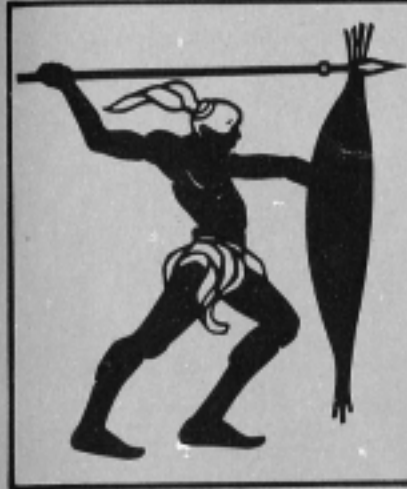


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FEB 1986



# SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



## FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S WAR



# SECHABA

## FEBRUARY 1986

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*Front cover, top picture: an informer's car is burned after the funeral of the hand grenade victims  
in Duduza, 10 July 1985.*

*Bottom picture: mourners at the mass funeral in Queenstown, show support for the armed struggle  
by holding up wooden AK 47's, 8 December 1985.*

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# EDITORIAL

## **Umkhonto we Sizwe — People's Army**

The African National Congress has declared 1986 The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - The People's Army. There is ample reason for this.

The ANC is the only democratic organisation in the country which has an army of its own — Umkhonto we Sizwe (The spear of the Nation). It is inflicting casualties on the enemy. The people are identifying with Umkhonto We Sizwe. They say, "No to South African Defence force and Yes to Umkhonto we Sizwe." Umkhonto we Sizwe is attacking not only the 'symbols of apartheid' but apartheid itself, including army personnel and farmers integrated into the racist defence force.

These operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe have a political and psychological impact; they instil self-confidence in the people and transform the latent hostility of the people to the regime into open mass confrontation; they intensify the sense of unease and insecurity among the enemy forces; they increase the conviction among the struggling people that victory is certain. These armed actions create the political and psychological climate which makes it easier for political and military organisers to organise within the country.

How has the enemy reacted? We hear that racist South Africa is planning to build a high voltage electrified fence along its border with Zimbabwe. Besides the fact that this fence, which will stretch for scores of miles, will cost millions of rands (tax payers' money), it will be charged with 20 000 volts instead of the 4 000 volts in the present one. This is how the racists "protect" our people from the ANC and by implication from the rest of humanity!

Zimbabwe and Botswana are being physically/militarily threatened. Lesotho is virtually under a state of siege; a hostage-state. Racist South Africa claims to be looking for "ANC guerrillas". In cars at the main border post! Some of the trucks carrying foodstuffs and vegetables from South Africa are held for hours and days at the main border post. How can "ANC guerrillas" travel from South Africa to Lesotho through the main border post? This is one example which shows and proves that hunger and starvation in South Africa is not a result of natural catastrophe. It is man-made — a direct result of

apartheid. These crimes are a tip of an iceberg. They do not include crimes perpetrated against our people inside the country.

Apartheid oppresses us all — wherever we are and any form of struggle against apartheid needs to be supported because it is a struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

The decision to designate 1986, The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe-Peoples Army could not have come at a more appropriate time when our people, the whole nation are up in arms not only defying the regime but also attacking in innumerable ways. The enemy is on the retreat.

Umkhonto we Sizwe has played a vital role in the shaping of our history. Formed and established as an underground organisation it has fought heroically in its 25 years of existence. Some of its founder members are languishing in gaol serving life imprisonment — Nelson Mandela being most well known. We must campaign for their unconditional release in this year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — The People's Army. Others have paid the supreme price — either hanged by the racists or killed by their assassins.

Not a single one will be forgotten—not a single enemy action will be forgiven. Let us pick up the spear of Vuyisile Mini, Solomon Mahlangu, Jerry Mosolodi, Morris Seabelo and many others. Let us follow the example of Moshoeshe in this bicentenary of his birth. Let us follow the footsteps of Bambatha who through his resistance inspired the formation of the ANC.

In the words of President Tambo in his January 8th speech:

"Let this Year of the People's Army see us engulf the apartheid system in the fires and the thunder of a people's war! Let the year of MK see us mount a military offensive that will push the enemy into a strategic retreat! Let us use the opportunities that this year gives us to replace each combatant with a hundred more, and, building on our achievements, to create a formidable fighting force of the people, superior to the enemy forces because of the justice of our cause, the discipline of our combatants and the bravery and boldness of our warriors."

# THE EYES OF OUR PEOPLE ARE FOCUSED ON THIS CONFERENCE

## Political Report of the National Executive Committee to the National Consultative Conference, June 1985.

### Part 5

In 1976, not long before the Soweto Uprising exploded, we accepted an invitation by the Frelimo Party to tour parts of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The purpose of this tour was to help in the mobilisation of the masses of the people to support the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. The specific problem was that in the areas we had to visit, and did visit, the people wanted to mobilise for the liberation of South Africa and were happy to leave the task of the liberation of Zimbabwe to other areas of the country. Acting together with the Frelimo Party, we had to persuade these masses that the immediate task confronting all of us was the freedom of Zimbabwe.

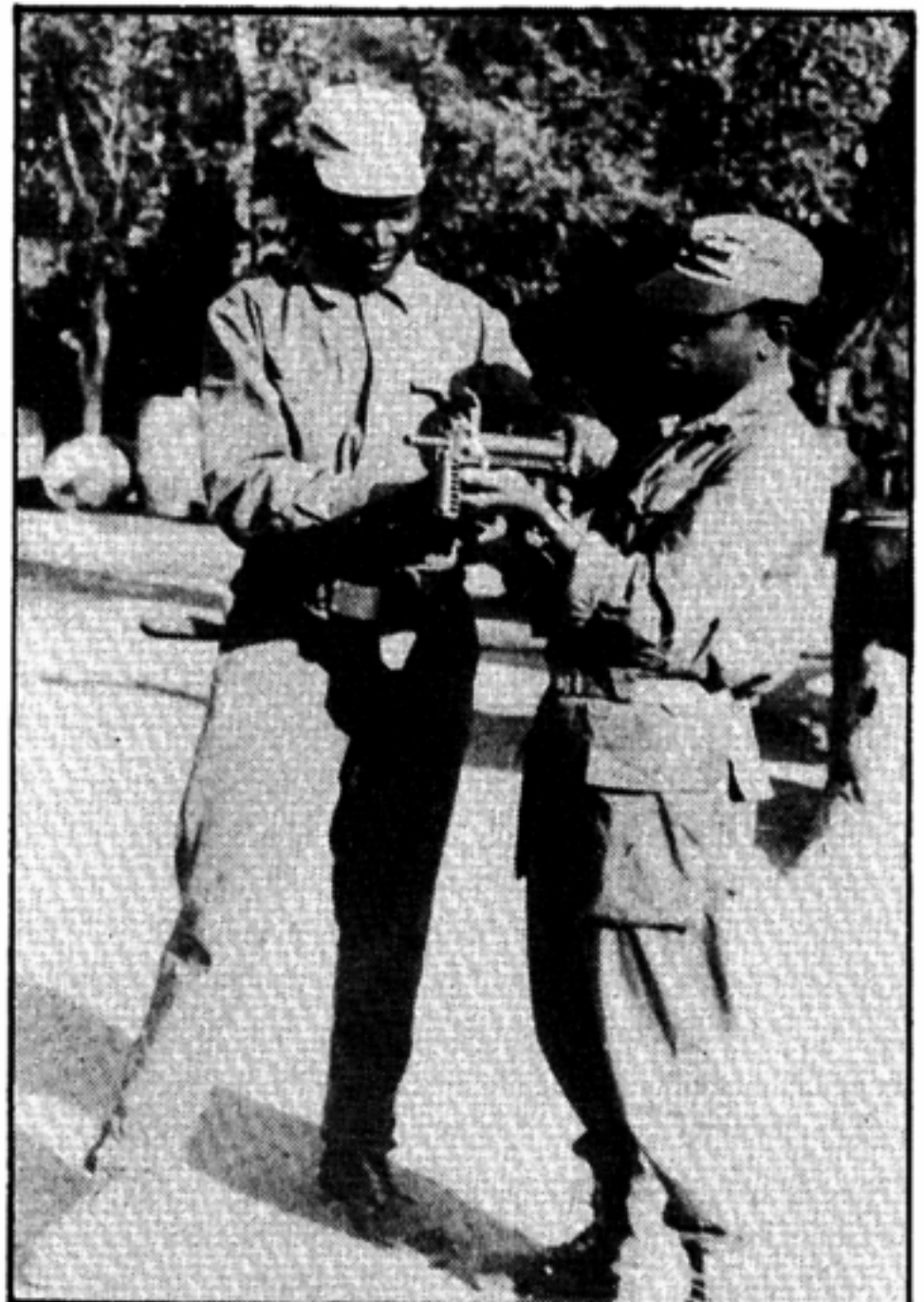
#### Comrades of the Luthuli Detachment

We accepted the task we were given by our revolutionary allies because as anti-imperialists, as internationalists and as Africans we were vitally interested in the independence of Zimbabwe, a country in which many of our own combatants were buried and where many others had been serving imprisonment or had been in death cells for nearly ten years.

Some of these comrades are at this Conference today. We salute them and are happy to report to them that even as we seemed to be diverting the people of Mozambique away from our own struggle, we knew that the emancipation of the people of Zimbabwe would return them to our ranks. We wanted to receive them back into our midst with the honour due to them, as we receive them today, as combat veterans who would visit Mozambique to say to these brother people that Zimbabwe is free: now is the time to crack the hardest nut of all, the apartheid regime in Pretoria. These comrades, members of the Luthuli Detachment, some of whom had to endure many years as condemned prisoners, still

have a journey to make — a journey to Mozambique to complete a task that could not be completed in 1976.

When Reagan spoke about the destiny of the United States in 1980, he spoke about the export of counter-revolution. Hammered and battered, bled slowly and having confronted the brutal face of the counter-revolution for many years, by 1984 the independent countries of our region had to take some important decisions. The question that confronted them was the same that had faced Africa ten years before.



*Members of the Lutuli detachment.*

The difference between 1974 and 1984 was, of course; that the frontiers of freedom covered almost the entire border of South Africa. With the forces of reaction on the ascendancy in the greater part of the imperialist world, the same question was posed in circumstances in which it was difficult to answer in the forthright manner that Africa had replied a decade earlier.

And so the People's Republic of Mozambique signed the Accord on Nkomati in March 1984. At the height of the offensive of the revolutionary movement inside South Africa, externally the same movement had to retreat — and here I am not just referring to ourselves but to the entire liberation and progressive movement of our region and indeed of Africa. The forces of counter-revolution which had described the Mozambique revolution in 1980 as an affliction and which had thought in 1969 that the "only hope (of the independent states of our region) for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with the White-dominated states," could justifiably claim that they had scored a victory.

### **Enemy Counter-Offensive**

What had gone wrong? Why was it that in 1975 Africa could resolve that no matter how strong the enemy counter-offensive, we should not retreat and in 1984 be forced to accept retreat? The answer of course lies in the reply that Reagan had given to a journalist in 1980.

Given the offensive posture of US imperialism, the Botha regime also felt that, for the first time in five years, the balance of forces was shifting in its favour. Consequently, it resolved that the opportunity had come for it also to go on the offensive, to shift that balance further in its own favour, in keeping with the global drive of its most powerful allies. It thought it was possible to reverse the advances that the national liberation movement had achieved from 1975 onwards and set out to realise this result, acting in concert with the rest of the imperialist world.

The accomplishment of this task was made all the more urgent by the fact that within our own country our own actions and those of the masses of our people were further deepening the crisis of the apartheid regime which had surfaced with such drama a few years before. To change the balance of forces in favour of reaction therefore meant, and had to mean, that the ANC had to be weakened decisively if not destroyed altogether. By August 1983, we knew that the US Govern-

ment was convinced that the ANC would be driven out of Southern Africa or completely annihilated if it did not abandon armed struggle, surrender and join the so-called reform process in South Africa as a peaceful political formation.

The softening up process had started less than two weeks after Reagan was inaugurated as President of the United States. Our comrades were attacked and killed in Matola. Joe Gqabi was assassinated six months later. Griffiths Mxenge was murdered in Durban, the same city where Joseph 'Mkhuthuzi' Mdluli had been killed five years before. Ruth First, the Nyawoses and other comrades were killed in cold blood. Our people, as well as nationals of Lesotho, were massacred in Maseru on December 9th, 1982. One after the other, patriots such as Neil Aggett, Mohammed-Allie Razak, Bheki Zachariah Mvulane, Siphon Mutsi and Andries Raditsela, were to die in police custody, from attacks carried out by the bantustan administrations, from repressive measures carried out by the Pretoria regime, in ambushes laid by counter-revolutionaries in Angola and yet others, not necessarily members of the ANC, but opponents of apartheid such as Frikkie Conradie and Joe Mavi, in mysterious circumstances.

### **Puppet Forces on the Rampage**

The South African army returned to Angola, where it remains to this day. The puppet forces went on the rampage throughout Southern Africa, in Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Where none could operate, as in the Seychelles, the Pretoria regime sent in its own forces, reinforced by mercenaries. Swaziland signed a secret agreement with Pretoria.

The countries of Southern Africa came under intense pressure to sign so-called non-aggression pacts, with the express aims of compromising the independence of these countries and recruiting them to join Pretoria in carrying out police activities against the ANC. The offensive spread wide with the bombing of our office in London and demands by Pretoria that the various governments of Western Europe should close down our offices. In the United States, a veteran of genocidal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, now turned Senator, chaired widely publicised hearings in the US Senate designed to stigmatise the ANC as a terrorist movement and an agent of the Soviet Union, exactly to

justify a concerted imperialist offensive to destroy us.

Pretoria scuttled the ceasefire conference that it had agreed to hold with SWAPO. The implementation of Resolution 435 became impossible as the United States arrogantly sought to barter the independence of Namibia for the withdrawal of the internationalist Cuban troops in Angola.

### **Our Right to Fight**

From the most unexpected quarters we heard that South Africa was an independent state and the ANC no more than a civil rights movement with no right to engage in armed struggle. We were told that we should wage struggle exclusively by political means and seek an alliance with the big capitalists of our country. At the same time, we should distance ourselves from the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union and reorientate our international relations towards the imperialist countries. And all this was diametrically opposed to the positions firmly held in Southern Africa and throughout the continent that the solution to the problems of our region lay with the destruction of the apartheid regime and therefore with all-out support to the ANC and SWAPO to carry out their historic missions.

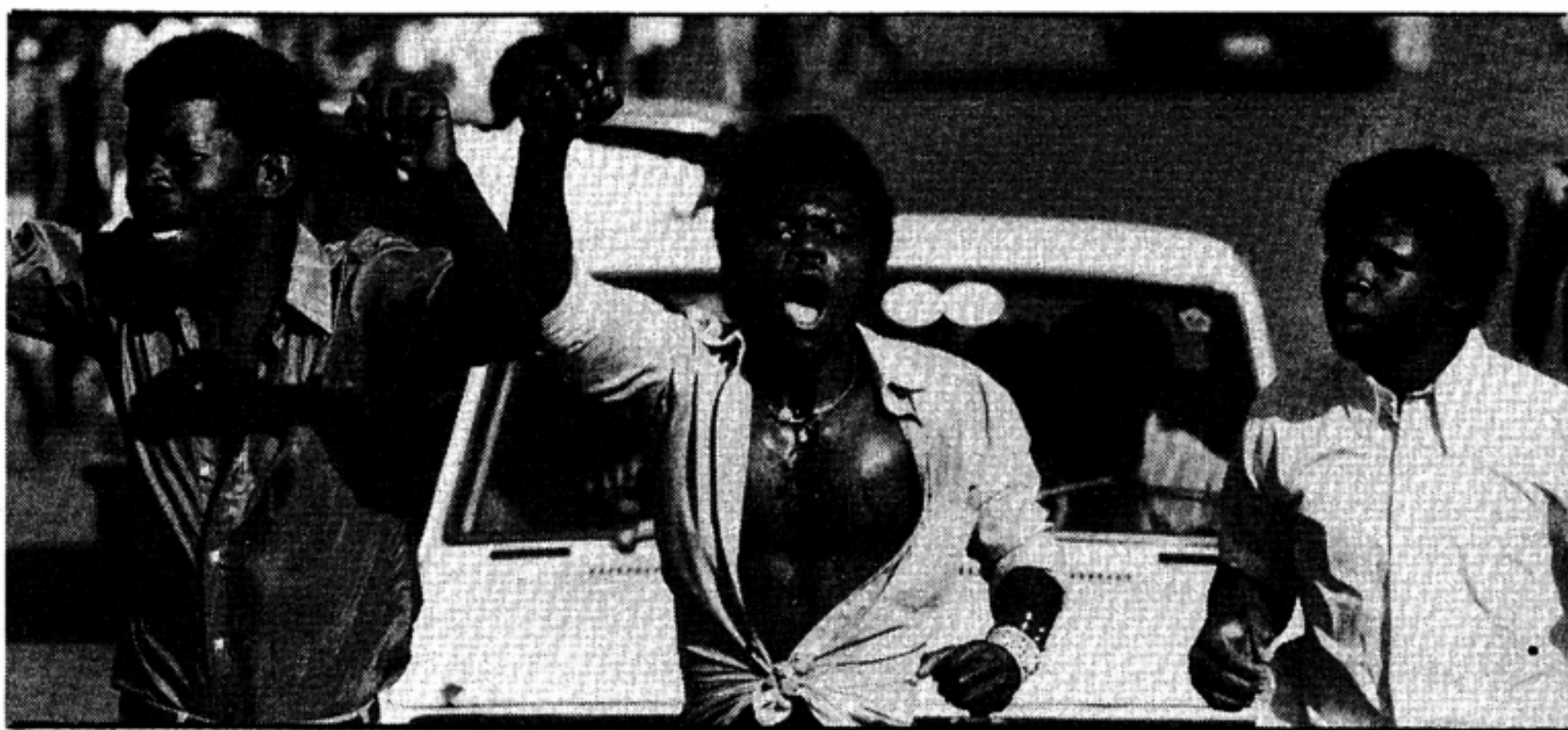
But fortunately, we had already alerted our people to what was likely to come and called on them to fight on. We had charged them with the task to make the country ungovernable and to defeat the cunning enemy manoeuvre represented by the amended apartheid constitution. And to

that call and that challenge our people have responded with unequalled enthusiasm, persistence and courage. So we come to the perspectives that confront this historic Conference, our organisation and our people.

It is clear to all of us present here that we have the possibility actually to make this our Decade of Liberation. That requires that we must in fact and in practice accomplish the strategic tasks that we have set ourselves and which our strategic objective of the seizure of power demands. We have spelt out these tasks before and publicly communicated them even to the masses of our people. As the general command of our revolution, we should carefully identify the decisive theatres of action on which we should concentrate in order to achieve purposeful movement forward.

The apartheid system is in a deep and permanent general crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The apartheid regime cannot rule as before. It has therefore brought its military forces into the centre of its state structures and is ready to declare martial law when the need arises. The widespread and increasing use of the army in the effort to suppress the mass struggle in our country, even before martial law is invoked, reflects the depth of the crisis engulfing the racist regime.

Despite massacres and murders that are carried out daily by Botha's assassination squads, the masses of the people are engaged in a widespread struggle which the enemy cannot suppress and which is driving the enemy ever deeper into crisis. Of decisive importance is the



*Protest at the murder of COSAS leader Bongani Khumalo, Soweto 1985*

fact that this mass offensive is directed at the destruction of the apartheid state machinery, at making apartheid inoperative, at making our country ungovernable.

### **International Solidarity Grows**

Internationally also, the movement of solidarity with our movement and our struggle is growing and increasing its effectiveness. Already, many countries consider the ANC virtually as a government and work with us as such. On the other hand, the process of the isolation of the racist regime is developing rapidly, especially and notably in the United States.

In this respect, we should also mention the extensive political and material support that we enjoy from the Non-Aligned countries, the Nordic and other Western countries and the international anti-apartheid movement. Our relations with these important world forces have also contributed greatly in further weakening the Pretoria regime and strengthening our movement and struggle.

The key to our further advance is organisation. Our NEC addressed itself to this question in its last January 8th statement when it proclaimed this, the Year of the Cadre. The fact of the matter is that despite the enormous impact we have made in developing the struggle to the level it is today, our organisation inside the country is relatively weak.

We need a strong organisation of revolutionaries because, without it, it will be impossible to raise the struggle to greater heights in a planned and systematic fashion. Without such a strong revolutionary organisation, we cannot take advantage of the uprisings we have spoken about and which are a reality of the mass offensive of our people.

We have to discuss carefully the question why we are not as strong as we can and should be, review our experiences and draw the necessary conclusions. One thing that is clear is that we have to realise that we have in fact developed many cadres inside the country who understand our policy very well, who are in daily contact with the situation and our people and are committed to our organisation and struggle. It is vital that these cadres should be properly grounded in our strategy in its entirety, so that they can in fact advance all our strategic tasks.

### **Daily Contact with our People**

It is very important that our leadership, by which

we mean all those whom we consider the most mature among our ranks, must begin to involve itself directly in this work of internal organisation. We have to be in daily contact with our people.

We must also move with all due speed to tackle the tasks posed by our perspective of people's war. In this respect, we would like to mention in particular that we have to take the question of mass revolutionary bases very seriously. We shall also be discussing this issue when we consider the document on strategy and tactics.

As a result of the strength and tenacity of the people's offensive, many areas in our country are emerging, perhaps in a rudimentary way, as such mass revolutionary bases. The people are engaged in active struggle as a conscious revolutionary force and accept the ANC as their vanguard movement. They are organised in mass democratic organisations. They have destroyed the enemy's local organs of government and have mounted an armed offensive against the racist regime, using whatever weapons are available to them. What is missing is a strong underground ANC presence as well as a large contingent of units of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We must correct this weakness in a determined and systematic manner because it is within these mass revolutionary bases that we will succeed to root our army. It is the risen masses in these areas who have to be organised into larger formations of Umkhonto We Sizwe, turned into organised groups of combatants, and who have to replenish and swell our military ranks. We have to bear in mind the fact that the comrades we are training outside constitute the core of our army. They are the organisers and the leaders of the mass army that we have to build inside the country. They are our officer corps. We cannot deploy them forever as combat units. For obvious reasons, no army in the world fights with combat units composed of officers. Ours will be no exception.

### **Our Cadres: Their Crucial Role**

The question of the kind of cadre we are producing assumes greater significance with each passing day. The level of struggle demands that we deploy inside our country as many of our cadres as possible. As we succeed to do this, these cadres will constitute an important component part of our internal structures and therefore of

the ANC as a whole. They must therefore be what the ANC wants them to be. This cannot be left to chance.

It is a good thing that Conference will be discussing the question of cadre policy. Our decisions in this regard will have to be implemented seriously and consistently. All other decisions we take at this Conference will only have real meaning if we have the cadres to implement them with the sense of purpose that everything we decide here will require.

We are raising questions which might be organisational. But they are central to the solution of the question of how we raise the struggle to higher levels. Anyway, they are issues which require our most serious reflection.

We would also like to raise the question of the release of political prisoners. But in the first instance the NEC would like to report at this Conference that over the years, we have tried our best to keep in contact with these outstanding leaders of our people and activists of our movement. In this we were assisted by the great ingenuity and daring that these comrades showed in themselves ensuring that we kept in contact. When the need arose, we have consulted them on important questions of our revolution. Their constant steadfastness and their calibre as leaders was demonstrated only recently when they turned down Botha's offer to release them on condition that they renounced violence.

### **Campaign for the Release of our Comrades**

By its actions the Botha regime has admitted that it is finding it difficult to withstand the internal and international pressure for the release of our comrades. We can take pride in the fact that, through consistent campaigning, we have utterly defeated all attempts by this regime and others before it to blot out the memory of these heroes of our people by keeping them behind bars for such a long time.

Our National Executive Committee is of the considered view that we must do everything in our power to secure their release. Their release would have an enormous impact on the advance of the people of our country towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, apart from meeting the profound humanitarian concern that their return to the ranks of the people is long overdue.

As Conference knows, of late there has been a fair amount of speculation about the ANC and



the Pretoria regime getting together to negotiate a settlement of the South African question. This issue has arisen at this time exactly because of our strength inside the country, the level of our struggle and the crisis confronting the Botha regime. The NEC is however convinced that this regime is not interested in a just solution of the South African question.

Rather, it is interested to use the question of negotiations to divide our movement, demobilise the masses of our people by holding out the false promise that we can win our liberation other than through its overthrow. It also seeks to improve its image internationally. In any case, it is clear that no negotiations can take place or even be considered until all political prisoners are released.

However, the NEC is of the view that we cannot be seen to be rejecting a negotiated settlement in principle. In any case, no revolutionary movement can be against negotiations in princi-



ple. Indeed, in our case, it is correct that we encourage all forces, particularly among our White compatriots and in the western world, to put pressure on the Botha regime to abandon the notion that it can keep itself in power forever by the use of brute force.

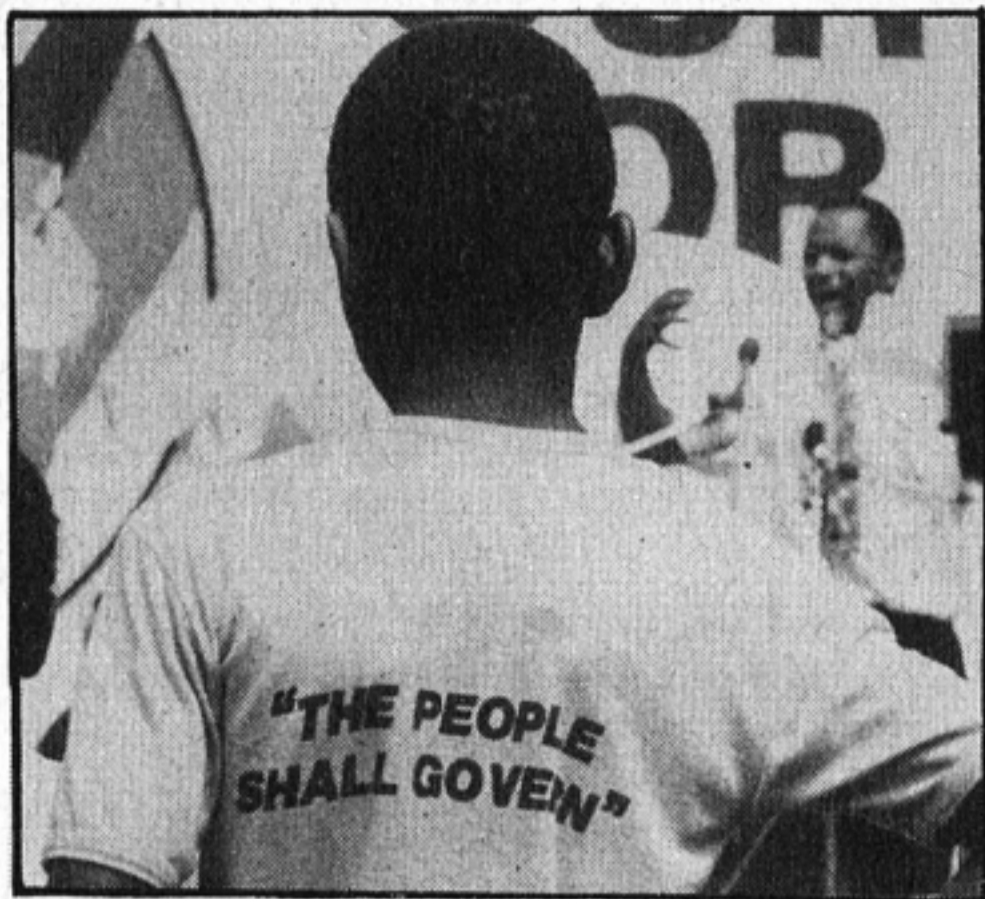
### **'Talks' Must not Impede our Struggle**

The growing crisis of the apartheid system is, in any case, causing some sections of the White population to consider ways in which they can defuse the situation. Among these are elements from the big capitalists of our country, representatives of the mass media, intellectuals, politicians and even some individuals from the ruling fascist party. Increasingly these seek contact with the ANC and publicly put forward various proposals which they regard as steps that would, if implemented, signify that the racist regime is, as they say, moving away from apartheid.

This poses the possibility that our movement will therefore be in contact with levels of the ruling circles of our country that it has never dealt with before. It is absolutely vital that our organisation and the democratic movement as a whole should be of one mind about this development to ensure that any contact that may be established does not have any negative effects on the development of our struggle.

Yet another significant result of the growing strength of our movement is that many Western countries are also showing interest in establishing and maintaining relations with us. Our policy on this kind of question has of course always been clear. In principle we can have no objection to establishing such relations. However, there are important tactical questions to consider about the timing of these developments and the form that the relations we may establish should take. The NEC would be happy to see us come out of this Conference with a consensus as to how our movement should handle these important questions of our revolution which, once more, confirm the centrality of the ANC in the solution of the problems of our country.

These events draw attention to the fact that we have to act in a manner that accords with the responsibilities that rest on our shoulders, with regard both to the short and the long term. If we seriously consider ourselves as the alternative government of our country, then we need to act and operate both as an insurrectionary force and



a credible representative of a liberated South Africa.

With respect to the issues we have just raised, it is clear that we have to improve the quality of our diplomacy and therefore the training of our representatives and their staff. We need also to tap and utilise in a better way the intellectual cadres available to us, both inside and outside our country.

The scope, spread and intensity of our struggle has also thrown up a large leadership corps of our democratic movement. It is important that we pay close and continuous attention to the issue of maintaining close relations with these leaders, educate the masses of our people to understand and accept our own positions and at all times ensure that we are, as a movement, providing leadership on all major questions, in accordance with our position as the vanguard movement of our struggling people.

That, in any case, is the main lesson of our last 16 years of struggle since the Morogoro Conference. It is that we must act as a vanguard force, the repository of the collective experience of our revolutionary masses in their struggle for national liberation. We must be organised to act as such. We must focus on the offensive, instruct ourselves that we will win and enhance our position as the front commanders of our millions-strong army of revolution. Through 16 years of persistent struggle, we have placed ourselves in a position where we can discharge this responsibility and finally achieve the great dream of our people, the liberation of our motherland.

**END**

# **STRUGGLE FOR LIFE**

## ***Apartheid and Health***

---

*By Dr B Stevens*

*In this article, the writer deals with the health care provided for Black people in the racist South African state. A second article, in the March issue of Sechaba, will deal with community initiatives in health care in South Africa today, and will discuss possible future health policies.*

Never before have our people in the factories, mines, schools and townships of our country been so defiant and so determined to bring an end to their oppression for ever. At a time such as this, when we are mobilising the masses for state power, we need to pay particular attention to the question of health. As in every area at present, there are important struggles being waged in the sphere of health, struggles which will determine the kind of health service our people have after liberation.

One point must be made from the outset. The apartheid system has for generations constituted a sustained and deadly attack on the health of the nation. The deliberate brutal impoverishment of our people in the thirst for profits, sustained by barbarous repression, is a policy of genocide against us. While Whites enjoy long lives of comfort, our people, especially in the bantustans, carry an enormous burden of disease, disability and death. Malnutrition, tuberculosis, gastroenteritis, measles, diphtheria and many others stalk the land striking down our people, especially the young and the old. The workers of our country, who have made South Africa into a modern industrialised society, have been decimated in the process by occupational diseases and accidents.

### **The Nature of Apartheid Health Care.**

The present health services in South Africa are the antithesis of those demanded by our people and expressed in the Freedom Charter, for free,

universal and comprehensive health care. In every respect, and at all levels, health care for the masses is inadequate and inferior to that provided for Whites. The disparities in care are extensively documented\* and show how Black hospitals suffer appalling overcrowding, together with a severe and chronic lack of funds and trained staff. The majority of the population lives in rural areas — the bantustans and White-owned farms — yet the health services are overwhelmingly concentrated in the towns, where large parts of it are in private hands. The total health budget for all the bantustans is the same as the annual running costs of one of the big White hospitals in Johannesburg or Cape Town. Most of the great burden of disease suffered by the masses is preventable, yet only 3% of the health budget is spent on preventive health care.

An important point is that these characteristics of the health services in South Africa are structural, and the result of the racist allocation of resources. They are the necessary outcome of the existing economic, political and social relations of apartheid. The almost total lack of services in the bantustans, where enormous numbers of our people are forced to live, reflects the degree to which these areas are marginal to the South African economy. Private health care and the privatisation of health knowledge illustrate the alienation of the masses from the health care system, and mirrors the monopoly of productive resources by the White minority. The curative approach to health care is based on the prevailing dominant ideology, where disease is portrayed as the result of bad luck to people who then need to be 'cured' as individuals.

This individualistic approach effectively 'depoliticises' ill-health, and contrasts sharply

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

### **Insults and Violence**

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

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

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

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

institutions in the bantustans.

### **Experimentation**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

racist practices obtain regarding which racial group is allowed or not allowed to look after members of another, extending even to a ban on Black medical students witnessing post-mortems on Whites.

In a number of important respects the health service and the type of health care provided help buttress the apartheid system. In some respects the health services are in the forefront of efforts to implement apartheid policy in general, but particularly with regard to the bantustans.

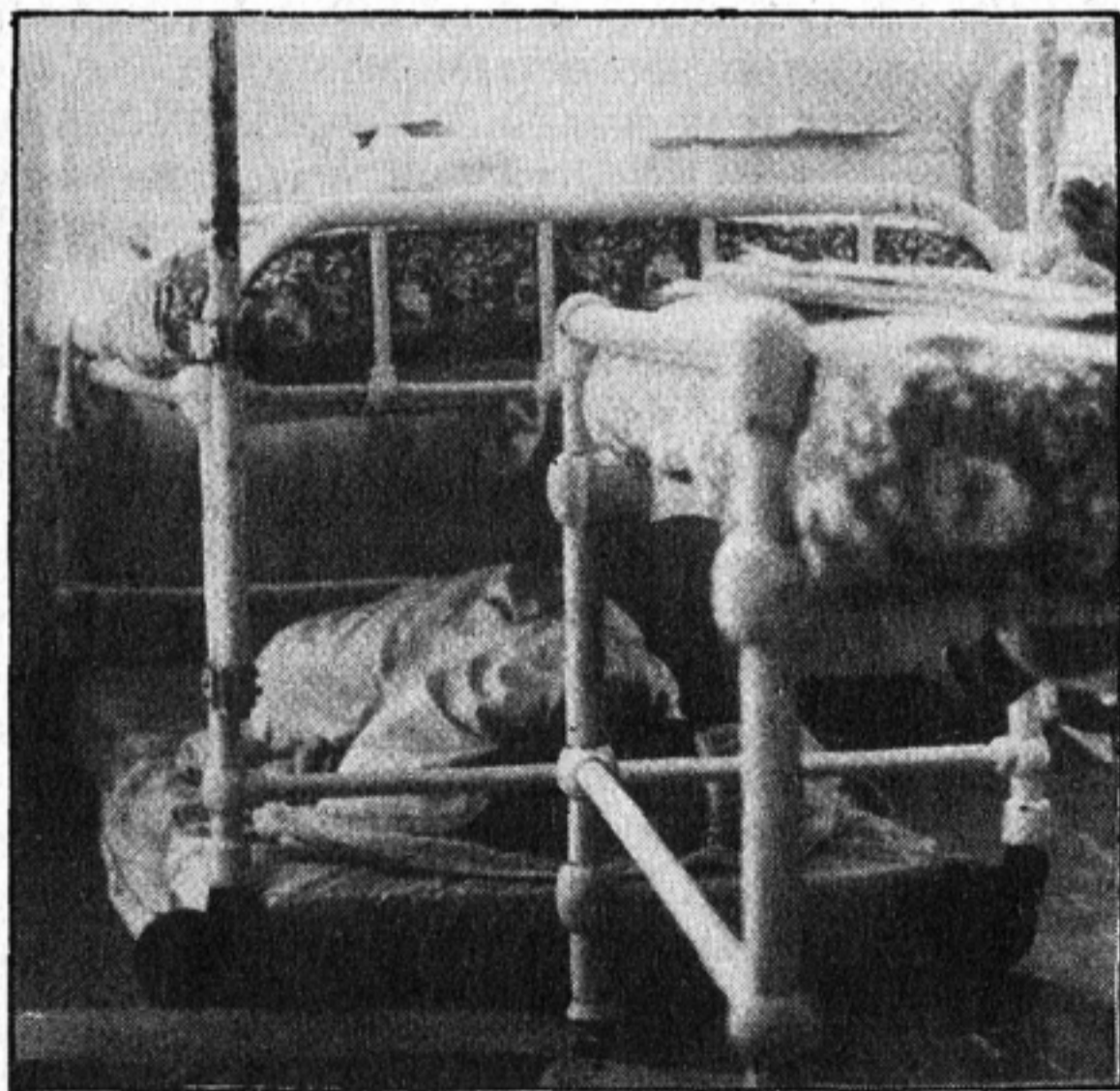
Historically, the settler colonial regime has always been hostile to the autonomous health care practised by the midwives, traditional healers and so-called 'witch doctors' of the indigenous African population. When Greys Hospital was established in Kingwilliamstown in the mid-19th century in the newly-conquered territory of 'British Kaffraria,' it was designed explicitly to undermine the authority of 'witch doctors' whom the settlers believed to be behind the political and military resistance of the Xhosa. The physical and spiritual health care practised by the masses has always been defamed and ridiculed as 'ignorance, traditional taboos and superstition' by the settlers and the emerging White medical profession. Autonomous health care, like the culture and identity of the indigenous people had to be smashed, together with their economic independence, if colonialism was to triumph in South Africa.

Today, hospitals and health care are still being used as agents of colonialism, and, in particular, the health services are one of the principal means of implementing the bantustan programme in our country. Today, the basis for health care in South Africa is the 1977 Health Act, which specifically excludes the bantustans from its provisions.

### **Separate 'Ethnic' Health Services**

There is a different 'health service' and 'health department' for each bantustan. This separation of services effectively fosters division and 'tribalism.' One of the reported consequences of the removal of Shiluvane Hospital from Lebowa control to that of Gazankulu, for example, is that some Pedi-speaking people chose no longer to use the hospital. Separate 'ethnic' nursing and medical associations have been set up with legislation forcing health workers out of national South African associations. There are persistent attempts by the regime to boost international credibility for the bantustans as viable entities by having these ethnic-based associations admitted into international organisations; and these attempts are sometimes successful, as when the Transkei Medical Association was admitted into the World Medical Association.

The old mission hospitals, which received part of their funding and general direction from abroad, have now been taken over by the state and handed over to the bantustan administrations.



*King Edward VIII Hospital 1985: patients under the beds, in the aisles and passage ways.*

Many of these hospitals are now staffed by military doctors as part of the SADF 'hearts and minds' campaign. The existence of the separate bantustan health services also enables the regime to disclaim responsibility for providing desperately needed services for their inhabitants, as successive South African Ministers of Health have repeatedly done.

There is a complete lack of official national statistics on the health status of the African majority, including such basic indices as births and deaths, let alone infant mortality rates, life expectancy figures and so on. The bantustans, of course, remove huge numbers of the worst affected of our people from the disease and death statistics the regime does collect. The silence of the medical profession, factory inspectorate, occupational health service and the like in the face of enormous suffering and death is part of the same deliberate process of obscuring from the masses the true extent and cost of apartheid barbarism.

### **Ideological Justification**

The health services also play an important role in shoring up apartheid ideologically. The wage differentials and technical division of labour, disparities in hospital services, in general the concentration of health resources, technology and skills in White hands, "gives material reality to the ideology of White supremacy."

Practices such as the labelling of blood with the race of the donor and assigning different values for Blacks and Whites for the normal level of protein in the blood are attempts to establish as fact the ultimate justification of apartheid: biological inequality. Thus a Dr Robbertze, President of the Psychological Institute of South Africa, speaking in 1967, stressed the need to study racial differences "in intelligence, temperament, physiology, brain structure, rates of maturity," and encouraged members of the institute "to undertake research in this field on a greater scale because it concerns the scientific basis of separate development and strikes at the root of our continued existence."

This Dr Robbertze is not alone in his thinking. The medical journals and press are crammed with racist statements so crude they have to be seen to be believed, by the most senior members and officials of every branch of medicine and nursing in South Africa. Zulus have

a habit of complaining that they're hungry; Black patients prefer sleeping on floors; one shouldn't use the same standards to judge the care provided for Black and White patients; Africans have not yet reached a sufficient level of development to suffer depression; the Zulu when angered is rather vicious, his predilection for trauma not a little enhanced by customary over-indulgence in alcohol; Black nurses are incapable of giving the psychological and sociological care patients need; malnutrition is not such a bad thing, as Black children can run faster than Whites, etc etc. These statements carry with them the authority of the official and professional positions of those who make them, and serve to legitimise White domination.

### **Family Planning Genocide**

There are two further respects in which the apartheid system depends on health care or technology for its implementation. Both drive home the point that the nature of health care is utterly dependent on the prevailing economic, political and social relations in society.

The first concerns the 'family planning' programme of the regime, a grotesque misnomer in our country, where family life has been effectively destroyed for the majority of our people for generations. In the context of the way in which White racists define Black population growth as the 'swart gevaar,' of the colonial social relations and of the bantustanisation of our country, a contraception programme is an act of genocide against the masses. Hundreds of family planning outlets have been set up in the bantustans and elsewhere, very often with no other clinic services provided, such as accompanying maternal and child care.

It is interesting to note here that the captains of industry, such as Gavin Relly, head of Anglo-American, are at one with the regime on this issue, despite their much-vaunted "contradictions" with the apartheid system. Relly recently called for:

"sufficient coherence to enable us at least to alleviate unbridled population growth."

Other employers have allowed 'depo' teams (referring to Depo-Provera, the injectable contraceptive banned from several western countries because of its harmful effects) to go on regular sweeps through their factories employing women

workers, giving repeated injections. The possession of an up-to-date stamp by women has become a condition of their being hired or continuing to work. Our struggle is indeed a struggle for the right to life itself.

This whole issue of 'family planning' is for our people a highly charged one, and it is important we discuss one or two further points here. First, there is a widely accepted myth, encouraged by the racists in South Africa and elsewhere, that malnutrition or famine or indeed the lot of the poor in general, is due, at least in part, to 'excessive population growth' so there is not enough to go round. This reactionary view ignores the most basic political facts — it is capitalist and imperialist domination that concentrates resources in the hands of a few, so that there is not enough to go round. The high birth rate amongst the colonised and dispossessed the world over is a direct response on the part of the masses to this harsh reality.

"Adult labour is the family's only saleable asset. It is necessary to produce enough labour power for survival and, since so many Black children die before reaching an economically active age, many must be born to ensure a family's subsistence. In fact, half of all deaths amongst Blacks occur under the age of 5 years, compared with only 7% among Whites. There is, moreover, considerable pressure on Blacks to have children to provide for their old age, since they are very poorly provided for by social services."\*

Secondly, the rights of the masses in South Africa to adequate information and facilities for birth control will never be realised under apartheid. It is only with its destruction that family life will once more become possible for our people, that poverty and insecurity, the root causes of high birth rates, will be removed, and that our women will be guaranteed the right to control over their own fertility.

### **Mine Medical Officers**

The second respect in which apartheid directly depends on health care for its implementation concerns the mines. The mine medical officers perform a function not dissimilar to the process of "selection" performed by Nazi doctors in the concentration camps in World War II. Newly recruited miners are given a medical examination and classified into various grades of work by the medical officer, or sent back to the ban-

tustans if considered unfit to work. Instead of the choice being between the gas chamber or slave labour, it is between working in conditions almost certain to result, in time, in illness or injury, or starvation in the bantustans.

The Chamber of Mines runs a Human Sciences Laboratory, set up specifically to maximise the exploitation of labour. The laboratory has, amongst other things, developed a more sophisticated classification for new recruits to "minimise wastage," and tests their "physical working capacity" in a special chamber simulating the conditions of deep level mining. In a report for the laboratory, Dr C H Wynham, who is now senior epidemiologist, stated:

"It is also apparent from these results that a much smaller percentage of rural Bantu males than urban Bantu males is capable of continuous high levels of physical effort. This fact must be borne in mind in the siting of Bantu homelands or border areas, or new industries which require hard physical work. In this context, consideration should be given to improving the physical work capacities of rural Bantu males. This could be done by better nutrition, particularly more calories and animal proteins, and by improving their health by eradicating endemic diseases such as malaria and bilharzia, for it is unlikely that the health and welfare of rural populations will be improved by their own efforts."

It is perhaps no accident that it is in the mines of South Africa that health care is seen so clearly to nourish the very kernel of apartheid — the merciless exploitation of Black labour.

### **Health Care: Agent of Repression**

Finally, in our consideration of the nature of apartheid health care, we must examine the use of the health services as an agent of repression and counter-revolution. For many years the medical profession in the form of district surgeons has collaborated closely with the security police in the torture of detainees, as well as the whole iniquitous prison system. The case of the doctors who 'treated' Steve Biko exposed this very close relationship for once and for all. Psychiatrists are also involved; there have been several reports of detainees who have required urgent psychiatric treatment as a result of solitary confinement, detention and torture, and who have then been returned to the custody of the security police.



*Baragwanath Hospital during the strike for better working conditions.*

There has been silence from the professional organisations in the face of repression of progressive health workers by the state. Steve Biko, Neil Aggett and Hoosen Haffejee are among those known to have died in detention, while others, such as Essop Jassat, Jerry Coovadia and Vuyisile Madikizela, are at present detained or charged.

The health authorities themselves have taken action against health workers involved in anti-apartheid activity or who have spoken out against the savagery of the regime. After his release from six years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Dr Aubrey Mokoape was called before the South African Medical and Dental Council, charged with improper and indecent conduct for his involvement in a 'Viva Frelimo' rally in Durban in 1974. (The charges were withdrawn shortly before the hearing was due to take place.) The ambulance drivers who ferried the dead and injured to hospital after the Uitenhage massacre and who gave evidence to the Kannemeyer Commission about the brutality of the police and the attempts to dress up the massacre as a riot, were subsequently dismissed. Most recently, the Department of Health barred a young district surgeon from seeing detainees, after she had testified to police assault and torture of people detained under the emergency in the eastern Cape.

In its counter-offensive against the masses, the regime is also able to depend on new technology devised and made available by the medical

research establishment. Dr Mark Gillman, Director of the South African Brain Research Institute, recently announced a tear-gas substitute developed by the Institute. Consisting of a combination of oxygen and nitrous oxide, the gas could be used "in riot or hijack situations."

In summary, then, the health services in every respect reproduce and therefore reinforce the repressive relations of apartheid. They are an important arm in the implementation of the bantustan programme in particular and of apartheid policy in general, and as the masses step up the offensive against the regime, we can expect its repressive, counter-revolutionary function to become more prominent. Clearly, like the other apparatuses of the apartheid state, the health services must be destroyed in our revolution.

It is clear that if our people are to have any chance of healthy lives, then the destruction of the present social order and the seizure of state power by the masses are fundamental requirements of our revolution. Without state power we cannot lay down the political and economic foundations which are essential for health.

\*There are several books, pamphlets, etc available on the question of apartheid and health, many of which have been used in this article. One of the best is *Apartheid and Health*, published by the World Health Organisation, Geneva, 1983. It has been extensively used in this article.

# ANC INTERNATIONAL



## SPAIN

Representatives of national liberation movements all over the world — including the ANC — and of fraternal parties and friendly governments were guests in Madrid in December 1985, when the Spanish Communist Party celebrated the 90th birthday of Dolores Ibarruri. Known as 'La Pasionaria' (The Passionate One) because of her eloquence as a speaker and her uncompromising political stand, Comrade Ibarruri was a leader in the days of the Spanish Republic and the Civil War.

The story of the Spanish Civil War, 50 years ago, has a familiar sound to us today. It was then that the elected republican government of Spain was destabilised by a fascist army general named Franco, with his following of soldiers, who crossed from what was then the Spanish colony of Morocco and invaded the country, bombing cities and murdering and looting in the villages.

The people of Spain had never chosen Franco as a ruler, and he and his forces did not represent the Spanish people. Their importance lay in the fact that they were supported and heavily armed by the fascist governments of Germany and Italy, governments that were planning a war of conquest in Europe and perceived democratic Spain as a weak flank on the south-west. (The British government of the time pursued a policy of what it called 'non-intervention' in the war.)

Progressive people all over the world supported the Spanish Republic, and thousands of young volunteers from other countries formed International Brigades to help defend it. The cream of their generation in Europe, they had the political understanding to see that the Spanish war was not merely a local issue but one that threatened freedom throughout the world, and they had the courage and dedication to offer their lives to

the struggle. A song of the time tells the story of Hans Beimler, a German democrat who went to fight for democracy in Spain and was killed by a bullet that had come from his own fatherland.

The defenders of the Republic fought with courage, and Madrid, the capital, held out for three years. But courage alone could not prevail against arms; the country was conquered by sheer military force, and a fascist dictator ruled there for nearly 40 years.

The main event of the celebrations in December was a rally, at which over 16 000 people packed out a sports stadium, and thousands more stood outside and listened to the proceedings relayed through loudspeakers. There were speakers; the greatest poets and musicians of Spain read their poems and sang their songs in praise of Comrade Dolores, and — what is more important — in praise of what she stands for. Old comrades from the International Brigades were honoured, and the whole audience joined in to sing songs of resistance from the early 1970s. The rally celebrated the revival of democratic forces in Spain, and unity between progressive forces, both in Spain and throughout the world. It was a truly mighty and moving occasion.

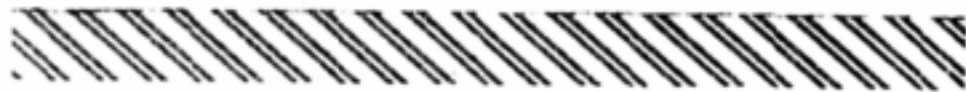
Fascists and their allies, the imperialists, are still using brute military force to destabilise people's governments that seem to stand in the way of their greed for exploitation and profit. The British government still stands by, refusing to intervene. The lesson the Spanish experience has to teach us is that while imperialist tactics remain the same, the world the imperialists live in is changing. In 50 years the anti-imperialist forces of the world have grown immeasurably in size and power. Former colonies are now indepen-



dent; there are more socialist countries now, and they are stronger. Destabilisation succeeded in Spain in the 1930s, but in the 1960s, an attempt to overthrow the government of Cuba met with failure.

The threats and dangers are still there; the principles of democracy and self-determination of nations are still in peril. The South African Defence Force is still massacring innocent people in Angola, Botswana and Lesotho; the United States is still pouring out money and arms in its attempt to put an end to people's governments in Cuba and Nicaragua.

Now, however, peoples who defend their liberty are no longer obliged to fight without arms, and international solidarity forces nowadays consist of soldiers who are armed and trained. The struggle continues. It is a hard and bitter one, but victory, this time, is certain.



### **ANC DELEGATION IN BRAZIL**

Like the people of Africa the peoples of Latin America have long suffered, and still suffer, from imperialist exploitation and aggression, and in recent years the ANC has more than once been recognised and honoured on that continent.

The most recent honours came in October 1985, when three Brazilian awards were made to Nelson Mandela. They were the Freedom of the City of Rio de Janeiro, Honorary Citizenship of the State of Rio de Janeiro and the Diploma of Honour and Friendship from the University of Rio de Janeiro. These were received on behalf of Comrade Mandela by Comrades Seretse Choabi, Director of the Lutuli Services and Sydney Molifi, deputy-director of International Department of the ANC.

The delegation was invited to Brazil by COM-**AFRICA**, an organisation formed to promote solidarity with ANC and SWAPO in the liberation struggle. Another purpose of the visit was to mobilise support for the campaign for the isolation of the regime in South Africa; and the willingness of the people of Brazil to show solidarity with us turned out to be even more important than the awards.

The delegation attended a meeting of the Commission on Foreign Relations of the National Congress. Here, all speeches made by members of the Commission expressed support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, and the Commission decided to send a cable to Brazilian racing drivers taking part in the Grand Prix in South Africa, calling on them to withdraw. One member of parliament called for diplomatic recognition in Brazil for the ANC.

The delegation received guarantees of support from the President of the Federal Senate and House of Representatives, the Governor of the City of Brazilia and officials of different political parties. It also met some Brazilian churchmen, who, expressed interest in finding out ways in which the Brazilian Church could support our movement, and a conference of constitutional lawyers.

The visit generated wide interest, and was well covered by the mass media.



### **TANZANIA: 7 DAYS OF SOLIDARITY**

Solidarity with the people of South Africa has grown tremendously in the past year or two throughout the whole world. In Tanzania, a country which has supported the national liberation movements with everything, when not many people knew they existed, a week of solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa was marked with meetings throughout the country. Several of the meetings took place in the capital Dar es Salaam but others were held in Moshi, Arusha where the chief representative of the ANC comrade Stanley Mabizela spoke.

Ndugu Andrew Shija, member of the central committee and of the National Executive Committee of Chama Cha Mpinduzi (CCM) called for more material support to the ANC and Swapo in one of the meetings held at the university of Dar es Salaam. "We know the enemy is hatching more death plans in the hope of sustaining capitalism and exploitation through the brutal force of fascism, colonialism and zionism," Comrade Shija said.



# UMKHONTO WE SIZWE AT

1985 saw an intensification of the armed struggle in South Africa. This too such as political mobilisation, trade union organisation (the formation of O climax of trade union organisation) youth and students' upheavals, women the struggles on the church front.

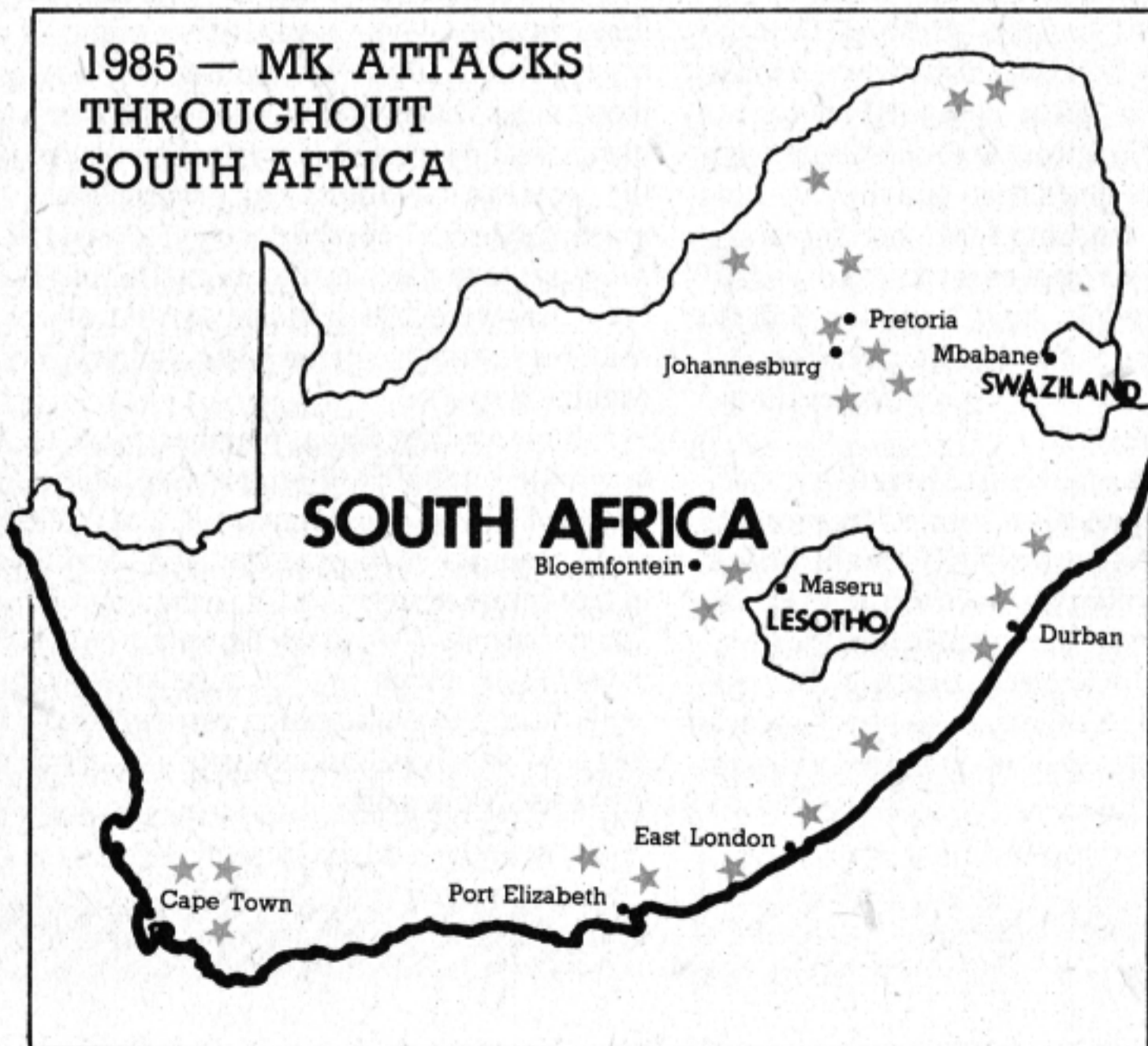
It was in this climate that Umkhonto we Sizwe intensified armed struggle months of 1985 MK attacks were more than double the number recorded the end of September as against 44 in 1984. Hand grenades were used in incidents, and sabotage of business property (17 incidents; a marked rise similar attacks over the whole 1976-84 period which saw commercial prop

The Blacks' upsurge within the country, together with police violence and emphasised the need for ANC pressure within the country. The arrest of the brutal sentences meted out on them, the discovery of arms caches, the than 1 000 people in South Africa and 9 others in Maseru in December 198 the resolve of our people to make that country ungovernable and aparthe The people are creating "alternative structures" and dealing with informers collaborators.

These attacks were not confined to the "big cities" but engulfed the bar Umtata in the Transkei was without water and electricity for days after a which destroyed 11 fuel tanks at a petrol depot. An armoured troop carried landmine during a "routine patrol" in the Northern Transvaal in December were other, similar incidents in the area. All farming activities came to a t

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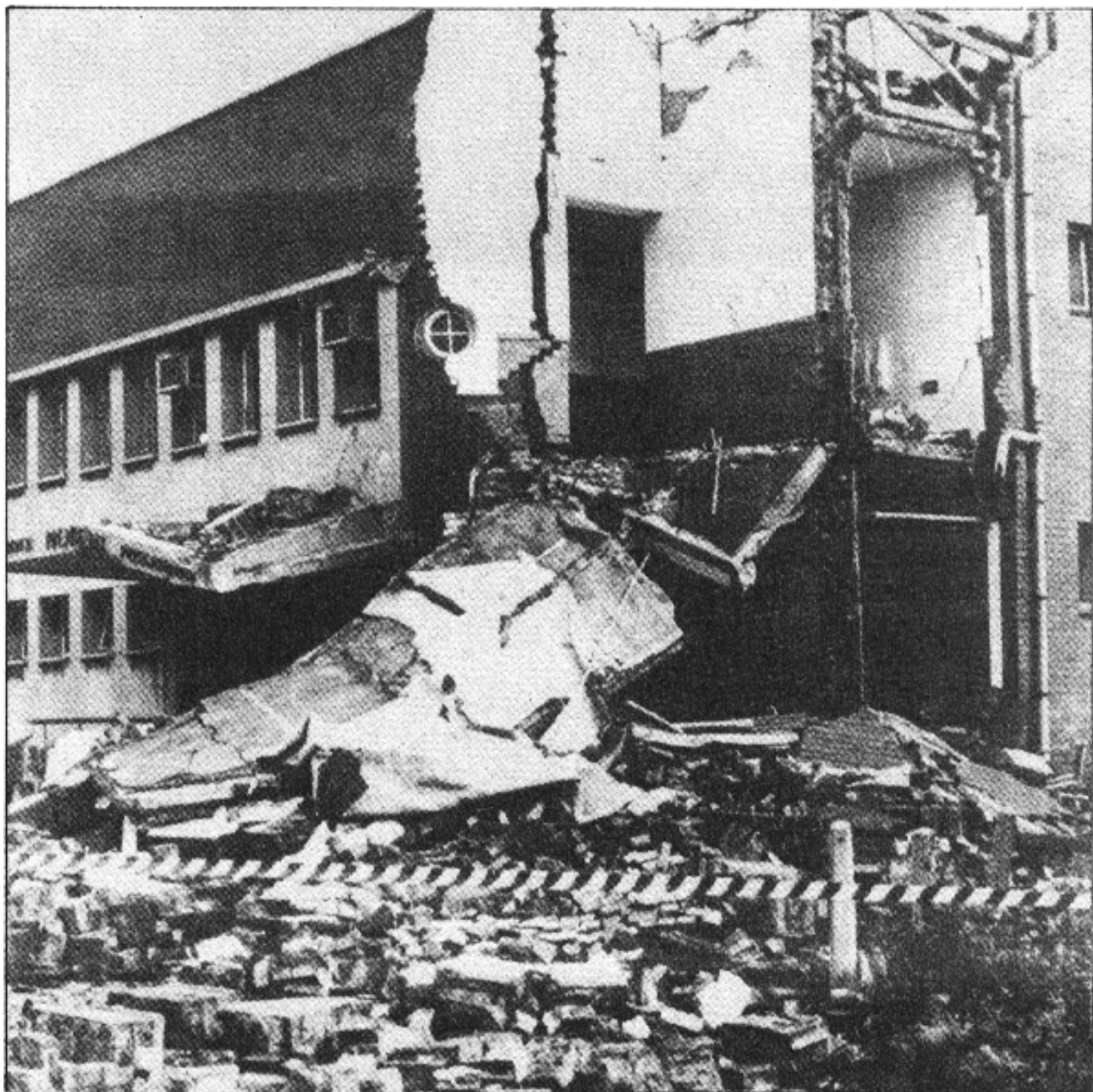
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*A truck destroyed by a landmine in the Soutpansberg military zone, 27th November 1985.*



*The ruins of Mobeni Post Office after a bomb attack, 9th December 1985.*

# STATE TERRORISM

## APARTHEID DEATH SQUADS

By Aziz Pahad



*The 'Trojan Horse' massacre*

A feature of the South African political situation in the last year has been the regime's increased use of overt terrorism to suppress and destroy all forms of political opposition. In the last 12 months over 1 000 people have been murdered and thousands more injured by the servants of the state.

These jackboot tactics belie the orchestrated campaign to project Botha as a 'reformer', and the argument that 'constructive engagement' and dialogue will bring about meaningful change in South Africa.

In March 1985, following months of growing demonstrations and protests, General de Wit (Senior Deputy Commissioner of Police) sent a leaflet to police units instructing that police patrols were to be issued with R1 rifles, and that:

"when petrol bombs are thrown at police vehicles, every attempt must be made to **eliminate** the guilty party." (Our emphasis.)

Later, the Minister of Law and Order, Le Grange, (ministering terror and disorder) warned that:

"the full might of the state is going to be used to restore law and order."

More recently, Gerrit Viljoen, widely referred to as a *verligte*, said that:

"kid glove handling will do South Africa more international harm than the shock effect of the tough, hard but efficient approach."

These attitudes have been instilled in the security forces. One disillusioned conscript has vividly described the effects of their training:

"the majority of conscripts have an attitude of hatred, loathing and contempt for Blacks and a complete lack of human feeling and compassion towards them. 'Kaffirs' are a base, sub-human plasm, a parody of man, whose pain is merely sport."

The spiritual children of Hitler, the police, the young conscripts, professional soldiers and the vigilantes, all brought up and trained to hate and kill, have now been unleashed on the people. Under the protection of the State and an arsenal of laws, they have been given licence to carry out a systematic and consistent orgy of violence and destruction, not experienced by the civilised world since the dark days of fascism.

### **Tradition of Violence**

The process of state violence, unabated since the 1976 massacres but intensified since September 1984, has been given a further boost by the declaration of the state of emergency on 21st July, which with its indemnity clauses has resulted in a sharp increase in political and military violence. The emergency regulations give wide powers to **all** members of the police, army and prison service to arrest, with or without a warrant, any person whose detention is considered necessary for the maintenance of public order, or the safety of the public, or of the person concerned, or for the termination of the state of emergency.

Only the commissioner of police can supply names of detainees; detainees may not be visited; they cannot write letters, and the only reading matter available is the Bible. They have been forbidden to sing or whistle, and if this regulation is violated any prison officer can impose penalties which include solitary confinement, deprivation of one or more meals a day (when meals are already inadequate) and if the detainees are under 14, they can receive six strokes; they are not allowed radios, record players, tape recorders, musical instruments or TV sets; they are entitled to "exercise in the open air for at least one hour a day, weather permitting."

In the last 12 months, conservative estimates suggest that over 15 000 people have been detained. Many of these are activists working in political, youth, community, church, cultural and trade union organisations. 80% of detainees are members of UDF affiliates. The majority of UDF national or regional organisers are currently in prison, on trial, or dead.

### **Physical and Psychological Torture**

Reports indicate that the detainees have been subjected to widespread physical and psychological torture. Many detainees have given sworn af-

fidavits stating that they were injected with unknown drugs. The number of people who have died in detention has increased. A young White district surgeon, Dr Wendy Orr, was so shocked by her experience that she was forced to break the sinister wall of silence. She found that in 60 cases detainees had facial injuries; eight had perforated eardrums; 26 had weals and blisters, most likely caused by sjamboks; 48 had several injuries simultaneously. Detainees have described the torture known as the 'helicopter', where their hands are handcuffed behind their ankles, and then they are suspended from a pole and spun round. They are then assaulted as they are spinning. Dr Orr's revelations and other reports forced the courts (in at least three cases) to grant an injunction preventing the police from torturing detainees. Such court interventions were the exception rather than the rule, and as a result Dr Orr has been removed from her post. New laws have now been introduced to make court interventions (limited as they were) practically impossible to implement.

The effect of detention on the children who have been arrested is frightening. Some of the children have had to be admitted to psychiatric hospitals on their release from police detention. In one case a child is now unable to speak except to mumble, "Boere, boere."

Current powers include the imposition of curfews; cordoning of areas; closure of any private or public place or any business or industry; removal of people out of or to any particular area; control of key services and stringent press control. The provisions have been used to control school boycotts: pupils were banned during school hours from all areas except school buildings and houses; outsiders were prevented from entering school grounds, and gatherings in schools, not concerned with school work and not supervised by staff, banned. In some cases schools were forced to close, while in other areas children were rounded up in military Hippos and forced to go to school. The dilemma of parents is reflected by one mother who said:

"We send our kids to schools and they are beaten up and detained. When we try to keep them indoors, they tear-gas us all, even small sleeping babies."

Night curfews from 10 p.m till 4 a.m. have been imposed in many areas. The possession of petrol

in any container other than a car tank has been banned, as has the siphoning of petrol. Non-residents have been banned from entering many townships; all outside gatherings, except for bone-fide sports occasions, have been banned; gatherings (inside or outside) to propagate work stoppages are banned; stringent restrictions have been imposed on funerals: funerals are only allowed for one person at a time, only an ordained minister is allowed to speak and his message must not be political; public address systems have been banned; the display of flags, banners, placards and pamphlets is illegal; marches to funerals are illegal — mourners must travel in vehicles sanctioned by the police. In this way the full arsenal of police, army and paramilitary forces have been deployed against the oppressed people of South Africa.

### **Information Blackout**

Information on the activities of the state terrorists has been rigorously suppressed. There is a wide range of police, press and prison laws preventing the dissemination of certain information. In addition most of the newspapers apply their own censorship; as a police spokesman said:

"... a gentlemen's agreement has been worked out between the police and the media. The media will monitor itself. The police will assist the media in assisting its readers."

He went on to say that the media have agreed to take note of requests from "the highest authority" to "scale down" reports of unrest. Evidence of this "gentlemen's agreement" came to light in the police reports of the recent killings in Mlungisi. Police had said that the death toll was 14 but then revealed that they had forgotten to include five people whose bullet-ridden bodies were found after police action in the township. They were "unfortunately overlooked" by the officer who compiled the earlier situation report, a police spokesman said.

Clearly, the response of the media has not been stringent enough to satisfy even the "highest authority," since the government has now imposed even more severe curbs on their activities. In areas covered by the state of emergency journalists are not allowed to televise, photograph, record or even draw any "conflict situation."

Such situations are loosely defined as disturbances, riots, action taken by the security forces. Even in areas not covered by the emergency regulations, television crews and photographers are now being "escorted away" from any "conflict situation." Penalties for contravening these regulations include confiscation of equipment, fines of up to R20 000 or imprisonment for ten years, without the option of a fine.

The security forces, therefore, have been given *carte blanche*, without any fear of supervision by the media. The few reports that have emerged present a limited but horrifying picture. A Progressive Federal Party (PFP) delegation which visited the Coloured townships of Valhalla Park and Elsie's River found evidence of:

"a jackboot mentality at its worst."

They found that men, women and children were viciously attacked simply for being on the streets; they found that people were shot down for no reason.

### **Point of Explosion**

Carole Tonque (Labour, European MP), who visited South Africa in June 1985, said of the Eastern Cape:

"... the whole area is on the point of explosion and I fear more slaughter if things continue as they are. What I saw defies description."

Tragically, the slaughter has worsened since that time.

The Black Sash, in a report on the Eastern Cape in March 1985 found that:

"... an extraordinary picture emerges of children being shot at quite indiscriminately ... the overwhelming impression gained is that the police are unaccountable. They feel supported and encouraged in their conduct by the knowledge that White opinion is overwhelmingly behind them and that no retribution will follow. Police action resulting even in the death of a victim seldom results in anything more serious than a trivial fine."

The growing conscience of organisations like the Black Sash, church and other organisations has resulted in several court cases. Consequently, in November 1985, the regime introduced an indemnity law which protects the security forces and government from prosecution for actions committed under the emergency regulations.

This means that no civil or criminal proceedings can be brought in any court against the state, the state president, any member of the Cabinet, any member of the security forces or any person in the service of the state, for action which he has ordered, directed or committed in good faith "in carrying out his duties." Courts in areas covered by the emergency regulations are prevented from granting interdicts to stay or set aside orders and rules issued in terms of these regulations.

### What Are They Trying to Cover Up?

Let us look at some of the cases. The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town handed in to P W Botha an affidavit from a mother, who told this story:

"Three policemen arrived in a Hippo. They threatened the family, broke down a door. Then after an argument with her son, George, they shot two shots into the ground and left. George went to visit the neighbours. The policemen had returned and one callously shot George. He fell into the neighbour's house. The police dragged

him out of the house and threw him into the Hippo. Her other son was also arrested. The police returned later and told her that her son was dead. He added, "George was on the list," and warned the mother that she was also on the list."

In an affidavit made to representatives of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), a woman said:

"... police arrived ... they kicked in the door and searched the house. They found a small boy hiding under the pillow. They accused him of being a rioter and pulled him outside where they beat him (he was ten years old). Then they re-entered the house and pulled the deceased from under the bed ... they beat him ... I heard the White policeman say, "skiet hom" (shoot him). The Black policeman then shot him. He fell. The policeman then shot him again on the ground."

Thabo (18 years old) described a typical scene. He and his friend, Joe, saw police sjambokking and escorting people to a hall. They hid. After some time they emerged from their hiding place and went into the yard where Thabo saw a



*Troops occupy the townships*

policeman a few metres away aiming his firearm at them. Thabo ducked behind a wall and tried to alert Joe, but the policeman had already pulled the trigger, hitting Joe in the head. He died instantly.

A White serviceman described the kind of incident that frequently occurs:

"... individual stones start dropping about us with deceiving harmlessness. Suddenly one smashes the windscreen of our SAP vehicle and two cops with shotguns bound off like dogs let off the leash. They stalk the lone stone-thrower and corner him. He continues his desperate barrage. They shoot him dead. He is about 16. He is a kill."

In Elsie's River, outside Cape Town, John Langenhoven stopped when ordered to do so by a policeman. Then he was shot dead at close range. A policeman kicked him and shouted, "Waar is Mandela nou?" (Where is Mandela now?)

### Agents Provocateurs

The bizarre and horrifying incident commonly referred to as the 'Trojan horse massacre' exposed the fact that the security forces have *agents provocateurs*, creating incidents to give themselves pretexts for killing. On this occasion a truck belonging to the SA Transport Services (a government agency), and containing crates, drove through a Coloured township in Cape Town. Failing to evoke any response they repeated their journey. This time a few youths threw stones. Suddenly out of the crates emerged members of the security forces, indiscriminately shooting their pump-action shotguns. Four young children were killed and many others injured. In response to the widespread condemnation of this action a police spokesman simply said:

"This is not a new method; the police have used it before ... we will use any methods to combat them (stone-throwing youths)."

A more bizarre technique has been either to give activists 'doctored' weapons or to kill activists and make it look as if they had killed themselves by using defective weapons. In June 1985 in the East Rand, six leading activists of the now banned Congress of South African Students (COSAS) were killed and seven injured in mysterious circumstances. The injured ones cannot be visited

by families or lawyers, as they are now being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The group were blown up by grenades. At least three of them were on hit lists. It has emerged that a member of the security police provided the students with defective grenades and then encouraged them to carry out attacks against targets chosen by him. The grenades exploded prematurely, instantly killing the students. A former Rhodesian army officer commented that:

"this is a very efficient method of eliminating your terrorists and at the same time discovering their identities."

There are numerous other accounts of *agents provocateurs* enticing people into the streets and then shooting or sjambokking them.

### Even Babies Not Spared

Even children and babies have not been spared. One mother described an all too common incident:

"I was called by the noise outside the house — it was the noise of guns ... my own children and two visitors were playing in our yard ... I came out ... and saw that the children had been shot. My youngest, aged five, was wounded in the back and on her left leg, my other daughter, aged seven, was wounded on her back. The Hippo had already passed."

Tucked away in the corner of the newspapers is another report of about 150 infants — aged between six months and two years — who were knocked unconscious when police tear-gassed their early learning centre. Such actions are so common that there was no public outrage.

A young White servicemen's statement reveals why such atrocities are inevitable in apartheid South Africa. He says:

"... well-meaning people have imagined the young police and army officers as fearful, confused, somehow as deserving of pity and understanding ... This is not so. The majority of my peers are not afraid or confused. They are in turn bored and excited, they want action, they are callous, they are enormously arrogant."

He goes on to explain that their patrols in the Black townships had an:

"atmosphere of sport, kaffir-baiting and hunting."



The situation has now become so bad that even the collaborationist Black mayor of Atteridgeville township has demanded that the troops must:

"get out of the township, because they are not here to maintain law and order but to kill our children."

A PFP Unrest Monitoring Action Committee has also had to conclude that evidence of police brutality is "overwhelming" and that:

"there is random beating and random shooting without any plan or objective."

These fascists in uniform have been reinforced by a growing new phenomenon — the death squads, who have carried out a systematic campaign of eliminating Black leaders and activists. All evidence indicates that these death squads are working closely with the regime and its puppet structures in the townships. Several hit lists have been exposed containing names of key political, trade union, church and community leaders. One such operation — 'Operation Demolition' — was financed by two Whites (Westhuizen and Pieterse) and one Black collaborator. They had established a death squad of 30 to eliminate, among others, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Reverend Frank Chikane (a UDF leader), Piroshaw Camay (General Secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa, a trade union federation) and Percy Qoboza, a leading journalist.

### **Non-Collaborators Eliminated**

Patrick Lephunya (administrative officer of the Transvaal UDF and secretary of the Soweto Civic Association) was kidnapped and interrogated by four men, two of whom, wearing balaclavas, were from the security police. He was ordered to work for them and to submit reports on the UDF and Soweto Civic Association meetings. He was warned that when people didn't co-operate with them they eliminated them.

In November, a case in the Rand Supreme Court revealed that three officials at Marievale Mines had organised 'hit teams' in the mines to systematically assassinate and/or maim leaders and members of the National Union of Mineworkers. The victims were either to be burned to death or crippled by the cutting of their tendons or private parts.

In August 1985, Victoria Mxenge, treasurer

of the UDF Natal, a leading civilrights lawyer and part of the defence team in the UDF Treason Trials, was brutally murdered outside her house by four 'unknown' assailants. Almost four years before, to the day, her husband, Griffiths, a leading activist and lawyer, was also murdered. His body was found with 45 wounds and his throat cut.

Two leading trade unionists and UDF activists in Durban, Thabo Mokoena and Toto Dweba, were hacked to death in September 1985. Nunu Kheswa, a founding member of the Natal COSAS region, and also of a number of youth organisations, and well known for leading the singing of freedom songs at major UDF rallies, was mysteriously stabbed to death. Several other stu-



*Five-year-old Emily Segole holds one of the teargas canisters fired into the Entokosweni Early Learning Centre, Soweto*

*Nuna Kheswa — One of the many silenced by death squads*



dent and youth leaders have disappeared or been found murdered.

In the Eastern Cape, where the resistance and organisation of the people have reached new levels, the mysterious murders of leading activists have reached alarming proportions.

### **Goniwe, Calata, Mkhonto and Mhlauli**

A typical example was the murder of four leading educationalists and community activists. They were Matthew Goniwe, a teacher, organiser of the Cradock Youth Association (CRADOYA), and, since 1985, UDF rural organiser and activist in the Cradock Residents' Organisation (CRADORA); Fort Calata, grandson of James Calata (a former Secretary-General of the ANC), a teacher and founding member of CRADOYA and CRADORA; Sparrow Mkhonto, chairperson of CRADORA; and Sicelo Mhlauli, principal of the Fezekile Secondary School, active in CRADORA and a person who played an important role in establishing the Southern region of the UDF. The four left Cradock to attend a meeting with UDF leaders in Port Elizabeth. After the meeting they left for Cradock. When fears were expressed for their safety, they assured everyone that they would not stop for anyone except uniformed police.

They were never to be seen alive again. First the bodies of Sparrow and Sicelo were found. Both were handcuffed and Sparrow had been shot. Later the bodies of Matthew and Fort were discovered, charred and mutilated beyond recognition. Part of Fort Calata's hand had been chopped off. The families were only allowed to look at them from a distance and behind a glass panel.

The police tried to suggest that the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was responsible. Few believe this. Firstly arrangements for the trip were made at short notice and over the

phone (only the police have the capacity to tap phones); there were no indications that the car had been forced to stop and in any case on the night of the murders there had been a police road block near to the scene of the crime. Finally, AZAPO does not have an organised presence in the Eastern Cape.

Three leading members of the Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation (PEBCO) and the UDF have disappeared, and are feared dead. They are: Hashe (general secretary of PEBCO), Godolozzi (PEBCO president) and Galela (organising secretary of PEBCO and member of the General Workers' Union of South Africa). An appointment had been made over the phone for them to go and meet members of the British embassy at the airport. They were never seen again. The British embassy denies making such a call. The police told the families that AZAPO had killed them. However, the families have not been able to see the bodies. Hashe's daughter said that while she was in detention (11 months in solitary confinement) security branch officers told her that her father:

*"was inviting problems for himself and was going to get what he was asking for."*

It is clear that the security forces are using the so-called 'Black versus Black' conflict as a pretext for eliminating its opponents. They have masqueraded as members of particular organisations and in the case of Port Elizabeth have largely penetrated AZAPO structures. All indications are that the key AZAPO activist, the Reverend Maqina, is really an enemy agent. The UDF and AZAPO have issued statements saying that fake pamphlets, graffiti and mysterious attacks on homes and against personnel were the work of agents of apartheid. These statements are backed up by the fact that on several occasions the

firebombing of houses belonging to anti-government forces has been carried out by groups including Whites using transport from a government department.

### **Vigilantes**

Another instrument being used by the regime and its agents to eliminate all forms of opposition is the use of vigilantes. These groups have been given semi-legal status, and operate under the direction of bantustan leaders and Black local authorities. Reports indicate that the vigilantes will become an important instrument of state terrorism. They are roaming the streets of townships, fully armed, causing havoc and mayhem. Houses are burned down, people are assaulted and killed, families are forced out of townships. They use premises and transport of local government administration and, in almost every case, they enjoy the added protection of the police and the SADF.

Early this year the first batch of 120 Black 'peace officers' graduated. They are to carry out duties as auxiliary police in the townships, and will be under the jurisdiction of the Black community councils. They will carry firearms and have powers of arrest. The regime's role here, and its attitude to the vigilantes, is clearly expressed by Gillis van der Walt, Director General of the 'Department of Co-operation and Development', when he candidly said that they will protect the communities against "criminal elements" and the "violent activities of revolutionaries." The ominous warning in this statement can be judged by the following cases.

Dr Thali, 'mayor' of Thabong township, said that under the guidance of council members patrols were organised and inspired by the old axiom, "spare the rod and spoil the child." He later disclosed that patrols had been used to break up gatherings of:

"arsonists ... and potential stone-throwers with no more violence than the energetic use of sjamboks, and the results were most satisfying."

Earlier reports indicated that these vigilantes have gone berserk. They have rounded up people (either indiscriminately, or working through prepared lists) and taken them to Room 29 in the Philip Smit Centre, owned by the Southern Free State Development Board. They have made their victims strip naked and they have mercilessly

flogged them with sjamboks. Several community councillors have been involved. Many people have been seriously injured and deaths have occurred. A pathologist, examining a 17-year-old victim, said he had been savagely beaten, with weals and bruises extending from his upper back to mid calf. A child lost an eye after a sjambok attack, and a three-year-old suffered a broken thigh bone.

The National Union of Mineworkers has documented hundreds of similar examples. The police have failed to arrest anyone, and claim that Room 29 is:

"used as a type of charge office, where primarily influx offenders are processed."

This is not surprising, since it has been proved that the vigilantes use transport owned by the South Free State Development Board, and that after the vigilantes have finished their 'softening up' the victims are taken to the local police station.

### **Buthelezi: Violence in Natal**

A similar picture emerges in Natal. It is increasingly evident that the regime is colluding with Buthelezi and some sections of Inkatha to carry out a reign of terror in the region.

Even as early as 1976 there were strong indications that Buthelezi had been responsible for the outbreak of violence between the migrant workers from Natal and the residents of Soweto and other African townships. In October 1983, after years of attempts to force the students of Ngoye to accept his leadership, it was decided to resolve the issue forcibly. A meeting to be addressed by Buthelezi was organised on the campus. Leaflets went around threatening death to anyone who opposed the meeting. It was common knowledge that the meeting would be used as a pretext to unleash violence against the students. The students unsuccessfully tried to get an injunction to stop the meeting. Inkatha supporters were bussed into the campus, and at 5.30, chanting slogans, they carried out a vicious and well-planned attack against the students. Eye witnesses say that they were systematically attacking 'political students' and knew their room numbers. Any rooms that had 'Free Mandela' stickers were damaged. One student, F Marivate, was singled out for having disrupted an earlier Inkatha meeting, and was beaten to

death. Inkatha Women's Brigade members forced the women students to chant, "Buthelezi is our leader." Neither the university security nor the police intervened. The premeditated massacre left four students dead and 113 injured (many seriously). The scene of devastation, eyewitnesses said, "had to be seen to be believed."

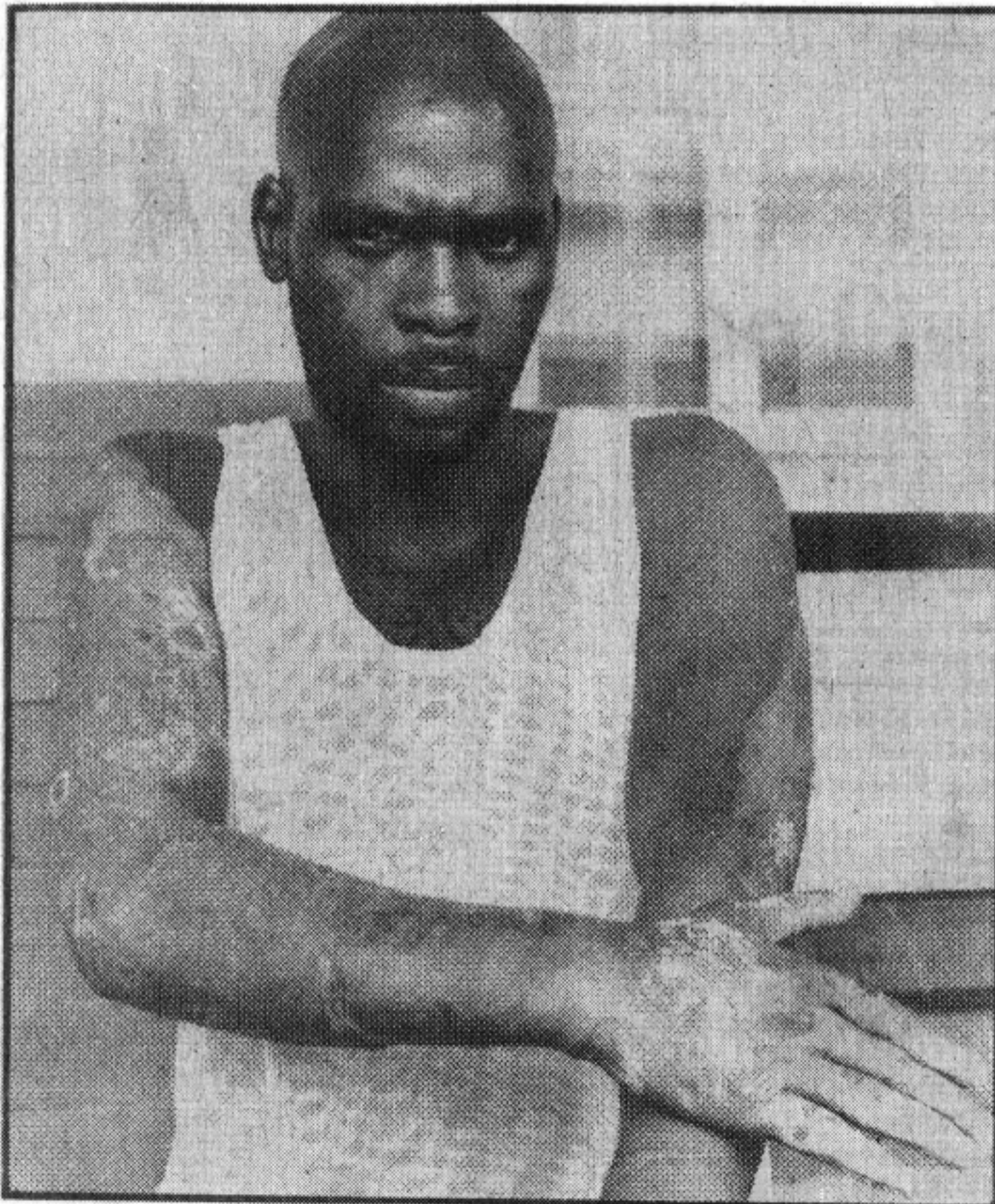
Later, Gatsha, heaping praise on Inkatha members, said they did no more than defend the honour of himself and their king. Inkatha has also carried out a campaign of terror against the UDF and its affiliates. This has reached new heights since 1983, when the issue of incorporation of Lamontville, Hambanathi and nearby townships into KwaZulu was put on the agenda. The majority of people were opposed to this. Inkatha supporters carry out constant forays into Lamontville and other townships, often resulting in deaths. An attempt by Inkatha to break up the

funeral of Dube, a community leader opposed to incorporation, and who was assassinated, led to serious clashes resulting in the deaths of five Inkatha supporters.

### **Hit Lists: Reign of Terror**

In September 1985, Sabelo (Umlazi 'mayor' and Inkatha leader) warned all UDF supporters to leave Umlazi. He also threatened to close institutions which were "nests of rival organisations." Since then, homes of UDF supporters have been burned down, and many families forced to flee.

P Gaza, the chairman of the Umlazi Residents' Association, had to go into hiding after his house was burned down by vigilantes. He emerged from hiding to reveal that there was a plan by top-ranking Inkatha officials to have him killed. A hit list of UDF supporters and sympathisers in Umlazi had been drawn up. There was also evidence that the police were to have arrested him



*Umlazi UDF activist Bright Msomi badly burnt when his home was attacked by Gatsha Buthelezi's impis. His brother Michael, aged 13, was shot and partially paralysed, and his sister Florence was shot in the left arm in the attack. Msomi had to leave hospital because he was being looked for by armed attackers.*

and handed him over to Inkatha supporters.

Umlazi residents received anonymous pamphlets threatening to burn and 'remove' the homes of activists. In September 1985, Gatsha addressed an Inkatha rally, issuing a warning that they:

"would clean out hornets' nests ... banish from our midst the agents of death and destruction."

After this, armed Inkatha supporters invaded Lamontville, indiscriminately attacking people, killing at least six and injuring many more.

In the same month, armed Inkatha mobs attacked boycotting students and burned the homes of UDF supporters. The police looked on as armed mobs entered houses, dragged students out and beat them. A police spokesman said they had been requested by members of the public not to intervene. In Imbali, UDF and youth activists have been consistently attacked. Many homes, vehicles and taxis have been destroyed. The Inkatha slogan is, "We don't attack houses, we kill dogs." Inkatha blames the Imbali Civic Association for organising a school boycott and solidarity action with the striking BTR SARMCOL workers. This is the justification they give for attacks against them.

Inkatha is also suspected of murdering J Ngubane, who was on a hit list. People in the Imbali township live in constant fear, and many sleep in the bush for safety.

A memorial service which was being held for Mrs Victoria Mxenge, was attacked by Inkatha supporters, resulting in the death of at least 19 mourners.

Likewise, in KwaMashu, a Methodist minister was frogmarched through the townships by vigilantes and made to chant "UDF is a dog." His church was burned down because Inkatha claimed that it was being used by the KwaMashu Youth League (KYL). Many KYL members have been killed: Toto Magubane's body was found with his arms and legs hacked off.

Independent surveys, court cases and other reports clearly show that at present in Natal Inkatha has become a major instrument for the destruction of any democratic opposition forces. It has also become a champion campaigner against disinvestment, against mass militant resistance (including armed struggle), against universal franchise and a unitary South African

state.

It is therefore not surprising that accolades of praise are heaped on Gatsha, not only by the Nationalist Party but by the Conservative Party of South Africa. He has become a star performer on South African television, and the South African media generally extol his virtues. He is feted at Downing Street, in the White House, in Tel Aviv and other western corridors of power.

### **Resistance Continues**

State terrorism in all its forms has the objective of destroying any real form of opposition to the apartheid system. It is clear that the massive and unprecedented use of state terrorism, death squads and vigilantes cannot succeed in halting our march to freedom. The brutality of the regime and its agents only reflects their very serious crisis. Throughout our country, in urban and increasingly in remote and rural areas, our people are showing by their actions that they are unwilling to live in the old way, and if need be they are prepared to die for their freedom. Our love of life is becoming synonymous with our love for freedom. "Victory or death" is our watchword. New organisational structures are developing and increasingly there is a growing realisation of the dialectical relationship between the pillars of our revolution:

- The growth and development of a mass militant organisation,
- The consolidation of ANC underground structures,
- The consolidation of Umkhonto We Sizwe and the escalation of the people's war,
- The international campaign to isolate the apartheid regime.

A speaker at a funeral in Cape Town said:

"The state is the perpetrator of violence in this country. Across the country, communities are rising up saying they can no longer bear the burden of apartheid and repression."

The maturing revolutionary situation makes it imperative that the National Consultative Conference decision of July 1985, to spare no effort to raise the political and military struggle to new heights, must be undertaken with the utmost vigour and determination.

Apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be destroyed.

# LESS NEWS GETS IN AND LESS GETS OUT

## Women Political Prisoners in South Africa

*By Claris*

On paper, the South African prison regulations allow for somewhat softer treatment for women prisoners than for men. Therefore, when it was known that conditions seemed to be improving on Robben Island and in Pretoria — the main centres for men sentenced for political 'offences' — it was assumed that conditions for women sentenced prisoners must be improving also. There was no information to the contrary.

Early in 1984, a little information became available. Dorothy Nyembe, an ANC women's leader from Natal, was released after serving a 15-year sentence in Kroonstad and Barberton prisons; and an application was brought before the Rand Supreme Court by Barbara Hogan, a White woman serving ten years in Pretoria for ANC activities. This information, sparse as it was, was enough to make it clear that conditions for women political prisoners were substantially worse than those for men.

We are still forced to rely heavily on the testimony of these two women, for we still have very little other news; and this in itself is a matter for concern.

In mid-1984, we knew that there were some eight sentenced women political prisoners in South Africa. We had names: Regan Shope (three years), Emma Ntimbana (one year), Jane Ntsatha (five years), Thandi Modise (eight years), Joanna Lourens (four years), Lilian Keagile (six years), Barbara Hogan (ten-years), Patricia Hanekom (three years and two months) We knew that they were somehow distributed among three gaols — Pretoria, Kroonstad and Warmbaths. Since then, other women have been sentenced — including two unnamed girls of 15 and 18, on charges of 'public violence' and 'arson,' which, in the context of demonstrations and repression in the townships must be regarded as political charges — but we do not know exactly how many there

are, or where they are being held. We can assume, though, that there are still far fewer women than men serving sentences for political 'offences,' and that therefore the regime still has no difficulty in keeping these women in tiny groups of ones, twos and threes, and usually in remote country gaols.

### **Small Groups, Remote Prisons**

It should be remembered that the policy of the regime is to keep political prisoners in separate sections in the gaols. These small groups of women are therefore isolated from other prisoners as well as from the world.

Prisoners held in small groups, sometimes for years on end, suffer more severely, because there is less variety of companionship. In such a group, too, letters and visits are fewer, and this restriction on contact with the outside world causes further suffering. In any group of political prisoners, a letter or a visit to one is a source of interest and excitement to all; whatever news that comes in is shared and eagerly discussed; sometimes the visitor or the letter may even bring news about friends and family of more than one prisoner. This passage of communication works both ways; information going out by visit or letter may be passed on to other families and friends. The fewer the visits and letters, the less news gets in and the less news gets out.

Relatives and friends of prisoners in South Africa often don't have the money for the fare to visit them. Pretoria (which seems to be used for White women) is some 30 miles from Johannesburg, and therefore fairly easy to reach from there; but it is 1 000 miles from the Cape. Cape Town is hard to reach from the Transvaal. To visit a remote country gaol, however, means a long and expensive journey for all visitors. Kroonstad is 150 miles from Johannesburg and

over 650 miles from the Cape, and Warmbaths is 100 miles north of Johannesburg. Some women prisoners — including Dorothy Nyembe — have also been held in Barberton and Nelspruit, two prisons under the same command, about 200 miles east of Johannesburg, the nearest city. In the late sixties it was discovered that some of a group of Black women in Nelspruit had had no visitors at all for two years. The prison regulations providing for visits become meaningless if visitors cannot get to the prison.

### **No Observers, No Checks**

There is another serious disadvantage suffered by prisoners in such conditions. If the prison is a hundred or more miles from the centres of government, there is less likelihood of visits from observers independent of the Department of Justice and the Department of Prisons. Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party MP, for example, has in the past visited the large concentrations of men political prisoners on Robben Island and in Pretoria; but at the time when Black women were imprisoned in Nelspruit and White women in Barberton, she never visited them, presumably because a visit to the Eastern Transvaal would have taken her from her parliamentary duties for at least two full days.

The visits of the International Red Cross have been an exception to this, as their representatives have, according to their brief, visited every prison in the country where political prisoners are held. Unfortunately, these inspectors have no power to bring about any change in prison conditions, and the information they have gathered is not available to us.

### **Deliberate Policy of Isolation**

This isolation of women prisoners, and the consequent shortage of information about them, is no accident. Safe from outside inspection, and therefore from protest and criticism, the Department of Prisons and the local commanding officer can interpret the prison regulations as they choose, or disregard them altogether.

Even regulations covering the medical care of prisoners are often ignored. Barberton Prison has by now become well known for this; in the court case of 1983, which arose from the death of three prisoners there who were not sentenced for political 'offences,' evidence was given to show that new arrivals had been sent out to do heavy physical work without first having a medical examination — a clear contravention of the regulations. Some years earlier, in the same prison, Dorothy Nyembe was refused medical attention:



*Dorothy Nyembe — still fighting  
after spending fifteen years in gaol*



*Thandi Modise —  
Soldier of Unkhonto we Sizwe*

"... I was sick and I went to see the doctor, and when I came there he said, "What do you want? You want us now to help you ... Well, we will never." I remember I never received medicine until October — for eight months from when I came to Barberton I never received medicine. I was asthmatic."

Barbara Hogan complained that she had not been given urgent dental treatment.

In the case of Dorothy Nyembe, the regulations regarding letters and visits were also deliberately broken:

"I wrote every month home but they never got anything. Only at ten years, when I had four years left, then they let me have letters and visitors. My daughter made applications to visit but they always failed."

Sometimes, when a visit does take place, it is worthless because the visitors cannot talk to the person they have come to visit. Dorothy Nyembe describes how:

"In Kroonstad we had to talk in Afrikaans. Sometimes people came but they couldn't use their language."

Behind the walls of secrecy, prison officers make decisions that may be determined by expediency, by whim or by their individual opinions regarding what is or is not suitable for political prisoners, for Black prisoners or for women. In spite of the regulations that allow political prisoners facilities for study — and which have been in force nearly all the time on the Island and in Pretoria — Dorothy Nyembe was not allowed to study. In Barberton, though, she was allowed to do needlework. The White women political prisoners in Barberton in the mid-sixties were allowed to study, and they were allowed needlework; but — in spite of what is clearly laid down in the regulations — the commanding officer refused permission to those who played small musical instruments to have their instruments with them. The reason he gave for this was that he had never heard of women prisoners having musical instruments.

### **"Totally in the Hands of the Prison"**

In Barbara Hogan's affidavit of March/April 1984, in which she complained that she was kept completely separate from all other prisoners, she expressed fears that she might not survive the remaining nine years of her sentence, and said:

"I am totally in the hands of the prison authorities in respect of every facet of my life." Every prisoner is in this position.

By keeping constant pressure on the authorities, prisoners themselves may win certain 'privileges' (a term the Pretoria Department of Prisons uses for any kind of facility), and here the larger group may be more effective because it has more nuisance value. But such is the power the prison authorities have over the lives of prisoners, prison officers can always make prisoners' lives far more uncomfortable than prisoners can make theirs. 'Privileges' can easily be removed; on the Island they were gained, lost and regained more than once over the years, and by being moved to Pollsmoor in 1983, Nelson Mandela was, at a stroke, deprived of all exercise outside his cell. Letters can be censored or never posted at all, visits may be non-existent; though Barbara Hogan succeeded in seeing a lawyer, prisoners' requests to see legal advisers can be — and often are — ignored.

### **Outside Pressure and Campaigning**

The struggle of political prisoners for better conditions can be effective only if it is supported by pressure from outside the prison, from organisations and agencies inside and outside South Africa. Until now, the women political prisoners have been neglected by campaigners, because it was not known how harsh their conditions were. No one knew for a long time that Comrade Dorothy Nyembe had been refused treatment for her asthma; if those outside the prison had known, they could have campaigned for it, as they have campaigned in the past for medical treatment for prisoners on the Island.

The situation is becoming more serious; first, because the number of women prisoners is increasing, and second because there are signs that the regime is taking steps to extend its information blackout to male prisoners as well — prisoners are being moved from the Island to more remote prisons, and there has been a complaint from one mother whose visit to her son in Helderstroom was stopped because she spoke to him in their own language.

The need is urgent for those outside to campaign for more information about the conditions under which all our comrades are being imprisoned, and to campaign for an improvement in these conditions.



# PRESIDENT O R TAMBO ON TALKS

The ANC met many people both openly and in other circumstances last year. They came from the cream of democratic trade unions locked in mortal battle with the racist system of apartheid. They came from the civic associations and other democratic organisations, from student organisations to left and right, academics seeking solutions to the problems of South Africa. They came from the board rooms of both South African and international industrial and financial power houses. They came from the very heart of yellow political parties of the Republic administration of Ronald Reagan and to the blood-red friends of the Blacks from the socialist countries and left political parties in the West. Journalists came — from obscure newspapers right up to the pinnacle of the opinion makers of the world. It was however the meeting with the South African businessmen and soon thereafter with the Progressive Federal Party which greatly excited the media and drew a lot of comment from virtually everyone both locally and on the international level.

Why are the barons of international and local multi-national corporations desperately meeting the ANC now when the ANC has been in existence for 74 years? The president of the ANC, Oliver R Tambo, told Radio Freedom what the ANC is telling this particular group:

"They assess the apartheid system in terms of the profits or the losses it yields. It has always been clear that for them the apartheid system will be useful so long as it delivers the goods ... If they reach the conclusion that indeed, the apartheid system is going to destroy their interests, destroy their business, the whole economy, at that point they will want to remove the apartheid system and will even join with forces that are set to destroy that system provided they are sure that the system will not be replaced with something



worse for their economy, for their pockets, for their profits. But to the extent that our struggle had demonstrated that there is no future for them or for the economy — to that extent they will begin to move against the regime. Because, within limits, they are still part of it, it means that can be an additional lever, a position which favours our struggle. And that is how we see their role.

"Therefore, if it serves the purpose of weakening the ability of the regime to resist, if it helps to destroy the system, then we welcome that ... It is the armed component of our struggle which causes the greatest threat for the apartheid system and its economy and under conditions of our struggle there is instability. They would rather, therefore, that the change were smooth, so that they have time to be adjusting to the change, by way of reforms, which means that there would be no rapid change transformation, and that we would be talking and arguing about things while they are making their profits, for 10 years, 20 years for 30 years, while they are making profits ... It is the armed component which has made them want to come to the ANC ... to see whether there is prospect of this being suspended.

"We naturally told them we could not abandon armed struggle. Armed struggle — it was a product, a direct product, of the apartheid

system, of the existence of the apartheid system. And this affects the extent to which they can really come on our side.

"What replaces the apartheid system? What would be their position in the new system? Well, they cannot look forward to the kind of system that the ANC has in mind under the Freedom Charter, but at least they understood the reasons why the Freedom Charter had those provisions or why our people thought of putting those provisions in the Freedom Charter. They also want to reform the apartheid system in such a way that the end result is a system which secures their business but is minus racial discrimination. And that is what they are looking for — a system that falls short of the stipulations of the Freedom

Charter but moves away from a system that thrives on violence and produces counter-violence. Well, we do not think that such a system is different. We certainly do not think that the regime and its supporters are really thinking of something which may be slightly different. We certainly do not think that the regime and its supporters are really thinking of an alternative to the apartheid system. They are thinking of something which may be slightly different. It might even be called something else, not apartheid, but would in practice be apartheid. We must protect our struggle against forces which sound correct but whose objective is entirely to destroy the cause, the objective, of our revolutionary struggle".

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### ODE TO LA GUMA

*In the fog of the seasons end  
End the life of a bleeding stick  
In the fog of the seasons end*

*And in night of the season of anomy  
Comes the headless angels  
Searching, among the bruised flowers  
A corpsened grain for Leopard Hills*

*And they are here  
The talons of whiter birds  
And they are here  
In the stone country*

*They have ended the life  
Of the bleeding stick  
That unveiled the strife*

*Osiris at the great horizons  
Dreaming into waking  
Waking into dreaming  
You will slumber with him  
As chief priest of ebony understreams*

*In whiter and greenery  
In Ivory and ebonery  
Of the greiest  
Cementrial silences*

*Till throught the assegai of Kimaathi  
A walk in the white night  
In the time of the butcher bird  
Yields  
A walk in the black light  
In the time of the sunbird*

*And they are here  
The talons of whiter birds, but  
Mother Idoto in the ebony garden  
Keeps Makana's fire awake.*

*Chimba Milonga  
Kitwe, Zambia.*

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Elijah Barayi elected first President of COSATU

