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HIDDEN REPRESSION

*Report of result of a survey of
37 Transvaal organisations*

September 1983 - July 1984.

Descom

INTRODUCTION

This report is the result of a survey administered by DPSC and DESCOM to 37 organisations in the Transvaal during June and July 1984.

Those interviewed revealed that the state used a number of measures to curb their activities and the growth of their organisations. While these measures are less overt than the mass detentions, police and SADF activity which characterises the current period in the Transvaal, they are equally intended to control the development of extra parliamentary opposition.

The results of the survey suggest that state action against extra parliamentary organisations can be loosely divided into:

*Action aimed at scaring off membership and potential membership, thereby controlling the growth of organisations.

*Actions aimed at disrupting the day to day functioning of organisations in order to prevent them from achieving certain goals or winning particular demands or campaigns.

In the period covered, these actions were low profile in the sense that organisations believe the state was trying to conceal repressive measures both from the South African public and the outside world.

Organisations interviewed believed that the reason for this was the government's attempts to improve its heavy handed image in the wake of the introduction of the new constitution.

Some organisations also suggested that the pressure exercised by Detainee's Support Committees throughout the country had forced the state to reconsider its policy of mass detention and to look for less public and more sophisticated means of controlling opposition.

Organisations also suggested that the reason for the government's changing measures lay in the fact that in trying to co-opt sections of the oppressed community, the government was forced to allow a "space" for political organisation and mobilisation which had not previously existed.

Since this survey was undertaken, many more incidents than those reported here have occurred. We decided not to include these incidents because without redoing the entire survey it would not be possible to reach a clear idea of how widespread these incidents are.

However information collected by both Descom and DPSC since the tricameral elections, suggest that most of the methods documented in this report are still in use.

We believe the value of this report is it offers an overall picture of the methods used over a particular time period.

1. INTERFERENCE WITH ORGANISATION'S DAY TO DAY WORK

Meetings are essential for the efficient running of an organisation. For some organisations an office where activity can be co-ordinated is also important. This section looks at how organisation's work is hindered by preventing meetings and disturbing one's day to day work.

These include:

1.1. Prevention of meetings

Organisations reported they have been prevented from obtaining venues, their meetings have been banned, and fake pamphlets have been issued misleading people about dates and times of meetings. Meetings which do take place are often characterised by a high police presence.

1.2.1. Problems obtaining venues

Eighteen organisations reported they experienced problems obtaining venues. Fifteen reported they had problems securing church venues. Because of the shortage of facilities in most African areas, many organisations are reliant on the use of local church halls. Recently church ministers in many areas have refused venues.

*In the Vaal, the Orange Vaal Administration Board sent a circular letter to churches warning ministers not to allow the UDF, Vaal Civic Association, trade unions and Detainees Support Committee to use their halls. (Sowetan 10/2/84) The circular informed ministers that their leases would be withdrawn if they did not abide by this order.

*In Tembisa, church ministers were warned not to allow organisations to use their halls unless a copy of their constitution was submitted to the minister. He in turn had to show it to the security police before granting permission. Church ministers were warned that they would be held responsible for any "irregularities" which occurred. (Speak, July 1984)

*In Katlehong, the Katlehong Youth Steering Committee was unable to hold a second general meeting because it could not secure a venue. (Speak, July 1984)

*In Alexandra during the campaign against the Black Local Authorities, church ministers were warned not to allow their premises to be used by the Alexandra Civic Association unless they wanted to be evicted and have their premises demolished.

Two organisations reported that they managed to secure a venue that was then cancelled at the last minute. They feel this was intended not only to disorganise them but to discredit them in the eyes of the community.

Organisations planning mass meetings have the most difficulty in obtaining venues but some organisations have also had difficulty arranging venues for smaller membership meetings.

1.2.2. Banning of meetings

Since 1976, all outdoor meetings have been prohibited. In addition magistrates have the power to ban specific meetings even if they are to take place indoors.

Organisations who do manage to secure venues often live in a constant state of uncertainty as regards whether their meeting will be banned.

In the time period covered by this survey the following meetings were reported to have been banned:

* All meetings in the Northern Transvaal on the 2/10/84 including inaugural meetings of Black Electronic and Electrical Workers Union.

* All October 19 commemoration meetings in 1983.

* A meeting to mourn death of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo organised by the TIC in September.

* Launching meeting of the Release Mandela Campaign(RMC) in Soweto.

* Release Mandela Rally at Turfloop.

* UDF National Secretariat meeting in Johannesburg.

* Prayer meeting for Karl Niehaus organised by the Alexandra branch of Cosas.

1.2.2. Fake pamphlets about meetings

Another tactic used to prevent meetings from going ahead has been the issuing of fake pamphlets informing people that meetings have been cancelled or that venues have been changed.

Examples include:

* A pamphlet advertising the launch of the Vaal Women's organisation was photocopied and the words "meeting cancelled" were written across it.

* Two days prior to the national launch of the UDF in Cape Town in August 1983 thousands of fake pamphlets issued in the name of the UDF were distributed throughout the Witwatersrand. The pamphlet said: "The interim National Executive of the United Democratic Front has decided with much regret to postpone the national rally which was to have been held at Cape Town on 20 August 1983". The pamphlet went on to say that the rally would be held on October 8 1983 at the Community Hall Sharpeville. (Pamphlet entitled "UDF Rally Postponed")

1.3. Interference with Funerals

Funerals of political activists have often become large displays of opposition to apartheid.

As a result some funerals have been banned or restrictions imposed on them. For example the funeral of Johannes Bonakele

Ngalo who died in police custody during rent protest in Tumahole, Parys, had severe restrictions placed on the route taken by the coffin to the grave. (City Press, 29/7/84)

No Transvaal organisations reported banning of funerals during the time period of the survey. However since then, many funerals of unrest victims have been banned and restrictions on funerals commonplace. Mourners have often defied these restrictions incurring the wrath of the police.

2. INTERFERENCE WITH ORGANISATIONS' ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH THEIR CONSTITUENCY

All organisations interviewed are involved in activities aimed at securing the participation of their constituency.

Restrictions on meetings interfere with an organisation's ability to communicate with its constituency. In addition interference with door to door work, defacing posters, fake pamphlets and rumours all hinder organisations' ability to communicate with their constituencies and undermines their credibility. Police presence at meetings is also seen as an attempt to discourage attendance.

2.1. Interference with door to door work

Sixteen organisations reported they experienced interference when they were doing house visits, distributing leaflets and community newsletters and newspapers.

Members of the Transvaal Indian Congress and Anti-PC who were campaigning in Indian and coloured communities for a boycott of the tri-cameral parliament elections reported the following incidents:

* Four TIC members distributing leaflets in Lenasia were told to report to Protea police station the following day.

* Two TIC members distributing leaflets in Lenasia were told to walk with a police car to the Lenasia police station for questioning.

* Four supporters of Anti-PC putting up posters in Eldorado Park were taken briefly to the police station.

Door to door work also involves distribution of newspapers. The Eye, in Pretoria reported that their distributors had been stopped by the police who had confiscated newspapers from them. Saspu National reported that the Minister of Education in Bophutatswana had visited schools in the area and had warned students not to buy or distribute National.

2.2. Police presence at meetings, strikes, and demonstrations

Police presence at meetings is frequent. 20 organisations reported that police attended their public meetings and five organisations reported that police attended general membership and executive meetings.

Organisations also reported that "strangers" attended meetings. One organisation identified these strangers as informers.

It was reported that demonstrations and boycotts had a high police presence. Police took down numberplates while men in cars without registration plates took photographs of those attending. For example:

* UDF and Soyco identified members of the security police observing the People's Festival in March 1984 and the Soyco Fun Run in May 1984.

* The President of the Black Sash, Sheena Duncan and another Black Sash member had their names taken by security police during a placard demonstration on Jan Smuts Avenue (Citizen, 28/1/84). They were demonstrating against the death in detention of Venda farmer, Samuel Tshikhudu. The security police arrived after they refused to accompany ordinary police to the nearest police station.

2.3. Fake and smear pamphlets

Nine organisations reported they had been affected by fake and smear pamphlets. The number of such pamphlets issued during the period of the survey is very high as many organisations were the target of several pamphlets. Over a two week period the UDF was the target of nine fake pamphlets.

These pamphlets usually come from unknown sources and are distributed by unknown people or scattered in large quantities in particular areas at night. The University of the Witwatersrand campus has been a frequent target.

Different kinds of fake media can be identified:

- * Those misleading people as to dates and venues of meetings.
- * Those smearing organisations and individuals.
- * Those issued in the name of one organisation smearing another - in an attempt to sow disunity.

Organisations active in the anti-election campaign, the UDF, and NUSAS have been frequent targets of such pamphlets.

Some examples of fake media include:

* A poster issued in the name of the TIC reading "Congress says YES" that was identical in every respect to a genuine poster that said "Congress says NO" to the new constitution.

* A pamphlet purporting to have been issued by Azapo entitled "No to UDF. We don't want to share Regina Mundi with defrauders".

This pamphlet asked "What happened to the profits of the UDF Music Festival?" and "To whom does the UDF forward money abroad?" Thousands of these pamphlets were distributed in the early hours of the morning in Lenasia on the weekend of June 16. The pamphlet was aimed at causing division between UDF and AZAPO. AZAPO subsequently denied producing the pamphlet.

* Another pamphlet issued in the name of an "ad hoc committee for National Liberation and Democracy/the TIC", called on Indians to leave the United Democratic Front because "Archie Gumede, the racist president of the UDF showed his true colours in an interview on the racist SATV". The pamphlet called for "total support for the NEW initiative launched by our ad hoc committee." This pamphlet was distributed by a man at a central bus terminus in Johannesburg. When questioned by journalists he said he had been paid R5 to distribute them. (Rand Daily Mail)

* Anonymous smear pamphlets have also been used to associate the UDF with the ANC and the South African Communist Party. One such pamphlet entitled UDF=ANC=UDF had pictures of UDF office bearers Allan Boesak, Archie Gumede, Oscar Mpetha, Frank Chikane and Francis Baard together with "Comrade Oliver Tambo" under the question; "Would you support this government?".

* A lengthy faked letter on a UDF letterhead was entitled "Documents adopted by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party September 1983. "A united people will defeat the enemy."

2.4. Rumours

Thirteen organisations reported that rumours had been spread about their organisations or about their members. Rumours are seen by organisations as attempts to:

- * Discredit individuals or leadership.
- * Undermine the credibility of an organisation in the eyes of its constituency.
- * Cause divisions within organisations.

Four organisations reported that their members had been labelled informers by the security police during interrogation sessions. One organisation said its members had received anonymous phone calls in the middle of the night telling them that their fellow members were spies.

Four organisations involved in community work said rumours had been spread in the community accusing them of being agitators and terrorists. In another area a youth organisation was accused of instigating a school boycott.

Organisations believe that the intention of these rumours is to convince members that they are being manipulated to do things they do not want to do.

Six organisations reported that there were rumours circulating that their organisations were linked to the ANC and the SACP. Organisations believe that the intention of these rumours is to scare away potential members who will believe they are joining an illegal organisation. A Johannesburg City Council personnel officer told municipal workers not to read UDF news, to join UDF or to go to the UDF music festival as UDF was an ANC organisation. (Interview with MGWUSA June 1984)

Three youth organisations said their members had been labelled communists and ANC members and that parents had been visited and told their children were communists.

3. INTERFERENCE WITH ORGANISATION'S DAY TO DAY WORK

Organisations often battle against odds such as the lack of finance, transport and telephones. In addition they often have to battle against additional barriers which they suspect are the work of unsympathetic people.

Such barriers include:

- * Difficulty in obtaining offices.
- * Surveillance of offices by strangers and security police.
- * Visits and raids of offices by security police and confiscation of records.
- * Interference with their telephones.
- * Difficulty in hiring buses.

3.1. Difficulty obtaining offices

Eighteen of the organisations interviewed had offices located in central Johannesburg or Pretoria.

Three organisations reported they had been trying to secure offices in the townships but without success. One organisation said the Town Council would not allow it.

Several Pretoria organisations with offices in the same building were evicted in terms of the Group Areas Act and had great difficulty securing new offices.

Three Vereeniging unions were evicted from their offices under the Group Areas Act shortly after the campaign against the Black Local Authorities elections.

Organisations evicted in terms of the Group Areas Act say the provisions of the Act have frequently been ignored by the same landlords on other occasions. The Pretoria organisations had occupied their offices for at least two years prior to their eviction. They suspect the Group Areas Act was an excuse to evict them.

3.2. Surveillance of offices

Of the eighteen organisations with offices, eleven reported their offices were watched and five said they did not know.

Office surveillance is seen by organisations as attempts to:

- * Stop people from visiting their offices.
- * Make members of organisations feel uneasy about the work they are doing.
- * Gather information.

Two organisations reported that their offices were watched daily and four organisations said their offices were watched regularly.

* An SRC which was affiliated to Cosas-Alexandra with offices at Minerva High School reported that their offices were watched daily by school authorities. Sometimes school authorities asked pupils why they were going to the offices. Members of the Cosas branch were concerned that the school authorities reported them to the security police.

* The Black Student Society (Azaso) at Wits University also allege they are watched daily by the Student Moderate Alliance (SMA). The SMA is a right wing student organisation, openly antagonistic to opponents of apartheid.

* The UDF said their Johannesburg offices are watched by men in plain clothes with cameras from a block of flats and that surveillance is stepped up when they are organising mass meetings.

* One union commented that their offices were watched when especially "UDF comes."

* A union reported that surveillance increased when striking workers come to the office. They also allege that on one occasion they discovered people whom they suspect as security police stopping workers outside their office asking them why they were joining the union.

* The UDF reported that the security police have tried to gain entry to their offices at night on three different occasions by asking the security guards to open the door.

3.3. Visits to offices

Nine organisations reported their offices had been visited by the security police. One office - the Black Student Society office on Wits campus - was raided and items confiscated.

During these raids the security police have asked for names and addresses of organisers, copies of minutes or copies of publications.

Strange people have also paid visits to offices. For example a union office was visited by a person who wanted to know about "ANC's marriage with the organisation concerned.

The UDF has had frequent visits from people who try to gather information on UDF under false pretences. For example "students" claiming to be doing Masters' thesis in politics turned out to be only 1st or 2nd year students when checked on by UDF.

Other people have posed as leaders of foreign "anti-apartheid" groups. When questioned, however, they are unable to say where their organisations are based.

People posing as "ANC sympathisers" have visited the UDF offices. One person said that the UDF represents the ANC's reemergence while somebody else asked to be directed to the ANC office.

3.4. Telephone interference

All organisations suspected that office and members' telephones were interfered with. Organisations think that telephone conversations are extensively used for information gathering. One organiser said during police interrogation he was asked about telephone calls. Organisations felt the security police found out about mass meetings as well as meetings of membership by intercepting and listening to telephone conversations.

For example a national UDF secretariat meeting last year was banned - after it had been arranged over the phone with the different members of the secretariat in the different centres.

Twelve organisations reported "strange sounds", "clicking", "screams", "echoing noises" or difficulty in hearing what the other person is saying. Seven of these organisations also said their phones were often cut off for short periods.

A women's organisation reported that their members' phones were cut off when they organised activities.

On occasion the UDF could not use their phone for 45 minutes because music was played over the receiver.

The most convincing proof that telephone conversations are intercepted occurred at a union's office. A union organiser was taken aback when he picked up the receiver of the union phone to hear a 45 minute recording of a conversation that had occurred a few days previously in another union office, on the same floor.

3.5. Problems experienced hiring buses

Three organisations said they had problems hiring buses.

One organisation said they were refused a bus because the company alleged they had stoned a bus during a rally.

The bus company who hired buses to the UDF for its launch in August 1983 refused to hire buses to the UDF again. Sources inside the bus company told the UDF that the security police had visited the company.

3.6. Visits to houses

16 organisations reported that their members' houses had been visited by the police. Most of these organisations are based in the African townships in the Vaal, Pretoria and Soweto. At least 38 separate incidents were reported. This figure does not include such incidents as occurred during the Pretoria schools' boycott, which were reported to be 'too high to count'. (Interview with Cosas Pretoria, July 1984.)

Eight of the visits related to detention, questioning or delivery of calling cards. During nine of the visits, literature was confiscated and in six cases, family members not directly involved in the organisation were also questioned.

One youth organisation reported that during these visits, members' diaries, posters, T-shirts and the organisation's bank and accounting books were confiscated. The organisation concerned said that because these items are essential to its day to day running, they believed this confiscation was intended to disrupt its activities.

Two organisations reported that police visits were in connection with car accidents that members were supposed to have had. In neither case did the member know anything about the alleged accidents. One of the members was a union organiser. When he

denied knowledge of the accident, the police asked for his pass which he did not have on him. The police said they would return later, but they never did. The organiser said he thought this remark was intended to keep him in suspense until their next visit.

3.7. House surveillance

18 organisations said their members' homes were watched. 16 of these organisations said they thought the security police watched members' homes. Three organisations said their members' homes were watched by neighbours whom they believed were paid by the security police.

An organisation working in the Johannesburg area, said they suspected unidentified "rightwing" elements of watching members houses. Another organisation based in an African township identified teachers and community councillors as informers.

Organisations interviewed said they believe the purpose of surveillance is:

- * To collect information about a member's activities and associates.
- * To scare members away from the organisations.
- * To put pressure on members from relatives.
- * To make neighbours and other members think the member is dangerous or an informer.

It was reported that leadership of organisations are the more frequent targets of surveillance, although ordinary members are also watched. Ex-political prisoners and the families of people who have left the country also receive a great deal of surveillance.

3.8. Following

Three organisations reported that members of their organisations were followed by unidentified men in cars or on foot.

One union organising in the Johannesburg area said their members are followed home on foot from the bus stop. During one week, the chairperson was followed to and from work every day.

A youth organisation reported that their members are regularly stopped in the street by men who identify themselves as security police, searched and their diaries are taken from them. They are told to fetch them from John Vorster Square.

4. ATTACKS ON LIFE AND LIVELIHOOD

A disturbing trend in recent months has been the escalation of violent attacks on members of organisations from unidentified sources. Some organisations strongly believe this is the work of rightwing vigilantes opposed to their members' anti-apartheid stance.

The following incidents were reported:

Murder	1
Assualts during UDF signature blitz	3
Assualts on members	3
Shotgun fired into homes	3
Death threats	3
Bomb threat	1
Bricks thrown through home windows	24
Spray paint on cars	8
Tyres punctured or slashed	14
Paint remover thrown over cars	10
Motor bike oil drained off	1
Ignition removed	1
Tyres excessively pumped	1
Dead cats tied to door handles	2
Silkscreen premises vandalised with an axe	1
Houses broken into	3

The majority of these attacks have occurred in the Johannesburg community. However trade unionists, and community organisers have also been victims of such attacks. As is clear from the above figures, these attacks fall into two categories: assaults on members and assualts on cars, homes and pets.

4.1. Assualts on members

Six organisations reported that their members had been assaulted. In addition Brian Mazibuko, an ex-Robben Islander and Tembisa activist was stabbed to death. His murderer left his clothes, watch and money untouched, making it clear that robbery was not the motive for murder.

Lawrence Ntloka, who was banned for five years was attacked with knives and axes on a street corner near his home in Kagiso (Star 26/1/84). He was active in a civic organisation in the area.

UDF supporters clashed with Labour Party supporters at a meeting in Actonville in July 1984. At least one UDF supporter was seriously injured and eight people who were too badly injured to run away, were detained by the police overnight. Some eyewitnesses said that Labour Party members were pointing out UDF supporters to the police.

Three members of the Transvaal Indian Congress laid charges of assault against the chairperson of the Western Transvaal Cultural Society.

The incident occurred after the chairperson has invited Rajbansi to address a ceremony the Cultural Society had organised and the

TIC had issued pamphlets condemning the invitation and calling on people to stay away.

The case brought by the TIC was dismissed in court.

A member of a youth organisation reported that he was stopped one night by unidentified men who tied his hands behind his back and beat him up with springs and an umbrella.

A member of a women's organisation said she was attacked by a knife wielding man on her way home one evening. She managed to overpower him and escape.

On one other occasion, a member of the Johannesburg community had a shot fired through his front door, followed by a bomb threat over the telephone.

When the UDF and some of its affiliates took part in a million signature campaign blitz in central Johannesburg, three people were assaulted by unidentified attackers. Many others had signature forms torn out of their hands.

In another incident, a union treasurer was grabbed by an unidentified man as he was on the way to the bank. The man asked him if he belonged to the union. When the police intervened, the attacker told them that the organiser was a "communist".

4.2. Attacks on property

83 separate incidents of attacks on cars, houses and pets were reported. As the statistics given earlier show, these include spray painting of cars and houses, bricks and stones thrown through home windows and car tyres slashed and punctured.

In addition, members of the South African Scooter Drivers' union who display union stickers on their bikes reported their mirrors were broken, their brakes damaged and their stickers removed. One member had his tyres slashed. (Interview with SASDU June 1984.)

Another union organiser related a strange story of how his car disappeared from outside his house and he located it three days later in a scrapyard - a burnt wreck. The scrapyard informed him that the Town Council had sold it to them. The union organises workers employed by the council.

4.3. Attacks on livelihood

Another way in which members of organisations feel they have been victimised for their involvement is through attempts to have them dismissed from their jobs, expelled from schools and universities and evicted from their houses.

Ten organisations reported that attempts had been made to have them dismissed from their jobs by unidentified callers, who inform employers of their employee's political involvement. Some lose their jobs.

For example:

* A member of a women's organisation said she lost her job as a

result of such a phone call.

* A medical student who had been active in student politics was unable to find employment in provincial hospitals. She believed that prospective employers were informed of her political involvement.

Teachers appear to be the most common victims of dismissals and transfers as a result of their political involvement outside the school. Three organisations reported that teachers in their organisations were discharged without reasons being given. Two organisations reported that teacher members had been transferred when their principals or the Education Department heard of their political involvement.

Phone calls to employers have also been used to pressurise parents to intervene in their children's political involvement. One organisation reported that during a school boycott, police informed parents' employers and told them about the role their employees' children were playing in the boycott.

Student organisations reported that school principals have threatened students with expulsion and in one case detention if they continued to participate in the organisations. One student organisation said that school principals had given the names of active students to the security police. Student organisations also reported that principals keep a close watch on students involved in political activities.

Azaso reported that students at educational training colleges were warned that they will jeopardise their careers if they are involved in student organisations. (Interview with Azaso, Johannesburg, June 1984.)

4.4. Problems with accomodation

Critical housing shortages exist in most townships. Organisations interviewed said they believed that the local government bodies try to use the threat of eviction to deter people from becoming involved in civic organisations.

Six organisations, all from African townships reported that members of their organisations had received threats of eviction or raids from the Administration Board. They believe these threats are related to the members' involvement and say that in some cases members of civic associations are given less leeway when they fall behind with rent payments than other residents.

One organisation said an office bearer was told on his release from detention that he risked being evicted from his house if he continued with his political involvement.

Commenting on the use the boards and the town councils make of the housing shortage, one interviewee said: "If you are known to be political you will not get a house."

In another case, a member of the Alexandra Youth Congress was arrested by the West Rand Administration Board - the day after being raided by the security police - and was charged under Section 29 of the Urban Areas Act for being "Idle and Undesirable". He was subsequently acquitted.

5. DRIVING A WEDGE BETWEEN MEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Incidents such as house visits, attacks on houses and cars and abusive telephone calls, threats to employment and house permit problems not only affect members of organisations, their families have also suffered in this way. Organisations said this was aimed at encouraging family members to pressurise activists to resign from their political involvement and to sow division within families.

Organisations reported 37 incidents where members' families were harassed. This figure excludes the incidents discussed so far.

Families of youth and student organisations were by far the most frequent victims of such incidents. What follows are some examples of the form this harassment takes:

* Four organisations reported visits to members of families by the security police. The police in these cases asked where the member was. Two of these organisations noted that the police only ever visited family members when the person they were looking for was not at home.

* The home of the UDF national Secretary was visited as well as the offices of other UDF affiliates "while they know he is at the UDF office" the UDF commented. (Interview with UDF officials Jund 1984, Johannesburg.)

* Family members have also been detained, questioned or received calling cards. Five organisations reported such incidents.

* The younger brother of one member was visited at work and accused of writing slogans on the factory wall.

* Family members whose children are involved in youth or student organisations report they have been told their children are terrorists or are involved in dangerous activities.

* A student organisation reported that one of their members was taken by the police. The police told his parents that their son was "hanging around with communists".

* 60 parents of students involved in the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) received anonymous letters entitled "The Price of Treason Carl Niehaus, Wits Student cum Traitor." This pamphlet linked Nusas to the ANC and accused "ex-radicals raised in NUSAS of sitting safely overseas or in neighbouring states manipulating persons inside South Africa, watching as one after the other pays an extreme price for their gullibility." (anonymous pamphlet distributed in June and July 1984.)

* One student organisation reported that a parent had been accused by the security police of being behind the schools boycott in an area. In the same area many parents of youth organisation members were told they were responsible for allowing their children to cause unrest in the schools. None of these children were actually attending the schools in question.

- * Two organisers reported that members' families had been victims of unidentified abusive phone calls.
- * The family of a chairperson of a youth organisation was told their house would be taken away.

6. DETENTIONS

Our survey of 37 organisations revealed that there had been 304 detentions between September 1983 and July 1984. This is not a full total of all the detentions in the Transvaal over this period. It excludes unknown detainees in Venda, Bophutatswana, and non-independent Bantustans. It also excludes guerillas.

An indication of the present extent of unknown detentions earlier this year was given in a press statement by Minister Le Grange. In answer to a question in Parliament, he said there had been 70 detentions in June, 1984, nationwide (this excludes those held in the so-called "independent homelands") The June edition of the DPSC newsletter has records of less than 30 people being detained during the same period.

The following represents a breakdown of the number of detentions that occurred in the major centres in the Transvaal during the period of the survey:

Johannesburg (including trade unions and political organisations)	25
Soweto	26
Alexandra	13
Vaal	14
Pretoria	*
Transvaal rural reas (including Venda and Bophutatswana)	15
Coloured areas	2
Indian areas	0

* (see table)

Interviews conducted with organisations in Pretoria in June 1984 estimate that at least 200 students had been detained as a result of the schools boycott.

Student and youth organisations have suffered most from detentions as these figures show:

Students	over 200
Youth	41
Members of civic organisations	25
Political organisations	14
Trade unionists and workers	9

Detainees have been held under the following Sections:

Criminal Procedures Act (section 50)	51
Internal Security Act (section 29)	33
Internal Security Act (section 50)	2
Internal Security Act (section 31)	1
Unknown	215

Organisations interviewed linked detentions primarily to campaigns or the ongoing work they were involved in. These campaigns were organised by civic, trade union, student and political organisations.

6.1. Concealing detentions

Prior to the August elections the government adopted a number of strategies to conceal detentions. These include the use of the Protection of Information Act, the Criminal Procedures Act, the system of calling cards and asking people to report to police stations, and the omission of homeland detentions from government statistics.

6.1.1 The Protection of Information Act

The Protection of Information Act was used extensively during May and June this year to conceal a number of detentions. Both the Rand Daily Mail and the City Press were warned not to publish information surrounding certain detentions until advised by the security police (DPSC newsletter 30/6/84). The Act provides for a fine of R10 000 or a ten year jail sentence.

One effect of this Act is to conceal the number of detentions from public view, making it appear that the number of detentions is declining.

6.1.2. Omission of homeland detentions from government statistics

Statistics collected by the DPSC reveal that there have been 181 detentions in Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophutatswana from January to July 1984. These detentions are not included in figures released by Minister Le Grange. Nor are the detention deaths of Samuel Tshikudu and Simon Mdawe in Venda recorded by the Minister as deaths in detention.

6.2. Criminal Procedures Act

Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act (CPA) is a provision used to arrest and hold suspected criminals such as housebreakers and car thieves. It allows the police to hold a suspect for 48 hours, at the end of which time the person should either be released or appear before a magistrate. However, if the arrest of a person is carefully timed to co-incide with the weekend, the 48 hour period is only deemed to expire at 4pm on the Monday. A person detained under Section 50 of the CPA is entitled to advice from a lawyer. He or she is not obliged to answer any questions and has the right to remain silent.

While the security police make use of this Act, they do not inform people of their rights. Detainees say they are not told they have the right of access to a lawyer. In one instance where a detainee knew of her rights and demanded to see a lawyer, she was transferred to Section 29 of the Internal Security Act (ex-detainees's statement.)

The use to which the security police are putting Section 50 of

the CPA first came to light when Paris Malatji, a Section 50 detainee was shot in the forehead during interrogation.

One effect of the use of the CPA has been to conceal short term detentions from the South African public and the outside world. Of the 304 detentions reported to us, 50 are known to have been under Section 50 of the CPA. The Minister does not disclose detainees held under Section 50 of the CPA in the statistics he releases to Parliament thereby concealing the extent of detentions.

Organisations reported that information gathering on the part of the security police was one aim of short term detention. The other uses of short term detentions are

* "Preventative" in the sense they are used to detain activists during particularly intense campaigns or periods of activity.

* To discourage people from involvement in organisations. For example during the Alexandra bus boycott and schools boycott in Alexandra, in Saulsville and Atteridgeville students alledge hundreds of detentions.

* Many people reported that they were asked to inform on their organisation or told that other people withwhom they work are informers. Others said they were told to sign statements saying they will not participate in organisational work or attend public meetings in future.

6.3. Calling cards

Calling cards or calling notes are written requests to report to a police station at a particular time and date. The note is usually dropped at the persons' home during the day or pushed under the door at night. Organisations feel this method of asking a person to report at a later date is a definite tactic, as calling cards are hardly ever handed personally to the person concerned.

The use of calling cards has become prominent in the last year. Since September 1983, 222 calling notes have been delivered to the homes of members of Transvaal organisations.

Not only do leadership receive calling cards. Ordinary members also often receive them. The following statistics give a breakdown of constituencies and areas affected by calling cards:

Students	4
Youth	157
Residents and members of civic organisations	26
Women's organisations	13
Political organisations	9
Workers and trade unionists	13

The following breakdown shows how many calling cards were issued in different areas from August 1983 to July 1984:

Johannesburg	20
Soweto	172

Alexandra	5
Pretoria	3
Vaal	3
East Rand	10
Indian Areas	7
Coloured areas	3

Soweto has by far the highest incidence.

Calling cards are closely related to particular activities or campaigns. For example calling cards have been issued to people prior to mass meetings, or during negotiations following a school boycott.

Speakers and organisers of commemoration meetings have also received calling cards just prior to the event. For example in the Vaal, ten members of organisations received calling notes prior to June 16.

One speaker was told to report during the day in the two week period prior to a meeting and to bring his speech with him when he had finished writing it.

Many people involved in the campaign against the elections for the tricameral parliament were often given calling cards.

From the survey it appears that half of the people summoned by calling cards, reported to the police station while the other half did not. There is no legal compulsion on people to report.

Information gathered from people who have responded to calling notes suggests there are four motives behind this tactic:

- * To question people about their activities.
- * To scare members away from organisations.
- * To recruit informers.
- * To discourage potential members from joining organisations.

Asking people to inform appears to be one of the most common occurrences. Some people say they are offered money to spy on members of their organisations; others say they are forced to accept money and sign a receipt for it as payment for services given. It is not clear whether the purpose of this is to blacken the reputation of a particular individual or to recruit spies.

Examples of incidents where calling cards have been used in an attempt to scare away people from organisations include:

- * A calling note was delivered to a Church minister who provided a venue for an anti-constitution meeting.

- * According to an article in the Rand Daily Mail on 3/2/84, two leaders of the Eldorado Park Extension 9 Ratepayers Association who responded to their calling cards said they "were questioned for two hours and accused of causing trouble."

Those who did not respond to their calling notes, have been met with a mixed response. In some cases there has been no follow up. In other cases the following incidents were reported:

- * A second calling note was delivered.
- * They were telephoned at work.
- * The security police visited them at home.
- * They were detained in the early morning.

6.4. Reporting to a police station

Organisations reported that their members are visited at home or work and told to report to the police station at a particular time. Once again this seems to be linked to particular campaigns. Six activists doing door to door work around the election boycott in Indian communities were told to report to police stations for questioning.

7. CHARGES

Evidence, collected from the survey shows that the government is increasingly attempting to try and convict activists. People are being charged for relatively minor and even criminal offences.

This trend became pronounced in mid-1983, when a number of detainees spent a relatively short period in detention and were then brought to court and charged with minor security offences. Some of these people were refused bail and kept for long periods as awaiting trial prisoners before finally being acquitted or released on bail pending appeals.

The most well known cases are those of Amanda Kwadi and Albertina Sisulu who were detained in August 1983. Both were effectively kept out of action for nearly seven months before Ms. Kwadi was acquitted and Mrs. Sisulu was released on bail pending the outcome of her appeal. Her bail provisions have had the effect of further restricting on her activities.

People active in organisations are frequently victims of minor charges seen by organisations as attempts to keep people out of action for a period as well as harass and inconvenience them.

For example, an organiser of the Krugersdorp Residents Organisation, Lettie Nzima was charged together with her daughter for possession of a banned booklet. However, they were acquitted. (Star, 14/2/84)

Another example of a person being charged for a minor offence was Doris Ndoli Setlhoke who was charged with possessing a dress with the words "Amandla, Power, Matla" on it. She was charged under the Publications Act, but acquitted. (Star 31/1/84.)

The emphasis on charging activists suggests an attempt to cast a criminal slur on the activities of those involved in anti-apartheid work. Members of organisations have been detained under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act and have been charged for committing crimes such as trespassing, being in an area unlawfully and being in unlawful possession of a weapon - Panga.

Examples of people being charged for criminal offences include:

- * A member of a youth organisation's house was raided by

administration board officials and he was arrested for being "idle and undesirable". When the officials raided his house they said "We are looking for _____", mentioning the name of the youth organisation.

Union members and workers have frequently been charged for trespassing during strikes.

* A MAWU organiser and member were arrested after addressing a striking workers meeting at R.A.H. Products plant in Brits and charged with trespassing. (Rand Daily Mail, 11/1/84.)

* 174 striking workers at a cable manufacturing firm in Brits were arrested and charged for trespassing.

The Intimidation Act has been increasingly used yet the police have not managed to secure many convictions.

* Nine members of Ayco and the Alexandra Commuters Committee were detained for a short while during the bus boycott in January and February and then charged under the Intimidation Act. However, after a few court appearances their charges were withdrawn (Rand Daily Mail, 24/5/84).

* Charges of intimidation and assault were withdrawn against Thami Meerwa during student protests at Ibhongo High School in Soweto. (Rand Daily Mail 12/4/84).

By holding activists without bail, or giving heavy sentences the government is able to remove anti-apartheid activists without using long periods of detention, banning orders or preventative detention, all of which have in the past contributed to the government's heavy handed image. Court cases have met the demand from conservative opponents of detention for "charge or release."

In many cases charges are withdrawn. However the process of frequent court appearances inconveniences activists and some believe is intended to disrupt their work:

* Four Turfloop students charged with arson, public violence, and housebreaking were acquitted after no evidence led by witnesses implicated the four students. (March, 1984, Sowetan).

* Charges against Jeremy Baskin, organiser for Paper, Wood and Allied Workers Union, of convening an illegal gathering on 12/3/84 when he went to settle a strike at a Johannesburg factory, were withdrawn. (Star, 14/6/84).

8. WHAT CAN WE DO ?

For a long time the attitude of many members of organisations has been that harassment is the price they pay for involvement in political opposition. If they have responded at all this response has been to contact legal help and the press.

Organisations are realising that with the sustained attack on grassroots membership, and on daily organisational work, a more systematic approach to harassment is needed.

What follows are some suggestions of ways in which organisations can deal with harassment of their membership and leadership. It is not comprehensive, but may offer some ideas for future action. We have divided it into three main categories: monitoring, education and support work.

8.1. Monitoring

In the course of doing this survey, it became evident that very few organisations kept regular or accurate records of the extent to which they were subject to harassment.

Regularly updating reports can be used to publicise what is occurring and to allow organisations to analyse the extent of harassment on their constituency.

Detainees support committees around the country keep records of the extent of harassment but these records are not as accurate as they would be if they had regular information from organisations. Organisations could help this process if they encouraged their members to report all incidents of harassment.

8.2. Education

This aspect is more difficult to deal with. Education that informs members' of the different security laws is useful and necessary. From time to time in the past Descoms have tried to publish information on this or conduct seminars.

The aspect of education that is more difficult is that concerned with the aspects of harassment mentioned in this report.

Open discussion of individuals' experiences is one way to prevent people feeling alone or vulnerable. Organisations interviewed said that when members spoke about their experiences it not only strengthened them, but others as well. It prepared them in advance and helped them to feel part of a united group.

One aspect of repression which needs attention is the recruitment of informers. People are often afraid to talk about approaches to inform for the police because they feel it puts their credibility in question. It is crucial that members realise this is a widespread practice so that they are willing to discuss it in the organisation.

7.3. Support work

Detainees support committees have tried in the past to provide support for the victims of repression and their families. This support includes information about security laws, food parcels

for detainees, visits to families and encouraging families to meet and talk to the families of other detainees; publicity around repression and medical check-ups for ex-detainees.

Support for the families of detainees is a key aspect because of the way in which the police try either to intimidate families or to use them against the detainee. We pointed out earlier that one of the aims of widespread harassment of members is to drive a wedge between them and their families. This makes it very important to support and educate the families of victims of all kinds of harassment.

Similarly support whether moral or material of victims of repression themselves, plays an important role in rehabilitation. Recent research points to the far-reaching psychological effects of torture, solitary confinement on detainees and hence on their families. It is important that recognition is given to this to ensure that members of organisations recover adequately from their experiences.

These examples only deal with ways of combatting individual experiences of repression or within the confines of one organisation. From this report it is clear that repression affects all organisations involved in extra-parliamentary opposition for example students and youth groups as well as organisations in particular areas e.g. Vaal and Soweto, suffer extremely harsh repression.

This makes it necessary for organisations working with the same constituency and/or working in one area to unite against the specific way in which repression affects them. In some areas Descoms have fulfilled this function. At other times, campaigns have united specific organisations faced with repression, for example the Unite Against Detentions Committee formed to unite unionists against detentions.

Organisations needing assistance can contact the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) or Descom in their centres

AJ

Here "A J 2"
UDF ● CONGRESS ● UCC



Archie Gumede, Paul David and Billy Nair in the consulate.

MASS RALLY

MONDAY, 15 OCTOBER '84
St. Anthony's Hall - 7.30 p.m.
Centenary Road, Dbn.

SPEAKERS:

- Donald Anderson (British Labour Party), ● Zac Yacoob (NIC)

FREE OUR LEADERS NOW!

Everywhere our standing up again

In August this year, our communities refused to vote; refused to be used by the Government to oppress the African people.

At this moment, in Soweto, Sebokeng, Katlelong our people are saying NO to rent increases, NO to electricity tariff increases, NO to dummy community councils.

To our people's demands for equality and a better life for all, the Government has replied with force.

They have detained our leaders, harassed our activists and turned their guns on our unarmed people.

Despite these setbacks, our people continue to resist injustice; our organisations, the UDF, NIC, TIC, RMC continue to challenge the racist government. 3 of our leaders, Archie Gumede, Billy Nair, and Paul David continue to occupy the British Consulate to challenge the Government and demand the

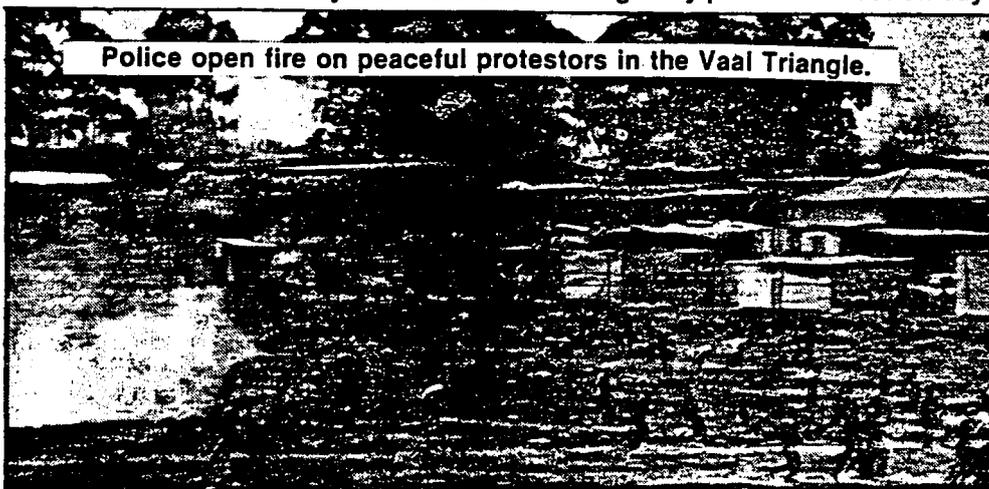
withdrawal of all detention orders.

Internationally, progressive organisations such as the AAM, the British Labour Party, and the overwhelming majority of countries within the United Nations support our cause.

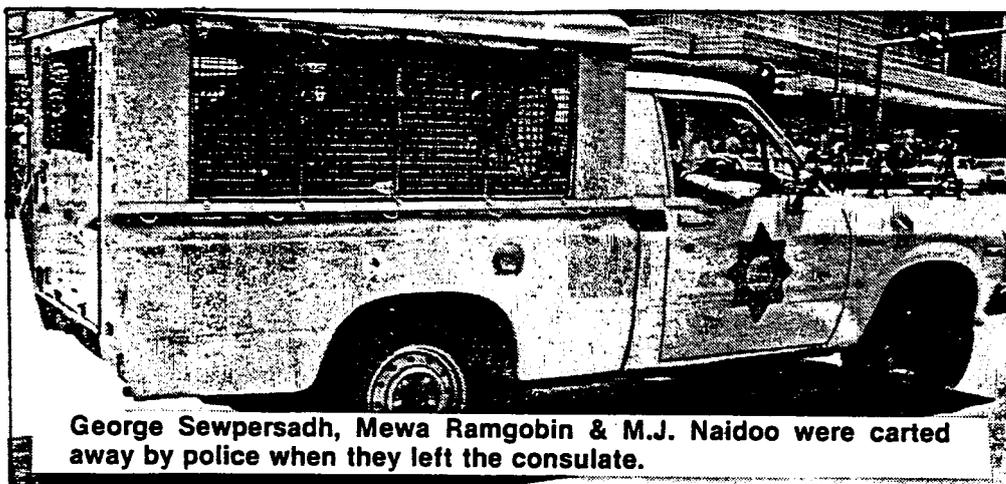
We are not alone. Our cause is just. We demand equality, decent wages, proper housing, education and opportunities for all. We must succeed!



One of the many that were baton charged by police on election day



people are nst apartheid



George Sewpersadh, Mewa Ramgobin & M.J. Naidoo were carted away by police when they left the consulate.

On September 13, six UDF and Congress leaders entered the British Consulate in Durban, after being hounded by the government for weeks. Our leaders wanted to expose to the world the horrors of Apartheid and detention without trial.

Because of this action, the South African government decided not to send back 4 criminals to Britain where they were charged for smuggling arms. Botha has the cheek to compare our leaders to his criminals.

On Saturday 6 October, 3 of our leaders decided to walk out of the consulate to challenge the government to send back the 4 criminals to Britain. George Sewpersadh,

Mewa Ramgobin and M.J. Naidoo were immediately detained by the police.

The "three", Archie Gumede, Billy Nair, and Paul David continue to stay in the consulate and fight detentions. South Africa's courts have decided that the government can detain them, even though they have committed no crime.

It has been a long battle for our leaders both those in detention and those in the consulate. They have made many sacrifices. Their families suffer. Their work and businesses suffer. They continue to live under difficult conditions.

**THEY ARE OUR LEADERS
THEY SPEAK FOR OUR RIGHTS
WE STAND WITH THEM.**

BOTHA, LE GRANGE, RAJBANSI, REDDY, HENDRIKSE

Stop harassing, detaining and silencing our leaders. Speak to them!
They speak for us!

They are our only hope for bringing about peaceful change in South Africa.



**LONG LIVE
THE UDF —**

BAN APARTHEID!

Since its launch in August 1983, the UDF has grown into one of the largest mass movements opposing the government, in the history of our peoples struggle against apartheid.

Daily, mass support for the UDF is growing. Internationally the UDF commands the respect of all democratic forces and organisations.

It stands for democracy, non racialism and the unity of all South Africans —

African, Indian, Coloured and democratic Whites.

This is what Police Minister Le Grange is scared of. He can't stand to see the UDF and the struggle of the people grow. He wants to put an end to this. He wants to ban the UDF... to silence the voice of the people. But he can't silence MILLIONS of oppressed people.

**Long live the UDF! Ban
Apartheid!**

UDF Thb. **AJ3**

No (19) 18/8/87

UDF campaign against repressionMinutes of a meeting held on 1 October 1984Present : Descom, TIC, Anti-PC, Fedsaw, Jodac, DamApologies: UDFIntroduction/Purpose of the Campaign

A decision had been taken at the last General Council meeting that Descom and RMC would together convene a meeting to discuss the establishment of a campaign against the repression that UDF and its affiliates had suffered.

The meeting identified the following aims of the campaign: to popularise the UDF, and the leaders that have been detained, to form a common campaign that would challenge the state's repression of the UDF, highlight the repression that our affiliates have suffered in the Vaal, East Rand and other parts of the Transvaal, unite affiliates around a common campaign.

(19)
19/8Proposals

The meeting put forward the following proposals to be discussed by the executive of UDF and other affiliates:

1. A co-ordinating committee would be set up consisting of the organisations present and RMC, Cosas, Azaso, Nusas, Aycd, Soyco. It was felt that other organisations were more than welcome to participate, but that the above mentioned organisations had both suffered severe repression and were in a position to offer person power to the campaign.
2. The committees task will be to work out a common thrust for the campaign and common slogans, and media
3. Affiliates will be encouraged to use this media to take up the campaign at a mass level in their own areas.
4. A commission of enquiry be established to investigate repression in various communities in the Transvaal
5. Descom investigate holding the Descom annual conference in the Transvaal together with a mass protest rally

Prof Mohammed *Ju*
AJ4

No 19 : 19/8/87

See "AS 4"

UDF CAMPAIGN AGAINST REPRESSION MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON 9 OCTOBER 1984

Present: UDF, Anti-PC, TIC, Descom, Cosas, Speak, RMC, Jodac, SCA(Observer)
YCS

Aims of the campaign

The meeting agreed on the following aims of the campaign:

1. To respond strongly to state attempts to repress UDF and its affiliates
2. To have a united campaign against repression that would use common slogans, media and themes
3. To discuss these aims with affiliates and area committees with the aim of encouraging affiliates and area committees to take up the campaign in their own areas.
4. To assist affiliates to educate themselves and their members about repression and what responses they can have to this.

Report back from the UDF executive

The UDF executive approved the general aims of the campaign. They will look into possible names of people to sit on a commission of inquiry
They think the campaign as a whole should be referred to area committees
They think the existing committee should take responsibility for co-ordinating the campaign.

Decisions

The committee appointed people to work on the following areas:

1. Discuss these proposals with area committees
2. Investigate ways in which to take up the campaign on a public level and also to use the campaign to strengthen affiliates and area committees
3. Make recommendations as to the form of a commission of inquiry.

No 19 17/8/87 P7



UNITE AGAINST SUFFERING! *Rev AJ!*

"THE WORKERS WILL BUILD HOUSES AND INHABIT THEM; THEY SHALL PLANT VINEYARDS AND EAT THEIR FRUIT. THEY SHALL NOT BUILD AND ANOTHER INHABIT; THEY SHALL NOT PLANT AND ANOTHER EAT. FOR LIKE THE DAYS OF A TREE SHALL THE DAYS OF MY PEOPLE BE, AND MY CHOSEN SHALL LONG ENJOY THE WORKS OF THEIR HANDS."

ISAIAH 65: 21, 22.

The UDF, and the organisations which belong to it, are daily made aware of the increasing hardships of our people. Eggs, bread, milk, mielie meal, train and bus fares, hospital fees and G.S.T. - all these things have gone up in price. Our people cannot pay these increases. Families and especially children are suffering.

THE UDF BELIEVES:

1. That in a rich country like South Africa, food, rent, transport and health services should be provided at prices all people can afford.
2. It is the poor that suffer most from the burden of G.S.T. The basic things people need to buy every day should not be taxed.
3. That the money collected from the people in tax should be spent for the benefit of all. It should not be spent to strengthen apartheid, to buy guns, bullets and tanks. It should not be used to bulldoze people out of their homes and dump them far from where they can find work.
4. That the New Deal will not change apartheid. There is talk of change, but not the changes that mean most to our people. It will only mean increased suffering.
5. That all South Africans should have a real say in the decisions which affect their lives in an undivided, non racial and democratic South Africa.

— UDF UNITES — APARTHEID DIVIDES —

Issued by UDF, Printed at Nusas, 131 Lower Main Rd

AJ6

UDF sub

AJ7

(20) 28/9/87

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Ben A J 7

N.E.C STATEMENT FOR UDF NEWS

FIRST DRAFT

(20) 28/2

The South African government has declared war on the people. They've detained the leaders of our organisations. Their police have shot and killed more than one hundred people in the past few weeks. Recently they moved the army in against the people in Soweto. Now, they are threatening to ban the UDF and some of its affiliates.

Our people want a decent life with adequate housing, a living wage and decent education. But this does not matter to the government. They and their puppets continue to inflict even more hardships on our people. Forcibly removing us from our homes to distant wastelands. Forcing bantustans and self-rule down our throats. Increasing the prices of basics like rent, food and transport.

Yet, they expect our people to take this suffering without question. When we refuse to take this pain they panic. They shoot young and old, and then do not even allow us to bury our dead. Even a bishop was arrested for attending a funeral.

The government expects us not to notice these things. They blame our grievances on so-called agitators.

They fail to understand that for us all these issues are a matter of life and death. Our families will die if we cannot feed them. When our rents are increased without consultation, the lives of our families are threatened.

The government uses our taxes on their army, their bantustan leaders and their tricameral parliament. Now, we must say to them and the world, they rule without our support. They rule only by the force of the gun. We must say to them that we are angry.

They know these things, but we must remind them of it. The government thinks that our anger will vanish if we do not have organisations, if our leaders are banned or if they shoot our children.

2/.....

But, they are wrong. The UDF had warned them that this new constitution is a recipe for conflict and disaster. They refused to listen. They are now seeing the words of the UDF come true.

Looking for scapegoats like the UDF will not solve the problem. The UDF is a front of organisations. The UDF does not take decisions on behalf of organisations. Leaders do not take decisions for organisations either. Decisions are taken by the members of our organisations, the people of South Africa.

Our organisations are merely the places where our decisions are taken. If they take these places away, others will be found - our homes, churches and streets. So let them ban the UDF, let them ban our organisations. Let them ban us from talking to each other in the streets.

Our anger will not go away. Dissatisfaction will make way for bitterness. Conflict will breed more conflict. They will reap the fruits of their folly.

The UDF does not want this situation. We say there is only one solution to peace in our country. Unban all our organisations. Release our leaders. Guarantee the safe return of our exiles and scrap the racist constitution. Our people will not rest until we have won our place in the bodies that govern this country.

AJ8



Rev AJ 8''

UDF PRESS STATEMENT - 21/08/84

DETENTION OF UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT'S ACTIVISTS

The UDF totally condemns the detention of more than thirty (30) campaigners against apartheid in Natal, the Eastern Cape, the Transvaal and Oudtshoorn. We demand the immediate release of all these activists and the cessation of these acts of terror.

These arrests are not unexpected. Le Grange and the SABC have been conducting a daily propaganda campaign against the United Democratic Front and its affiliates. This arsenal of mass media and propaganda has totally failed to persuade the Coloured and Indian communities to support the new constitution, or to vote. This very failure shows that these communities have rejected Le Grange's allegations with the contempt they deserve.

Now that this propaganda war has failed, the government is resorting to force. They are making it clear that they are not interested in the consent of the people to their plans - they are going ahead regardless of the cost.

We are getting a glimpse of what the constitution holds in store for us. There are upheavals country-wide, riot police are roving the streets, thugs are terrorising UDF people, and now the Security Police are incarcerating respected leaders of the people. Students are boycotting schools country-wide, and the Universities are in turmoil.

These are the features of a State of Emergency. Yet the government is pressing ahead with the elections. The depth of feeling against the constitution was clearly demonstrated this week-end, when more than twenty thousand people from all sections of the population gathered at UDF Rallies around the country.

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

We warn the collaborators that they are totally implicated in these actions, since they have made common cause with the attack on democratic organisations. Their connivance with the smear campaign against the UDF has clearly unmasked them to our people.

The hand that makes the cross in tomorrow's elections, is also the hand which locks our leaders up in Le Grange's cells, not only today but also tomorrow. The Nationalist Party is seeking a mandate in the election to implement these types of action against the democratic movement. They are seeking a mandate to conscript people as agents of their own oppression.

We are confident that our people now, more than ever, will utterly reject these puppet elections. The UDF will not be intimidated and will continue to challenge the legitimacy of the structures the State is attempting to impose on us.

The UDF calls on all peace-loving and democratic people of South Africa and throughout the world to support our just struggle for a constitution based on the will of the people, and to defend our democratic organisations against the terror of the State.

DETAINED UDF ACTIVIST

Terror Lekota	-	UDF Publicity Secretary
Mewa Ramgobin	-	UDF National Treasurer NIC Publicity Secretary
M J Naidoo	-	NIC Vice President
George Sewpersadh	-	NIC President
Billy Nair	-	Org. Anti Elect. Comm. - Natal
Curnick Ndlovu	-	Co-ord. Million Sign. Camp - Natal
Archie Gumede	-	UDF President (National) Chairman RMC
Essop Jassat	-	President TIC & UDF Patron
Aubrey Mokoena	-	Publicity Secretary RMC & UDF Exec. member
Curtis Nkondo	-	RMC Chairman & Vice Pres. UDF Tv1
RAM Saloojee	-	TIC Vice Pres. UDF National
Prince Msuthu	-	Reg. Publicity Sec. E Cape
Bashir Hussein	-	UDF Area Com.

NELSPRUIT

Martin Mchunu
David Mabuza
Lucas Ntuli

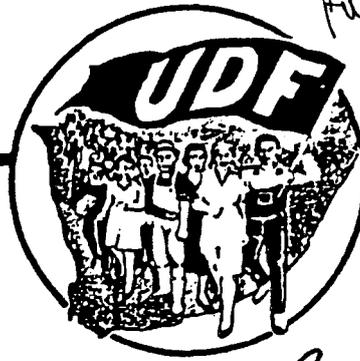
8 People Oudtshoorn
1 Pretoria
10 Middelburg - Students



28/9/87

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Ben 'A I 9'

23 January 1985

SHOOTING OF W KRATSHI

The brutal shooting and death of William Kratshi - a leading UDF activist - open a new chapter in extra-parliamentary politics.

Kratshi was recently released from prison where he served 2½ years for attending an illegal gathering. Throughout his prison stay and after, he remained steadfastly opposed to Apartheid.

His shooting shows that, henceforth, the state, frustrated by its inability to contain growing resistance, especially the UDF, will eliminate its opponents in this fashion.

*(20)
28/9/8*

This year the UDF will further grow in strength and expose some more of the ineffectiveness of structures of the new dispensation. Repression will increase.

But we shall insist on and mobilise national and international support to defend our last possession i.e the right to oppose Apartheid.

P LEKOTA

AJ10

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OF

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Bew "A J 10"

10 December 1984

PRESS STATEMENT ON RELEASE OF SECTION 28 DETAINEES

Our release at this point in time, when our people and humanity is demanding the eradication of Apartheid, is calculated to accord credibility to the constructive ^{engagement} of the Reagan administration. Recent developments have revealed an increasing and direct control the US government of the Southern African region via the Nationalist government.

But the August election results, the continuing rejection of and resignations from the Black Local Authorities, the response of the workers to the stayaway call and the simmering resistance of our people in the townships is an indication that only the release of our people's leaders and the dismantling of Apartheid will bring about peace in this country.

In this context the threats of the Minister of Law and Order at the TvI Nationalist Party congress could not have been more misdirected. The UDF received a clear mandate from the people in August and in the aftermath. We are determined to faithfully execute that mandate until Apartheid is banned from the face of South Africa.

We count in our favour the international support which has been displayed by the endorsement of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu, the resolutions of the UN and the growing demands of progressive humanity for an urgent and immediate peaceful resolution of S A's problems.

1. Q Section 29 detainees -

A: We still call for their unconditional release.

2. Q Conditions of Section 28 detainees

A: Section 28 of the ISA - status of an awaiting trial prisoner

A: 23 November P. Mofe - Florence Nighting Private Clinic - subjected to ruthlessness at the clinic - leg irons, handcuffed to the bed.

3. Q What is being done to detainees

A: Attorneys approached to look into the harassment of detainees

4. Q: Are those released listed or are they to be quoted.

A: Documents signed by Min le Gange.

Q: Will you ~~ask~~ your lawyers about the release documents?

A: We are going to ask for clarification

AJ11

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS ST
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

Ban "A I II"

13 December 1984

UDF PRESS RELEASE ON THE BAN OF TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS MEETING

The meeting called to protest against the re-detention of leaders of the TIC, RMC and NIC because the acting Magistrate for Johannesburg claims that public peace will be endangered by this meeting.

We of the UDF believe that this meeting has been banned because it would be a demonstration of the anger of our people at the re-detention of our leaders. The UDF and its affiliates remain committed to mobilising mass support behind those now charged with high treason. For this reason, the banning order will not deter us, the meeting has been rescheduled to be held at the Seva Saing Hall in Laudium, Pretoria this evening.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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15 December 1984

Rev AJ 12

UDF PRESS RELEASE ON MEETINGS BAN

The United Democratic front condemns the ban on its meetings in the magisterial districts of Krugersdorp and Johannesburg on the basis that public peace would be endangered.

The UDF views this ban as an act of desperation by the S A government intended to deny it a public voice. The track record of the Front shows that there is no basis for the ban. Several meetings organised by the UDF in the past and attended by thousands of people have been conducted in the most peaceful and orderly fashion.

Such arbitrary actions will not deter us. We of the UDF remain committed to the greater mobilisation of the masses and, will continue to intensify our work in this respect. If by these actions the government hopes to isolate the UDF from the people, it could not have made a more incorrect calculation. It must be clear that our struggle to ban Apartheid from the face of South Africa continues.

Signed

AJ13

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



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for "AG 13"

02 October 1984

The UDF condemns the arbitrary arrest of our General Secretary Popo Molefe. The previous detentions of our leaders have shown that this action on the part of the State cannot in any way intimidate our people. Their grievances are real and the struggles against injustice will not in any way be deterred.

We must at this point however warn the S A government that detentions and harassment only serve to fuel the anger of our people. The UDF calls for the unconditional release of all detainees in the interest of peace in our country.

STATEMENT ON POPO MOLEFE'S DETENTION.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

'DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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Res 'A I 14''

Whilst the lifting of emergency regulations in Cradock is a slight relief, but it is no cause for celebration. The basic grievances of the residents of Cradock have not in any way been addressed. It is abundantly clear that until the community leaders are released and reinstated in their jobs the schools boycott will continue unabated.

The high-handed actions of the police in Cradock and the State of emergency itself have strengthened the determination of the residents of Cradock to struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa. In no way have these attempts at intimidation been successful.

The UDF salutes the courage and spirit of resistance of the people led by CRADORA and CRADOYA and we fully support their demand for the unconditional and immediate release of their leaders.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



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'Rev AS 15''

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT - PRESS RELEASE - 12/9/84

The latest in a series of outrageous acts by the government is nothing more than an admission by the minority government that it has lost the political battle. The government has failed to win over "the hearts and minds" of our people. Thus its only option is to fall back on fascist and dictatorial methods. Any government which has to resort to such means is a govt without support, constantly threatened, panic-stricken and definitely unstable.

These measures leave our people with no choice. There is no doubt that an ever increasing number of people would be driven to the streets in order to express their grievances. Peaceful and orderly meetings not being allowed, the masses are left only with the option of gathering at the barricades.

However, the work of the UDF and its affiliates will continue. Our strength is that we speak to people in homes, schools, factories and on the busses and trains. We do not rely on mass meetings alone. Thus the process of mobilisation against apartheid would not stop.

For the sake of peace and justice we call on the govt to immediately lift its undeclared state of emergency and bow down to the demands of the majority of the people by scrapping the new constitution and the Black Local Authorities.

Rev. Frank Chikane.

UDF - W. Cape

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Rev "AJ16"
AJ16(1)

JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, FOSATU, SAAWU, OVGWU, GAWU, CCAWUSA, FCWU, JOSDA, SACWU, SALDCWU, CUSA AND THE DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE.

We, the United Democratic Front, Fosatu, Saawu, Gawu, OVGWU, Ccawusa, FCWU, Josda, Sacwu, SALDCWU, Cusa and Descom condemn the banning of the South African Allied Workers Union and the repression of the people in the Ciskei bantustan.

This ban on Saawu must be seen in the broader context of the South African political scene in which there is the intensification of repression and the unfolding of the grand design of Apartheid.

By this act the Apartheid government has illustrated that the bantustan structures will increasingly be used to suppress any resistance to their Apartheid policies.

Alongside this ban is reported excesses comparable with those of Nazi Germany. A stadium in Mdantsane has been converted into a concentration camp. Scores of our defenceless people are being herded into and and tortured there.

The ban on Saawu must also be seen as a climax of the persecution of that union and its leadership. All unions in the area have suffered under the current assault on resistance organisations. The aim is to strip the large workforce in Mdantsane of any leadership in its struggle against exploitation.

Viewed in this light the ban on Saawu is the beginning of the process of eradication of whatever unions and resistance organisations there are in the Ciskei. Not only has Saawu been banned but the local offices of the other unions have virtually closed down due to detentions. Henceforth any union which comes out in full support of worker resistance against bus fare hikes, rent hikes and so on will follow Saawu into banning. And yet unions cannot but support struggles beyond factory boundaries if they are to be of any lasting consequence to the workers.

The ban on Saawu is a veiled threat to other unions to stay away from community struggles like the Mdantsane bus boycott. But bus fare hikes eat into the workers' pay packets and unions are obliged to support the campaigns of the working people. To permit the Ciskei puppet government to suppress union involvement in community struggles is to give away a fundamental element of unionism. Without the right to use their organisations to defend themselves workers are utterly defenceless. And there can be no compromise on this right to take up issues beyond the factory floor.

2.

The UDF takes a very serious view of the right of workers to their unions and the employment of those unions to defend themselves against exploitation. It joins all unions here in condemning this ban.

In keeping with that condemnation it appeals to all progressive unions to stand together in this critical period and jointly oppose the ban.

20 SEPTEMBER, 1983.

KHOTSO HOUSE.

UDF *hu*

AJ17

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28/9/87
6/10/87

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT PRESS STATEMENT

DATE : 6 JANUARY 1984

Rev "AJ 17"

LABOUR PARTY DECISION

THE LABOUR PARTY DECISION TO JOIN RANKS WITH NATIONAL PARTY AND IMPOSE THE NEW CONSTITUTION ACT ON THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IS CRIME WHICH SOMEDAY THEY WILL BE CALLED UPON TO ACCOUNT FOR. IT IS IN KEEPING WITH SECTION 37 OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION ACT WHICH MAINTAINS THAT THE ACT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED WITH OR WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF EITHER INDIAN OR COLOURED PEOPLE.

THE CLAIM THAT THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT WOULD INTIMIDATE THE PEOPLE IN THE EVENT OF A REFERANDUM DOES NOT ONLY EXPOSE THE LABOUR PARTY LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE MASSES, IT IS ALSO AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

BUT WE OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ARE CONFIDENT THAT DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICANS OF ALL RACES WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT OUR CAMPAIGN AGAINST THIS DICTATORIAL CONSTITUTION.

THE STAGE IS NOW SET FOR OPPOSITION TO FORCED MILITARY CONSCRIPTION AND OTHER OPPRESSIVE MEASURES WHICH WILL ACCOMPANY THE COERCIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS ACT.

IT GOES WITH OUT SAYING THAT UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT WILL OPPOSE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS ACT.

ISSUED ON BEHALF OF UDF BY T. LEKOTI
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT PUBLICITY SECRETARY.

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28/9/87

AJ18

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

PRESS RELEASE

Rev "AJ 18"

WE LEARN WITH CONCERN OF THE ARREST OF THE NATIONAL PUBLICITY SECRETARY OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT MOSIUOA "TERROR" LEKOTA IN WELKOM. HE WAS ARRESTED AT ABOUT 11.30 ON WEDNESDAY ON HIS WAY TO WELKOM IN THE O.F.S.

THIS IS THE SECOND TIME THAT LEKOTA IS BEING HELD IN POLICE CUSTODY IN THE PAST FOUR MONTHS. HE WAS RELEASED FROM ROBBEN ISLAND MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON ONLY OVER A YEAR AGO WHERE HE SERVED A TERM OF SIX YEARS.

HE IS DUE TO APPEAR IN COURT AT TWO PM. TODAY.

LEKOTA'S ARREST COMES AT A TIME WHEN THE UDF IS INTENSIFYING ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION ACT AND EXPANDING ITS ACTIVITIES TO EVERY CORNER OF OUR COUNTRY. IT WILL NOT STOP THE HIGHLY EFFICIENT MACHINERY OF THE UDF FROM DISCREDITING BOTHA'S FRAUD IN THE GUISE OF THE CONSTITUTION ACT AND KOORNHOF LAWS.

..... Pops: Molefe

/OI2684

AJ19

PRESS STATEMENT ON DETENTION OF ELLIOT SHABANGU AND AMOS MASONDO

ELLIOT SHABANGU - (VICE - PRESIDENT OF UDF TRANSVAAL - EXECUTIVE MEMBER OF GAWU)

AMOS MASONDO - (CHIEF ORGANISER OF GAWU AND A MEMBER OF COMMITTEE OF TEN EX ROBBERN ISLANDER)

THE DETENTION OF MEN WHO REPRESENT THE DEMOCRATIC ASPIRATION OF THE BROAD MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE BEARS TESTIMONY TO THE STATE OF PANIC AND UNCERTAINTY IN WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT IS.

THE DETENTION OF THESE TRADE UNION LEADERS AND KEY MEMBERS OF THE UDF COMES IN THE LIGHT OF GROWING STRENGTH OF THE UDF AND THE INCREASING WORKER PARTICIPATION IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE FRONT.

ELLIOT SHABANGU A LEADING MEMBER OF THE UDF AND FOUNDER MEMBER OF THE GENERAL & ALLIED WORKERS UNION IS A STALWARD OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE AND A CHAMPION OF THE WORKING CLASS. HE HAS BEEN ON THE FOREFRONT OF RESISTANCE SINCE THE 1950'S.

DESPITE HARRASMENT AND INTIMIDATION THE UDF IN ITS SHORT LIFESPAN, ALREADY HAS A PROUD HISTORY OF RESISTANCE. MEN LIKE SHABANGU AND MASONDO WERE INSTRUMENTAL TO THE GLORIOUS VICTORY OF THE SOWETO PEOPLE AGAINST THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN DECEMBER LAST YEAR.

OUR STRUGGLE CONTINUES WITH COURAGE AND DETERMINATION. WE REMAIN UNDAUNTED IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION ACT. NOTHING WILL STOP OUR CAMPAIGN TO COLLECT A MILLION SIGNATURES FROM CONTINUING.

WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ELLIOT SHABANGU AND AMOS MASONDO.

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28/9/87

Bew "A 520"

The past few months have seen the resounding rejection of PW Botha's policies by all sections of the oppressed community. The extent of this rejection has caused panic in the hearts of South African racists, with the tragic consequences that are now familiar.

The unleashing of police and military terror on the townships was met with popular anger and resistance. A situation of civil war now exists in a number of townships on the Witwatersrand.

28/9/11

(20)

The regime has repeatedly attempted to shift the blame for this situation from its own shoulders. It has blamed 'outside agitators'. 'communists' and repeatedly, the UDF itself. 'Agitators' have to be manufactured because the root cause of the continuing conflict in South Africa is the incapacity of the apartheid state to respond to genuine popular grievances.

In the Vaal uprisings we saw the mass arrest of mourners at funerals and attempts to get them to admit liability for the killing of government agents and the burning of buildings. This masquerade is now continuing with over sixty Vaal residents being detained by the 'security' police.

In due course the state may try to launch a show trial, in an attempt to distract attention away from the regime's policies and to criminalise legitimate opposition in the townships.

The identical process has happened with the recent stay-away. Responding to massive popular grievances, 36 organisations participated in a stay-away in order to make various demands on the government. Trade union, student and community leaders have been detained and there is now talk of a show trial. It is speculated that people will be charged with 'economic sabotage' under section 54 of the Internal Security Act. This is a vague and extremely broad section in an act which would not find a place in any democratic society.

The United Democratic Front, together with other progressive organisations, is demanding the unconditional release of all the detainees. Calls for the detainees to be charged, ~~being~~ made among others, by the South African business community, ignore the fact that perfectly legitimate acts of opposition have been outlawed by the parliament of a regime that has no right to rule South Africa. Any suggestion that opponents of apartheid should be charged for their oppositin lends the semblance of legitimacy to this regime, which ~~is~~ is rightly treated as an international pariah.

We therefore call on democrats throughout the world to join us in demanding the release of all detainees and to expose the illegitimacy of any attempt to criminalise those engaged in the struggle against the crime of apartheid



Rev "AS21"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN
2048

STATEMENT ON SMANGALISO MKHATSHWA'S DETENTION

20.10.83

We have learnt with disgust of the detention of Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, General Secretary of the SACBC and our patron (UDF).

The wanton detention of people in the Ciskei has already elicited a concerted response both from inside the country and abroad for their immediate release.

The ruthless police, the reckless way and horrible conditions under which detainees are kept in the Ciskei is reason for us to believe that Father Mkhathshwa's life is in great danger, like that of other detainees.

We fail to see why his visit to Fort Hare to address the Catholic Students' Association could ever be a matter that could invite him such high-handed action from the Ciskei government.

The UDF condemns the wholesale detention of people in the Ciskei, particularly that of one of our patrons. We demand their immediate and unconditional release.

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UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN
2048

Ben AJ22

STATEMENT ON THE DETENTION OF OUR PUBLICITY SECRETARY (TERROR LEKOTA)

21 October 1983.

We condemn in strongest terms the detention of our Publicity Secretary, Mr Mosioa Terror Lekota. The detention of Terror and a systematic repressive campaign expressed in the banning of all UDF meetings throughout the country in recent weeks, is proof enough that the so-called New Deal is just a fraud. The recent banning of UDF meetings and those of its affiliates, and the detention of Mr Lekota are actions of a desperate and panic-stricken government that is unsure of its ability to impose a patently unjust system on the people of South Africa.

The massive repression perpetrated by the government against popular leaders and the people's organisations is a clear indication that this government has no intention of leading the country to greater social justice. By silencing the voice of the people, this racist government is setting the scene for a tragic conflict in our country.

We demand the immediate release of our national Publicity officer and an immediate end to this campaign of repression against the United Democratic Front.

AJ23

Embasses.

Reu "A 123"

31 October 1984

Dear Madam/Sir

All indications point to a deepening crisis in South Africa. The government seems to be increasingly less willing to address the just demands of our people and is becoming more reliant on repressive and para-military measures.

Thus, their refusal to address the demands of the Vaal Civic Association for affordable rentals and their refusal to accede to the demands of high school students serve only to exacerbate the conflict. Clearly, in the context of this conflict, military manoeuvres like Operation Palmiet amount to acts of bravado and not solutions to the problem. The decision to allow Community Councillors to establish their own police force must be seen in exactly the same light.

Democratic popular organisations like the UDF and its affiliates have been met with the same 'kragdadigheid'. Minister Le Grange's threat to ban the UDF is an example of this. We believe that the threat was not executed only because it was inopportune for the government to take such an arbitrary action at that point. However, we see the effect of the threat played out in different ways. Firstly, more UDF officials are being sought by the Security Police, possibly for a further wave of detentions. Secondly, the government is now using its surrogate bantustan leaders to execute Le Grange's threats. The UDF, COSAS and AZASO have now been banned in the Transkei. More recently, Gatsha Buthelezi's war-mongering indicate that more such acts might be in the pipeline.

In essence, this amounts to full-scale war on the UDF and, indeed, on the people of South Africa. All of this is geared to silencing the democratic voice of the people.

The UDF urges you to bring these facts, and the context within which they occur, under the attention of your government. We would highly appreciate it if your government could voice their protest with the South African government.

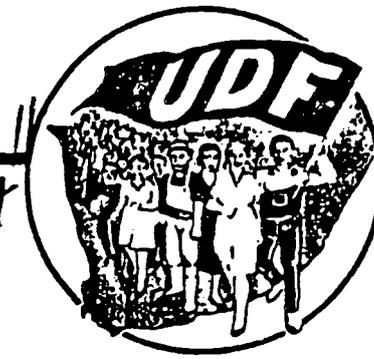
Thank you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully

Trevor Manuel
Acting General Secretary

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

OF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES! "AS24"



NATIONAL OFFICE

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29-1917

STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF JOHANNES NGALO

We condemn in strongest terms the death of Johannes Bonakele Ngalo after only a few hours in Police custody. Mr Ngalo was arrested in Tumahole Township on Sunday night during a protest against rent and GST increases by more than a thousand township residents.

Mr Ngalo is the 57th person to die in detention in South Africa and his death follows the shocking announcement last week by Minister le Grange that there were more than seventy people detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Forty of whom are unknown and have disappeared without trace. The police have used the Protection of Information Act to hide the details of these detainees from the public. In a statement issued last week, the DPSC said that they were deeply alarmed by current events and that they feared that if they were to go unchecked we might have further disappearances like Mthimkulu's and deaths like Malatji's.

The government's violent reaction to a peaceful protest shows that the people do not have a semblance of control over their own lives. This emphasises the relevance of the UDF's call for votes for all in a united South Africa.

We warn this government that ruthless suppression of the voice of opposition and protest cannot guarantee its rule. Neither will it force our people into submission. The experiences of the 1976 events, Sharpville and others should have convinced the government that the people's quest for freedom cannot be stopped by teargas, bullets, batons, detentions or any form of harassment for that matter. History has shown that violence meted out to unarmed people leads to reciprocal violence in desperation

Issued by:

Detainees Support Committee

DPSC

UDF.

Per "AS 25"

1. Mrs C Lekota
1211 - 20th Avenue
CLERMONT
2. Mrs E Ramgobin
P O Box 331
VERULAM
4340
3. Mrs M J Naidoo
50-54 CNR House
22 Cross Street
Durban

Box 48033
QUALBERT
4078
4. Mrs Sewpersadh - Mother
P O Box 161
VERULAM
4340
5. Mrs B Nair
712 Himalaya House
Warwick Avenue
DURBAN
6. Mrs A Gumede
3521 - 40th Avenue
CLERNAVILLE
7. Mrs E JAssat
41 Crown Heights
FORDSBURG
8. Mrs H Mokoena
534 Letsatsi Street
P O ORLANDO
1804
9. Mrs C Nkondo
99 Antonburg Drive
Eldorado Park Ext 2
P O KLIPTOWN
10. Mrs R Saloojee
P O Box 37
LENASIA
1820
11. Mrs M Chikane
4520 Section N
MAMELODI
Pretoria

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
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P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

30 August 1984

Dear

We the United Democratic Front note with deep concern the unjust detention of your dear . and our close comrade. This concern is shared by the six hundred affiliated organisations of the UDF, millions of our freedom-loving countrymen and women. Above all, numerous statements of concern have been issued by the international community - in particular the United Nations organisation, the Organisation of African Unity, Churches and a large number of Anti-Apartheid movements. This bears testimony to the fact that your cause is just and our friends many.

This act by the Apartheid government is not unique or unexpected. For generations gallant men and women striving for freedom both in our beloved country and the world over, have suffered at the hands of unjust and evil governments. The detention of your loved one is reminiscent of the agony that great leaders like Albert Luthuli, Mahatma Ghandi, Nelson Mandela, Dennis Goldberg, Yusuf Dadoo and others have suffered.

We say with confidence and a deep sense of determination that these detentions are not in vain. The UDF, its six hundred affiliates and millions who support it stand proudly and squarely behind your brave . Indeed, we remain unshakeably committed to the ideals for which we stood, that is, a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa.

The United Democratic Front wishes to commend you on the tremendous strength and courage that you have displayed thusfar. It is at times like these that your support for your and the democratic movement becomes indispensable. We urge you to remain steadfast in these trying times.

2/.....

Please do not hesitate to contact the office of the UDF
should the need arise.

Yours in struggle,

POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

30 August 1984

Honourable Patron

Eight days ago the United Democratic Front celebrated her first anniversary. This anniversary is marked by two important factors:-

1. a track record of proud victories against the Sebe repression, Local Authorities, Coloured Management Committees and now the Tri-cameral Parliament.
2. growing state repression of the UDF and her affiliates, triggered off by a massive boycott campaign spearheaded by the Front resulting in the detention of eight officials and a Patron. Amongst those detained in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act are President Archie Gumede, Mosiuoa Lekota (National Publicity Secretary) Mewa Ramgobin (National Treasurer) George Sewpersadh (National vice President) Aubrey Mokoena (Member N.E.C) Curtis Nkondo (Tvl vice President) Moses Chikane (member of National Secretariat) RAshe Saloojee (member of N.E.C) Essop Jassat (Patron) Billy Nair and M J Naidoo both of the Natal Indian Congress.

Harassment of activists and the search for the remaining officials of the Front continues.

We believe that what we are having now is now just a glimpse of more brutal forms of repression which are likely to accompany the imposition of the already discredited new constitution. Many more UDF leaders are destined for detention and even bannings. It is not unexpected that in their panic and desperation the government will not hesitate to ban the United Democratic Front and certain of her key affiliates.

It is in this mind that we take the liberty, even at this seemingly late hour to write to you, asking you to intervene. Although what we are up against is a stubborn and incorrigible government, it is however our sincere belief that with a little more effort by all of us to mobilise public opinion nationally and internationally drastic action against the leadership of the UDF can be postponed. We therefore ask you to do all in your power to intervene.

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Intervention may take the form of protest letters to the government, Embassies, Church organisations as well as the Commissioner of police. Embassies and churches could be urged to put pressure on the government to release those detained. There are various other ways of intervening - which we have not mentioned here.

What we wish to impress upon you is the centrality of your role as a patron in this respect.

Yours in struggle,

POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY



Gov! AJ 28"
CONGRESS



demands-

RELEASE OUR LEADERS!

IN THE EARLY HOURS ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 21, OUR LEADERS WERE DETAINED IN A NATIONWIDE CRACKDOWN.

Among these detained are:

Dr Essop Jassat - President, Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)
Dr R.A.M. Saloojee - Vice-President, TIC
Mr. George Sewpersadh - President, Natal Indian Congress (NIC)
Archie Gumede - President, UDF
Terror Lekota - Publicity Secretary, UDF
Billy Nair - NIC
Mewa Ramgobin - NIC
Aubrey Mokwena - Release Mandela Committee
Cumick Ndlovu - UDF

The arrests of our leaders, shows clearly that the government's talk of change and reform is a fraud.

Faced with failure in its attempt to divide our people and strengthen Apartheid, the government has once again resorted to jack-boot tactics to crush peaceful and legitimate opposition.

They have no desire whatsoever to bring about change for the better, nor to allow the free expression of our people's views.

These arrests are the culmination of a sustained and slanderous campaign organised by the government against the UDF and Congress. They have made wild and irresponsible charges of violence, intimidation, and links with the ANC

These allegations have been repeated by those willing to take part in the apartheid elections. We hold responsible, not only Botha, but also Hendrickse, Rajbansi, Reddy, and Poovalingham for the arrests of our leaders.

By the forcible implementation of this new constitution, the government is deliberately paving the way for increasing chaos, conflict and tension in our country.

WE DEMAND - BOTHA RELEASE OUR LEADERS AND RESCIND THE CONSTITUTION.

We call on all those participating in the elections to resign immediately, to demonstrate any vestige of self-respect. It is clear this government is only prepared to talk to those who nod their heads in agreement.

At this crucial point in our history, we call on all our people to rally to the cause of PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. We are not intimidated, and we shall continue to struggle until the aspirations of our people are realised.

NAME	ADDRESS	TEL:
N. VANMAAI.	39 Seickembess	—
M.A. KAROLIA	115 Penguin Ave	—
R. MATET	14 NORTHERN PLACE	852-5865.
B. RAHW	3821 SUTKORRE X	—
A.R. SUCIHAN	5751 Argo A Ave	852-3375
M. Z. ESSOP.	114 Hummingbird	— 3439
Nusima	4676 Letten St	~ 4184
S. Mahomed	3876 Colok	—
ABDOOLA	15 HONEY SUCKLE	4824 Lough Ave
Nand	852-354	—
NAZIR	836 HONEY SUCKLE	—
Shahar	4312 EXT 5	—
Yunus.	11 Hummingbird	—
SOYAB	1279. Rose Ave	852-2745
BIJANOO	103 Penguin Avenue	852-4505
Ashraf Kaka	2A Ave R2 torbang	836 9755
Shehraz Bismillah	24 Anarkali st	699 1243
Suliaman Khali	103 Penguin	—

'bew AS 29''

We meet today to record our rejection of the arrest of our leaders on a charge of treason. We are not ^{merely} protesting at the way in which a power has been exercised. We are not saying that the Attorney General abused his rights by prosecuting these people. No. What we are saying is that this regime has no right to bring these charges at all.

The SAN state was created through violent conquest. Its existence continues to depend on the permanent use of force against the majority of SAs -in the schools, in the townships, in the bantustans -in fact in all facets of the lives of black SAs.

We refer to those who are on trial as our leaders because they represent the people through a number of organisations created by the oppressed and democratic community. They have been singled out by this state because they

-2-

have selflessly struggled through the UDF and other people's organisations, to create a free SA, where all will have what they need and are entitled to.

Just as these people have a right to speak on behalf of the majority of South Africans, this SAN state has never had and never will have the right to speak on behalf of the people of SA. This is something recognized in the country and in the UN

But why has the state taken these steps? Is it a sign of strength, kragdadigheid?

In my view, these arrests are rather a sign of weakness and disarray. The SAN state is dealing with an enduring crisis which is more wide-ranging and

deep-seated than that of 1976.

In 1976 they tried to shoot themselves out of trouble. Afterwards they set about what was called a reform process, aimed at remedying the fundamental weakness of the SAN state.

That weakness is the narrowness of its base, the fact that only a small segment of the SAN population -the whites, hold all political power, most civil service posts and carry out most police and military functions.

The period after 1976 saw a number of initiatives aimed at remedying this deficiency and simultaneously splitting the unity of black resistance. They sought ~~to take the bantustans to the right~~ ^{to} push on with the bantustans,

⁴
to create revamped ~~bantustans~~ ^{urban} bantustans under the BLAs and finally, through the New Constitution, they tried to buy off INDIANS and coloureds as junior partners in the oppression of the African majority.

In the process of implementing these reforms ^{they said} the NP split. But that split was in vain because the goal of weakening and splitting the black resistance, failed. The reforms were defeated.

The present situation sees the state confronted by increasing rejection of and chaos in the bantustans. This chaotic condition is not new to the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda but it is extending to ^{the "showpiece"} Bophutastswana with increasing repression of 'squatters' and labour leaders

Community Councils are becoming totally unworkable and we have

seen the resignation of many of them. But the townships are generally on fire as people rise against having to pay for the costs of apartheid, rising rents, GST, lack of or inadequate housing.

The bantu education and other black school systems continue to be rejected. Thousands of ~~Africans~~ ^{Another 40,000} boycott at this moment ^{Rand 7.03.85 More than 220% in the 6 year (R.A.S.T.)} ~~and~~ it is nowadays impossible to imagine the operation of this educational system without a large police and/or military presence. ^{Police just as essential as teachers to Bantu ed.}

Economically -last year there were predictions that we would see an 'upturn in 1985.' Instead there is ever-rising inflation, devaluing of the rand and 85% more bankruptcies predicted for 1985 compared with 1984

All of these crises are irresolvable in the present SA state. It cannot

-6

meet the people's demands. They can only be met in a new, apartheid -free SA. This part of the crisis relates to the ⁿature of the state -founded on national oppress^{ion} and class exploitation.

The second aspect of the crisis relates to the existence of the UDF and a number of affiliated organisations that have mobilised millions of people to reject racist rule, and to demand their democratic rights.

The charging of our leaders signifies the nature of the threat that the democratic movement now poses. We have passed beyond merely opposing apartheid. The people's rejection of apartheid is now well-established.

W What is more significant and threatening to the racists is that the people's organisations have not contented themselves with rejecting apartheid.

What makes the 1980s different from 1976 is that the idea of a new society

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is now firmly on the agenda. The people do not stop at rejecting Bantu education, bantustans and apartheid in general. There is now a widely shared vision of a new SA. The people have made it clear that they will accept nothing less than their right to govern the whole of SA. And they will accept nothing less than their right to share all of the country's wealth

Only when this is achieved, will it be possible to provide adequate housing, jobs and education, to ^{remove} ~~remove~~ all of their present disabilities

This is a vision that is obviously threatening to all who cherish the inequality and repression that exists. That is why the racists have panicked. They have nothing to offer but a patched-up version of what has already been rejected.

They arrest our leaders in order to criminalise the struggle for democracy. They seek to link activities that are legal, even under SAn law, with that which is illegal. This taken together with acts of terror against UDF officials in recent times, is aimed at scaring off our supporters, at warning people that the price of being a democrat ~~will~~ ^{may} be ^{too} high.

If that fails they hope, at least, to immobilise us through the arrest of our leaders. They want through this to create space to implement their so-called black forum and other puppet bodies. Because the UDF has already rejected these plans, they are trying to smash the front. They do this as the UDF NEC says, in order to prevent it from actively campaigning against this sham.

These plans will not succeed. The people are already showing, through

meetings like this one that they will not allow the arrests to immobilise ~~us~~ ^{us them}. Instead the charges of treason are and will be used to mobilise people, to re-emphasise the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime.

It will not succeed because the people have their own alternative to racist rule. They cannot be intimidated into accepting apartheid. They cannot be reconciled to gutter education, forced removals and the daily violence and humiliations of apartheid.

The people have shown that they stand by the vision of a free SA, created by themselves 30 years ago in the Freedom Charter. The struggle to realize the FC has seen other treason trials and other forms of repression. None of these has stopped the people's determination to realize their goals and to implement the Charter.

While that determination may be there, this does not mean that the road ahead will be easy. We cannot rely on ~~enthusiasm~~. Our answer to the attempt to lop off our leadership must be to strengthen our organisation and develop and further popularise the vision of a new SA. This state has no answer that can satisfy democratic and oppressed SAs. They will only be satisfied when apartheid has been destroyed, when all our leaders, wherever they may be, are free to build a new SA, a SA without oppression and exploitation.

Long Live our Leaders!

Long Live the struggle for a democratic People's South Africa!

Amandla '.

AJ30



DETENTION

CUSA condemns the detention of all trade unionists and persons detained under the Internal Security Act. 42 trade unionists have been detained since the beginning of 1984 and 19 are still in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

No degree of harassment and intimidation will stop the growth of the working class. It may retard it for a while - but the struggle of the working class will continue.

Section 29 under which any police officer of the rank of lieutenant-colonel and up, can order the detention of a person for an indefinite period for the "purposes of interrogation"

GROUNDS:

- (a) If in the Minister's opinion "there is reason to apprehend that the person will commit" a security offence,
- (b) "If he is satisfied that the person engages in," promotes or is likely to promote activities endangering State security or maintenance of law and order.
- (c) If he has reason to suspect that a person previously convicted of a security offence engages or is likely to engage in activities as in (b).

DETENTION ORDER:

By means of a written notice, signed by the Minister and addressed to the member of the Prisons Services who is in charge of the prison specified. A copy of this notice tendered by a police officer to the person concerned serves as a warrant for his arrest. The notice delivered to the person concerned must also be accompanied by a written statement from the Minister "setting forth the reasons for the detention And so much of the information which induced the Minister to issue the notice ... as can, in the opinion of the Minister, be disclosed without detriment to the public interest"

Box "A130"

PERIOD OF DETENTION:

For the period during which the notice is in force," that is the detention period is stipulated on the Minister's notice. The Minister may also withdraw the detention notice at any time. Thus the length of detention is totally at the whim of the Minister of Law and Order.

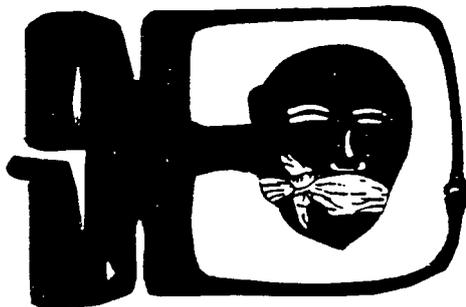
ACCESS TO DETAINEES:

No person may have access to the detainee or the official information relating to the detainee, except :

- * The Minister of Law and Order
- * The Director of Security Legislation
- * A judge of the Supreme Court
- * Chairman of a board of review
- Any official in the service of the State.

However, other persons may have access to the detainee "with the consent of and subject to such conditions as may be determined by the Minister of Police".

In addition, a non-listed lawyer may have access to the detainee within the first 14 days for the sole purpose of assisting him in making representations.



TO BAN IS TO FEAR
VICTORY IS CERTAIN

Law "A131"



The South African Government has decided to ban the Mass Rally of the E.L. Friends of UDF this past weekend. THIS IS CLEARLY AN ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE TRUTH FROM THE PEOPLE. THIS UNDEMOCRATIC ACTION IS WHAT THE NEW DEAL IS ALL ABOUT - A RAW DEAL.

Why ban our meeting?

*The Government and those who support them are allowed to explain how good the Raw Deal is.

*We disagree because the day to day problems people suffer will be getting even worse.

Why aren't we allowed to tell our people that they won't benefit from the New Deal? They want to hide the truth from the people.

THE FEAR THAT THE MORE OUR PEOPLE HEAR THE TRUTH, MORE AND MORE OUR PEOPLE WILL NOT VOTE ON AUGUST 22 AND AUGUST 28.

*They say that our meeting will threaten the public peace

*We ask: "Why does it threaten the peace if we only want to explain the Raw Deal to our people so a lie is being told and a banning used to cover it."

THEY BAN OUR MEETING BECAUSE THEY DO NOT WANT OUR PEOPLE TO DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES.

*They make use of their T.V., Newspapers, radios and the Bosses at work to tell us that we must vote.

*They also create "leaders" for us. These "Junior Partners of Apartheid will assist the government to more harshly control the lives of the majority. We need only look at rich Sebe and the starving people in the Ciskei."

THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY.

A vote in the election is a vote against peoples democracy.

A vote in the election is a vote for laws bannings and detentions.

A vote in election is a vote for more hardship and apartheid.

Issued and Printed by E.L. Friends of U.D.F.

Ben AS 32"



CONGRESS DEMANDS



Botha, Rajbansi, Hendrickse, Reddy . .

LEAVE OUR LEADERS ALONE!

On Tuesday morning from about 4am the security stormtroopers of Botha, Rajbansi, and Hendrickse launched a massive countrywide raid of the UDF, NIC, TIC, RMC and other UDF affiliates. Amongst those arrested are:

- Albertine Sisulu - UDF national president and wife of ANC leader Walter Sisulu who is serving a life sentence
- Cassim Saloojee - TIC publicity secretary and UDF national treasurer
- Rev Frank Chikane - UDF (Tvl) vice president
- Prof Ismail Mohamed - Transvaal Anti PC chairperson
- Sisa Njikelana - Saawu general secretary
- Isaac Ngcobo - Saawu
- Sam Kikine - Saawu

All seven are to be charged for high treason in Durban on Thursday, 22 February, 1985, together with the 8 UDF leaders already charged, including Dr Essop Jassat and Archie Gumede.

The houses of twenty TIC leaders and activists in Lenasia, Laudium, Actonville, and Fordsburg were also raided, as well as the TIC offices in Fordsburg. Documents, leaflets and statements concerning the activities of the organisation were taken. These actions by the state can only be seen as a blatant attempt at intimidating our people into inactivity.

None of our leaders charged for treason have committed any crime. They are committed to non-violent methods of struggle. Their only 'crime' is their opposition to apartheid with the full support of our people. Apartheid is the crime and the criminals are Botha, Rajbansi, Hendrickse and Reddy. The government hopes that by imprisoning our leaders it will gain breathing space to win credibility through the back door.

The TIC holds all those in the Indian and 'Coloured' parliaments and the President's Council directly responsible for these attacks on the people. Their calls for our leaders to be charged or released are hollow. Rajbansi and Hendrickse are full cabinet members and therefore must be party to discussion in the cabinet on stifling all forms of extra-parliamentary struggles.

This wave of repression gives lie to P W Botha's pretensions of a search for consultation with extra-parliamentary opposition groups, as well as his offer to Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, if they renounce violence. The government is making non-violent extra-parliamentary opposition impossible.

We demand:

- the immediate and unconditional release of all our leaders and the scrapping of the charges brought against them.
- the right to free political activity and,
- an immediate end to the harassment and intimidation of our people
- that all those in the Indian and 'Coloured' parliaments, the President's Council and the cabinet resign their seats immediately.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

CONGRESS PROTEST RALLY

against

JAILING OF OUR LEADERS, RAIDS AND HARASSMENT

Fifteen of our leaders face charges of high treason in Durban. They are:

Essop Jassat (TIC president), Cassim Saloojee (TIC publicity sec), Albertina Sisulu (UDF president), Archie Gumede (UDF president), Prof I. Mohamed (Anti-PC chair), Frank Chikane (UDF), George Sewpersadh (NIC president), Aubrey Mokoena (RMC), M.J. Naidoo (NIC), Sisa Njikelana (Saawu), Paul David, Mewa Ramgobin, Curtis Nkondo, Sam Kikine, Isaac Ngobo.

Venue: Nur-ul-Islam Hall,
Lenasia

Date: Sunday, 24 Feb

Time: 2pm

STAND BY OUR LEADERS

AJ33

HEROES DAY

Ben "AJ33"

AZAPO



BEW "AJ35"



~~The history of South Africa is the tragic history of military suppression, political oppression, economic exploitation and the social degradation of a people. The government's reaction to the peaceful demands of the people is brutality and violence as manifested in Sharpville March 1960, Cato Minor, Langa, Nyanga, Soweto 1976, deaths in detention, detention without trial, bannings, banishments, the Silverton Sieges, rands into Maputo etc.~~
 During Heroes Day we remember all the martyrs of the struggle who paid the supreme sacrifice for a better and free Azania.

VILLAGE DEEP : FEBRUARY 1920

40,000 African miners went on strike in the Rand gold diggings, protesting against the general working conditions. The police cordoned off each mine compound and instructed them to go back to work. At the Village Deep compound the police met stiff resistance while trying to force an entry. Police fire power rattled. Eight African miners were killed.

BULHOEK (NTABELANGA) MAY 1921

A group of Africans calling itself the Israelites was instructed to evacuate the Bulhoek area in Queenstown. These Black people refused to be evicted against their will. In the struggle that followed between the police and these people 163 Blacks were killed and 129 injured. The Johannesburg Star, in an editorial strongly criticised Colonel Truter's handling of the situation. There was no moral justification, nor was there any strategic need to withhold fire until these this crudely armed crowd was only a few yards away.

BONDELZWARTS, NAMIBIA, MAY 1922

The Bondelzwarts were a Black tribe living in Namibia. They had a long history of vigorous resistance to the white man's rule. Mainly, they lived by hunting as a result of which they had many dogs. Thus the Government imposed a £1 per annum dog tax. The Bondelzwarts strongly resisted this cruel imposition of this tax. They also refused to deliver five of their men including Abraham Morris.

In May 1922 General Smuts sent out a force of 400 policemen armed with rifles, sten guns and machine guns, and accompanied by two bomber planes, to crush the resistance of the Bondelzwarts. Over 100 men, women and children were killed. An undisclosed number was wounded.

PORT ELIZABETH, OCTOBER 1920

An articulate African leader of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.) named Masabalala was arrested by the police. No reasons were offered for the arrest, no charge was ever laid, and bail was refused. The Black people of Port Elizabeth were very indignant. Several thousands, carrying sticks, knob-kierries, the women amongst them carrying babies, marched on to the police station to demand his release. What happened next is not clearly known but the police opened fire 21 Blacks were killed. An undisclosed number was wounded. Some reports indicate that those wounded were left to lie unattended until taken by their friends to hospital.

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BLOEMFONTEIN, APRIL 1925

After a beer raid in which I Black was killed by the police, the local inhabitants demolished the police station and occupied the township for a few days. After regrouping, the police, reinforced by armed white civilians made a concerted attack on the township; 5 people were killed and 24 wounded. The report of the commission of inquiry later stated "there is no doubt at all that the firing was begun by the irresponsible armed civilians who were present. We are afraid that the conclusion is justified by the evidence that their object was rather to 'get at' at the Native and punish him than to protect the town..."

DURBAN, JUNE 1929

During the boycott of the local beerhalls by the Africans, an irate white mob tried to storm the UCI office in Prince Edward Str. They were thoroughly repulsed by the Blacks therein, leaving 2 of their men dead. On hearing the news Blacks from the docks marched to the I.C.U. office with the aim of protecting them from further attacks. The police intervened, tamperers flared, and police fired spoke. Six Blacks lost their lives. In a book by a veteran Black leader on the riots, the writer considers: "to those whose relatives do not know that they have paid the highest sacrifice to prove the oppression of the harsh by - laws harshly administered by the borough of Durban, natives must pay their everlasting respect" Igazi Nezinyembezi. He pensively adds "greater love hath no man than that one should lay down his life for the sake of his fellowman."

DURBAN, APRIL 1936

This was the day marked for the take-over of the policing of the Borough of Durban by the S.A.P. from the city police. The local Black people had heard of the reputation of the S.A.P. on the Rand where reportedly, Black people were being mishandled and put in "pick up" vans at the slightest provocation. As the D-day drew closer, tensions mounted and apparently, everyone expected something to happen on that day. When it did come, thousands of Blacks lined up the streets, some apparently armed. The police baton-charged the people and general pandemonium broke out in Grey Str, area. At the Victoria Str. beer hall, the S.A.P. under Col. Whittet attempted to force an entry. The Blacks resisted stiffly. Col. Whittet himself fired 3 shots, wounded 2 Blacks, who, incidentally, were employees of the Durban Corporation working in the beer hall. One reader, writing to the Natal Mercury after the incident, expressed the following sentiments: "I was witness of this evening's inauguration battle of the S.A.P. and presume that the date, April 1st would be duly remembered by posterity as the date on which the gallant S.A.P. delivered Durban from the menace of the hostile Umfaans". (The word Umfaan in Zulu means boy (umfana). In the South African Context all Blacks males are regarded as boys or umfaans by the whites. The term is extremely resented by Blacks.

ZEERUST, 1957-1959

The Easter Weekend of 1957 saw Black people gather at all the Chiefs' kraals in the Village of Zeerust. The of these villages were involved in the campaign against the burdensome pass book, especially the introduction of the women's pass. Buses from JHB and t other places brought people to assist in the march. The pass books were collected from those who has them and burnt in the presence of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr Rechter. In the days following this incident, the people of all the district villages marched towards the town. 10 miles away from the town the police opened fire and countless number of Blacks was injured while others were killed. Ox wagons were used to collect the injured about 10 miles away from Dinokana.

Due to this incident the chief of Dinokana village, Ramotshere Moilwa was forced to take exile in neighbouring Botswana. He and his brother Lekolwane Sebogodi were the only chiefs who were with the people. Soon after this incident the Government closed all schools, postal services and to a lesser extent transport services. No one was allowed to enter the village without written permission from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. Thus for three years there was neither education nor post in Dinokana. Schools were only open in October 1960.

THE 1950 - 1952 campaigns

The National African Congress organised campaigns against "legislation that continue to insult and degrade the African people." The actual campaign started in May 1, 1951 with the people generally not reporting for work. In the incident that followed 18 Blacks were killed. The Congress intensified its efforts and in 1952 the protest continued despite threats from the Prime Minister. Black people were arrested and they refused to pay fines and preferred to serve prison sentences. In the locations of Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley the protest resulted in murder.

PRETORIA, DECEMBER 1942

A group of about 2,000 Black workers employed by the Pretoria Municipality protested against low wages. A meeting called with the Superintendent in the compound ended in dissatisfaction. The police and finally soldiers in armoured cars were called to scene. One soldier was killed while the crowd was dispersed. The military then open fire on them and the firing continued despite the fact that the Blacks were trapped in a yard and were trying to escape through a narrow exit. 14 Blacks were killed and 111 were injured. The Commission of Inquiry later reported "the situation did not warrant the interference of a body of 786 soldiers with fire arms."

RAND 1946

Beginning on Monday, August 12th, 1946, about 50,000 of the Reef's 300,000 Black miners went on strike. The strike affected 32 of the Rand's 45 mines leaving 8 with the total stoppage. The police were used to force miners to go back to work and they entered the compound and baton-charged the miners. On several occasions the police used gun fire. At the sub Nigel mine, police fire wounded six miners on the 13th August. A further six died in the stampede. Five miners were shot dead by the police in a subsequent miners' demonstration.

M.K. GANDHI AND SATYAGRAH.

A Bill designed to end the influx of "Indians and other Asiatics" was published in 1911 but was withdrawn because the Free State felt that it did not discriminate enough. The Bill passed in 1913 made their further immigration impossible. Gandhi leader of the Indians in South Africa, organised protests to demand the repeal of all discriminatory laws. To add force to his demands he mustered about 2,000 Indians from Natal and at the beginning of December 1913, he led them across the Transvaal border at Volksrust. This was particularly a protest against the laws prohibiting them from entering the Transvaal and the Free State. As Gandhi had expected, they were arrested.

SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE 21ST MARCH, 1960PRELUDE

It is now th 21 days since the tragic massacre at Sharpeville and we Black people cannot afford to forget this eventful day. It is also noteworthy to recall the words of the then Minister of Justice - F.C. Erasmus, which displayed the callous attitude of his government when he said "there was once a time when we could shoot as many people as we liked and the world did not seem to care". Here he specifically cited the bulhoek murders of 1921 in the Eastern Cape, where 163 black people were shot dead and 129 injured. Even with the Bulhoek murders, like all other massacres, there was no moral justification because the victims, on instructions that they should evacuate the Bulhoek area in Queenstown, refused to be evicted against their will as the place rightfully belonged to them. The insensitivity and inhuman attitude displayed against the black people by F.C. Erasmus unequivocally epitomizes this rotten, racist South African regime. Unless and until we free ourselves from the shackles of oppression, this inhuman and arrogant attitude will always be prevalent with this minority government.

EVENTS LEADING TO SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

Undoubtedly the pass laws are the most degrading and vicious laws ever promulgated. They are nothing else but a well - formulated strategy geared at making the black man sub-human in his own fatherland. The now banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), under the leadership of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, organised an anti -pass campaign against these monstrous and dreadful pass laws. The PAC made a national call to all self-respecting black person to leave their passes at home and thereafter surrender themselves to the nearest police station and demand to be arrested. They were to refuse any legal representation or to pay an admission of guilt. After serving that prison sentence they would once surrender themselves to the police for a furthering prison sentence until such time that all pass laws were repealed or revoked. This was scheduled to take place on the 21st March 1960. On the said day the people responded positively to the call and among others, Sobukwe, Potlako Leballo and other prominent members of the PAC surrendered themselves to the police at the Orlando Police station. They were arrested and charged with incitement. This did not however, intimidate the people. Sobukwe was convicted and sentence to three years. After serving three years, Sobukwe was kept to on Robben Island for six years more. On his release in 1969 he was banished and restricted to Kimberley where he died on the 29th February 1978.

SHARPEVILLE TOWNSHIP

Like wide fire the PAC national call permeated the country in its entirety in Sharpeville 9,000 had converged on the municipal office at 7a.m., virtually the entire town of Vereeniging was completely without "servants". Once more the police, without assessing the situation properly, decide on the spur of the moment to resort to violence. Teargas was used to disperse the people. This attempt was abortive and the police resorted to a baton-charge, which was unwarranted because the crowd was not hostile and none of the people carried weapons. By now the crowd had swelled its numbers to 30,000. At this juncture the leader of the group - Mr Nyakane Tsolo - explained to the police that they did not have their reference books with them and that they demanded to be arrested. From this explanation, it is quite clear that the crowd tried to circumvent any form of violence. The rightful action therefore ought to have been to arrest the crowd and not the mowing down of unarmed innocent people, by the police, who are supposed to maintain law and order.

- 12.45p.m. Police reinforcements arrived with Lt. Col. G.D. Pienaar in charge of the Sharpeville police station. "The police station at Sharpeville is virtually besieged. The only way the police can make contact with the police station is to force their way through with Saracens". Tsolo and two others were arrested. Tension increased.
- 1.15p.m. Major W.A. van Zyl, District Commissioner of police, "He put up his hand and showed by opening his fingers that he gave them only five minutes to disperse". Lt Col. Pienaar's words "then three things happened simultaneously. I saw Col. Spengler again at the gate and I suddenly saw him backwards and the crowd bursting through the gates. Two shots were fired from the mob and the strong shower of stones fell among the police. Almost at once after that two shots were heard on the left".
- 1.45p.m. Flank from the police and the whole line start shooting. Wessels reports 75 members of the police fired 700 shots with stenguns and 303 rifles, killing 69 Blacks and injuring 300 others, 40 of whom were women and children (8) below the ages of 14. 30 shots entered the bodies from the front and 155 from the back (medical evidence), 5 Baragwanath wards were converted into detention "cells" for 137 with bullets wounds under heavy police guard though not charged.

EVIDENCE GIVEN BY POLICE DURING THE INQUIRY

At 10.30a.m. Captain Theron from Springs arrived at Sharpeville with a squad of white & Bantu police. The White policeman were armed with 2 sten gun with 300 bullets each, 303 rifles with 50 bullets each and revolver with 12 bullets each. The Bantu policemen were armed with knob-kiries. In this case no instructions to fire were given but only to load" Capt Theron said He later estimated that 476 shots were fired. This is not suprising because according to Liuetenant Visser the policemen were tired as they has been working since the previous evening, and had to control themselves in the face of extreme provocation. Minister of Justice F.C. Erasmus said of Sharpeville it was a "Freak" of history. He introduce the Indemnity Bill when claims were made, because the police acted in good in the caurée of proctecting the safety of the public. The Indemnity clause was also invoked by Mr Jimmy Kruger after June 1976 and the subsequent slooting of the people attending funerals of such victims. In last occasions policemen and official in the country were protected from having to face a court with justification for their action.

OTHER AREAS

Vanderbyl Park;

4,000 from Bophelong and Doipatong failed to report for work. They surrender themselves to the police station for arrest. Air-force sabre jets flew just above the heads of the crowd. Skiet-Kommandos were at the scene and whites generally marched to the police station to ask to be signed on. Whites threatened to take law in their hands. After nine teargas canisters had failed batons were used to disperse the crowds. One Black was shot dead. The leader was arrested.

Nyanga and Langa:

1,200 gathered at Philipi police station and few hundreds at Nyanga. Phillip Kgosana disperse the crowd, to reconvene that evening. Meetings were immediately banned by the Magistrate. At New Flats a crowd of about 10,000 marched to the centre of the town. Saracens opened fire and two people were shot dead and 49 injured. 2,000 surrendered to the police. Peter van der Merwe, Police Officer, was killed. 300 men and kar were in custody for three days. On the 25th March 2,000 marched to Caledon Square under the leadership of Philli- Kgosana. He and his comrades were arrested but were later released and were requested to disperse the crowds.

23rd March and about 100 surrender to comply with their demand. Later that day Police from Central Police station arrested them and kept them in custody for three days. On the 25th March 2,000 marched to Caledon Square under the leadership of Phillip Kgosana. He and his comrades were arrested but were later released and requested to disperse the crowds. 28th March - 57,000 stayed away from work to bury their dead. This stay-away lasted over a week.

30th March : 30,000 marched to Caledon Square to demand the release of their leaders. Police with helicopters and saracens failed to disperse the crowd. Kgosana is once more requested to disperse the crowd. After dispersing the crowd the police detained him. Women gathered around the parliament, Hundreds of women marched to Langa police station and teargas was used to disperse them. A baby is "accidentally shot by a Naval guard in Nyanga. Nyanga and Langa under military and police siege from 30th March to 8th April.

Langa Looting

Col, J.A.O. Reay (then acting Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape) strongly denied that looting by the police had taken place at Langa. Such "frivolous" allegations were sponsored by individuals antagonistic to the police he said people were stopped from attending Steve Biko's funeral. Dube know better he said "the men employed on the operations were selected for their reliability, length of service and discretion" Of Lieutenant Botha also had all these qualifications, and so did Sergeant Anlow who shot dead 13 Blacks although Mr Erasmus, the then Minister of Justice could not provide the public with the list of the names of the 13 victims, when they were shot, where and why.

Evaton

10,000 went to the Evaton police station to surrender themselves. Police refuse to arrest them and they were dispersed by military aircraft diving low over their heads.

Cator Manor:

22 police raid for illicit liquor, 32 Blacks arrested. A police man treads on a woman and there is a confrontation between the police and the people - 4 whites and 5 black policemen killed, one black shot dead, 27 charged with murder - 9 hanged, Chief Luthuli = ANC joins the struggle and burn his pass = was charged and fined £100. 330 Blacks later detained, 143 charged with various offences.

DAY OF MOURNING - 28TH MARCH

Chief Albert Luthuli called on Blacks to observe this day as that for mourning and stay at home. P.C leaders supported him by calling on their members to do so.

Response:

Capetown - 95% blacks stayed at home

Johannesburg - 85% - 90% stayed at home. Dissenters assaulted who reported to work. Police constable killed. 4 Meadowlands offices burned and church in Dube burned.

Port Elizabeth - 85% - 90% stayed at home

- Pietermaritzburg - Fair response
- Durban - 20% - 25% stayed at home. All Indian businesses closed for the day.
- Stellenboch - Kayamandi township : large crowds marched into town and were baton-charged by police. Administrations buildings, churches and houses of police burned, several arrested.
- Worcester - 6 churches, 18 schools and civic centre burned down. Coloureds join and stayed at home.
- Somerset West - Marched into town and stopped by police
- Simonstown - 31st March 1,000 marched into the centre of town Square, but returned after the discussion with NEAD Manager. A church destroyed by fire.
- Hermanus - 1st April : 400 march into town. Police with skietkommandos failed to disperse crowd and baton charge them.
- Paarl - 2nd April : several hundred gathered outside the Magistrate court and publicly burned a bag full of passes - school destroyed
- Muizenburg - School closed down
- Cator Manor - 30th March : 5, 000 demanded the release of their leaders meeting with Magistrate ends with uproar. 1st April : 10,000 march in different directions into the city, 1000 reached the jailwhere their leaders were held. They were given five minutes to disperse or would be shot.
- Berea Road - 3 Blacks shot dead. Firing justified, according to inquest
- Clermont - Clash with police, several police injured. One black killed, 9 injured
- Lamontville - 4th-5th April : 1 shot dead, 13 hurt. At the S.J. Smith hostel 300 arrested.
- Pietermaritzburg - B.D`offices set on fire
- Germiston - 1 Black constable and 3 whites police injured, 1 injured from police fire
- Port Elizabeth - Warner and Veeplaas : reference books and schools burned
- East Landon and Cradock - Church and schools destroyed
- Beaufort West - Coloured school burned down
- Ermelo - Beerhall destroyed : 84 blacks shot dead
 265 injured
 3 bantu constable killed
 33 whites injured
 25 bantu constable injured
- Bizana - 2 members of the tribal authority are attacked and beaten up by riots. 2 saracen armoured vehicles, 4 riot wagons and at least 40 police some armed with Sten guns patrolled the village.

30TH MARCH 1960

State of emergency declared under Proclamation 90 & 91 in 123 districts
20,000 detained. George Siwisa of PAC and John Kamanga of the Malawi National
Congress died in Cinderella Prison in Boksburg while in detention

Children's Protest : 20 children of detainees protested on front of the Johannesburg
City Hall. They were all detained by the police for one hour.
Children under 10 years were loaded in a pick-up van.

Other Incidents : Bashee River - 5 whites killed, 23 blacks hanged
Queenstown Station Riots - Bonakele Ngongolo and
Notimba Mbolu sentenced to death

Port Elizabeth - 4 whites killed by blacks, 9 blacks hanged

Kimberley Beerhalls riots - 13 shot dead, 78 wounded

East London - 2 whites killed, 8 blacks shot dead

31ST MARCH 1960

Hundred of heavily armed troops threw tight cordons around the Langa, Nyanga
township under cover of dark the previous night acting under emergency Regulations
proclaimed the previous day

CAPE PENINSULA 4th APRIL 1960

Police armed with treacherous swooped on all suburbs and town in the Peninsula
to clear the streets of "intimidations" & loiteres. They clubbed and beat
any Native who cannot account for themselves in the city streets and other areas
where they might cause trouble

They were acting on amendments to the emergency regulations. The amendments gave
police and troops to use force- including force resulting from death to remove or
prevent suspected dangers " Our aim is not to arrest but to deal with trouble
makers on the spot" Col. Smith the District Commioner said.

CONCLUSION

To fight the odds against us we need the courage and persistence. We must be
aware at all time that there is a deliberate consistent effort to keep us in the
chains of oppression. Despite all form of intimidation and harassment we will
doggedly go on with our efforts to thrust of the shackles of oppression.
We have to rally our force and work harder towards the attainment of the
principles of Black Consciousness. We are on the threshold of a new era, in the
struggle for Liberation No outside "redeemer" can save us. Our destiny lies
in our own hands, Black man you are on your own.

- ~~Steve Biko~~
~~Steve Biko~~
- STEVE BANTU LIKO : Died on September 12/1977 of brains injuries caused by blows to the head. Steve Biko neither wanted nor even expected martyrdom. He became a martyr none the less: one who bore witness, both through his life and through his death to the faith and love that were in him".
- MAPETLA MOHAPI : said to have hanged himself with his trousers in his cell at the kei Road police station on August 5/1976
- JOSEPH MDLULI : Died in March 1976 as a result of falling over a chair. Photographs of his body showed obvious signs of battery
- LUKE MAZWEMLE : Alleged to have hanged himself with strips of blankets on September 2/1976
- DUMISANI MBATHA: Died in September 1976
- WELLINGTON TSHAZIBANE : Died on December 11/1976 "with him was found a statement in which he cleared the police of all blame and admitted suicide" Unfortunately we do not have a copy of this generous admission.
- GEORGE BOTHA : Died five days after his detention in December 1976 as a result of "jumping " down a stairwell.
- Dr NANOATH NTSHUNTSHEA :Died in October 1976
- MATHEWS MABELANE "Fell" accidentally to his death from the tenth floor of John Voster Square on February 25/1977
- ELMON MALELE : Died on January 20/1977
- AARON KHOZA : Died on March 26/1977 "was found hanging with a jacket fastened around his neck and to a window bar with slave laces"
- PHAKAMILE MABIJA : "Fell" to his death from the sixth floor of the Kimberley police station on July 7/1977
- Dr HOUSEN HAFFERJE :Died in Durban on August 3/1977. His trousers were so tightly wound around his neck that they had to be cut away with a razor blade
- SOLWANDILE "LOOKSMART" NGUDLE : Died 5th September, 1963, Inquest verdict; suicide, with no blame attached to anyone. No finding on allegations of assault.
- BELLINGTON MAMPE : Died 1st September, 1963 -140 days after his detention. causes of death unknown.
- SULIMAN "BABLA" SALOOJEE :Died 9th September, 1964 after falling seven floors from the window in Police Headquarters.
- JAMES TYITO : Detained 19th October, allegedly found hanged by his scarf. Date unknown.
- NGENI GAGA : 9th May, 1965 . Inquest verdict: "natural causes".

POINGOLUSHE BOPE :Detained 8th May, 1965. Died the following year of "natural causes"

JAMES HILLENWYO :Detained 26th August, Date of death unknown.

HANGULA SHONYEKA : Died 9th October, 1966, six weeks after his detention; suicide.

LEONG YUM PIN : Died 19th November, 1966 three days after his detention suicide.

AH YAN : Died 5th January, 1967 approximately two months after his detention suicide.

ALPHEUS MADIRA :Died 9th September, 1967. Allegedly hanged himself.

J.B. TUBAKWE : Died 11th September, 1968, the day after his detention. Found hanged.

NICODIMUS KGOMTHE :Died 2nd February, 1970, after having been in custody for fifteen months. Inquest verdict natural causes,

SOLOMON MODIPANE : Died 25th February, 1970, no inquest held. Alleged natural causes.

JAMES LENKOE : Died 10th March, 1970, five days after his detention. Evidence led of trace of copper in the wound on his toe. Inquest verdict suicide.

IMAM ABDULLAH HAROUN :Died 27th September, 1970. Inquest died on injuries sustained when falling down a flight of stairs.

MTHAYENI CUTSEBLA : Detained 21st December, 1970, Died about one month later. "Natural causes".

CALEL MAYEKISO : Detained immediately on release from Robben Island died 13th May, 1971, eighteen days later.

MICHELEL SHIVUTE : Died 16th June, 1971 on the night of his detention. Alleged suicide.

JACOB MONNANGOTLA :Died the night before his trial began.

AHMED TIMOL : Fell from ninth floor of John Vorster Security Headquarters.

There are many others and the list is far from being exhausted. In a pass conference in February 1977, Jimmy Kruger suggested plaintively that police "might be inhibited from trying to stop security detainees from committing suicide" Indeed the police were inhibited hence the increasing number of deaths in detention.

HEROES' DAY

Those stains that have refused to go off the floors of police buildings; will be our witness as the sands of time wash in and refresh what we profess; by the history shall have absolved us all against those who rule with guns.

On Heroes' Day
We pledge the Resistance way.

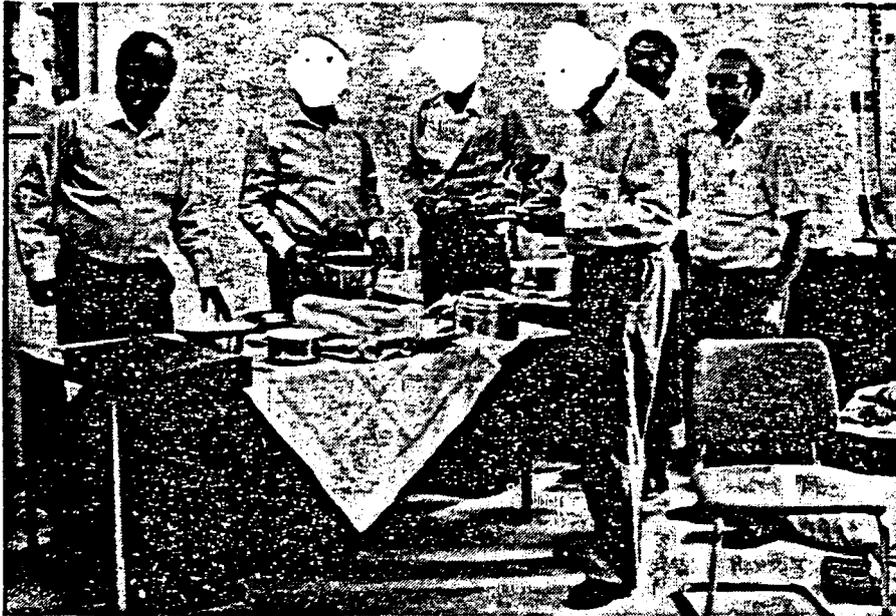


CONGRESS



DEMANDS

RELEASE OUR LEADERS!



INSIDE !

Our leaders in Natal are crammed into a single room at the British Consulate in Durban. There are no washing or toilet facilities in the office and all six sleep on the floor. They are doing this to focus world attention on the plight of detainees in South Africa, and to expose the British Government support for apartheid.

PROTEST RALLY

against...

- the detention of our leaders.
- the killing of over 80 people and the shooting of hundreds more in Soweto, the East Rand, the Vaal and the mines.
- the unjust police brutality against those who opposed Apartheid in Lenasia, Actonville, Soweto and other townships.

RAMAKRISHNA HALL, KINGFISHER STR. LENASIA

THURS 11 OCTOBER 1984 - 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS:



Rev. Dr. Beyers Naude



Advocate Zac Yacoob



Tiego Moseneke

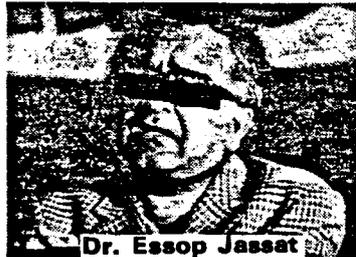
WE STAND BY OUR LEADERS!

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

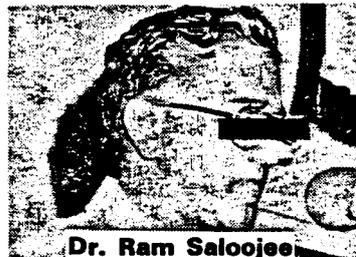
IN all countries around the world, a person has to be found guilty in Court before being jailed.

In South Africa, the government can throw anybody into jail for as long as they like, without giving them a court trial.

Those who suffer under this system of detention without trial have not broken the law. They have stood up for our rights — our leaders.



Dr. Essop Jassat



Dr. Ram Saloojee



Mr. Terror Lekota

THE GAGGING ACT

THE government now has a "Gagging Act." Anyone detained under this Act can be "listed."

This means that:

- We cannot quote what the listed person has said;

- & The listed person cannot be involved in any organisation;

- Leaders that are released or detained will not be able to carry on the work in the interests of our people.

The government is using the "Gagging Act" to silence our leaders.



George Sewpersadh



Mr. Popo Molefe



Mr. Archie Gumede



Aubrey Mokoena



Mr. Billy Nair

WE SAY TO THE GOVERNMENT . . .

Our cause is just. We have the support of peace-loving and democratic people worldwide. **STOP** harassing our leaders. You cannot force us to support your government, Botha. Your junior partners, Rajbansi, Hendrikse, Reddy, definitely don't speak for us.

By silencing our leaders, you cannot stop us fighting apartheid.

Our people will continue to struggle for equal rights for all.

Our leaders have shown their determination, their sacrifice, their dignity.

We stand by them and join in the struggle.

**Botha, Hendrikse, Rajbansi —
LEAVE OUR LEADERS ALONE!**

Reus "AS 36"

EENHEID MET UITENHAGE

Vyf-en-twintig jaar na die Sharpeville moorde het die Suid Afrikaanse polisie weer genadeloos 43 mense platgeskiet. Veel meer was beseer en vermis. Die mense was op pad om hul laaste hulde aan drie van ons kamerade te betoon. Hierdie drie mense was tydens die aanhoudende geweld teen ons mense in Uitenhage doodgeskiet.

Gedurende die afgelope jaar het die polisie en die weermag honderde menst afgemaai in plekke soos Port Elizabeth, Crossroads, en Cradock. Hierdie mense was besig om op wettige wyse teen: hervestiging, vrot opvoeding, slegte behuising, gemeenskapsrade, stygende huur, ens. te protesteer.

Dit is duidelik dat die Staat oorlog op ons mense verklaar het. Dit is ironies dat hulle nog van vreedsame hervorming praat.

Nog 'n algemene teken van die Staat se verdrukking is aanhouding sonder verhoor. Meer as 1 000 mense was op een tyd in aanhouding, en daar is ten minste 69 mense is tot op hede in aanhouding dood. Die Staat verklaar alle opposisie onwettig.

Dit is duidelik dat die Staat oorlog op ons mense verklaar het. Daarom kamerade, laat ons verenig en laat ons by progressiewe organisasies soos GRACA, GYM, COSAS, GRAYCO en GRAWO aansluit.

LAAT ONS SAAMSTAAN - - - OORWINNING IS VERSEKER.

VOORWAARTS MET DIE STRYD VIR DEMOKRASIE! !

ISSUED BY BSM/AZASO, c/o R.U. SRC, GRAHAMSTOWN

Expiry date: 25/3/85

AJ37

file "AJ37"

Descom

Johannesburg

19 March 1984

Dear Friend,

The different Detainees support groups on the Witwatersrand recently held a workshop at which they discussed the changing nature of government repression and the effects this was having on progressive organisations. In the course of discussion the following points were made:

1. Since 1981 the government was using a number of new ways to intimidate members of progressive organisations, for example call-in cards, house raids, spy-rumours, alleged beatings of activists, unidentified attacks on activists, their cars and homes, threats to activists and family members, banning of meetings, preventing organisations from getting venues to hold meetings and road blocks.
2. The security police were making more use of the courts to try activists for minor offences in an attempt to 'criminalise' their activities. The courts were handing down very heavy sentences for minor offences.
3. The security police were using section 50 of the criminal procedure act to detain activists in an attempt to hide the fact that these people were in fact political detainees.

In the past Descom had concentrated mainly on assisting the families of detainees in different communities and publicising detentions by means of pamphlets, posters and public meetings. While Descom members had discussed the governments new tactics on many occasions, they had not taken steps to work out a strategy to deal with these tactics. Participants in the discussion felt strongly that this strategy could only be worked out in co-operation with the organisations affected by these government tactics.

The workshop therefore decided to discuss the following questions with other progressive organisations:

1. Has your organisation been affected by any of the tactics listed above?
2. What affect has this had on your organisation and your membership?
3. What have you done about this?
4. In what way do you think Descom could assist your organisation to deal with these problems?
5. Do you think that any changes need to be made to the way in which Descom is structured in order that it can work more closely with other organisations on this issue?

Please can you discuss these questions with your organisation. A member of Descom will contact you to discuss this further.

Yours in struggle,

Descom

AJ38



CONGRESS

Res AJ 38"

DEMANDS



RELEASE OUR LEADERS!

As the new constitution is being implemented, South Africa finds itself in the grip of an undeclared state of emergency. While P.W. Botha was sworn in as the first executive President of South Africa:

- Over 70 people were shot dead in Evaton, Soweto, Kathlehong and the Mines.
- Over 100 people were detained in Botha's prisons.
- All indoor and outdoor meetings were banned by ministerial proclamation.

Ever since the emergence of the U.D.F., disciplined and non-violent resistance to the government has developed into a massive movement. The low polls prove this. The government has responded to this legitimate opposition with brutal force and repression. The ruthless and provocative action of the police and thugs on election day in Lenasia bears testimony to this. By depriving the people of their true leadership, the government created the conditions for unruly and opportunistic elements to take advantage of the situation. The government must thus assume full responsibility for the tragic events in Evaton and other trouble torn areas.

Rajbansi, Reddy, Dennis Pillay, Hendrikse and Abramjee are equally responsible. The following actions prove that they are merely "brown" members of the National Party:

- Their whole-hearted support for P.W. Botha's nomination as president which they failed to challenge
- Their silence on the detentions and listings of our leaders
- Their failure to stop gangsters and the police from sjambokking, teargassing and assaulting our people in Lenasia, Actonville, Azaadville and other areas
- Their acceptance of token cabinet posts.

THEY ARE TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY!

Whilst our leaders linger in Botha's prisons, these collaborators are helping Botha to enforce Apartheid. Our leaders in Natal have sought temporary refuge in the British Consulate to show the world that despite the talk of reform, this country can only survive through repression.

The T.I.C. demands that the government:

- Release all detainees. This includes:

Dr. Essop Jassat (President of T.I.C.)
Dr. R.A.M. Saloojee (Vice-President of T.I.C.)
Mr. Terror Lekota (Publicity Secretary - U.D.F.)

- Withdrawal of all section 28 detention notices. The Minister must also ensure that the provisions of section 16 (on listing) does not apply
- Compensation for all the victims of Evaton, the Vaal, Soweto, Lenasia etc.
- The resignation of Rajbansi, Reddy, Hendrikse and all other traitors elected or nominated to Parliament.

WE SHALL NOT BE INTIMIDATED!

AAS -

General try Case No 20
121 20th Ave Clarendon 2.

AJ39

18

22/2/88

/s.

Rev "AI 39" (1)

TARGETS OF STATE REPRESSION

The DPSC asked for profiles from organisations currently affected by the detentions.

Four of the worst-hit organisations are:

The United Democratic Front
The Congress of South African Students
The Vaal Civic Association; and
the Transvaal Regional Stay away Committee.

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

The United Democratic Front was launched at a meeting attended by 20 000 people at the Rocklands Civic Centre on 19 August 1983.

Representatives from 600 women's, student's, worker, youth, community and political organisations united under the banner of the UDF against the new constitution and Koornhof's laws.

In the year since its formation, the UDF has reached out to areas previously unorganised; UDF branches have been established in the Northern Transvaal, the Northern, Southern and Eastern Cape, Border and the Karoo region. It has also established branches in the Southern Transvaal, Western Cape and Natal.

The Front has waged successful campaigns against the Black Local Authorities Elections and the Coloured Management Committee elections. It also spearheaded a nationwide campaign against the Tricameral parliamentary elections, the low poll proving that the new constitution does not have the support of the majority of people in this country.

In addition to launching its own campaigns, the Front has supported the campaign to end conscription, campaigns against forced removals in Magopa, in the Western Cape and in Huhudi. The Front also supported the campaign by the people of Mdantsane for lower bus fares.

The recognition of the major role which the UDF is playing for a democratic South Africa, is not confined to South Africa. In June this year, the UDF was awarded the prestigious 'Let Live' Peace Award Prize by the Swedish Government, in recognition of its fight against the injustices of Apartheid and commitment to democracy. The Government's response to the growing popularity of the UDF has been to detain its national secretaries and three of its vice presidents under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act. Archie Gumede, one of the Front's three presidents is presently taking refuge in the British Consulate's Durban offices after the Natal Supreme Court dismissed an application to have his Section 28 Detention Order withdrawn. Transvaal organiser of the Million Signature Campaign, Murpheson Morobe, is currently being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

(3)

THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

(COSAS)

Cosas was formed in 1979 to represent black school students.

Despite severe harassment and detentions since its inception, Cosas has become the popular organisation among school students countrywide. It now has more than 60 branches and at schools in some areas the entire student body are Cosas members

Cosas organises students around the problems they experience in the schools - lack of democratic representation, vicious corporal punishment, lack of textbooks, unqualified teachers, the age-limit law and many more.

The widespread support enjoyed by Cosas has been attributed to the fact that it represents the interests and aspirations of black schools students and unites them in opposition to the Apartheid education system.

Cosas' alternative to Apartheid education is 'free, compulsory and dynamic' education in a democratic and non-racial South Africa, and this is what students in Cosas are fighting for.

One of the organisation's principles is that education, and students themselves, should contribute to the well-being of the community. And Cosas has placed particular emphasis on building strong relationships with parents, teachers, workers and other sectors of the community.

Cosas and Azaso are presently spearheading the Education Charter Campaign which aims to produce a document which incorporates the educational demands of all South Africa's people. This Education Charter is intended to expand on the Freedom Charter clause, 'the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all

While fighting for non-racial and democratic education, Cosas states that this can only be achieved in a liberated South Africa.

Democracy, for Cosas, is not only a long term goal, but a working practice within the organisation and a goal to be fought for within the schools.

It is in this belief - that students should have a say in matters that affect them - that Cosas has thrown its full weight behind the demand for democratically elected Student Representative Councils and other student demands:

*scrapping of the age-limit laws

- (4)
- *an end to excessive corporal punishment
 - *an end to sexual harassment
 - *qualified teachers and free supply of textbooks
 - *the withdrawal of police and the SADF from schools and townships

This year almost one million students nationwide have boycotted classes in support of these demands. The government's response was to send in police and later the SADF.

Thousands of students were injured, detained, arrested and some killed in clashes with police.

In addition the government launched vicious public attacks against Cosas, saying Cosas were 'agitators' and were to blame for the boycotts. Already banned in Kwazulu, Cosas was banned - for the second time - in the Transkei.

Students on the other hand said that the conditions they faced in the schools and the response from the government and the police to their legitimate demands were in fact the 'agitators'.

Educationalists accused the government of using Cosas as a scapegoat for its own inability or unwillingness to solve the education crisis.

But what wasn't public was the ongoing repression and attempts to crush Cosas. Cosas members in each area were hounded by security police and many could not sleep at their homes.

The house of Cosas national president, Lulu Johnson, in Port Elizabeth was fire bombed. In Soweto, the secretary of the Cosas branch there, Bongani Khumalo, was killed by police after leaving the home of a friend and fellow Cosas member. A few days later his brother, national secretary general of Cosas was beaten up by police. Almost the entire branch executive was later detained. Numerous Cosas members in the Vaal, Atteridgeville, Alexandra, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and other areas have been detained over the past months.

At present almost the entire regional executive of Cosas in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal are in detention.

Despite the continued attacks and harassment of the organisation Cosas has stood firmly behind students demands.

VAAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION

The Vaal Civic Association was launched at the end of 1983 on the initiation of the UDF at the time of the anti-Black Local Authorities Campaign. At its launch, about 2 000 people attended, making it the largest anti-BLA mass meeting in the Transvaal.

A steering committee was established led by Father Lord McCamel. The vice chair was Esau Raditsela. The formation of the Vaal civic spurred the formation of other organisations such as the Vaal Womens Organisation and the Vaal Youth Congress steering committee.

The VCA together with other organisations in the area organised a placard demonstration at a feast celebrating the inauguration of the Evaton Town Council. Many people heeded the call and did not attend the feast. When the rent increases were announced at the end of July, the VCA called public meetings to discuss the increases.

At present, Father McCamel, the Secretary Edith Isobel Letlakhe, and executive member Johnny Mokoena are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Over 60 people from the Vaal area are currently being detained, a large number of whom are members of the Vaal Civic.

TRANSVAAL REGIONAL STAYAWAY COMMITTEE (TRSC)

In mid- October, a meeting was convened to discuss the education crisis and the situation in the Vaal townships, and to consider forms of joint action in support of student, resident and worker demands.

A two week period of consultation followed whereupon organisations met to report back on discussion. Subsequent to this another meeting was held to reach all organisations and independant trade unions.

On October 17, 37 organisations, representing the major part of the progressive movement in the Transvaal agreed to organise a stayaway to:

- * support the democratic demands of the students
- * demand that the army and the police be withdrawn from the townships
- * demand that all rent increases be scrapped
- * demand that all community councillors resign
- * demand the release of all detainees and political prisoners
- * demand the reinstatement of all workers including the Simba workers
- * demand the withdrawal of unfair GST and taxation

Organisations spanned worker, student, youth, women and civic organisations, and church and political bodies.

A committee was elected to co-ordinate activities such as public meetings and publicity and to telex the government about these demands. Press reports indicate that of the six-person committee five have been detained.

A large number of other organisations have been affected by the detentions. Reproduced below in alphabetical order, are some of the political, civic, trade union and youth organisations with members/officials in detention. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain profiles for all organisations.

AZAPO

AZAPO is a Black Consciousness political organisation formed in 1978 in the wake of the banning of numerous BC organisations on October 19, 1977. It organises mainly in the Transvaal and is affiliated to the National Forum. Two of its office bearers are presently in detention - Publicity Secretayr Muntu Myeza and Lenasia Branch Chair; Haroon Patel.

ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS (AYCO)

AYCO is one of the youth organisations which emerged late last year in different parts of the country, our main objective being to mobilise the youth who are out of school, unemployed or employed, and involve them in campaigns for a democratic future. Although AYCO'S membership is limited to youth only, we however responed to the demands and aspirations of a large section of our community. We also have strong working relations with COSAS and the Civic Association in Alex. We also spearhead political campaigns as do all other UDF affiliates e.g. Million Signature Campaign.

CUSA

The Council of Unions of South Africa was formed in 1980, and has rapidly grown in strength since then, presently claiming a membership of 150 000. CUSA is a council consisting of 11 unions, the largest of which is the National Union of Mineworkers, with 80 000 members, the Food, Beverage and Allied Workers Union, whose Secretary, Mr. Skakes Sikakane was himself recently detained, and the South African Chemical Workers Union.

DPSC was formed in 1981 by the friends and relatives of detainees on the Witwatersrand. DPSC has waged an ongoing campaign against detention, aimed at securing the release of all detainees, monitoring and publicising detention in South Africa and improving the conditions under which detainees are held. DPSC has led a number of delegations to the Security Police and the Minister of Law and Order to demand the improvement of conditions under which detainees are held and the release of all detainees.

DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE (DESCOM)

Descom was formed in 1981 to co-ordinate support work for detainees in communities throughout the Witwatersrand. At present there are detainees support committees in Soweto, Alexandra, Vaal and Johannesburg.

DESCOM monitors detentions, provides moral and limited material support for detainees and their families and provides information on security legislation.

At present there are two DESCOM members in detention.

FOSATU

Fosatu was established in 1979 and consists of eight affiliates representing over one hundred thousand members.

Fosatu has recently waged campaigns for living wage and against the new constitution and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill.

Fosatu president Chris Dlamini is currently being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. In addition four Fosatu office bearers are being held in detention.

JOHANNESBURG DEMOCRATIC ACTION COMMITTEE (JODAC)

JODAC was formed in October 1983 to mobilise people living in the Johannesburg area against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills. It is affiliated to the United Democratic Front and has participated in campaigns against the November 1983 referendum, the tri-cameral elections, repression and forced removals.

THE RATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION

The Ratanda Civic Association was formed by residents of Ratanda township (near Heidelberg) to oppose recent rent increases.

Residents elected the Civic Association after Ratanda Town Councillors failed to attend a community meeting where residents expected an explanation for the rent hike.

At a later meeting residents decided not to pay the increases and called upon councillors to resign. The entire village council subsequently resigned and attempts by the East Rand Board to hold elections have failed as no one is prepared to stand.

Members of the Civic Association have faced severe response from the police. A number of Civic members who went to councillors to bring them to a residents meeting have been charged with intimidation.

At present the president of the Ratanda Civic Association Paul Mokoena and two executive members Daniel Nkosi and Thomas Motsile are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE

(RMC)

The RMC aims to campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and to focus on the central contribution political prisoners have made in the past and can make to a future South Africa.

As yet, no national structure exists - the RMC comprises committees in different centres: Port Elizabeth, East London, Cape Town, Pietersburg, Kimberley, Kuruman, Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom, Vaal Triangle, Johannesburg (Soweto), Pretoria and Durban. These all grew out of the Release Mandela Campaign run in 1980. This year committees have organised public meetings and produced publications around several commemorative dates such as National Womens Day, Rivonia Trial, June 16 and Sharpeville March 21.

Curtis Nkondo heads the Soweto RMC, Archie Gumede the Natal RMC and Oscar Mpetha the Cape Town RMC.

AJ42



WHAT WERE THE SOLDIERS
DOING HERE?

Bew'AS 42"

WHAT WERE THE POLICE
DOING HERE?

They came when we were sleeping

They blocked our roads

they searched our houses

they arrested our people

**THEY TOLD US TO TRUST THEM
THEY TOLD US THEY WERE BRINGING LAW AND ORDER.**

WHAT HAVE THEY DONE TO US BEFORE?

In '76 our children asked for a better education

they were there

In '80 our children boycotted apartheid schools

they were there

In '84 we called for lower rents and a people's government

they were there

WHO ARE THEY?

They are the SADF

They tell us they are here to defend our country against its enemies

ARE WE THE ENEMIES OF OUR COUNTRY?

NO, WE ARE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

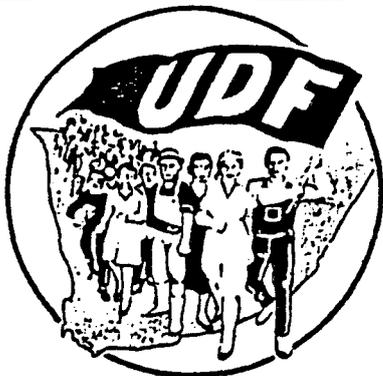
WE SHALL HAVE OUR FREEDOM AND THEY SHALL NOT STOP US

OUR UNITY IS OUR STRENGTH

NO TRUST AT THE POINT OF A GUN

issued by UDF

Issued by United Democratic Front, Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street, JHB



MASOLE A NE A TLILO
ETSA ENG MONA?

MAPOLESA A NE A TLILO
ETSA ENG MONA?

Ba tšile bosiu re robetse
Ba etsa bothibo mebileng hore ho se ka kgoneha hore ho fetwe (road blocks)
Ba kena ka matlung ba kututsa matlo a rona
Ba tshwara batho ba rona

BA RE BOLELLA HORE RE BEYE TSHEPO YA RONA HO BONA
BA RE BOLELLA HORE BA TLISITSE KHOTSO LE TOKA BATHONG

SE ILENG BA SE ETSA HO RONA
NAKONG YA HO FETA KE SE FE NA?

Ka selemo sa 1976 bana ba rona ba ile ba hopa hore thuto e be ya maemo a betere
EMPA LE MOO BA NE BA LE TENG
Ka selemo sa 1980 bana ba rona ba ile ba boykhottha kgethollo dikolong
EMPA LE MOO BA NE BA NTSE BA LE TENG
Ka selemo sa 1984 re ile ra etsa boipiletso hore rente e fokotswe bakeng sa batho ba mmuso
EMPA LE TENG MOO BA NE BA LE TENG KA DIKGOKA TSA BONA

HANTLE-NTLE BONA KE BOMANG?

KE BATHO BA SADF BA TSHIRELETSO
BA RE BOLELLA HORE BA MONA HO TLA TLA THUSA LE HO TSHIRELETSA LEFATSHE
DIRENG TSA SONA
A NA KE RONA DIRA TSA LEFATSHE LA RONA?
TJHE, RE BATHO BA AFRIKA BORWA. RE TLA BA LE TOKOLOHO YA RONA MME HA
BANO RO THIBELLA LE KA MOHLA O LE MONG.

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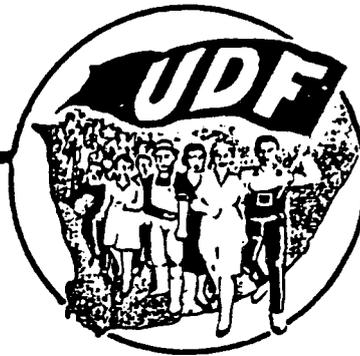
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ISSUED BY UDF

AJ43

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

The Secretary

19 June 1984

Rev "A 5 4 3"

Dear Comrades

We have witnessed during the last few months, unfolding in our country, conditions similar to those which led to the historic 1976 student revolt.

Six schools have been closed in Pretoria. Several students throughout the country are either boycotting classes or are in detention. In Cradock at least ninety five (95) people have been arrested since the students started boycotting classes following the transference of their teacher, who is the only maths teacher in that school, Mr Matthew Goniwe by DET.

Of all the places affected by the crisis in schools, Cradock stands out as a monument of brutal police repression. The entire student community and youth leadership has been detained.

At one stage Cradock was surrounded by the police. People from outside this area could not enter it without being subjected to tortuous questioning. Attempts were made by the police to isolate Cradock from the rest of South Africa.

During that period, very little came out of the Front in the form of condemnation despite the fact that both the community and Youth organisations in that area are affiliates of the Front.

The N.E.C. recommends to all the Regions, even at this late hour, to call mass meetings on a date that shall be dubbed the National Day of Solidarity with the people of Cradock. On that day, the call for the release of Matthew Goniwe must come out loud and clear! I suggest the 23rd July 1984 for this event.

I wish to appeal to Regions to submit to the National Office, detailed reports on the education crisis. This may be very helpful at the mass meetings referred to above, in order to give the masses a picture of what is happening nationally in schools and universities.

Please discuss this matter both in your R.E.C.'s and R.G.C.'s.

Yours in the Struggle


POPO MOLEFE

General Secretary

AJ44

Kew "AJ44"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OF

**KHOTSO HOU
42 DE VILLIERS
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 1036
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917**

06 December 1984

The UDF extends a message of solidarity to the service to commemorate the brutal murder of 42 patriots two years ago.

Such brutal killings of patriots and the associated destabilisation are the methods by which the SADF hopes to beat our neighbouring states and comrades into submission.

We are proud of the way in which Lesotho had withstood such brow-beating. We draw strength from the blood spilt by our fallen comrades.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!

A LUTA! CONTINUA!

Yours in struggle,

**TREVOR MANUEL
ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY**

**UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
(UDF NATIONAL)
P.O. Box 10366 Johannesburg
2000
Phones 29-1916, 29-1917**

Presidents: Oscar Mpepha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin

Rev "AJ 44"

06 December 1984

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Such brutal killings of patriots and the associated destabilisation are the methods by which the SADF hopes to beat our neighbouring states and comrades into subjection.

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AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!

A LUTA! CONTINUA!

Yours in struggle

TREVOR MANUEL
ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY

AJ45

Rev "AT 45"



detainees' parents support committee

15th September 1984

Special report on preventive detention
under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act

In view of the recent extensive use of Section 28 detention and its repercussions, this report has been prepared to provide detailed information as follows :-

- A complete list of persons who have been detained under Section 28 since the inception of the Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982.
- 'Detention: how it works' (RDM 14 Sept. 1984), a detailed analysis of Section 28 and its consequences.
- An example of a Section 28 detention order, and accompanying statement.
- 'Who are the real provocateurs?' (Our View 13 September 1984) comment written by the DPSC a few days before the release of the Durban group of detainees.

There will be no report for the month of September, but the report at the end of October will cover the two month period of September/October.

P.O. Box 39431, Bramley 2018

Since its formation five JODAC members have been held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

The NIC was formed by Mahatma Gandhi ninety years ago and has a proud tradition of resistance.

In recent times the NIC has participated in the Release Mandela Campaign, the Anti- Republic Day Celebrations, the boycott of the SAIC elections and the campaign against the tricameral elections.

NIC president George Sewpersadh and NIC executive members Mewa Ramgobin, Paul David, M.J. Naidoo took refuge in the British Consulate after their release from preventative detention.

Mewa Ramgobin. M.J. Naidoo and George Sewpersadh are now being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

TIC was revived at the Anti SAIC Congress held in Johannesburg in 1983. The organisation which subscribes to the Freedom Charter committed itself to campaign against the new constitution and together with the UDF and NIC organised a successful boycott of the Tricameral parliamentary elections.

TIC president Essop Jassat and Vice President Ram Saloojee are presently being held in preventative detention.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (NEUSA)

NEUSA was started in 1980 in response to the school boycotts. NEUSA believes that the education struggle is directly related to the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

NEUSA therefore aims to educate teachers about the relationship between education and society and to become active in community organisations. At present the president of NEUSA, Curtis Nkondo is being held under section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (NUSAS)

NUSAS, the oldest of the South African students organisations, this year celebrates its 60th anniversary - it was formed at Grey College in Bloemfontein in 1924.

Initially it incorporated both English and Afrikaans speaking universities, but the latter withdrew in 1933 to form the Afrikaner Nasionale Studentebond (ANSB). Black campuses - Fort Hare and Hwat Training College - joined in 1945. But, in 1969 black students, led by Steve Biko and Barney Pitso, decided to withdraw and form the South African Student Organisation - SASO.

Today, the universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Durban and Pietermaritzburg are affiliated to Nusas. Over the last two years particularly, NUSAS has had to face a number of challenges from right-wing groupings and lost a referendum at Rhodes University last year.

Under its theme "Students meeting the challenge of change", NUSAS continues to challenge undemocratic practices and structures in the university as well as aiming to educate and politicise students about broader political issues. Key campaigns this year have been around the tri-cameral elections; the UDF and the Million Signature Campaign; and the End Conscription Campaign.

As conditions on white campuses differ vastly to those on black campuses, AZASO and NUSAS have decided to remain separate, but work together where possible as, for e.g., affiliates of the UDF.

Together with COSAS, NUSAS and AZASO have called for a compulsory, relevant and single education system which does not discriminate on the grounds of race, sex or social class.

The organisations believe the education system cannot be changed without changing apartheid. This is why they are united in their support of the Freedom Charter and in the call for a united democratic and non-racial South Africa.

* Beyers Naudé has been elected Honorary President of NUSAS since 1977. It is only since his unbanning that he has been able to formally accept the position.

Presently, NUSAS President Kate Phillip is detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION

SAAWU was formed in 1980 in East London. Thozamile Gqweta was elected as its first president. From the start SAAWU faced the wrath of the Ciskei's Sebe Brothers. Two months after its formation, General Sebe detained four SAAWU officials, among them the newly-elected president. For Thozamile Gqweta this was to be the first year of eight detentions.

Despite constant attacks from the Ciskei and South African Security police SAAWU has branches in the Transvaal, Natal and Cape and a membership of nearly 100 000.

SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS (SOYCO)

SOYCO was formed in August 1983 to mobilise youth under the age of 38 years in the Soweto area.

SOYCO has been involved in the campaign against the Black Local Authorities elections, the Campaign against the constitution and the UDF Million Signature Campaign. It has also organised a Fun Run for Youth in Soweto.

At present SOYCO President Oupa Monareng is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, as is the Vice President.

Throughout the first year of its existence, SOYCO has faced constant harassment and over one hundred of its members have been called into police stations for questioning.

DETAINEE PROFILES

It is sometimes forgotten that behind the statistics are individuals struggling for a better society. Reproduced below are profiles of but a few of the many individuals imprisoned in cells around the country.

OBED BAPELA

Obed Bapela is a founder member and vice-president of the Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco). Prior to 1983, he was involved in Cosas. He works for Media and Resource Services (Mars) as a media-co-ordinator. His job involves training members of youth, student, worker and community organisations in acquiring media skills.

Obed is twenty six years old, unmarried, and lives in Alexandra.

PIROSHAW CAMAY

Piroshaw Camay is the Secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), one of the largest union federations in South Africa, with a membership of over 150 000. He was detained while involved in negotiations with businessmen anxious to avoid a further stayaway.

CHRIS DLAMINI

Chris Dlamini was elected Fosatu President in 1982. He is also President of the Fosatu affiliated Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union. While Chris was still a Sweet Food shop steward at Kelloggs, the workers there negotiated the second recognition agreement won by an unregistered trade union.

Chris Dlamini is 40 years old, married, and has three children. He lives with his family in KwaThema.

KENNY FIHLA

Kenny Fihla is a member of the Cosas national executive and a Cosas national organiser. He is a student in Soweto and was detained with his sister Bessie Fihla and other members of the Soweto Cosas branch on 11 October 1984. All these students are still being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act

ESSOP JASSAT

Essop Jassat is president of the Transvaal Indian Congress and practices as a medical doctor in Johannesburg. He was the president of the Transvaal Anti- SAIC committee. He was served with a detention order in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act and is currently imprisoned in Diepkloof Prison outside Johannesburg. His present detention order is in effect until February next year.

Dr Jassat is married and has two children. He is also a patron of the United Democratic Front.

ISABELLE MOTLALEKGOMO LETLHAKE

Isabelle Letlhake is secretary of the Steering Committee of the Vaal Civic Association and an active member of the Vaal Organisation of Women.

She attended school in the Vaal and was a member of the Student Christian Organisation. She worked as a computer operator at Mercedes Datacor Company, who dismissed her just prior to her detention.

Isabelle is 25 years old, unmarried and the main breadwinner in her family. Her mother is a pensioner and is sickly.

PETER MAKGOPA

Peter joined Cosas at the beginning of 1983 whilst attending school at Minerva High in Alexandra Township. He was elected as Vice-chairperson of the Alexandra branch of Cosas and president of the Minerva Students Council. He was detained earlier this year and released after students at Minerva boycotted classes to demand his release. During his detention, he was the first detainee to experience Closed Circuit Television in the cells at John Vorster Square. On his release he reported this to the DPSC.

Peter is presently the Transvaal Chairperson of Cosas. He is a standard 10 pupil at Minerva High School and lives with his family in Alexandra.

THAMI MALI

Thami Mali is a member of the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal and represented this organisation on the Committee that announced the Stay-away. He was first detained in 1983 and was tried together with Mrs Albertina Sisulu. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment and was released on bail to await an appeal against conviction after spending nearly seven months as an awaiting trial prisoner.

MOSES MAYEKISO

Moses Mayekiso was a shop steward at Toyota and played an active role in building Metal and Allied Workers Union in the Transvaal. In 1980 he became an organiser for MAWU and in 1981, was elected Branch Secretary.

Moses is married with six children and lives in Alexandra. He represented Fosatu on the committee that announced the stay-away.

FATHER LORD McCAMEL

Father McCamel is the Chairperson of the Vaal Civic Association and a minister in Evaton. He has been involved in civic matters for a long time and was elected by the Evaton residents to represent them in a dispute with the Lekoa Town Council, who arbitrarily decreased the size of residents yards in order to

widen the roads. McCamel led residents in uprooting tin fences erected across yards demarcating the area that had been appropriated by the Council.

Father McCamel lives in Evaton with his wife who is a primary school teacher, and their five children.

POPO MOLEFE

Popo Molefe is the National Secretary of the United Democratic Front. He was detained outside the offices of the United Democratic Front on the 2 October this year and served with a five month detention order in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Popo attended Naledi High School in Soweto and was a member of the South African Students Movement (SASM). He was a member of the Soweto branch of Azapo and later a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten and an active member of the Diepkloof Civic Association.

He was first detained in 1977 and spent approximately eight months under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Popo has one child and his wife is expecting his second child early next year.

MURPHESON MOROBE

Murphy Morobe is the UDF Transvaal organiser of the Million Signature campaign. He was a founder member of the South African Students Movement (SASM). During the 1976 uprising, he was elected vice-president of the Soweto Students Representative Council. At the time he was a matric student at Morris Isaacson High School.

He was detained at the end of 1976 and served six months for refusing to testify in a trial of 12 others in Pretoria. On his release, he was immediately redetained and brought to court as an accused in the SSRC Kempton Park Trial. He was sentenced to 7 years, of which four were suspended for five years.

Morobe was released from Robben Island in May 1982. He worked for the General and Allied Workers Union until his appointment to the UDF as an organiser.

In June this year he went to Sweden to receive the 'Let Live ' Peace Award and travelled to many other countries representing the UDF. In September he accompanied Advocate Zac Yacoob to Britain and the United Nations to highlight the plight of the six ex-detainees in the British consulate.

Murphy lives in Soweto and is married. He and his wife have a five month old baby.

CURTIS NKONDO

Curtis Nkondo has a long history of involvement in education and in 1976, he mobilised teacher support for student demands by leading a teacher walkout. As a result, he was expelled from his post as headmaster of Soweto High School. During this period, he became the first president of Azapo.

In 1980, Curtis was detained and banned for three years on his release. He is one of the Transvaal UDF Vice Presidents, President of the National Education Union and Chairperson of the Transvaal Release Mandela Committee.

Curtis is married and lives with his family in Eldorado Park.

PAUL MOKOENA

Paul MoKoena is the Chairperson of the Ratanda Civic Association. He is currently being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He was detained on 7 November together with fellow executive members, Thomas Motsile and Daniel Nkosi.

THEMBA NONTHLANTANE

Themba Nonthlantane was born in Tabankulu in the Transkei. He first came to Johannesburg in 1975 to work for the Johannesburg City Council as a Dust Remover. Later he joined the Orlando Power Station where he became a Black Plant Attendant. He was involved in founding and building the Black Municipal Workers Union. In 1980 he was fired by the JCC in the wake of the strike by 10 000 municipal workers. He was amongst the 2 000 workers who were deported to the Transkei by the council. He spent eight months in the Transkei unable to find employment. He returned to Johannesburg in 1981 to work for the Premier Milling Group, but was fired for extending his leave.

He suffered his first detention in 1976, when he was shot in the arm (the bullet is still in his arm to this day) He was detained in October 1983 and charged with possession of banned literature. Charges were subsequently dropped. He was detained for the third time this year prior to the conference of the Municipal and General Workers Union while organising workers at Orlando Power Station. He is currently facing charges for trespassing at a 'National keypoint'.

Themba is now in detention for the fourth time. He is the National Organiser of the Municipal and General Workers' Union. He is married and he has three children.

KATE PHILIP

Kate Philip was twice elected to the University of Cape Town SRC- she served as Projects Officer on the 1980/81 SRC executive; and as Vice-president on the 1981/82 SRC executive. At the 1982 Nusas Congress, in Durban, she was unanimously elected Nusas President. She was re-elected to serve a second term at the 1983 Congress at Wits. Kate is also the present Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the South African Students Travel Service (SASTS).

Kate is twenty four years old and lives in Cape Town.

SPECIAL PROFILE

STEVE TSHWETE

Steve Tshwete was born in Springs, Transvaal, in 1938, but has lived most of his life in the Eastern Cape. As an avowed opponent of apartheid, he came into conflict with the authorities in the early sixties and was detained in June 1963. In the fifth month of his detention, he was formally charged with membership and furthering the aims of a banned organisation (the ANC) and convicted in the Supreme Court on 22nd March 1964 after having spent a total of nine months in custody. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment which he served, without remission, on Robben Island. Immediately upon his release in March 1979, he was served with a two year banning order.

In 1980, he took employment as a teacher in the local school in Peelton, a town in Ciskei where he has his home. After the expiry of his banning order on 31st March 1981, he enjoyed his first freedom in 18 years and was able to engage once more in active political opposition to the apartheid system.

This freedom was relatively shortlived for he was detained by the Ciskei Security Police on 29th September 1983 during the Ciskei clampdown in the aftermath of the bus boycott. After four months in detention he was released - 20th January 1984, only to find that the Ciskei Department of Education had dismissed him from his post as teacher, thus depriving him of his livelihood. In February, he was offered and accepted employment as a clerk in an attorney's office in Kingwilliamstown (a few kilometres from his home in Peelton, but inside the 'Republic of South Africa'), with the intention of registering for a legal degree with UNISA, and becoming articled to the attorney.

Steve Tshwete became a prominent figure in extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid and was elected, whilst in detention, as President of the Border Region of the United Democratic Front - a position which he still holds. He is widely respected as an important leader, and as such has been and continues to be subjected to the repression and harassment of the authorities.

The government has now devised a new form of suppression which it is already using on Charles Nqakula, a formerly banned journalist living in the Ciskei, and which on 13th November it used against Steve Tshwete.

On that day he was served with a notice from the Director General of the Department of Home Affairs (previously the Department of the Interior) notifying him that under the Aliens Act he may not enter the Republic of South Africa without being in possession of a valid visa. This effectively declares him to be a prohibited immigrant into the land of his birth, and confines him to the Ciskei. It deprives him of his citizenship (even if it is second-class citizenship) and his means of livelihood since he can no longer be employed in Kingwilliamstown, outside the Ciskei.

Furthermore, the location of his home in Peelton, on the border of Ciskei and the 'Republic', is in a so-called 'White Corridor,' and it is impossible to go too far without criss-crossing the border into the Republic. He is in effect under house arrest with no means of earning a living, let alone continuing any political activity, unless he is prepared to undergo the risk of arrest and imprisonment. That this is a very real risk, and in fact the intention of the South African authorities, is evidenced by the fact that Charles #quakula is facing a charge in the East London courts of illegal entry into South Africa after having been served with a similar notice, and having been arrested in East London.

Thus the government is using not the Department of Justice, not the Department of Law and Order, but the Department of Home Affairs in an attempt to crush a formidable opponent, and on the way it is shattering just about every human right that the international community holds dear.

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DETENTION ACTION COMMITTEE (ADAC) REPORT

A: Formation and Development of ADAC;

After the detention of Mark Kaplan and Johnny Issel in Cape Town in late 1981 and the earlier spate of detentions in Joburg, a group of people came together in Cape Town around the issue of detention. This group initially saw its role as a care group for those in detention and as a means of bringing together and supporting the relatives of those detained.

During early 1982 it became clear that there were certain problems with this structure: firstly, non-parents were greatly outnumbering parents and threatened to swamp the committee; secondly, non-parents were tending to move faster politically than parents were prepared to go; thirdly, it appeared that the tasks of the two groups differed - with non-parents needing to concentrate to a greater extent on exploring the detention issue practically and theoretically.

For this reason two groups were formed: the DPSC (parents) and ADAC (non-parents). A working relationship was set up between the two with DPSC drawing on ADAC resources where required.

ADAC at present consists of four subcommittees: education, health, newsletter and research. While each subcommittee concentrates on a particular aspect of the detention issue, an attempt is made to draw in people from different subcomms around different projects. Monthly business meetings are held and day-to-day matters are handled by a four-person steering committee.

At the moment there are about 20 active members of ADAC consisting mostly of off-campus white activists. In this respect ADAC has provided a useful 'political home' for people who could not otherwise belong to either student or community organisations.

While being open to all who share its aims, ADAC has continued to rely on this just-mentioned category of people for membership as it was felt that it was important not to draw activists away from their organisations to work on detentions as a primary area of involvement.

Also, while ADAC is directly community-orientated in its approach and activities, it does not have a structured relationship with other organisations.

ADAC has established its direction and legitimacy by moving slowly and learning from mistakes. Having begun as an ad-hoc detention action committee, National Detainees Week in March 1982 showed that general support for an organised detention group would be forthcoming. The youth in particular showed their support and it was decided that youth should form a major focus of ADAC's activities.

By the end of 1982 it was felt that ADAC's existence had been accepted and the 'ad-hoc' was subsequently dropped: ADAC thus became the Detention Action Committee - a developing support and resource group which could also play an important ideological and educative function.

B: ADAC's Ideological Role :

In looking at ADAC's history we mentioned how ADAC was formed partly to fulfil an ideological role different to that of the DPSC. During 1983, a year in which broader national questions such as the PC and the Koornhof Bills are very much on the agenda, we have realised the need to place detention in the context of other forms of repression and to try to locate repression and its role in broader state strategy.

One way of doing this has been to hold education meetings, both open and internal, in which papers were given, for example, on: legal aspects of detention and security trials, the role of repression in state strategy, the MASA Report and health care of detainees, the role of the military in SA and Namibia, and others.

The talk on trials and the booklet 'You, Detention and the Law' (mentioned later) reflect our belief that detention cannot be seen in isolation, or as "detention without trial", but should rather be seen as a point in the repressive cycle which often proceeds onwards to trial and imprisonment; and, secondly, our belief that the courts and legal process are being used increasingly to narrow the boundaries of permissible political activity, partially replacing cruder measures such as banning and long-term detention.

This understanding, that security trials are not legitimate as they are held under laws that are undemocratic and repressive, means that we reject the slogan "charge or release". This is also inseparable from our belief that detainees are honourable people struggling for goals with which we identify ourselves, a belief expressed in our slogan to mark National Detainees Day: "Take Forward Their Fight".

Consistent with this view, ADAC, through its newsletter, ADAC News, has called for support for the accused in the Mpetsha trial, while a resolution was passed at an ADAC open meeting urging the state to grant clemency to the six ANC members sentenced to death and to release all political prisoners and detainees.

The ideological gains that can be made around the detention issue are much broader than this, however, precisely because detention is a concept repugnant to a very wide spectrum of opinion, right down to the most conservative of liberals. It is therefore a human rights issue which can divide middle-of-the-road groupings from the state.

It is ADAC's task in working around the issue to emphasise this potential division, while pointing out increasingly why detention is necessary and integral to government policy, thus developing the issue further and taking a wider range of people with us to some of the understandings mentioned above.

Publicity and Pressure as Ideological Weapons :

The nature of detention as a public issue raises the question of publicity and pressure as ideological weapons. ADAC decided in 1982 that it would not issue press statements and seek a high profile in the media as the DPSC has done. In keeping with a more low-key approach, ADAC media has been distributed to organisations and has sought to analyse detention politically in a way that is relevant to activists and their organisations, a way that is not attempted in the commercial media.

Likewise, while ADAC have as yet not provided speakers for public platforms (as the DPSC have done), ADAC has given messages of support on various occasions (eg. Neil Aggett Memorial, Cayco launching, Grass-roots AGM). Additionally ADAC read a message of solidarity at the Azaso-organised vigil for the 3 executed ANC guerillas.

On the press issue, however, there has been a rethink and informal ties have been established with various journalists with a view to ADAC using the commercial media more effectively (and, at least, for the purpose of facilitating a 2-way information flow with the press).

The Health subcomm. of ADAC has helped to show the way in one of the critical areas where publicity is most necessary : exerting pressure on the professions. This is so because detention is an issue that involves both the medical and legal professions intimately. In raising questions such as : the duties of a doctor towards his/her patient in terms of the Tokyo Declaration and the admissibility and reliability of evidence based on statements made by witnesses or accused people while in detention.

Together with their DPSC counterparts in Durban and Joburg , the ADAC health subcomm. helped to draw up the Memorandum that was submitted to the MASA Commission. The health group has subsequently been effective in placing pressure on MASA for its handling of the detention issue (eg. writing a letter, which was published in the SA Medical Journal, criticising the MASA Report, and distributing an open letter to delegates at the recent MASA Congress pointing out that MASA could go further in pressurising the state to accept those demands in the Report which were rejected). In addition a seminar on the Report and the health care of detainees was given at the UCT Medical School Campus.

In the area of law, the information booklet 'You, Detention and the Law' has been produced , while the legal people in ADAC (who don't form a separate group as do Health) are in the process of discussing the best approach to collectively dealing with the legal profession (as distinct from ongoing individual research).

This is a difficult question because the lawyers most concerned with detention - judges, magistrates and prosecutors - are , for different reasons , not accountable in the same way as private practitioners who would be more susceptible to pressure , and who can , of course , be called upon to take a stand from their own position.

C:ADAC's Resource Role :

One of the primary reasons for the continued existence of ADAC has been the ongoing need to raise awareness of the detention system , security laws and political trials. ADAC has gradually established itself as a recognised resource group on detention. But there is still much scope for us to expand our educational resources and for individual ADAC members to develop media and other resource skills.

A particular weakness of ADAC, which needs urgent attention, has been our inability to produce "quick news" and to have information at our fingertips about latest developments nationally.

Resources provided :

- i) Participation in youth group programmes : short plays , simulation games , and introductory talks on detention - an attempt has been made to draw youth into the planning and carrying-out of the educational input;
- ii) ADAC News : provision of general news and more analytical articles - a mouthpiece for ADAC and a way of spreading information on detention.;
- iii) Education Talks : see above under Ideological Role ;
- iv) Aggett Memorial Meeting on 5 February : Pamphlet "we wont forget Neil Aggett- he is but one of many" produced and distributed at FCWU-organised commemoration meeting;
- v) National Detainees Day on March 12 : the "Take Forward Their Fight" slogan was popularised through the wide distribution of stickers , pamphlets and posters (the posters having been produced together with an independent poster workshop group);
- vi) 'You , Detention and the Law' Booklet : arising out of one of ADAC's open education talks , a booklet giving a brief summary of the key sections of the 1982 Internal Security Act and attempting to look at

practical issues faced by people in detention and on trial in an accessible question-and-answer format - distributed nationally;

Detention Resource Centre : ADAC resources and various other materials on detention and related issues are housed in the Criminology Institute at UCT . ADAC also has links with university-based psychological and legal research on detention.

Projects being worked on : I) a slideshow which , in looking historically at repression and resistance in SA, will attempt to explain the coexistence of repression and reform in the current political climate, as well as focussing on the growth and development of organisation around detention; II) a booklet on the development & role of the various security services in SA.

D: ADAC's Support Role :

I) The DPSC : while ADAC continues to exist alongside the DPSC(WC) as a separate organisation fighting detention, it provides assistance to the DPSC whenever needed. A few people who work on the DPSC are also members of ADAC and this ensures a flow of information and some continuity between the two committees (even though there is no structured link);

Ways of assisting : a) providing support for the demands of the DPSC; b) raising awareness of detentions and trials; c) practical support, eg. transport for prison visits; d) providing personal support.

II) Care-groups : another important level of support is that of assisting detainee care-groups. ADAC participated in the care-group set up for Cape Town detainee , Saleem Badat. This type of backup would obviously be important during a time of widespread detention. ADAC proposes to draw up a checklist setting out all the small things that a care-group usually needs to attend to.

III) Another level of support has been the giving of informal advice to people harassed in various ways by the security police.

E: United Democratic Front :

ADAC signed the declaration of support on the launching of the UDF : but the position of resource groups within UDF(WC) is not entirely clear.

What is clear is that, while ADAC is recognised as a legitimate grouping fighting around detention, we are not a mass-based organisation having a branch structure in the Western Cape region. If it transpires, as seems likely, that resource groups are not to be formally incorporated into UDF as affiliates, ADAC would still give its full support to the UDF campaign by providing resources and popularising the campaign through its newsletter.

Members of ADAC are also encouraged to participate as individuals in area committees and through other organisations (eg. UWO).

F: The Road Ahead :

The next year or so will be one of immense political campaigns and will present us with many challenges. We believe that the times ahead will reinforce the need for education and organisation around the detention issue - both inside the existing detention committees throughout the country and within other organisations. Our resource and support role becomes even more important in the era of PC and we must prepare ourselves to counter the possibility of largescale detentions when initiatives like the UDF gather further momentum. Above all, we must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security in a period in which there seem to be (apart from the Eastern Cape) fewer detentions and certainly fewer bannings than for some time. Rather, our support for those comrades in detention, on trial and in prison must intensify!

WE MUST TAKE FORWARD THEIR FIGHT!!

AJ41

They are killing our people

Bew "A54"



In Transvaal, army guns are turned against our people.

To put a stop to this, thousands of workers stayed away from work this week. On Monday and Tuesday, the factories were at a standstill. Johannesburg was not the same. The trains were empty. The shops in Soweto and other townships were closed.

Our people showed their anger. They hit back at the government. They said the army must go. They said the army must stop using guns against us.

The government sent in the police when people boycotted high rents. They force high rents on to us. They put up the bus fares. They put us off at work. Here in Cape Town the bus fares went up this week. Must we keep quiet when they make life so hard for us?

City Tramways gets rich from our money but they want more and more. And when we show our anger, they turn their guns on to us. They bring in the police. In Transvaal, they have brought in the army. 7000 men in army uniforms surrounded houses in Sebokeng. Every house was searched. They arrested hundreds of our people. Some have gone missing. They brought

in the army to terrorize our people. They brought in their army to shoot down our people. Many hundreds have been locked away.

In Cape Town, we remember 1976. We remember 1982. They brought in the riot police then. They turned their guns against our young, our old, our women.

Transvaal workers are saying this must stop. Transvaal workers are fighting against the evil of Apartheid..

They told the government to lower rents.

They said food prices must go down.

They said the army must leave them alone.

They said all our leaders must be released from jail.

They stayed away from work. They sacrificed to bring about a free South Africa for all of us. Their struggle is our struggle. NO EVIL CAN LIVE FOREVER!!!

WE STAND UNITED BEHIND OUR LEADERS

ON MONDAY 10TH DECEMBER 1984, THE FOLLOWING
LEADERS WERE CHARGED WITH TREASON IN DURBAN

Essop Jassat - President TIC
George Sewparsingh - President NIC
Curtis Nkondo - Chairperson RMC

M.J. Naidoo - NIC
Mewa Ramgobin - NIC
Aubrey Makoena - RMC

All the above are also senior members of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
They had been held under preventative detention since August 1984

Nobody is fooled by these charges which are a response to the mounting opposition to detentions, both within the country as well as in Britain, America and other countries.

Botha, Rajbansi, Hendrikse have responded to this opposition by trying to create the impression that our leaders are "CRIMINALS". We know that the Internal Security Act (like the Group Areas Act, Pass Laws etc.) is an unjust law. Thus, whilst murderers are allowed bail, our respected leaders are refused bail. We feel that there can be no justice in an unjust society and our leaders cannot be tried in a just manner.

WE strongly reject these unjust and ludicrous charges and contend that:

- Our leaders only "CRIME" is the exposure of the states Tri-Cameral Parliament and their unwavering expression of the legitimate aspirations and struggles of our people.
- Our leaders have always conducted our just struggles in a peaceful manner in accordance with the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the demand of the Freedom Charter.
- Our Leaders are prominent and respectable members of our communities and have a long history of peaceful opposition to unjust laws.
- The government is deliberately trying to buy time, both internally and externally. On the one hand, they think that by trying to convict our leaders under their unjust laws, Reagan and Thatcher will be able to counter the anti-apartheid groups in their countries. The British Government can also use this as an excuse to reject our leaders from the consulate. On the other hand, the government thinks that if it keeps people like Essop Jassat and George Sewparsingh in jail, the community will be left without leaders to oppose Rajbansi, Hendrikse, Reddy etc. In this way, the government hopes to use the first six months of 1985 to make its Tri-Cameral system work on a day-to-day basis by imposing it on a leaderless people.
- By repressing the peaceful struggles of our people, the government is inviting and encouraging a show of violence. We thus put the recent unrest in the Townships squarely on the shoulders of the state.

WE CALL UPON OUR PEOPLE TO:

- 
- Stand united behind our leaders
 - Observe the festive period as a period of mourning
 - Demand the unconditional release of our leaders
 - Demand the resignation of Rajbansi, Reddy, Hendrikse etc.

WE APPEAL TO MOSQUES, TEMPLES AND CHURCHES TO HAVE PRAYER SERVICES FOR OUR LEADERS AS WELL AS THOSE WHO HAVE DIED IN THE VAAL AND OTHER AREAS.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

LIST OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER SECTION 28, ISA

The Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982 came into effect on the 2nd July 1982. It superseded several other acts with powers of detention without trial. 'Preventive' detention was formerly possible and at times frequently applied under Section 10 of the former Terrorism Act. This is now succeeded by the much harsher Section 28 of the new 'reformed' Internal Security Act. The following is a list of persons who have been served with 'preventive' detention orders under this Act since its inception on 2nd July 1982 :-

Date Detained	Name	Place	Remarks
22 March	TATSA, Nordecial	Modder B	Detention order expired 10/8/83 and he was released. Served with banning order same day. Banning order expires 31 August 1986
27 April	MTOBELA, David	Modder B	Mozambique citizen abducted by SADF in January 1981. Detention order expired 10 August 1983 and he was released
13 Nov.	DUBE, Abel Sgubhu	Johannesburg	Original detention date 21 April 1982. Detention order expires 31 October 1984
31 March	GONINE, Matthew	Craddock/Pollmoor	Teacher, chairman CRADORA
31 March	GONINE, Mbulelo	Craddock/JHB	Exec. Member CRADOYA
31 March	CALATA, Fort	Craddock/JHB	Teacher, chairman CRADOYA
31 March	JACOBS, Madoda	Craddock	Detention orders for the above three expire on 30 March 1985
21 August	GUMEDE, Archie	Durban	Student leader. Presently on trial in Somerset East. Presumed released from Section 28
21 August	BAMGOBIN, Mava	Durban	UDF Nat. Pres.
21 August	SEWERSADH, George	Durban	UDF Nat. Treas./NIC Pub. Sec.
21 August	HAIDOO, M. J.	Durban	NIC President
21 August	NAIR, Billy	Durban	NIC Vice-Pres.
21 August	LEKOTA, Patrick	Durban	NIC Member
21 August	JASSAT, Essop (Dr.)	Johannesburg	The above five were released on 7 September 1984 after a Haritzburg Supreme Court ruling that their detention order was invalid. New detention orders were issued the following day, but could not be served due to their disappearance. They eventually took refuge in the British Consulate in Durban on 13 September 1984
21 August	MOKOENA, Aubrey	Johannesburg	UDF Patron/TIC President
21 August	NKONDO, Curtis	Johannesburg	UDF Vice-Pres./RMC Pub. Sec.
21 August	SALOOJEE, R.A.M.	Johannesburg	UDF Vice-Pres./RMC Chairman
22 August	MYEZA, Muntu	Johannesburg	UDF Vice-Pres./TIC Vice-Pres.
22 August	PATEL, Haroon	Johannesburg	AZAPO Pub. Sec.
22 August	THLOPANE, Jerry	Sebokeng/JHB	AZAPO, Lenasia Chairman
22 August	MAPELA, Andries	Pretoria/JHB	COSAS Atteridgeville

The above nine are all held in Johannesburg prison and are appealing against their unsuccessful challenge of the constitutionality of the Act.

Date Detained	Name	Place	Remarks
22 August	KIKINE, Sam	Durban	SAANU
22 August	HASSIM, Kadir	Pietermaritzburg	APDUSA Nat. Chairman
The above two were also released on 7 September 1984 after the Haritzburg Supreme Court ruling and at the date of this report are still in hiding			
22 August	JONES, Peter	Cape Town	AZAPO Cape Vice-President
26 August	CHIKANE, Mose	Pretoria/JHB	UDF, Tvl. Gen. Secretary
9 Sept.	COOPER, Saths	Johannesburg	AZAPO Deputy President

The expiry date of all the detention orders issued during August 1984 is 28 February 1985.

It is possible that detention orders have been issued for other persons, but not served on them due to their disappearance (e.g. Paul DAVID in Durban)

S U M M A R Y

DETAINED DURING 1982 :-

Still in detention	1
Released	2 (but 1 banned)
DETAINED DURING 1984 :-	
Still in detention	15
Facing trial	1
In asylum in British Consulate	5
Disappeared	2
	<u>26</u>

Detention: how it works

HERE are four sections in the Internal Security Act which give the authorities the power to arrest and detain a person without trial through the courts and to bypass the normal processes of law.

FIRSTLY, Section 54, under which any police officer of the rank of warrant officer and up, can detain a person for 48 hours. This can be extended to 14 days on application to a magistrate. The purpose of this Section is described as "action to that state of unrest".

SECONDLY, Section 28, under which any police officer of the rank of lieutenant-colonel and up, can detain a person for an indefinite period for the "purposes of interrogation".

THIRDLY, Section 31, under which the Attorney-General can order the detention of a person to hold him or her as a potential witness in a trial — if the trial ends, or for months if the trial has yet started.

FINALLY, Section 24, the preventive detention provision, under which the Minister of Law and Order can order the detention of a person virtually indefinitely; for interrogation, not potential court action simply to remove him from society.

Section 24, used in 1983, is the provision which the Minister of Law and Order can use to detain 18 oppositionists of the election, which now examine in detail

the person concerned serves as a warrant for his arrest (although the officer can also act on a telegram from the Minister, or the knowledge that the notice exists). The notice delivered to the person concerned must also be accompanied by a written statement from the Minister "setting forth the

Detention without trial is in the news again, with the Government frustrating attempts by detainees to gain release through the courts, and disclosure of the fact that detention automatically also means banning. What exactly are the Government's detention powers? These details have been prepared by the Detainees Parents' Support Committee and the Black Sash

REASONS FOR DETENTION:
And so much of the information which induced the Minister to issue the notice... as can, in the opinion of the Minister, be disclosed without detriment to the public interest.

CONDITIONS OF DETENTION:
"In accordance with the provisions of regulations made by the Minister of Justice.

PERIOD OF DETENTION:
For the period during which the notice is in force, that is, the detention period is stipulated on the Minister's notice.
In the case of the four Cradock community leaders detained in March 1984, the period stipulated was 12 months from March 31, 1984, to March 30, 1985. For the 18 recent detainees, a six-month period was stipulated, ending on February 24, 1985.

POWERS OF DETENTION:
The Minister, on any of the above grounds may direct that any person be detained in a prison.

DETENTION ORDER:
By means of a written notice, signed by the Minister and addressed to the member of the Prisons Services who is in charge of the prison specified.
A copy of this notice tendered by a police officer to the person concerned serves as a warrant for his arrest (although the officer can also act on a telegram from the Minister, or the knowledge that the notice exists). The notice delivered to the person concerned must also be accompanied by a written statement from the Minister "setting forth the

or he may set them aside if he is satisfied that the Minister "exceeded his powers under the Act, acted in bad faith, or based his decision on consideration other than those contemplated in Section 24".

PERIODICAL REVIEW:
Six months after the detainee was notified of the review board's ruling, he may request the Minister in writing to submit his case to the board, specifying any changed circumstances or new facts considered a justification for the withdrawal of the detention notice. The procedure outlined above is then repeated, but with the appropriate documentation.

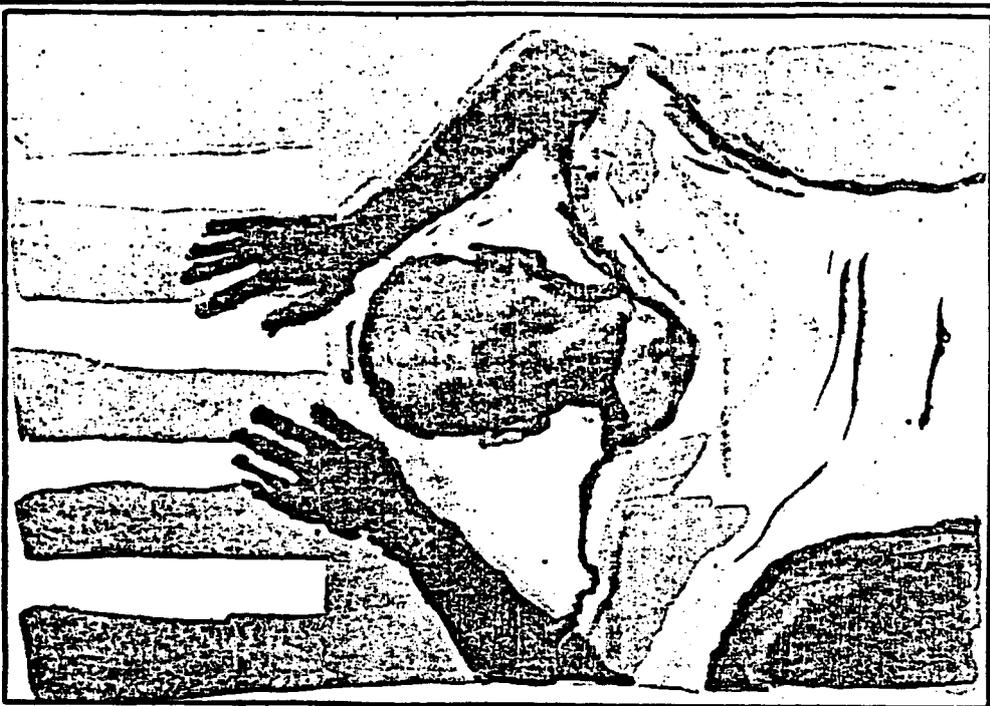
The detainees may repeat his request at intervals of not less than six months. The Minister may himself submit the case of any Section 24 detainee to the board of review at any time.

CONSEQUENCES:
The Director of Security Legislation is required to maintain a consolidated list on which he must enter the names of persons (among others) who are or have been detained under Section 24.

He must notify such persons in writing that their names have been entered. The Act does not stipulate how soon this must be done. The Minister of Law and Order may "on good cause shown" instruct the Director to remove any name from the list. Each removal must be published in the Government Gazette, but the consolidated list itself need only be published once every three years.

RESTRICTIONS ON LISTED PERSONS:
The Minister may by written notice prohibit any listed person from becoming, or continuing to be, a member or office-bearer of any organisation or public body specified in the notice, or from taking any part in its activities. Alternatively, the notice may impose certain restrictions in regard to membership.

The Minister may serve a banning order on any listed person; this may involve various prohibitions such as not absconding oneself from a specified area or from a specified place during specified hours, not entering specified places, not communicating with specified persons, not attending gatherings and not receiving specified visitors.



Graphic by Anne Pogruud

A listed person is disqualified from standing for election in the House of Assembly or a provincial council.
A listed person is disqualified from being admitted by the court of any division of the Supreme Court to practise as a lawyer. Any listed person already practising shall be struck off the roll, on application made by the Director-General for Justice.
A listed person who fails to notify the police of a change of residence or employment is liable to imprisonment for up to 10 years.
Any person who quotes a listed person, regardless of where or when the statement, speech or utterance was made, is liable to imprisonment for up to three years.



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

TO: THE MEMBER OF THE PRISONS SERVICE IN CHARGE OF THE NEW JOHANNESBURG PRISON JOHANNESBURG

NOTICE IN TERMS OF SECTION 28(1) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982 (ACT 74 OF 1982)

I hereby in terms of section 28(1) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 direct that the person mentioned hereunder be detained in the New Johannesburg...

Name of person: 28 February 1985

Address:

Given under my hand at Pretoria this 8th day of September 1985

Signature of Minister of Law and Order

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

- Note: (1) The person to whom this notice relates (hereafter referred to as the detainee) shall be detained in accordance with the provisions of the regulations contained in the annexure hereto. (2) The detainee may - (i) within fourteen days as from the date on which a copy of this notice is delivered or tendered to him make representations in writing to the Minister regarding his detention or release and submit any other information relating to the circumstances of his case; (ii) be assisted by a legal representative in the preparation of such documents; (iii) in writing apply to the board of review to give oral evidence before the board; (iv) after a period of six months as from the date on which he was notified of the outcome of an investigation by the board of review, request the Minister in writing to submit his case to the board of review for investigation and consideration and may in such request specify any change in the circumstances or of the facts pertaining to his case, which in his opinion may serve as justification for the amendment or withdrawal of the notice in force against him. (3) The detainee may not receive any visitor except with the consent of and sub-

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No. R. 1683 6 August 1982 REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE DETENTION OF PERSONS IN TERMS OF SECTION 28 (1) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982

The Minister of Justice has, by virtue of the power vested in him by section 28 (3) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982), made the regulations set out in the Schedule hereto.

SCHEDULE

1. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"detainee" means a person detained by virtue of a notice in terms of section 28 (1) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (hereafter referred to as "the Act");

"division" means a division as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958);

"divisional commissioner" means a divisional commissioner as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958);

"medical officer" means a medical officer as defined in section 1 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 6 of 1959).

2. Subject to the provisions of the Act and of these regulations, a detainee shall be detained in accordance with the provisions of the Prisons Act, 1959, and the regulations made under section 94 thereof, in so far as these apply to unconvicted prisoners awaiting trial for an alleged offence.

3. A detainee shall—

(a) be searched on admission and as regularly thereafter as the member in charge of the prison concerned deems expedient and any object with which the detainee may inflict injury on himself or on any other person, or which could enable him to escape, shall be removed from him;

(b) be separated from other prisoners;

(c) be examined by a medical officer as soon after admission as possible;

(d) when necessary, receive medical and hospital treatment as prescribed by a medical officer.

4. Subject to the provisions of sections 28 (3) and 38 (4) of the Act, a detainee shall not communicate in writing with any person and he shall not receive any written communication except with the consent of the member in charge of the prison concerned given after consultation with the divisional commissioner of the division in which such prison is situated.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER IN TERMS OF SECTION 28(3)(b) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982 (ACT 74 OF 1982)

(a) REASONS FOR THE DETENTION OF WITH A NOTICE ISSUED IN TERMS OF SECTION 28(1) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982 IN ACCORDANCE

I am satisfied that the said activities which endanger the maintenance of law and order.

(b) INFORMATION WHICH INDUCED ME TO ISSUE THE SAID NOTICE:

By acts and utterances the said in collaboration with other persons attempt to create a revolutionary climate in the Republic of South Africa thereby causing a situation endangering the maintenance of law and order.

No other information can, in my opinion, be disclosed without detriment to the public interest.

Signature of L. Le Grange

L LE GRANGE

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER



Who are the real provocateurs?

13 SEPT 1984

In our previous column, we noted with dismay the crescendo of sabre rattling against the United Democratic Front and predicted that it presaged a clampdown on the organisation. Tragically, our forecast proved correct, and the day before the coloured elections more than 30 leaders of the UDF and its affiliates were detained. Fourteen of the UDF leaders are now being held in "preventive" detention.

The behaviour of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, during this period bears some scrutiny. Before the detentions, he accused the UDF of being involved in acts of violence and intimidation, preparing to disrupt the elections, with the approval of the African National Congress and South African Communist Party Alliance. He warned that the police were aware of what was going on and would take action.

Shortly afterwards, the police detained many of the UDF leadership, some under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, others under section 28 of the Internal Security Act. The use of the former legislation, together with Mr le Grange's allegations, created the impression that some crime had been committed and that the prisoners would soon face charges.

On the contrary, when 48 hours expired, the UDF leaders found themselves sentenced to six months in detention in terms of the notorious section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr le Grange, after detaining these and other individuals, said he was satisfied that the police action was essential "because of the provocative attitude and actions of underminers and intimidators" who were fostering a revolutionary climate. But the question needs to be asked, who are the real provocateurs?

Political commentators have noted that the UDF's boycott campaign was in essence peaceful, whereas the behaviour of the riot police during the recent tricameral elections frequently went far beyond mere crowd control, to the extent that large numbers of people, even journalists, were attacked and injured. Further, the detention of the UDF leaders is an act of provocation against that organisation.

The role of the SABC during this period also deserves examination. It mounted a sustained propaganda campaign against the UDF, incorporating politicians such as Mr Pat



organisations, such as the ANC. This helped create a climate in which the detentions which followed prepared the public and created no surprise.

The comprehensive boycott of the elections has shown that, far from being an intimidatory force, the UDF was expressing the real sentiments of the majority of the population. The Government sought a mandate, it was refused.

If anyone was in any doubt as to the political nature of the security legislation and its enforcers, the police, these detentions must have removed that. The incarceration of such people as Dr Essop Jassat, Dr R A M Saloojee, Mr George Sewpersadh and Patrick "Terror" Lekota is a most cynical use of the Internal Security Act to remove these political leaders from their communities.

It is also clear that the security police are less concerned with the security of the State than the continued tenure of power of the present unrepresentative and unpopular Government. In short the security police are a *political* police force.

For those victims of the detention laws, there is no comfort in store. Section 28 makes no pretence at due process of law or even police investigation. It is purely a form of preventive detention.

Additionally, these unfortunate detainees are automatically added to the Consolidated List, which means, among other things, that they may not be quoted, a severe punishment for one such as "Terror" Lekota, the publicity secretary of the UDF, for it effectively ends his political career and his employment.

To make someone a Listed person is a pernicious form of banning "through the back door": little is known about Listed people and it does not carry the same opprobrium as banning. The DPSC is forced to conclude that these South Africans are being imprisoned because their opposition to the new constitution was too effective.

Future generations will judge us harshly if we fail to defend the right of organisations such as the UDF to help shape a better future for our

AJ46

Box "AI 46"



detainees' parents support committee

30th November 1984

Attached hereto are the following reports for the month of NOVEMBER, 1984:-

- A - DETENTIONS
- B - BANNINGS
- C - POLITICAL TRIALS

We also include a copy of 'Our View' which appeared in the 'Star' on 12th November 1984, dealing with repression in this era of 'reform.'

There will be no report in December, but the report for January will include a full analysis of the year 1984.

SUMMARY OF REPORTS

November month recorded 75 detentions, carrying the figure for the year to 1093. The number of persons currently in detention cells is 213. Student and community organisations continue to bear the brunt of Security Police action, but trade unionists did not escape the net this month.

Concern is rising over the continued use of TV monitoring in detention cells and over the backpedalling of the Security Police in allowing regular food and clothing parcels and visits to detainees by their families.

A new form of banishment is now in use, involving the declaring of black activists as aliens, thereby excluding them from entry into 'South Africa' from the homeland to which they are thus confined.

Eight funerals were banned from taking place over a week-end and other restrictions were placed on them.

For the first time, individually protesting placard holders were arrested on a charge of contravening section 57 of the Internal Security Act.

There has been a notable increase in the number of political trials with over 30 set down for December alone. It is expected that a feature of 1985 will be the increasing use of the courts in prosecuting political opponents.

P.O. Box 39431, Bramley 2018

'Reform' brings increased repression

The DPSC, with its affiliate organisations around the country, recently met in Maritzburg for its third annual conference which confirmed as a nationwide trend what we in the Transvaal had been aware of for some time: that repression in 1984 has been worse than at any time since 1976/77.

Our most recent statistics show that more than 1 000 people have been detained so far this year (compared with 453 last year), with more than 200 still in the hands of the security police.

South Africa's political police have clearly had their hands full, and the National Detainees Conference examined the reasons why. The most significant feature of 1984 has been the Government's attempt to introduce so-called political reform. Our conference noted the massive increase in detentions and other forms of repression and harassment, primarily aimed at silencing opposition to the new apartheid constitution.

The United Democratic Front and its affiliates have borne the brunt of a sustained onslaught, creating a cil-

mate in which the public is being prepared for future action against that organisation.

South Africa has reached a tragic impasse. The so-called reforms will never work because they do not meet the demands of the majority of South Africans for a non-racial, democratic society. The Botha government is seen by the majority as being both unpopular and illegitimate, and, this being so, has to force through the "reforms" and increasingly resorts to violent and repressive means. The recent events in the Vaal and East Rand bear eloquent testimony to this. Also apparent is that people continue to organise, resist and fight until they have won their freedom.

In the light of this, our conference resolved to continue to fight against detention and all other forms of repression and to call for the unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners and the abolition of security legislation.

We felt it important that the Government negotiate with the people regarded by the majority as their true leaders, for the sake of peace

OUR VIEW



The Detainees'
Parents Support Committee

12 NOV 1984

and justice, and to this end, we called for the unbanning of all persons and organisations and the return of all exiles.

Our conference drew attention to the increasing use by the State of section 28 of the Internal Security Act to silence its political opponents, especially UDF leaders. We believe this makes the Minister of Law and Order the policeman, judge and jailer and, more seriously, it removes from public life the very leaders the government needs so desperately to talk to if there is to be a just peace in our land.

We salute the three UDF leaders still occupying the British Consulate in Durban for highlighting to the world this terrible form of detention.

The conference noted Mr Plik Botha's alleged comment that the consulate affair had interfered with the course of justice in South Africa. We contest most fiercely the views and attitudes of Mr Botha, and believe that this affair had interfered with the course of repression in South Africa, and not with that of justice.

We further made known our belief that the detention of democratic leaders in our country is completely unrelated to the criminal charges facing the four men South Africa is refusing to return to Britain.

With the enormous escalation of detentions we, the parents of detainees, expressed concern for the safety of our children. There is ample evidence of the maltreatment of detainees and lately, our hard-won right to give food and clothing parcels to our children has been eroded, especially at police stations in the Vaal Triangle and at Protea, in Soweto.

Many of our families have not seen their children for more than five months, and the right to visit them, to assure ourselves of their health and wellbeing, is essential and must be reasserted.

Our conference ended on a mixed note of hope and sadness. Our movement has grown bigger and stronger, today involving hundreds of people. But when we began in 1981, we had hoped the need for our existence would be temporary. Tragically, the justification for our work is expanding more rapidly than ever.

A - DETENTIONS

<u>Detentions by Area</u>	<u>November 1984</u>	<u>Jan.-Nov. 1984</u>
Transvaal	43	391
Natal	-	69
Eastern Cape	20	77
Western Cape	4	6
Northern Cape	-	-
Orange Free State	-	5
Ciskei	8	115
Transkei	-	406
Venda	-	1
Bophuthatvana	-	1
Unknown	-	22
	<u>75</u>	<u>1093</u>

A.4 COMMENTS ON DETENTIONS

The month of November followed the trend of escalating Security Police activity with 75 detentions, taking the year's total to 1093. Again over half the detentions were in the Transvaal, but the Eastern Cape also recorded high figures, particularly in Port Elizabeth, Queenstown and Graaff-Reinet. Ciskei continues to produce a steady stream of detentions. The hardest hit target group was again students and scholars, with community and political organisations not far behind. Trade unionists were also caught in the net, such to the annoyance of organised commerce and industry, who perceived these detentions as a threat to industrial labour relations. Detention cells are at their fullest for some considerable time, with 213 persons currently in detention.

A.4.1 TV Monitoring

Detainees released from John Vorster Square confirm 24 hour surveillance of cells by closed circuit television. They regard this as an intolerable invasion of privacy and a definite danger to the psychological health of detainees. Even sleep is affected since lighting levels are turned up at night for efficient operation of the cameras.

A.4.2 Detainee Care

In October report we commented on the problems being experienced by detainees' families, particularly in the Vaal and Soweto areas, in getting the police to accept food and clothing parcels for detainees and to arrange visits. The position has deteriorated further, and requests by leading churchmen, family members and the DPSC for a meeting to discuss the matter, have been rejected by the Security Police, both at divisional level in Soweto and at headquarters in Pretoria. This is a situation of great concern to the parents, particularly with the approach of the Christmas season when it is expected that around 200 detainees will be absent from their homes.

A.2

Detentions by Activity

Scholars, students, teachers	22	564
Trade unionists, workers	8	50
Community and political workers	19	221
Clergy and church workers	1	10
Journalists	2	7
Unspecified or unknown	<u>23</u>	<u>241</u>
	<u>75</u>	<u>1093</u>

A.3

Fate of Detainees

Released without charge:	10	161
within 48 hours	7	169
after longer period	-	13
Charged and convicted	-	401
Charged and acquitted	2	134
Charged, awaiting trial	-	1
Died in detention	-	213
Still in detention	56	-
Reported escaped	-	1
	<u>75</u>	<u>1093</u>

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Act</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Act</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
October (continued)					October (continued)				
8/10/84	MGCOCO, Martin	Vaal	29 ISA Student.		30/10/84	YENCENI, Kolani	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Member
8/10/84	MKHANAZI, Gladstone	Vaal	29 ISA Student.		30/10/84	YAMA, Andile	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Member
8/10/84	SAMBO, Nihaniha	Vaal	29 ISA Student.		30/10/84	MQUINGO, Thandisa	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	F.E. Woman's Org
8/10/84	SOBEKWA, Maria	Vaal	29 ISA Student.		30/10/84	MNTUSHE, Qodile	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS
9/10/84	MORE, Lazarus	Vaal	29 ISA Educationalist		7 /10/84	ZOKWE, Sitembele	Soveto	29 ISA	G.W. Union
11/10/84	LOGOJOLE, Ronnie	Soveto	29 ISA Student		7 /10/84	HLONGHANE, David	Klerksdorp	29 ISA	
11/10/84	FIHLA, Kenneth	Soveto	29 ISA Exec. COSAS,		7 /10/84	RAMPAKU, Joseph	Vaal	29 ISA	
			Nat. Org.			MBELE, Daniel	Vaal	29 ISA	
11/10/84	FIHLA, Bheki	Soveto	29 ISA Exec. COSAS,		1/11/84	BADELA, Mono	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	Journalist
11/10/84	TOBEJANE, Neels	Soveto	29 ISA Branch Treas,		1/11/84	BADELA, Brenda	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	Org. COSAS
11/10/84	MOGODIRE, Mogomotsi	Soveto	29 ISA Exec. COSAS,		1/11/84	VEYO, Mpmalelo	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Member
11/10/84	MGODIRI, Balaseng	Soveto	29 ISA Soveto Chair,		1/11/84	LUTYWANTSI, Siseko	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Member
11/10/84	MOLSKANE, Rapulani	Soveto	29 ISA Exec. COSAS		1/11/84	DANIELS, Pamela	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	PE Women's Org.
11/10/84	MLAKBO, Emanuel	Soveto	29 ISA SOYCO Vice-Pres.		1/11/84	FUTWA, Daniel	Cape Town	29 ISA	Teacher,
11/10/84	MAKATINI, Steve	Soveto	29 ISA Exec. COSAS		1/11/84	MOLAKUHOLO, Shadrick	Cape Town	29 ISA	Ouguletu
15/10/84	BULUNGA, Bhabalazi	Soveto	29 ISA Exec. COSAS		2/11/84	MORIBE, Murphison	Johannesburg	29 ISA	UDF org.
			leader handed over to		2/11/84	MORARENG, 'Oupa'	Johannesburg	29 ISA	President SOYCO/
			R.S.A. Security Police			Ephraim			
16/10/84	SHABANGU, Daniel	Soveto	29 ISA		2/11/84	KODISANG, Vuel	Soveto	29 ISA	SOYCO Member
16/10/84	RAMKONOPFI, Meshak	Vaal	29 ISA		2/11/84	SILUMA, Vuel Samuel	Soveto	29 ISA	
17/10/84	Unnamed man	?	COSAS		2/11/84	MOTSEGA, Hansie	Devayton	29 ISA	
			Arrest near		5/11/84	MZINYATHI, Monty	Soveto	29 ISA	
			Swaziland		8/11/84	MAYEKISO, Moses	Gerzinston	29 ISA	MAWU Tvl. org./
			announced by						TRSC
17/10/84	Unnamed woman	?	29 ISA)Police		8/11/84	MOGOPA, Peter	Johannesburg	29 ISA	COSAS Reg.
17/10/84	MOTSE, Sello Abel	Vaal	29 ISA		8/11/84	BAFELA, Obad	Johannesburg	29 ISA	Chair./TRSC
18/10/84	SAKOANE, Solomon	Vaal	29 ISA		8/11/84	MALI, Thasi	Johannesburg	29 ISA	MARS coord./AYCO
18/10/84	HLANYANE, Benjamin	Vaal	29 ISA		8/11/84		Johannesburg	29 ISA	RMC Mem./Chair
18/10/84	PHAKWE, Khoosa	Vaal	29 ISA		8/11/84	NONHLANTANE, Thamba	Johannesburg	29 ISA	TRSC
	Michael								Mem. Munic. &
18/10/84	MAINE, Thomas	Vaal	29 ISA		8/11/84	Unamed Youth	Johannesburg	29 ISA	Gen. W. Union
18/10/84	MASHELA, Samuel	Vaal	29 ISA		8/11/84	MacCMEL, Lord Rev.	Vaal	29 ISA	Clergyman,
18/10/84	MORABI, Thuso Paulus	Vaal	29 ISA		9/11/84	DLAMINI, Chris	Springs	29 ISA	Chair. Vaal CA
18/10/84	LETHLAKE, Edith	Vaal	29 ISA		9/11/84	SOLO, Bangallwe	East Rand	29 ISA	Pres. FOSATU
18/10/84	MFOKENG, Pauline	Vaal	29 ISA Exec. Vaal C.A.		9/11/84	RADEBE, Mongezi	Sharpsville)	29 ISA	Org. NAT. Union
18/10/84	MPHUTI, David	Vaal	29 ISA UDF/Bebokeng CA		9/11/84	RAMAKUA, Matsoso	Sharpsville)	29 ISA	Textile Workers
18/10/84	MOKWENA, Alfred	Vaal	29 ISA UDF/Bebokeng CA		9/11/84	MOKWENA, Reid	Vaal	29 ISA	Exec. Members of
18/10/84	SEALE, Peter	Vaal	29 ISA COSAS		9/11/84	MASHIMBE, Tshiki	Atteridgeville	29 ISA	Sharpsville C.A.
18/10/84	MASETLE, Ramathibele	Vaal	29 ISA COSAS		10/11/84	SOKUTU, Sandi	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Exec. Mem.
18/10/84	MORABI, Molefetsane	Vaal	29 ISA COSAS		12/11/84	MASHABANE, Solomon	Nigel	29 ISA	COSAS Exec. Mem.
18/10/84	RAPULENG, Moses	Vaal	29 ISA Anglican priest		13/11/84	MKONGI, Themi	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Branch
18/10/84	MOTSEPE, Johannes	Vaal	29 ISA		14/11/84	MOKOENA, John	Vaal	29 ISA	Chairman
21/10/84	MOSELANE, Jeff Rev.	Sharpsville	29 ISA		14/11/84	BERGER, Guy	Johannesburg	29 ISA	Exec. Vaal
22/10/84	KHOABANE, Maria	Vaal	29 ISA		14/11/84		Johannesburg	29 ISA	Civic Ass.
23/10/84	NTSOMA, Elias	Vaal	29 ISA		14/11/84	CAMAY, Firoshaw	Johannesburg	29 ISA	MARS employee
23/10/84	TSHABALALA, Johannes	Vaal	31 ISA		14/11/84	KGUBE, Victor	Johannesburg	29 ISA	Project
23/10/84	MASANGANE, Jacob	Vaal	29 ISA		14/11/84	DLALISA, Jethro	Johannesburg	29 ISA	CUSA Gen. Sec.
24/10/84	PRAKASHI, Kalvin	Johannesburg	29 ISA Photographer,		14/11/84	MFOBO, Sindiso	Cape Town	29 ISA	COSAS Tvl. Exec.
			Afrascopes						Transport & GMU
25/10/84	PLAATJES, Iseael	Bloemfontein							Branch Chairman
25/10/84	SHUPING, Joseph	Bloemfontein							29 ISA Teacher
26/10/84	MOGOBE, Samuel	Vaal							

B - BANNINGS

B.1 BANNING OF PERSONS

Date	Detained Name	Place	Act	Remarks
November (continued)				
16/11/84	NHLAPO, Tom	Vaal	29 ISA	INKATHA Evaton Branch Chair.
16/11/84	TSOTETSU, Ishaeel	Vaal	29 ISA	INKATHA Evaton Branch Secretary
18/11/84	NKOPANE, Nephthale	Vaal	29 ISA	COSAS P.E. Exec.
19/11/84	SKOSANA, Nomatansanda	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Member
19/11/84	MAKU, Tolvo Otto	Port Elizabeth	29 ISA	COSAS Member
19/11/84	GZAVU, Zukile	Port Elizabeth	26 CNSA	Attorney's clerk
19/11/84	MAXEGHANA, Rumphrey	Ciskei	29 ISA	
19/11/84	NDLOVU, Xolela	Ciskei	29 ISA	
20/11/84	THLOPANE, Jerry	Vaal	29 ISA	
20/11/84	MABUZA, Priscilla	Soveto	26 CNSA	Doctor et
20/11/84	MOKONE, Gideon	Vaal	29 ISA	Victoria Hosp.
20/11/84	MVULA, Harvey	Soveto	29 ISA	COSAS Member
20/11/84	MKUBANE, Florence	Soveto	26 CNSA	Factory worker
20/11/84	MKUBANE, Elijah	Soveto		
20/11/84	MKOSI, Msimkulu	Soveto		
20/11/84	MVULA, Ruth	Soveto		
20/11/84	MADIKIZELA, Vernon	Ciskei		
	Dr.			
23/11/84	MALINDI, Amos	Vaal		
23/11/84	RANTSETI, Johannes	Vaal		
? /11/84	NGQESA, Andile	Ciskei		

SUMMARY OF PERSONS STILL IN DETENTION

SUMMARY BY AREA

Transvaal	141	
Natal	13	Detained during March
Eastern Cape	21	April/May 1984
Western Cape	4	Detained during June 1984
Orange Free State	2	Detained during July 1984
Ciskei	9	Detained during Aug. 1984
Transkei	1	Detained during Sept. 1984
Vanda	-	Detained during Oct. 1984
Unknown	22	Detained during Nov. 1984
	<u>213</u>	<u>213</u>

SUMMARY BY DETENTION STATUS

Internal Security Act Section 28	11
Internal Security Act Section 29	156
Internal Security Act Section 31	7
Internal Security Act Section 50	-
Ciskei National Security Act	9
Transkei Public Security Act	1
Unknown	29
	<u>213</u>

B.2 BANNING OF GATHERINGS

Eight more funerals were banned during November from being held over a week-end and various restrictions placed on them, such as the time of burial, number of mourners, no procession on foot, no placards or banners, no diversion from the shortest route, no freedom songs, no political oration at graveside.

The bannings were issued in terms of Section 45 of the Internal Security Act by the Magistrates of the following districts:-

Port Elizabeth	10/11 November
Grahamstown	10/11 November
KeiSelberg	10/11 November (4 funerals)
Alberton	17/18 November
Bokaburg	24/25 November

Meetings of the United Democratic Front and several of its affiliates were banned for 48 hours early in November by the Magistrates of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage under Section 46 of ISA.

On 29th November, 35 protesters holding placards individually in various parts of Johannesburg were arrested under Section 57 of the Internal Security Act.

For further details, see elsewhere in this report.

The name of ABEL DUBE has been added to the list of banned persons. He has been banned for a period of three years (until 31st October 1987) and is restricted to the district of Messina, where he has been provided with a job and accommodation on a copper mine. His family lives 500 km away in Swaziland.

Total number of banned persons is now eleven.

A new form of restriction is now being applied against political opponents by the South African Government. This involves the deprivation of citizenship by declaring a black person a citizen of an 'independent homeland state' and therefore an alien, and requiring that person to be in possession of a South African visa if he wishes to enter South Africa. This device has already been applied to two persons:

Charles NQAKULA, born in Cradock, now effectively confined to Ciskei, and who has already been charged with illegal entry into the land of his birth.

Steve TSHWETE, born in Springs, who was served with a notice on 8th November by the Department of Home Affairs, which effectively confines him to his home in Ciskei, and cuts him off from his means of livelihood at his job in Kingwilliamstown.

C - POLITICAL TRIALS

C.1 TRIALS COMPLETED DURING NOVEMBER

300 VAAL residents Public violence, Sept. 84 Charges withdrawn.
 23 Journalists Illegal gathering, Oct. 83 Charges withdrawn.
 placard protest, JHB.
 52 SEBOKENG mourners Attending illegal funeral Charges withdrawn.
 12 GRAAF-REINETZ Public violence during (4 Acquitted.
 residents June 1984 (6 given 2 to 4 years,
 (1 lashes, 1 sentence
 (postponed.
 BAH, Boy) Harboring Charges withdrawn.
 MOJILANA, Mandla) terrorists
 27 TUNAHOLS residents Malicious damage to Fines and cuts.
 property, July 84
 106 Trade Unionists Inadequate documents while Charges withdrawn.
 attending funeral in Ciskei
 MNGUNI, Wallace) Public violence Daveyton, Charges withdrawn.
 MATSMENI, ?) August 1984
 GUMEDF, Sipho) Intimidation, Charges withdrawn
 GASA, David) Umhlesi after 5 months
 detention.
 MOHAMED, Elaine) Crimen injuria, Aug. 84 Acquitted.

C.2 TRIALS CURRENTLY IN PROGRESS

Durban:-
 MARRAND, Theabinkosi) Various charges under ISA
 MSHENGU, Phelani) ISA
 MAPHUMULO, Lucky) Another accused, Ephraim MTHEMWA,
 MSONI, Sipho Thamba) died in police custody on 25/8/84
 CHIRWA, Aleck) Resuming 6th December 1984
 Grahamstown:-
 NZO, Rufus) Treason ISA
 + 10 others) Resuming 3rd December 1984
 Johannesburg:-
 JOSEPH, Helen) Holding demonstration in court
 BARCLAY, Heather) building in contravention of
 MATHATE, Modiko) the Demonstrations In or Near
 ROUSOGOS, Mike) Court Buildings Prohibition
 PAVLICEVIC, Benita) Act 1982
 ROLWICK, Beulla)
 SHEPREND, Kerry)
 HUNTER, Lucienne) Resuming 4th December 1984

C.3 FORTHCOMING TRIALS

December
 3rd MASANGO, Zacharia Offence on August 22 Pretoria
 + 5 others in Mamelodi
 3rd BATA, Michael)Attending illegal Zwaitsha
 POSWA, Mkolisi)gathering of CNSA
 KOTA, Pakamile)more than
 SOMHLASO, Pakamile)20 people
 3rd MOHAPI, White Public violence, Apr.84 Bloemfontein
 3rd JACOBS, Clyde Contravention of ISA Johannesburg
 4th 53 SENOANE Public violence, Oct.84 Soweto
 scholars
 4th JULY, Noxolo Public violence, Oct.84 Queenstown
 5th NJOKWENI, Mxwan- Public violence, Oct. 84 Queenstown
 dile + 4 others
 5th HART, Maxine Contravention of ISA Johannesburg
 5th MEYER, Lucille)Malicious damage Wynberg, C.P.
 SOLOMONS, Therese)to property, August 84
 5th TEBIRANI, Samuel Furthering aims of ANC ISA Queenstown
 5th WENZEL, Trevor Terrorism, illegal ISA Simonstown
 gathering
 6th ALPERSTEIN, Neil)Illegal gathering Bellville
 SMARTS, Neville)August 1984
 6th BUSUKU, Samuel Public violence Queenstown
 + 3 others
 6th MKOSI, Winifred)Intimidation Wynberg, C.P.
 NKAPANE, F.)
 6th MHLONGO, Churchill Public violence Springs
 7th WENZEL, Trevor Malicious damage to Bellville
 property
 7th JONGOLO, Witness Banned literature CMSA Mdantsane
 10th MARKS, Joseph) Intimidation Aug. 84 Wynberg, C.P.
 MARKS, Brenda)
 AFRIKA, Vivian)
 10th 38 members ELYCO Illegal gathering CMSA Mdantsane
 12th TSHUME, P. Banned literature PA Port
 + 4 others Elizabeth
 12th NGWENYA, Sipho)Treason? Johannesburg
 TSOBELE

C.3 FORTHCOMING TRIALS (Continued)

14th	BADELLA, Zoleka	Banned literature	ISA	East London
14th	LINDEWE, Rita	Banned literature	ISA	Zaarust
14th	LEWATE, Cynthia + 13 others	Public violence in September 1984		Kampton Park
14th	LEBOGO, Cynthia	Public violence		Kampton Park
17th	SEJENG, Andries	Terrorism	ISA	Bloemfontein
17th	ISABANS, Joe Collins	Contravention of ISA		Tzaneen
19th	BLACKBURN, Molly	Entering black town- ship without permit		Craddock
19th	SEBOTSE, Patrick	Contravention of ISA		Bloemfontein
21st	BRIDGENS, B. SCOTT, L. VAN DER RHEEDE, W.)	Malicious damage to property		Wynberg, C.P.
January 1985 7th	11 SESHSCO scholars	Public violence, Aug.84		Pietersburg
8th	THANJEMAYO, D.C. + 39 Karbochem workers	Illegal gathering in August 1984		Newcastle
9th	MOKABA, Peter MAAKE, Jerome	Terrorism (RETRIAL)	ISA	Pretoria
9th	4 SHARPEVILLE priests	Illegal gathering, October 1984		Vereeniging
9th	MOKOENA, Paulus	Intimidation		Heidelberg
11th	5 members of COMMITTEE OF 10	Terrorism, subversion, furthering aims of SAAHU		Mdantsane
14th	CHOTIA, Mohamed	Public violence, Aug.84		Protea
16th	MASEKO, Thomas SIHLANGU, Albert KODISANG, Arons NTOMBELA, Mshak	Public violence		Brakpan
21st	NGOBENI, Edward	Banned publications	ISA	Johannesburg
21st	9 GRAAF-REINER mourners	Illegal gathering at funeral	ISA	Graaff-Reinet
23rd	MOKOBO, Caswell + 4 others	Public violence in September 1984		Welkom

C.3 FORTHCOMING TRIALS (Continued)

January 1985 23rd	MKHIZE, Alfred	Furthering aims of ANC	ISA	Durban
25th	NYOKONG, Michael	Public violence, Aug.84		Potchefstroom
28th	SHOPE, Regan	Furthering aims of ANC	ISA	Tzaneen
28th	KCOMO, Gilbert	Banned literature	ISA	Johannesburg
29th	THAYER, Segren THAYER, Manigum PILLAY, T.	Contravention of ISA		Durban
31st	8 members VAAL INTER-YOUTH COMM.	Illegal gathering in November 1983	ISA	Vanderbijl- park
7	MZATI, Goodman	Furthering aims of ANC	ISA	East London
February 1985 2nd	XULU, Siphe Machina) PHAYI, Lucky	Terrorism, murder, possession of arms	ISA	Pietermaritz- burg
6th	6 residents of MITCHELLS FLAIN	Public violence in August 1984		Wynberg, C.P.
6th	14 residents of MITCHELLS FLAIN	Illegal gathering in August 1984	ISA	Wynberg, C.P.
6th	24 MEDUNSA students	Illegal gathering in Esaterus, Aug.84	ISA	Pretoria
6th	33 UMC students	Public violence Aug.84		Bellville
15th	VAN DER WEST- HUIZEN, W.	Illegal gathering at UMC campus, Sept.84	ISA	Bellville
16th	HURLEY, Denis Archbishop of Durban	Contravention of Police Act (statements about Koovoet)		Pretoria
19th	DUBE, Michael	Contravention of ISA		Rustenburg
19th	PITT, Estelle + 10 UMC students	Illegal gathering in August 1984	ISA	Bellville
March 1985 6th	ALPERT, Even + 6 others	Illegal gathering	ISA	Wynberg, C.P.

C.4 INQUESTS INTO DEATHS IN DETENTION

MNDANE, Simon Tembuyise
 Detained 22/2/1983 in Melspruit.
 Found hanged in his cell on 7/3/1983.
 On 15th November 1984, the Melspruit Magistrate, Mr. H.P. Strydom, found that death was due to suicide, and that the Security Police were not to blame for his death. However, the District Surgeon, Dr. P.J. Viljoen, is to be reported to the Medical Council for alleged gross negligence. He failed to observe serious injuries on Mndane, seen by other non-medical people, he examined him in front of the police, and did not prescribe any treatment.

TSHIKUDO, Samuel Mugivhela
 Detained 3/11/1983 in Vanda.
 Died in hospital on 20/1/1984.
 No inquest date yet announced.

MTSETHWA, Ephraim Thamsanqa
 Detained March 1984 in Durban.
 Brought before court on 1st August 1984.
 Kept isolated whilst awaiting trial.
 Found hanged in his cell at Durban Central Prison on weekend of 25/26th August 1984.
 No inquest date yet announced.

During November, six medical doctors brought an application in the Pretoria Supreme Court to order the South African Medical and Dental Council to hold an enquiry into the conduct of two district surgeons who treated Steve Biko during his detention that ended in his death on September 12th, 1977. Judgement has been reserved.

AMBASSADEUR MIRA ZAKI
 Consul, Melspruit
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 7 1985A 4/8 111808

REGISTREER.
 Mr S V Tshwete
 c/o Mielana and Associates
 Bank Street 6
 KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
 5800

1984 -11- 08

Sic

I have to inform you that your exemption from the visa requirements as laid down in Section 40(1)(c) of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 (Act 59 of 1972) has been withdrawn. This means that before you can again enter the Republic of South Africa you will have to be in possession of a visa. Application for such a visa may be made to the nearest South African Diplomatic or Consular Representative abroad or to the Director-General for Home Affairs, Pretoria.

Should you in future arrive at a South African port of entry without a visa you will not be permitted to enter.

Furthermore your exemption from the requirements to be in possession of a temporary residence permit in terms of section 2(b) of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937) has also been withdrawn.

Yours faithfully,

M. J. G. van der Merwe
 DIRECTOR GENERAL

DEPRIVATION OF CITIZENSHIP - A NEW FORM OF REPRESSION

When it comes to devising yet more ways of suppressing its opponents, the ingenuity of this Government's master minds in Pretoria seems to be inexhaustible. The latest device involves deprivation of citizenship and represents a major incursion into a fundamental human right. This is the story of Steve Tshwete.

Steve Tshwete was born in Springs, Transvaal, in 1938, but has lived most of his life in the Eastern Cape. As an avowed opponent of apartheid, he came into conflict with the authorities in the early sixties and was detained in June 1963 by the S.A. Security Police. In the fifth month of his detention, he was formally charged with membership and furthering the aims of a banned organisation (the ANC) and convicted in the Supreme Court on 22nd March 1964 after having spent a total of nine months in custody. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment which he served in full, without remission, on Robben Island. Immediately upon his release in March 1979, he was served with a two year banning order. During this banning period, in 1980, he took employment as a teacher in the local school in Peeltou, a town in Ciskei where he has his home. After the expiry of his banning order on 31st March 1981, he enjoyed his first freedom in 18 years and was able to engage once more in active political opposition to the apartheid system. This freedom was relatively shortlived for he was detained by the Ciskei Security Police on 29th September 1983 during the Ciskei clampdown in the aftermath of the bus boycott. After four months in detention he was released on 20th January, 1984, only to find that the Ciskei Department of Education had dismissed him from his post as a teacher, thus depriving him of his livelihood. In February, he was offered and accepted employment as a clerk in an attorney's office in Kingwilliamstown (a few kilometres from his home in Peeltou, but inside the 'Republic of South Africa'), with the intention of registering for a legal degree with UNISA, and becoming attitled to the attorney.

Steve Tshwete since his release from Robben Island and from his banning, has become a prominent figure in the opposition struggle against apartheid and was elected, whilst in detention, to be President of the Border Region of the United Democratic Front, a position which he still holds. He is widely respected as an important leader, and as such has been and continues to be

The government has now devised a new form of suppression which it is already using on Charles Mqokula, a formerly banned journalist living in the Ciskei, and which on 13th November it turned against Steve Tshwete. On that day he was served with a notice from the Director General of the Department of Home Affairs (previously the Department of the Interior) notifying him that under the Aliens Act he may not enter the Republic of South Africa without being in possession of a valid visa. This effectively declares him to be a prohibited immigrant into the land of his birth, and confines him to the Ciskei. It deprives him of his citizenship (even if it is second-class citizenship) and deprives him of his means of livelihood since he cannot now continue with his employment in Kingwilliamstown (outside of the Ciskei borders). Furthermore the location of his home in Peeltou, a town on the border of Ciskei and the 'Republic', is in the so-called 'White Corridor', and it is impossible to go very far without criss-crossing the border into the Republic. He is in effect under house arrest and without means of earning a living, let alone continuing any political activity, unless he is prepared to undergo the risk of arrest and imprisonment. That this is a very real risk, and in fact the intention of the South African authorities, is evidenced by the fact that Charles Mqokula is facing a charge in the East London courts of illegal entry into South Africa after having been served some time ago with a similar notice, and having been arrested in East London.

Thus the government is using not the Department of Justice, not the Department of Law and Order, but the Department of Home Affairs in an attempt to crush a formidable opponent, and on the way it is shattering just about every human right that the international community holds dear.

AJ47

Beis AS 42"

ESSOP JASSAT CHARGED FOR TREASON!

SHOW YOUR OPPOSITION TO THIS UNJUST ACTION

ATTEND PROTEST RALLY

AT THE AVALON CINEMA

**93 CENTRAL ROAD FORDSBURG
JOHANNESBURG**

DATE: THURSDAY 13TH DECEMBER 1984

TIME: 8-00 p.m.

Speakers: Dr. R.A.M. Saloojee

"TERROR" Lekota

MANIBEN SITA

WE DEMAND THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL OUR LEADERS

ISSUED BY T.I.C. P.O. BOX 959 CROWN MINES 2025

AJ48

New "A148"

Press Statement on the Detention of Cosas and Descom Members

12 October 1984

Issued by the UDF, Descom and DPSC

We condemn in the strongest terms the latest detentions of seven members of the Soweto Branch of Cosas, including Branch chairperson Mmogomotsi Mogodise and Descom member Sebastian Reed.

These detentions reveal the total insincerity of recent government attempts to solve the education crisis.

IN the wake of the Soweto uprising in 1976, the government tried to solve student discontent with Bantu Education by detaining hundreds of students and their leaders.

Eight years later, the government is still looking for solutions to the schools crisis in the wrong direction. By looking for scapegoats to blame for recent school unrest, the government will only worsen an already volatile situation.

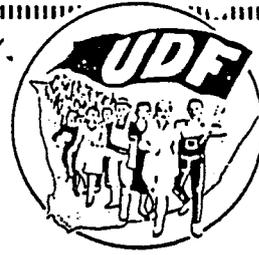
Detention of student leaders will not bring peace to classrooms in our country. This will only come about if the government listens and accepts the legitimate demands of the students.

Given to City Press ✓

Pat please give to Sunday Mirror 673-4160
tomorrow morning Thanks B

WHAT IS INKATHA UP TO?

Ben AKI.



Buthelezi's Inkatha claims to be a 'national cultural liberation movement' working within the system 'for the ultimate and complete liberation of our country.'

This is how Inkatha justifies its taking part in KwaZulu bantustan politics. But despite the fancy talk, by taking part in bantustan government, Inkatha also takes part in:

- Administering migrant labour and labour bureaux, i.e. cheap labour in South Africa.
- Accepting — and in some cases even collaborating in — the forced resettlement of thousands of people into KwaZulu.
- The policing of KwaZulu.

By controlling the KwaZulu government, Inkatha controls:

- Pensions, grants and passes.
 - Land allocation in rural areas.
- (This is why Inkatha is stronger in the rural areas than it is in the towns).

- Education

(Inkatha's own syllabus indoctrinates students and this is why one third of Inkatha's members are youth).

- Jobs and promotion

(In KwaZulu all teachers and civil servants have to be members of Inkatha).

Inkatha says it will not take part in the new community council elections. Its reason is that the Government says these elections are a substitute for Africans voting in the central government.

But in fact the Government also often says that bantustans are the political solution for Africans. So Inkatha has double standards. It does not take part in community councils, but it certainly does take part in bantustans.

By making propaganda about its boycott of community councils, Inkatha is hiding its collaboration with the wider apartheid system.

Why does Inkatha take part in bantustans but not community councils? The answer is because Inkatha has seen that the community councils are totally powerless bodies.

But the KwaZulu government on the other hand does give Inkatha some real power. Not great power, but enough for Inkatha to boost its membership.

Buthelezi says that Inkatha is working for unity in the liberation struggle. But Inkatha's actions against people opposing apartheid speak louder than words:

- 1973: Buthelezi expelled a cabinet minister who supported the unions involved in the Durban strikes.

- 1976: Inkatha members said that bantu education was better than no education, when students around the country were resisting bantu education.

- 1980: Buthelezi refused to join the Free Mandela Campaign and at the same time said that Inkatha would contest and win an open election in this country.

- 1980: When 36 schools in KwaZulu went on boycott against bantu education, Inkatha imps beat up students and forced them back to school. Buthelezi said 'we need to create well-disciplined and regimented imps.'

- 1983 May: several students injured by Inkatha members when they protested Buthelezi's presence on campus.

- 1983 September: Inkatha imps attacked Lamontville residents who rejected the incorporation of their town into KwaZulu.

- 1983 October: Inkatha members brutally assault a Zulu chief who refuses to join Inkatha.

●1983 October: Inkatha impis kill five students at Ngoye University and 15 others are hospitalised. The students were again opposing Buthelezi's presence on the campus.

Inkatha says that it shares the same aims as the ANC, and it has indeed taken over ANC colours, songs, symbols and uniforms. But Buthelezi has also publically accused the ANC of 'betraying the trust that people had in them'.

He accused them of being 'the political tail that wags the dog of the African struggle.' And the Inkatha Youth Brigade has recently noted 'with utter disgust and repugnance the divisive role the external mission the ANC plays by arrogantly posing as the sole and authentic representative of black people and the government in exile.'

It also called the ANC 'a consortium of political miscreants thriving on sheer political pipe-dreams.'

Inkatha members have also given evidence for the state in security trials as in the recent case of Isaac Genu. In 1980 Buthelezi publically named an individual as recruiting for the ANC.

Inkatha calls for unity, but up till 1979 only Zulus could be members of its central committee. Buthelezi speaks about the superiority of Zulus. Inkatha members have described the late Griffiths Mxenge as a 'Xhosa speaking Transkeian scavenger'.

Finally Inkatha has called the UDF arrogant and divisive.

All these actions have made Buthelezi and Inkatha unpopular and discredited. As a result Gatsha has had to look for new friends.

Most of these friends are conservative.

The Inkatha Youth speak at the Afrikaner Studente Bond conference. Inkatha is a member of the South African Black Alliance with the conservative Kangwane bantustan government and Indian Reform Party.

Buthelezi has also recently been having close talks with bantustan misleaders like Matanzima, and with the PFP.

Buthelezi himself has become more conservative as part of his wooing of his conservative friends. He has changed his position on disinvestment in South Africa, and now calls on big business to help itself to 'problem-free labour resources' in KwaZulu.

Big business was also closely involved in the Buthelezi Commission. This commission rejected one-person-one-vote solution for South Africa and suggested a federal structure with protection for 'minorities' instead.