activists opposed to the regime. In a statement issued from Lusaka, the day after Zondo was sentenced, the ANC said:

"The African National Congress strongly condemns the judicial murder of Comrade Andrew Zondo by the Pretoria Botha-Malan apartheid regime.

"The criminals who need to be brought to justice are those who massacred our people in Matola, Gaborone, Maseru, Soweto, Uitenhage, Duduza, Vaal Triangle, Mamelodi, Eastern Cape, Tembisa, Winterveld, Alexandra and in many other areas throughout the length and breadth of our country. The culprits are hiding behind the uniforms of the SADF, police, the death squads and vigilantes. Where are the murderers of the Mxenges, Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli, Sparrow Mkhonto and of the thousands murdered since 1976?

"The South African judiciary is an important arm of the apartheid system. It has played no minor role in the prolongation of the dastardly system of apartheid. It has already claimed the lives of a string of freedom fighters, from Solomon Mahlangu to Ben Moloise. The Vaal Six and Pietermaritzburg Two are in the death row. Comrade Zondo is in the death row to quench the white racist thirst for revenge. He must not be murdered. We call upon our people to rise and prevent these judicial murders.

"We remind the world community that the apartheid system in whose name Zondo is sentenced to death is an internationally outlawed, genocidal system. Those in the death cells are freedom fighters ... South Africa is a divided country at war, with those who uphold humanity pitted against those who defend apartheid. Apartheid is a crime against humanity. It has no legitimacy of any kind."





# KHAYELITSHA — THE WASTELAND

*For years now, the squatters of Crossroads in the Cape have resisted removal to the new township of Khayelitsha, 16 kilometres away on the bleak Cape Flats. When forcibly removed, the people returned; when their shacks were bulldozed, they rebuilt them. The recent activities of vigilantes in Crossroads, who set fire to houses and murdered community leaders, is said to have been inspired by the police, and in May, a group of 39 clerics and church people in Cape Town issued a statement accusing the regime of inciting these attacks in order to force the people to move.*

*This description of Khayelitsha was written by someone who visited the place in February of this year.*

Khayelitsha is a Xhosa name which means, quite simply, "new home".

However, such a starkly literal translation conveys nothing of the political and social controversy attached to this African housing project, 35 kilometres from Cape Town, in the windswept sandpit called the Cape Flats.

This city in the making is set to become home for more than a quarter million Africans in the next 15-20 years. Already, 5 000 matchbox houses are complete — erected in 37 weeks at a cost of R95 million.

The planners of the regime present Khayelitsha as a promised land. According to Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, it "symbolises the State's efforts to improve the living conditions of the Black community."

To the dispassionate architectural correspondent of a local newspaper, it is a "bizarre creation of yet another vast, remote, racial ghetto, with its flattened dunes and militarily securable borders."

To one resident we spoke to, "Khayelitsha is the last grave of Blacks in the Western Cape."

There are only two entrances to Khayelitsha. The first sight of this sprawling wasteland is from the summit of a giant sand dune. Stretching before us are thousands of box-like houses made of concrete blocks, fenced in by yawning vibroconcrete walls. There is no green to be seen.

Trees are a promise of the future. Hard yellow stalks lying in furrowed sand do duty as grass.

Overhead, though it is broad daylight, powerful halogen lights on 50-metre lamp poles cast their eyes like prison warders.

The streets are tarred, broad and well laid out. There would be no problem manoeuvring an armoured police vehicle here.

Inside, the houses are even tinier than they look from the outside. Walls are unplastered, floors are bare and there are no ceilings. The asbestos roofs have no gutters.

A woman resident shows us the two small rooms — one with a basin and a tap (the kitchen-cum-dining-room-cum-lounge), the other a bedroom — big enough for the double bed that she and her husband sleep on. The four children sleep on the floor. The minute 'bathroom' consists of a toilet and a wash basin.

The state argues that the houses are "core units," to which residents are expected to build additions. With sanitation, walls and a roof, surely they are better than the squalor of tin shanty settlements like Crossroads?

However, squatters have been most reluctant to move, and nearly a year later, more than half the houses stand empty.

We can't believe what we see next. A surrealist vision of the "last grave of Blacks in the Western Cape." But it's a mass grave with thousands of tombstones; 9 000 to be precise. There are 9 000 toilet cubicles standing solemnly, row upon row, spread over several square kilometres. And inside these ugly concrete pill-boxes are sweet, white porcelain bowls, in pristine condition.

They are waiting patiently for the 9 000 families that will bring their meagre possessions and set up a shanty in the cleared spot alongside. These are "site and service" tenants, likely to be encouraged because of the lower cost of these sites.

Bordering on Khayelitsha is one such 'ordered' squatter settlement — Site C, home to 40 000. The major difference between it and any other squatter settlement is the tarred roads separating shanties. They are for easier policing.

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short wave: 30 & 40 m. bands  
medium wave: 27.6 m. band  
7.30 p.m. daily.

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short wave: 31 m. band, 9580 KHz  
7.15-8.00 p.m. Monday to Friday  
10.05-10.35 p.m. Wednesday  
10.30-11.00 p.m. Friday  
7.00-8.00 p.m. Saturday  
8.00-8.45 p.m. Sunday, 17895 KHz.

**Radio Madagascar**

short wave: 49 m. band, 6135 KHz  
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**Radio Ethiopia**

short wave: 31 m. band, 9545 KHz  
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**Radio Tanzania**

Short wave: 19 m. band, 15435 KHz  
Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday.  
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31 m. band,  
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