

Wht happns to those who refuse to conform to apartheid?
At first you are out of step; ultimately you are guilty of treason.

14 yrs ago, ran out bk as SBs arrivd, left kitchn machines; into undergrowth, over fence . . . never to return.

1. Our home in SA. Typical white suburb, pool; childrn at local W schools; Enjoyd advantages o being W - holidays (3 times yr) - W beaches, domestics. Our childrn livd schizo lives between moral attitudes in home & those directly outside - neighbours, schools. No concessions on race

Became accustomed to livng in certain way. Phones, mails, cars, raids. Were nt plungd violently into situation, but rather easd into it ovr yrs as new laws, new restrictions were imposd, as every loophole tt permittd pol activity or prop was pluggd. We changd our methods.

thus: 53, bannd frm 26 orgs & from all meetngs. Ths stoppd me frm PTA & publicly attendng meetngs, but restrictions were less stringent thn later - went to cinema; hd friends in home. Kept on wth job as journalist, edited magazine.

But 7 yrs later, 60, afr jail, severer bans - gatherngs, more thn 2 people *(some said 2 or more) - cld nt write, publish. Adaptd methd o writng - stove - Greatr precautions about meetgs

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WHAT BEING BANNED MEANS

Supp of C, now Internal Sec Act 6. Anyone listd undr Act liable to be bannd. Bans are tailored to fit subject. Never chargd, no trials. Henceforth must live undr crippling restrictions.

Helps reduce prison pop - you are yr own jailer

Bans invariably designd to stop all pol or public activity & rob you of yr job. Thus, teachers banned frm teachng, wkr frs frm enterng any factory; I, as writr, ws bannd from ever being publishd & from any contact whatsoever wth any buildg, firm, etc, connectd in any way wth publishng

Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu hs reportd to Orlando Police stn every Wed since 65. Mother of 5, midwife, she is barrd frm going to church, must stay at home every evng aftr 6, every weekend, all public holidays. Hs to get permission to visit Walter; whn children's friends come to hse, must sit alone in bedroom or kitchn (bannd frm gatherngs) Brother & othr relatives who live nearby may never visit her.

Juby Mayet, whose husband is dead & who supports her 8 children, has been journalist fr 22 yrs, wkd as sub-editor on ecumental 'Voice.' Nw she hs been bannd, cannt write fr newsppr, cannt enter premises, cannt assist in any way wth publication. She hd found a blk journalists union & last yr ws fined fr being in possession of an undesirable publication - a Human Rights Cttee bulletin. Detaind fr 5 mths in 78 Confind to Lenasia. Hs teachers cert, bt barred frm teachng. Yet never chargd wth any offence nor pt on trial - trial & sentences are conductd in secret & in absence o persn concernd.

Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa was ordained as priest i 65,whn his bishop commissiond hm to go & preach to all nations & people. In 77 he was banned. Nw confind to magisterial dist o Pretoria, & t smalltownship, Soshanguve, confined at night & weekends, doesnt knw whethr breakng law whn he says mass in hs parish or whn he ministers to parishioner. Whn evng comes, & they are ready to receive him, he must run home, where nobody is permittd to visit hm.Lives alone, as he is a Catholic priest, & therefore celibate. He is workg fr a doctorate on liberation theology.

People released frm jail, always immdiately bannd. Aftr 5, 10, 15 yrs on Robben I or Pretiao Central, bannd fr 5-yr periods tt are constantly renewed - a second sentence. Sometimes intheir own areas, but wth blks oftn to some small & remote place or resettlement camp.

Mosibodi Mangena servd 5 yrs on RI - he ws formerly EC member o Blk Peoples' Convention. Released, bannd, banishd to Mahwelereng townshp i Nothn Tvl.Had never been there, knew nobody.Lives alone in 2-roomd hse, unemployd, no way o earng livng, may nt enter nearby town. Depends on handouts frm relatives & friends.

'Voice' visitd Dimbaza recently, very bleak resettlemnt camp,found there no less thn 86 families o former pol. prisonrs who hd been deportd there as releasd frm RI during 60's. Most hd banng ordrs...some hd died in Dimbaza.Pligh of families describd as inhuman, & tt they were livng in abject poverty, bt tt they still displayd the indominabable spirit which they had before they were deportd

Best story I found: 'Post', Jan. 79. "A Durban magistrate relaxed the banning order on David Gasa, former ~~director~~ of the Umlazi residents association, to allow him to go to prison. He was recently convicted of contravening banning order, but prison was outside area to which he was confined by his bans, so he would have been breaking the law without the Mag's dispensation."

CLOSING DOORS. Tremendous surge of political activity & protest met with more repressive legislation. ~~Proxxxxxxxign~~ - illegal to defy laws by way of protest - Defiance of Unjust Laws; Potato Boycott; collecting of funds to assist political prisoners. Defence & Aid Fund. By this time, I was already legally barred from Women's Fed, Peace Council, Congress of Demos Congress of Peoples - raided. At end of year, Treason Trial, 4½ yrs. For some time the TT made organising political work easier - brought together all strata, people prohibited from meeting

WATERSHED, 1960 Sharpeville. Banning of ANC & PAC. State of E. Sisterhood. Militancy of women in jail. & children outside. 51, last attempt to organise black convention & 'stay at home.' But many raids & arrests. Mandela underground.

NELSON MANDELA. From Transkei, came to get education. became lawyer, set up practice. Tall, handsome 'giant' who grew in stature. Remember meeting him when he was underground. Calm, cheerful, though physically so vulnerable, vanished into night. 18 months later, betrayed, arrested, tried, jailed.

HOUSE ARREST & 90 DAYS

Early in 60's two devastatng new laws - house arrest & 90 days. Rusty soon house-arrestd. Allowd out durg day to wk. Report to police every day except weekends. No visitors.

Night after, Toni's friends - R in kitchen

Our rule: Never go to jail unnecessarily. Therefore observe those parts of law tt did nt hve to be brokn for good political reasons. Toni's fight wth Vorster.

SB's wld come any time o day or night - 'to check up'.

Ours was quiet street - the sound of a car at 2 a.m. And for yrs after in London.

Quiet evngs - loose paving stone. Sunday lunches gone. Few with whom we cld communicate. Special dispensation fr R to communicate with me.

RIVONIA. Not bk by 6. Leadng people. 90 days. Thn brought to court & charged, Nelson joind wth thm. Nearly a year. World-wide interest. Death sentences. In t end, 8 life, 1 discharged.

Days after Rivonia. New trials, arrests, leavng home, hidng. Leavng Leavng was a betrayal, as survival. Henceforth peripheral.

Those who stayed.

BRAM FISCHER. Counsel in Rivonia trial. Kind of man. Family bkground Changing himself. Respected lawyer. CP. Mine cases. Arrestd shortly aftr I left, 14 on trial fr CP membership, Grantd bail to plead before privy council, gave word to return. He did, but thn disappeared. left letter explaing actions, tt he cld no longr serve justice through courts. Changd appearance. But ultimately betrayd - not willingly but thru torture of others. He died in jail.

WINNIE MANDELA.

17 men & 5 wmn were arraingd before t SA Supreme court in Dec 69 on charges relatng to banned ANC, with 'split' charges - sch as discussng matter affectng ANW & discussng hw to raise money fr ANC. They had been arrestd 7 months bfore, kept in solitary confinemt. 3 o those originally arrestd hd already died - more of that soon. Acquittd, re-arrestd. Months later a new trial, All found not guilty.

Winnie hd spent 491 days in prison, mostly in solitary.

She ws bannd, she hd already been arrestd many times, Applied to visit Nelson - 2 yrs. Refusd. New bans Finally grantd. Heart condition, nt permittd to hve sistr liv wth hr.

Durg Sowet uprising, againtaind. Thn early one mornng, police came, loaded hr & belongings on to van, drove her far away to location near Brandfort, where she lives under primitive conditions

Her resistance, defiance, continued convctions

DETENTION - DEATHS

Laws in SA under which SB may hold people fr as long as they wish, totally incommunicado, are a license to torture and to murder.

90 days, 180 days plus repetitions. SA official: "enactd principally wth t object o protectng State witnesses frm murder, intimidation & injury." Under this protection, since 63, There hve been 55 deaths of which we know, deaths in detention.

Altho various laws under which detainees held, since 67 the one used most & feared most is Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Anyone at all may b held indefinitely & completely, absolutely incommun. as the law specifically excludes access by relatives, lawyers, priests, or anyone else.

Also, detainee is excluded frm havng access to anyone at all; & official information relatng to detainee is also prohibitd. The courts may nt pronounce on the validity of sh detention, nor may they order t release of a detainee under any circumstances.

Name of Act shld nt mislead. A detainee doesnt hve to b suspectd o terrorist act. A protest against a particular law, a strike, a bus boycott, may allresult in charges of Terror. Dean - money fr spectacles.

No time limit on detention nor on interrogation. Absolute exclusion o access gives SB gruesome & terrible license - to torture.

Detainee vanishes frm sight. Conditions of hs life - tt life itself - nw wholly in hands o SB; more specifically under control o certain men whose names became familiar: Swanepoel, van Wyk, Erasmus, Baker, van Niekerk - frm some inquests, some inquiries, many trials & affidavits.

Eventually, aftr weeks, months, even years (Benjamin Ramotse ws detain'd in sol. fr 700 days, durng which time wife nt evn infmrd arrest'd) - detainee reappears, evn if only as corpse in coffin. Some reappear as accused in pol trials - once formally charg'd hve access to lawyers etc. Some, aftr the long nightmare, simply released - no redress fr t long nightmare o sufferng, loss o job, o home. And some appear, still under detention, still incommunicado frm all except SB's, as witnesses in pol. trials. Still detainees until end.

Wht does name STEVE BIKO mean to you? No 46. (Nt deaths i police custody, bt only those held undr Security laws.)

Lodsmart, Solwandle Ngudle, one of abt 20 'hanging'
Strong, cheerful outgoing. Evidence of torture. Banned: illegal to pub any statements made i hs lifetime. Witnesses also bannd

Naturak causes is favourite - no inquest. Fell out of window - Saloojee, Timol. Two men died after slipping on piece of soap while hvg shower. Kgoathe, excessive lung infection & kidney failure. SBs said on hot day, K hd shower, latr said he slipp'd, fell against wall. Magistrate said he couldnt find anyone responsible. (2 SBs gave same ev)

Modipane, said SB, sustain'd injuries aftr slipping on soap.

Imam Abdullah Haron, prom religious & community leadr in CT

Joseph Mdluli. p-m, family excluded; lawyer who demanded 2nd pm ws himself detain'd. T wife remain'd public & persistent. ANC i Ldn obtain'd Photos showng severe brusings & injuries. Subsequently brokn ribs, lungs waterlogg'd & blood congest'd, brain congest'd wth haemorrhages....4 police tried, acquitt'd.

BIKO. Re-cap. Died Sep 77. Educat'd, intellectual, articulate, foundr BC, mt overseas visitors, brilliant; expell'd University 3rd yr fr pol act. President o SASO. Founded BPC. Bann'd. Arrest'd, detain'd, several times, once fr 101 days
Detain'd 18 Aug 77, died 26 days latr.

Left in sol until 6 Sept. Clothes hd been tkn away, left nakd in cell; not tkn fr minimu exercise; nt allowed washng facilities. Interr, kept handcuff'd & shackled by leg irons. Remain'd on mat in interr. offices wth feet, ankles & hands swollen & cut aftr severe braindamage. Finally transport'd 740 miles in van on mats, nakd. Died miserble & lonely death 6 hrs aftr arrivng in Pretoria.

THE POLITICAL TRIAL

In any society courts play sig role i system of domination.
 T Rule of Law hrd to define. Courts give sense o orderliness &
 regularity to domination.

SA is home par excellence o t pol trial. Courts are part o clod circuit
 of power tt maintains W supremacy. Courts & all officials are W.
 ...remotest conception of wht like to live as blk person.

Courts sit in judgmnet on those contravned laws. Who made laws?
 Who enforces them? Who must judge thm?

JUDGES reject evidence o torture as lyng or irrelevant, Enromous
 desert separates them (Toivo, 50)
 Demand repentance; accusd refuses to recant, justifies & defends hs
 actions - thn this is challenge to law & order. Ovr & ovr again
 in pasng sentence judges comment on brazen defiance & lack o
 sense o remorse.

The court is a masquerade. T decision hs been takn before t court sits
 From Minister o Justice to lowliest clerk, policeman, warder, all are
 part o tt conspiracy.

Lawyers say "We dont make the laws."...echo frm t past. Whn is stage
 reachd in any society whn we are no longer dealing wth the nicety
 of jurisprudence but wth t essential quality & survival of justice itself

Bk to Beginning —

IN THE END, YOU MUST DECLARE YOURSELF, War Bk — u ¹⁰ students

the declaration abt A & SA is nt necessarily a simple one

In t end, A wll b destroyd; & bcos it is violent society,
employng violent methds to control violently lives o millions,
its overthrow wll b a violent one

A MUST be destroyd, nt only fr SA, bt bcos it is virulent source
of infection, of racism & corruption. SA & A are NOT the
private obsessions of people like myself; they are most potent
expression o racism in world today & therefore dangerous to our
very wellbeing.

In the end . . . bt not simple. Every assault on A is assault on
law & order. You begin by being out of step; end up guilty
of treason. You begin by dissent; you end up a terrorist.

But secondly, strength o A doesnt rest on Calvinism or Boers
Rests on massive interests & their huge profits derivd frm A.
Brit & US investmnts; The sales of arms by W Germany, France, Italy
& Japn; t web o transnational corporations derivng their strength
frm ignorng t private lives, the quality of peoples' Lives . . .

Everyone wants A modified. But it is nt capable o modification.

Find women understand this better than men.

In past few yrs wmn hve learnd tt u can change a law so tt wmn are guaranteed equal pay wth men, but that the ultimate test is who sits on the board of management.

Cicero knew wht freedm is. He said 'Freedom is participation in power.'

Change can never come in form o concessions handed down by the ruling clique, deciding on behalf of the majority. *That's why ANC & Mandela wont compromise.*

Not from Botha People must participate in the process of change. The forms of SA's new society cannt b fixd by ~~Dr Owen or Andrew Young~~, however well-intentiond. *Schultz or Reagan*

In SA they wll b fixd by Nelson Mandela, Sisulu. by t ideas of the dead Steve Biko & Robert Sobukwe. By the children of Soweto who will not take wht parents hve taken (Brecht)

Trying to explainto u tt freedm, like peace, is indivisible; tt our recognition o t right & need fr people to achieve their liberation must also be a comitment to tt right, a commitment to truth, to understanding, to ~~brotherhood~~ *comradeship!*

Our Lives apart ended in flight & exile; bt our involvemnt in t SA struggle gave ~~us~~ t deepest meang & substance to our lives.

" Mankind is outraged in me andwith me. Let us not dissimulate nor try to forget this indignation which is one of the most profound forms of love. "

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