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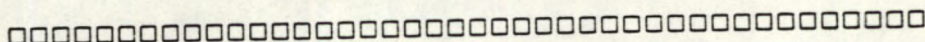
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AUGUST ISSUE, 1983

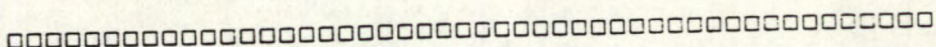


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EDITORIAL:

The Three Soldiers of the People's Army

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

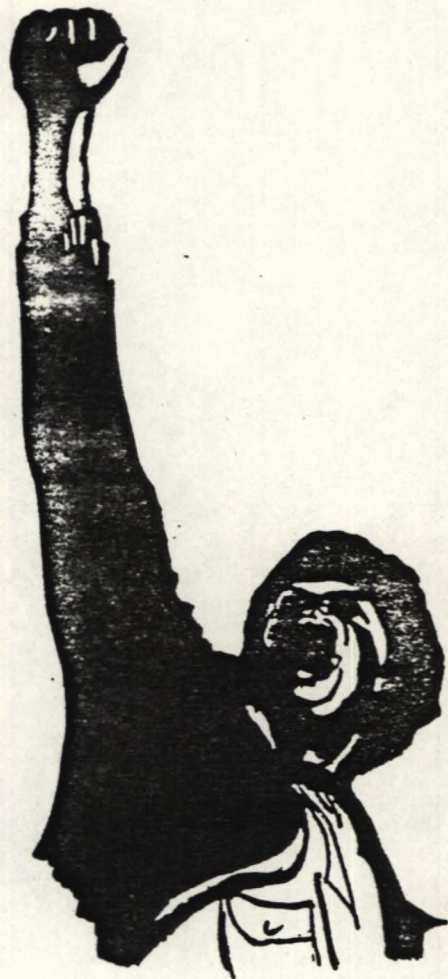
The significance of June 9th 1983 was not, however, confined to South Africa. The campaign to save the lives of our comrades had become a major international issue. This was reflected at different levels of the international community. Pleas that the three men should be treated as prisoners of war had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

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

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

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

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



BUILDING A COMMUNITY OF MAN

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That was forty years ago.

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

That was thirty years ago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



WE ARE GOVERNMENT TERRORISTS

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE BANTUSTANS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Bastions of 'Free Enterprise'

The past year has seen a dramatic highlighting of the bantustans as 'free enterprise' entre- 9

preneurial zones, and ideologically committed bastions of the West.

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

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

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

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

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

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

'They Trample the People'

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

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

References:

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

ANC FREEDOM FIGHTERS





VOICES OF PROTEST:

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

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

STATE WITNESSES IN POLITICAL TRIALS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Trials Without Witnesses

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

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

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

Torture, Threats, Bribes

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

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

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

Torture of potential witnesses is not only physical, but also psychological. Psychiatric opinion holds that prolonged periods spent in solitary confinement constitute torture as severe as electric shock torture. Isolation of this sort is of course the norm in South Africa for witnesses and defendants alike. Indeed, the very strategy of mass detentions made not on the basis of information received but rather in order to obtain information is designed to blur the distinction between potential witness and potential defendant, and keep everyone in ignorance of their true status.

An unnamed youth giving evidence in a 'terrorism' trial in Kimberley told the court he felt he would go mad because he spent all the time in the cell talking to himself. Two recent trials in particular have drawn attention to the effect of prolonged isolation on young schoolchildren. These are the recently concluded trial of Oscar Mpetha and others for events arising out of the 1980 bus boycott in the Cape and the trial of five youths in Kimberley in connection with the school boycott in Galeshewe in September 1980. Both relied heavily on the evidence of very youthful witnesses who were isolated from their community by both detention before the trial and *in camera* proceedings in court during which they gave their testimony anonymously.

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

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

Gross interference by the security police with state witnesses has come out in the evidence of many trials. Witnesses who have been tortured into making statements are offered favours as a reward, in the knowledge that if they backtrack they can only expect more assault and isolation. One witness who admitted lying because he would have done anything to get out of detention said it was easier for him to get cigarettes and other favours when he was 'obliging.' Security police in Kimberley gave a Christmas Eve barbecue for detained witnesses in the Galeshewe trial, to which the head of the local security police and the chief prosecuting counsel in the case were reportedly invited. Witnesses who had testified were congratulated, others were encouraged to do so. In spite of this attempt to compromise him, one of the 'guests' later testified for the defence after his release from custody.

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

One of the four defendants in the Kemp-

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

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

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

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

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

Voices of Protest Will Not Be Silenced.

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

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

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

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

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DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

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