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CRIC

Community Resource and Information Centre
Ameshoff Street 30
Braamfontein 2017 (Johannesburg)
South Africa

12th October 1983

RE: The current state of crisis in the Ciskei

Dear Friends,

The situation in the Ciskei at present is drastic. Events over the last months include:

- the announcement of bus fare rises by the Ciskei Transport Corporation and the decision of the Mdantsane community in the Ciskei to boycott the buses;
- the brutal harassment of those people boycotting the buses by the Ciskei army, police and vigilante groups, including shambokking of large numbers of people, and cases such as one man who had both his legs broken by Ciskeian vigilantes, because he had caught the train;
- the massacre at Fort Jackson and Mount Ruth train stations where an estimated 90 people were shot dead as Ciskei police tried to prevent them from boarding the trains;
- a massive clamp-down on trade unionists;
- the banning of the trade union SAAWU (South African Allied Workers Union) in the Ciskei, and a massive clamp-down of SAAWU supporters;
- the use of the Sisa Dakushe Stadium as a "torture centre" in which people have been kept arbitrarily for days without food, water or toilet facilities, women have been raped, people have been suspended by handcuffed hands and ankles from hot-water pipes and savagely beaten in that position;
- the current hunger strike by those trade-unionists in detention;
- the latest news that a number of detainees have had to be hospitalized as a result of poisoning.

The situation has meant enormous economic strain on those families in which the breadwinners have either been shot dead, wounded or detained. Evictions face those who cannot pay their rents (Rand 14 to 29 per month). Funerals cost Rand 200 and many people have incurred medical and legal costs. Organizations such as SAAWU (East London) have ended up playing the role of relief organizations in this context, because of the urgent need to relieve the human suffering in the area.

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This letter is an appeal to you / your organization to contribute in whatever way possible to the campaign against the present repression in the Ciskei, the banning of SAAWU, and harassment of all trade unionists in the area. This can be done in the following ways:

1. Giving publicity to the issue. There has been a dire lack of focus on the events in the Ciskei, and it is only through publicity that opposition and protest can be mobilized and the iron hand behind the current image of reform in South Africa exposed.
2. Humanitarian aid to the families of detainees. This is for funerals, house rents, medical and legal expenses and can be transferred to the following account number:

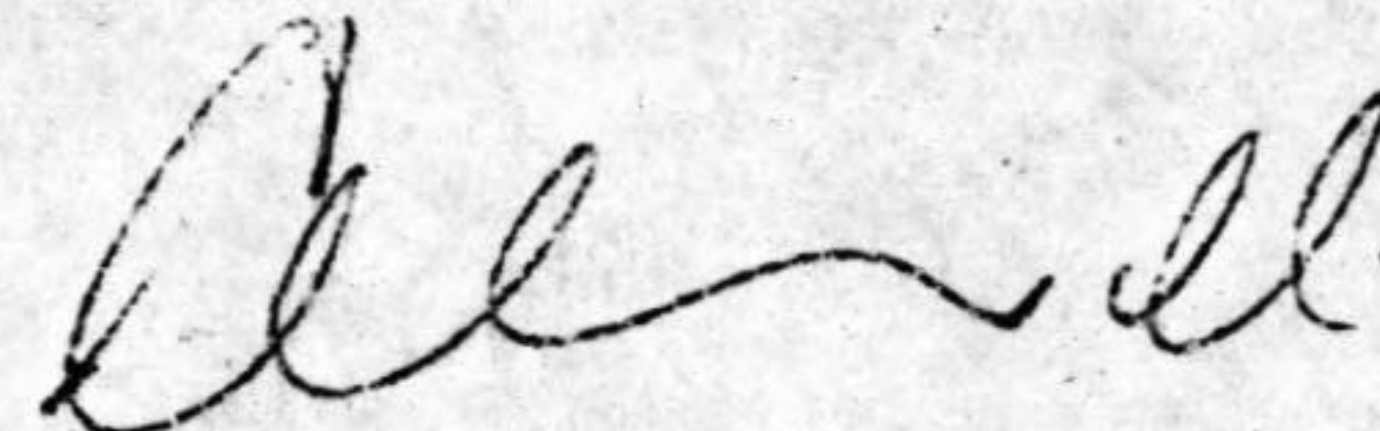
The Standard Bank
Ferreira Town Branch
Ferreira, South Africa
Account number: 065 3810 Trust Account

This Trust Fund is to be administered by a Committee including CRIC, the Detainees Parents' Support Committee, and the UDF/SAAWU Solidarity Committee (United Democratic Front and SAAWU).

3. Putting pressure on the South African government and the Ciskei "government" for the unbanning of SAAWU and an end to the repression. It is important that it is to the South African government that pressure is addressed as they cannot be allowed to escape responsibility for events in their self-created puppet regimes.

Please lend your support and solidarity to SAAWU, East London, and to the people presently suffering in the Ciskei.

Yours sincerely,



Aurret van Heerden

THE CURRENT STATE OF CRISIS IN THE CISCET

Events surrounding

- the bus boycott
- the massacre at Fort Jackson and Mount Ruth train stations
- the banning of SAAWU
(South African Allied Workers Union)

Dossier prepared for press conference
in Strasbourg, France
12th October 1983

For further information contact:

CRIC
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Braamfontein 2017 (near Johannesburg)
South Africa

BACKGROUND

In 1913, the South African government allocated 13% of the land to 80% of South Africa's people. The Bantustans are created out of that land, and are overcrowded and impoverished - exacerbated firstly by SA's continuing programmes to resettle black South Africans there, and deny them rights in white South Africa, and secondly, by the chronic drought that is forcing more and more people to the urban areas for survival. Starvation awaits many of those forced through resettlement to live in the Ciskei. In Dimbaza, a resettlement camp, one out of every three children dies before the age of five years.

The Ciskei also serves as a labour reservoir for East London; the workers live in the dormitory town of Mdantsane, and commute 20 km's to work in the factories of East London. This allows the SA government to wash their hands of responsibility for the housing, education, health and social welfare of these workers, defining them as Ciskei citizens and therefore foreigners in their own country. The unemployment rate in Mdantsane at present is estimated at 50%.

THE BUS BOYCOTT

On the 19 July, the Ciskei Transport Corporation announced a fares increase of 11% for the buses. The commuters could not afford this extra burden, and a mass meeting was called to discuss the problem. A Committee of 10 people was elected by the meeting, and according to a spokesperson for the Committee:

"When the fares increases were announced the committee was elected and mandated by the commuters to negotiate with the company.

The company told us bluntly they didn't recognise us. We went back to the people and the decision to boycott was taken.'

Quoted in Sunday Tribune 18.9.83

Boycotting the buses meant either catching the train, or walking (which many people did), or hitching rides from those with cars, or catching a taxi.

CISKEI REGIME CRACKS DOWN

The Ciskei regime (which owns 50% shares in the bus company) responded to the boycott by mobilising the Ciskei police, army, and groups of green-bereted "vigilantes", to crush the boycott. The stations were barricaded by police, who prevented people boarding the trains by force; road blocks were set up, and traffic to East London stopped; those travelling were often dragged from their cars and beaten with knopkieries and sjamboks; car drivers had to prove they were only

giving rides to members of their family, not bus boycotters, and had to produce marriage and birth certificates to prove it. People were also dragged out of taxis, and those walking were also harassed. Police and vigilantes tried to force people onto the buses, through intimidation and violence. Lawyers in East London and Mdantsane informed the Sunday Tribune (18.9.83) that they were handling hundreds of cases of people alleging brutality by the Ciskeian police, soldiers and vigilantes. One of these lawyers, Mr Hintsa Siwisa, was then himself detained.

SEE APPENDIX A FOR DETAILS OF HARRASSMENT AND BRUTALITY

MASSACRE AT MOUNT JACKSON AND MOUNT RUTH STATIONS

These attempts to break the boycott failed, and seemed only to reinforce the people's unity and determination not to ride the buses. Conflict continued to mount, and came to a head on 4.8.83. where police opened fire on workers trying to board the trains at Mount Jackson and Mount Ruth stations, between 4.30am and 5am.

The initial figures released were that 5 people had been shot dead and many wounded; the figure was then increased to 15 dead (Sowetan, 5.8.83), while eye-witnesses claimed the figure was still far higher.

People with relatives who had been killed, but whose names weren't included in the official figures were afraid to report this to either the Ciskeian or South African authorities, and turned instead to SAAWU, the South African Allied Workers Union, which organises in East London factories. SAAWU has documented evidence that in fact 90 people were killed in these incidents.

On the same day, the Ciskei Minister of Justice, David Takane, proclaimed a State of Emergency, imposed a curfew between 10pm and 4.30 am, and imposed a ban on people walking through the streets in groups of larger than 4 people. The penalty for curfew breaking: R2000 or 2 years in prison. Takane also announced that anyone found promoting the bus boycott in any way would be liable to 10 years imprisonment in terms of the Ciskei National Security Act (Daily Dispatch 2.8.83).

Fifty nine people were then charged with assaulting police near Mount Ruth Station prior to the shootings, but the magistrate in the Mdantsane Court, Mr G.M. Xamzaka, acquitted them all. The defence called several people to show wounds inflicted by police trying to prevent workers from boarding trains.

ON August 12, secondary school students in Duncan Village and Mdantsane called a boycott of school in solidarity with their parents, and demanded the release of detainees.

By August 19, the press reported that 832 people were being held in Ciskei prisons - among these, trade unionists, school pupils, journalists, hospital workers, ^{8 members of the Committee,} and teachers, ~~xxx~~ detained under the Ciskei National Security Act of 1982.

SAAWU IS BANNED BY CISKEI REGIME

On 5 September, the Ciskei government announced that SAAWU had been declared an illegal organisation. SAAWU does not in fact ~~organise~~ inside the Ciskei, because there is little industry there, but its members live there. So while ~~pa~~ membership of SAAWU was still legal on the factory floor, when workers went home they were defined as "subversives".

Harrassment of SAAWU and repression of SAAWU Officials by both the South African and Ciskeian regimes has been consistent since SAAWU's formation in 1979. SAAWU is perceived as a political threat by the Ciskeian regime, firstly because SAAWU spearheaded the campaign rejecting Ciskeian Independence, and secondly because SAAWU has attracted mass support from workers in East London. The disparity between the mass support for SAAWU and the clearly minimal support for President Lannox Sebe and his Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) exposes Sebe as a puppet placed in power by Pretoria, without the support of those people forced by South African law to register as Ciskeian "citizens." For these reasons, it is in the interests of both South Africa and the Ciskei to undermine and disorganise SAAWU's trade union activities.

SEE APPENDIX B FOR MORE INFORMATION ON SAAWU

After the banning of SAAWU, a new phase of harrassment and intimidation began. Ciskei army, police and vigilantes started to conduct systematic house-to-house raids, searching for any indications of SAAWU membership or support. Possession of a SAAWU Tshirt, or political literature was enough for people to be sjambokked in their houses, and then arrested. At the same time Ciskei vigilantes ~~xxx~~ were stopping people at road blocks and in the streets, demanding that they produce CNIP membership cards, a stamp in their pass books to show they had voted in the last

Ciskei elections (SAAWU supported the call to boycott these elections as an expression of rejection of the Bantustan system and the hardship facing black workers because of it), and they demanded to see a stamp showing that people had contributed to the Ciskei Development Fund - a fund Sebe uses at his discretion, allegedly on his own pleasure. People who could not produce these documents were violently assaulted and/or arrested. The situation had thus taken on all the characteristics of a savage political purge.

THE "STADIUM OF DEATH"

Mass detentions and arrests meant the Ciskei's prisons were overflowing, and the Ciskei authorities therefore transformed the Sisa Dakushe Football Stadium into a prison, and allowed the vigilantes to operate from there. It has become known as the "Stadium of Death" and the changing rooms, which have been used as cells, have been called the 'gas chambers'. From those who have been released, there are many accounts of torture. Some of these have recently been documented by a team including lawyer Nicolas Haysom, which was sent down to East London by the Detainees Parents Support Committee, who became alerted to the extreme gravity of the situation after they held their annual conference in East London on the 17 September. The affidavits have been drawn into a comprehensive report by Nicolas Haysom, which was released to the press in South Africa last week.

SEE APPENDIX C FOR DETAILS OF TORTURE IN THE STADIUM

Throughout this period, and despite the fact that most SAAWU officials are either in detention, or, like Thozamile Gqweta (SAAWU President), in hiding, the SAAWU offices in East London have remained open, and SAAWU has tried to continue organising on the shop floor. However, some factory managements seem to have taken advantage of the situation, and given the names of SAAWU members in their factories to the Ciskei police. Managements response to the situation has on the whole been unsympathetic. Because of the curfew, and the harassment, many workers have struggled to get to work on time. The president of the East London Chamber of Commerce announced that for this reason, wages were to be cut by up to 30% to compensate for the decrease in productivity. (Rand Daily Mail, 10.8.83 & SASPU National September 83).

While the stadium is no longer being used as a prison, the Ciskei authorities have now converted an in-training centre to a prison. The latest news is that a number of detainees have been admitted to hospital, having been poisoned. At this point attempts are being made to ascertain the cause and nature of this poisoning.

12th October 1983

DAILY DISPATCH 3.8.83

Boycotters forced to go to bus stops

MDANTSANE — Bus boycotters using taxis to commute were stopped by stick and sjambok carrying supporters of the Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) yesterday morning.

The incidents occurred between East London and Mdantsane, King William's Town and Mdantsane, the main Mdantsane bus terminus and the 15 zones between Mdantsane and the five railway stations.

The commuters, who are boycotting Goinpo buses because of higher fares, were forced out of the taxis, beaten and chased towards bus stops.

People walking from zone three who had to pass the main bus terminus were forced to go to bus stops, whether they

intended to go to town or not, or be beaten.

I went into one of the taxis but a stick-carrying man opened the door and told us either to use the bus, or walk to town. We got out and stood next to the car. Others went home.

Soldiers and traffic officers stood on the road towards East London, near a garage and a private car. The car I travelled in was not stopped as they were too busy.

Mr Morris Nono, a taximan, said abusive language was used by a man from King William's Town, who dragged passengers out of his car. Mr Nono said he showed him his carriage certificates, but the man said he was not interested. He said he had been given an instruction to stop taxis from operating in King William's Town.

ing in King William's Town.

Taximen asked at the transportation board offices why they were not allowed to carry passengers. They were told to go to Zwelitsha Transportation Board offices and inquire there.

A member of the Ciskei Transportation Board, Mr M. Boo, who was at the main bus terminus, and one of the people in charge of the men who told people to leave taxis, referred all inquiries to the Minister of Justice, Mr D. M. Takane.

A teacher at a mental health school in Duncan Village, Mrs Leonora Fosi, said she was dragged out of her nephew's car when she resisted. One man was ready to hit her with a knobkerrie but another man intervened. —DDR

DAILY DISPATCH 6.8.83

In an affidavit, Miss Kholeka Dlutu said that at about 4.20 am on August 4 at Egerton station she saw policemen, soldiers and vigilantes preventing people from going into the station.

She alleged that at one stage the police advanced on commuters, and the commuters had shouted that they were not at war and wanted to go to work.

The police drew their firearms and without warning fired at the commuters who were

standing still, she claimed.

Miss Dlutu said that before running away, she saw an old man fall to the ground holding his leg, which was bleeding. He claimed he had been shot.

She went past a young man lying motionless on his back on the ground and saw some vigilantes approach him and then beat him as he lay on the ground.

"I crawled on all fours and further heard gun-

shot sounds and bullets whizzing past me," she said.

"Three bullets struck the wall of the house in front of me, leaving visible holes.

"The police chased me into one of the residential yards where I hid underneath a parked kombi and evaded my pursuers, who ran past me."

She said in another house she saw an injured woman, who, it was claimed, had been shot while in bed in the house. —DDR

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 5.8.83

A West Bank factory worker described how his ribs had been when he was beaten with knobkerries and sjamboks at Fort Jackson station.

Mr Ernest Manoni, 32, said men had dragged him from a taxi near the station on Tuesday morning.

He said they tore up his train ticket and told him to go to work by bus. "They then hit me with knobkerries and sjamboks, breaking my ribs," the worker said. "But I'm still going to travel by train."

Mr Manoni was still coughing blood yesterday. He said he was not the only person beaten at the station.

He said "many" women were also beaten with sjamboks by people he claimed were Ciskei National Independence Party members.

A garage employee, Mr Aggrey Mlumbi, said he was hit on the ear by Ciskei soldiers on Wednesday.

He said he was using the firm's truck to drive fellow employees to work when the soldiers stopped him.

"I showed them my papers and written permission from my employers to use the truck, but they wouldn't listen. They ordered my colleagues to get off the truck and walk. I was then hit over the head by one policeman, while another pointed a gun at me.

A Mdantsane man yesterday took a 9mm bullet to work to explain to his employer why he was late. Mr

Maxwell Bubu said he had picked up the bullet at the highway bus terminal in Mdantsane.

Mr Bubu said he arrived at work at 2.30pm yesterday as he could not use taxis or trains and had to hike.

"The Ciskei police are shooting and hitting people near trains and taxis. We are scared to use either, so many of us hike.

"Our bosses do not believe what is happening. Today I brought my boss this bullet because I was so late. He now believes what we're going through," he said.

Mr K Potter, a sales representative at the firm, said he went to Mdantsane every week.

"I know what's happening there. I don't know what is going to happen. The whole bus boycott was much quieter until the Ciskei police intervened."

DAILY DISPATCH 8.8.83

MDANTSANE — Assaults on commuters by vigilantes working quite openly continued here at the weekend but the focus moved from the railway stations to the Qumza Highway and the main bus terminal.

Scores of vigilantes combed the Highway bus terminal and the section between it and Zones 7, 8, 9 and 10.

Commuters were pulled out of cars and beaten up and in some instances taxi drivers and private vehicle owners were attacked.

One taxi-driver, Mr Khabalinjani Mabulu, of Zone 9, said he had driven to the Highway terminal to drop a passenger when he was attacked by vigilantes.

"As the passenger was about to pay his fare, five men — four carrying sjamboks and one armed with a sword — asked why I was loading passengers," Mr Mabulu said.

Before he could answer one of the men pulled him out of his taxi.

"I explained I was

licensed to carry passengers, while trying to reach out for my licence, I was assaulted with sticks."

He managed to lean against his vehicle to show up his licence but his attackers did not notice.

"Some people were screaming when I was being beaten up," Mr Mabulu said.

EASTERN PROVINCE
HERALD 13.8.83

By JUDY PARFITT

Of about 700 people arrested for alleged curfew violations during the week-old state of emergency in Mdantsane, only 32 have been convicted.

"PRESIDENT Sebe sent me ..."

These words mean the start of a vicious flurry of sjamboks, batons and sticks for Mdantsane residents involved in the boycott of the township's buses.

Each day they have to run the gauntlet of police, soldiers and vigilante squads before they can reach work — and again before they can return home.

The Ciskeian Police have denied any assaults on commuters. But this denial is rejected angrily by people who live in the township — 11 of whom told City Press this week of the wounds they have received trying to get to and from work.

Factory worker Sheila Ndukwana-Bixa told City Press police had fractured her arm with a rifle butt when they threw her onto a bus.

"They said President Sebe had sent them, and if I complained to the president he would take no notice, because they were acting on his behalf.

"The policemen also said they would blame the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) if I had any injuries."

Mrs Ndukwana-Bixa said she had been confronted again by the police two days later, when they pushed her towards a waiting bus.

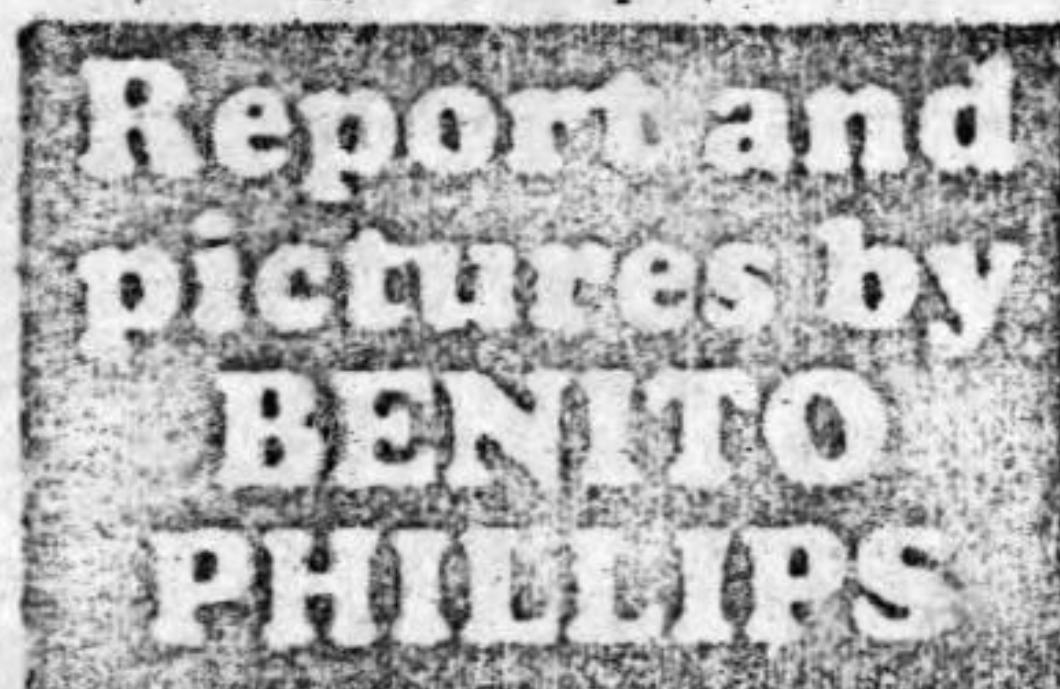
"They hit me again on my injured arm, causing further pain."

Her husband, Elijah Ndukwana, is presently in Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital with bullet wounds sustained in a confrontation with police.

He was hit in the buttocks by the bullet, which came out of his stomach.

A zone 14 resident, Mkuseli Sonandi, said his ear had to be stitched back after police struck him with a rifle to try to get him to board a bus.

"I showed them my monthly train ticket, but they grabbed it



from me. My life was saved when a crowd gathered and scared the cops away."

Mr Sonandi said he received 12 stitches above his eye and 13 on his ear.

Other injuries reported to City Press were:

● Factory worker Shepherd Kallmashe said his jaw had been broken with an iron rod when he asked for change after being forced to board a bus.

● Ernest Mamoni said he was still coughing blood after being hit in the stomach by police who dragged him out of a taxi.

● Lulama Mooi had her leg broken by three Ciskeian policemen who hit her with batons.

● Esther Mkiva needed six stitches on her head after six cops attacked her with batons as she was crossing a road. She said she was off work for four days because of her wounds.

● Boniwe Bonkolo was hit on the knee by policemen when she refused to board a bus.

● Mzwandile Tsholisi was "beaten all over" with sticks and kicked in the stomach.

● Zandisile Patolini, who works at a battery factory in East London, was robbed and stabbed by a vigilante squad wearing overalls and wielding sticks. Badly bruised and bleeding, he was then bundled into a bus.

● Amos Mangxola was attacked from behind by men wielding sticks while he was walking to the Mount Ruth railway station.

● Tom Kiko was also attacked on his way to Mount Ruth station and had to be treated for a serious neck wound.

MDANTSANE — Women cried and several people walking to Mount Ruth station scattered when they were attacked and assaulted by men from a Ciskeian army truck near Mount Ruth station at 10 am yesterday.

At least two people were treated at Frere Hospital for injuries allegedly sustained when they were attacked by men who forced them to board buses at the Highway bus terminal at about 4 am.

Amos Mangxola, of Zone Five, had 15 stitches on three head wounds.

He said he was attacked by men who ordered him to board buses at the Highway terminal.

"I was walking with others towards Mount Ruth station when these men stopped us and told us to go to the buses," he said.

"As I spoke to one man I was hit from behind and fell."

He suffered two other head wounds been one believed to have inflicted with a sharp instrument, and a laceration to the back.

When he recovered he walked to Mdantsane station and arrived 30 minutes late at his Chiselhurst factory job where he was taken to hospital.

Mr Tom Diko, who was also attacked at the terminal was treated for a serious neck wound.

Many workers walking to Mount Ruth, Fort Jackson and Mtsoiso stations used footpaths to avoid attacks yesterday.

But it appeared there was less violence after 5 am and people walked to the stations without interference.

SISA Dukashe stadium outside East London once roared as delighted fans cheered their football and boxing heroes. Now it has become a nightmare venue of terror.

The people of giant Mdantsane — dormitory township to East London which has become part of Ciskei — used to go to Sisa Dukashe to enjoy sport; now they have dubbed the stadium's dressing rooms "gas chambers".

People say hundreds have been detained in the Ciskei, most of them from Mdantsane, since early July when a crippling bus boycott started in protest against increased fares.

Ciskei Police Commissioner, Lulama Madolo, told the Sunday Tribune he did not know "off hand" the exact number of people incarcerated.

He said all allegations of police torture were false.

Ciskeian authorities were this week flooded with telegrams from Amnesty International, expressing concern at the detentions in the territory.

Prison populations have swelled since the imposition of a dusk-to-dawn curfew by Life President Lennox Sebe's Government in an attempt to break the boycott.

He has also called in a notorious gang of vigilantes who harass motorists giving people lifts in an attempt to force commuters back to the buses.

This has led to the gang — and members of the police force — taking things into their own hands.

The stadium now houses the vigilantes and all sports activities have stopped since the curfew was imposed. And because the prisons are full of people caught breaking the curfew, some are taken to the stadium, and sometimes kept there for days. Many claim they were tortured there.

'We're being shot and tortured by police and thugs' say angry residents

Residents said it was impossible not to break the curfew because with the bus boycott on, they had to leave early for work and return late at night.

But then the curfew was imposed specifically to break the boycott.

There is a huge presence of police in the township; roadblocks are put up every morning where residents are required to produce their reference books, house permits, CNIP (Ciskei National Independence Party) cards and a stamp to prove they voted in the last election.

As one resident said: "It's impossible to have all these documents at the same time. It's a no-win situation."

Lawyers in East London and Mdantsane said they were handling hundreds of cases of people alleging brutality by the Ciskeians — vigilantes, soldiers and police.

A Rhodes University student, Miss Nombeko Dwesini, told how she and her brother were dragged from their home in the middle of the night and taken to the stadium where she was assaulted and abused for 15 hours.

Miss Dwesini, a B Comm student, said the vigilantes came to her home looking for her sister Ntomi, whom they accused of being a SAAWU (SA Allied Workers' Union) spy; the union is banned in Ciskei.

"I told them I had just arrived and did not know where my sister was."

"They said I should get dressed; because I didn't want to tell the truth, they were taking me to jail. As I was taking off my night dress, one of the men came into the bedroom and started assaulting me without reason. And as I was going out, I was attacked from behind and fell on my face."

The men had at the same time woken up her brother who was being roughed up outside.

"They were making a joke of it, and the neighbours were just watching. They couldn't interfere."

"They kept saying:

'Let's finish off these dogs'."

They were taken to Sisa Dukashe stadium, where she said the beatings continued in one of the dressing rooms.

"We found many other victims there. My brother, whose body was blue with sjamboking, was made to lie down on the hard floor."

They were eventually released at 1 pm the following day — 15 hours after their arrest.

Another victim, Mr Vuyisile Mbalu, said he was tortured for five days at the stadium. He was handcuffed and suspended by his wrists from the rafters of one of the dressing rooms while he was being beaten.

The forces of law and order in Mdantsane also raid the shebeens where people tend to overstay and forget about the troubles outside. And they pay with bruised bodies.

One such a person is Miss Philadelphia Makhubalo. She showed the Sunday Tribune weals all over her body and a gash on the head.

"The curfew starts at 10.30 pm and it was only 9 pm when these men with sticks, sjamboks and iron rods entered the shebeen and started hitting us."

"I didn't go to report the matter to the police. They don't take these cases seriously. In any case they're all friends."

The Sunday Tribune visited 64-year-old Solomon Masengane at home, a day after he was discharged from hospital. Both legs were in plaster; both broken at the ankles, and a knee cracked.

Mr Masengane, a father of three, said he was attacked by police in civilian clothes on his way home from work.

"I was walking with a group from the railway station when a big truck full of these people stopped in front of us."

"Everybody started running away, but the police caught up with me. Without any questions, they bit me with sticks. About eight policemen were hit-

ting me. One of them asked me why we were travelling by trains and not using the buses. I told him buses were not used."

When they stopped his legs were broken; he also had four cuts on the head and a broken finger.

"My right foot was dangling. I tried to stand up but couldn't."

"One policeman asked what was wrong. I said how could he ask such a question when he was involved in the beating. He called his friends who bundled me and many other people on to the truck and took us to hospital."

"The people who assaulted me were adults and they were sober. They were aware of what they were doing. To me such people cannot be policemen. They are thugs."

Theminkosi Mthini, 22, said he was taken to the stadium, handcuffed hands to his feet, and made to swing for two hours from a rod suspended between two tables.

One woman said: "When the general (Charles Sebe) was detained, we thought things would change for the better. Now people are shot and killed indiscriminately. Everybody is scared of the Ciskeians."

President Sebe announced last month the bus fare increase that sparked the boycott would be reduced by 50 percent. This has failed to get commuters streaming back to 100-odd buses belonging to Gomo Transport, part-owned by the Ciskeian Government.

Commuters have instead chosen to endure packed trains, long walks — and the vigilantes.

They have even refused to discuss the matter with either the Government or the transport management.

All but three of 10 members of the committee representing commuters are in detention and boycotters have made their release a condition for talks.

But a spokesman for the commuters committee — one of the three not in detention — said he laid the blame for the boycott

squarely at the door of the transport company.

"When the fare increases were announced the committee was elected and mandated by commuters to negotiate with the company. We were prepared to talk and listen. The company told us bluntly they didn't recognise us. We went back to the people and the decision to boycott the buses was taken."

"Now more than 20 of our people have been gunned down and killed by Sebe's police and virtually the whole committee is in detention."

"The people are now in an ugly mood. They are not prepared to talk peace until their representatives are released."

The spokesman dismissed President Sebe's reduction of the increase, saying only weekly tickets had been affected and only half the increase had been reduced. Single trips have been left untouched.

The boycott has also affected the schools. Secondary school pupils have been boycotting classes since July in sympathy with their parents, and it seems the President holds the key here as well.

Pupils are also demanding the release of their leaders from detention before they go back to their desks.

The schools boycott spread to nearby Duncan Village, another East London township, this week where a woman, Mrs Guzana Mfawze, was shot dead after a confrontation between students and police.

Those in detention in Ciskei include virtually the entire upper echelon of the once-feared State Security Service and its head Charles Sebe, and another Sebe brother, Transport Minister Namba Sebe, who was relieved of his post this week.

President Sebe claimed this week he that his wife and children and six of his Ministers were to have been killed on June 16 as part of an attempt to overthrow the government.

He said the 17 officers would appear in court in two weeks.

SUNDAY
TRIBUNE

18/9/83

SAAWU estimates its East London membership to be 70,000 workers. It is difficult to ascertain the precise figure, however, because the SAAWU offices are so regularly raided by South African security police and their membership lists and other documents seized.

SAAWU has recognition agreements in ten East London factories and majority support in several more.

Harrassment of SAAWU in East London has been consistent since its formation: Thozamile Gqwetha has been in detention eight times in the last three years. In his last period of detention he was admitted to the psychiatric ward in Johannesburg Hospital.

Gqwetha's mother was killed in an incident where her house was surrounded by barbed wire, so that she was trapped inside, and then fire-bombed. President Sebe of the Ciskei did not deny allegations put to him that he had authorized the attack. At the funeral a SAAWU organizer was shot dead by Ciskei police as she got off the bus carrying workers from the funeral.

Sisa Njikelana, SAAWU organizer, has been detained seven times.

During the Wilson Rowntree strike in 1981 over two hundred SAAWU members from the Wilson Rowntree factory were detained.

The SAAWU office has had to move five times in the last three years because of security police pressure on landlords. SAAWU files and documents have been repeatedly confiscated.

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● STADIUM OF DREAD: The Sisa Dukashe Stadium, headquarters of Mdantsane's "Green Berets".

A VERY different kind of sport is being played at Mdantsane's Sisa Dukashe Stadium today — blood sport.

Vigilantes said to back Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe have taken over the stadium and have turned it into a torture chamber, say horrified Mdantsane residents.

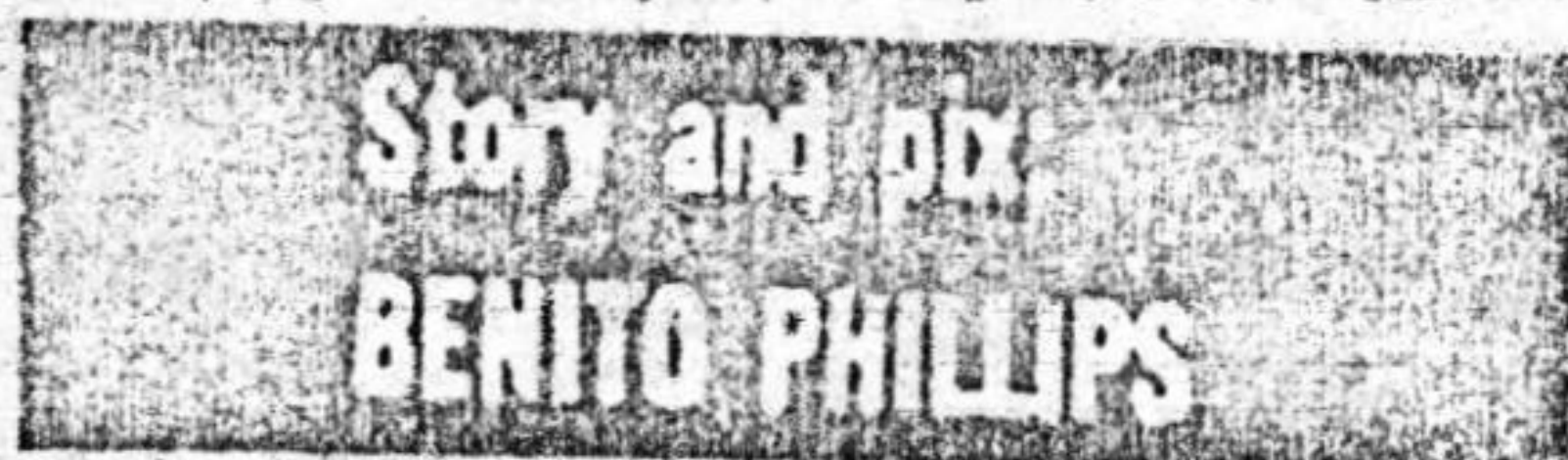
The vigilantes, who sport green berets are trying to crush the massive Ciskei bus boycott by kidnapping residents off the street, dragging them into the stadium, and holding them prisoner for days at a time, say residents.

They say the vigilantes roam Mdantsane armed with clubs and sjamboks, "arresting" anyone on the streets.

One resident, a civil servant, said he had been handcuffed to the ceiling and sjambokked during his five days of hell inside the stadium. He was later seen lying in a stadium toilet, by an Mdantsane carpenter



● KOLEKILE LUTULI ... his arm, ribs, thighs and shin bandaged where the sjambok and electric cable cut into his flesh.



ing so badly that "the blood ran out of his shoes."

Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Lulama Madolo, vehemently denied these reports when contacted by City Press, saying such incidents would be investigated by the police if they were reported.

This was disputed by numerous victims of the

said there had been repeated requests to the police to raid the stadium at night.

People living near the stadium said they had asked the police to investigate what went on at the stadium after they heard screams coming from dressing rooms.

They accused the vigilantes of "seriously abusing" the state of emergency declared in Ciskei as a result of the bus boycott in Mdantsane and East London.

One of the victims of the vigilantes, Ciskei civil servant Vuyisile Mbola of Zone 9, said he was beaten up twice by the men "dressed in plain clothes and camouflage."

He was first assaulted at his home on August 6, he said, when men kicked his door down and attacked him and his wife Mpozilumke with batons.

"They came again on August 23 and said I had not been thrashed properly the first time," Mr Mbola said. "A man and two soldiers kicked me and dumped me in the boot of their car.

Sisa Dukashe I was handcuffed and suspended from the ceiling, and beaten for an hour. When they had finished I couldn't walk.

"They held me captive in the dressing-rooms for five days without any medical attention, and then let me go."

Mr Mbola showed City Press injuries on his wrists and buttocks which had not healed after two weeks.

Mr Mbola was seen at the stadium by an Mdantsane carpenter, Mr J Dlevu, who said he had also been assaulted there. He told City Press he had seen Mr Mbola "lying on his stomach in a toilet, bleeding so profusely that the blood flowed out of his shoes."

Another victim, liquor rep Kolekile "Crabbe" Lutuli of Zone 6, said

he was dumped in the back of a van and whipped with an electric cable before being taken to the stadium and beaten.

He was released the next morning without being charged.

A first year B Comm student at Rhodes University's East London branch, Nombeko Dwesini, said she and her brother Mlungisi had been held overnight at the stadium and assaulted.

Ms Dwesini said they were released after 18 hours, and she needed immediate medical treatment for a burst eardrum.

Others who told of similar treatment were scholars Mvuyo Malgas 19, Sindiya Vuzani and Mthuthuzeli Hintsa, son of churchman Reverend H Hintsa.

THE history of the 100 000-strong SA Allied Workers' Union is not just a mere record of meetings, campaigns, resolutions and strikes — it is a remarkable tale of human courage and endurance, in the face of overwhelming odds.

Probably the most harassed union in the country, its leaders regard Saawu's banning by the Ciskei government as the climax of four years of repression.

But they are adamant that even at this dark hour their union will continue to grow from strength to strength.

Sam Kikine, Saawu's voluble secretary general, told City Press: "The history of Saawu will not end with the Ciskei ban. It is an on-going process with an assurance of victory in the end."

Saawu began in Durban in 1978.

And it's emergence dramatically changed the labour scene in South Africa.

It soon projected the workers' struggle as transcending shopfloor issues, and linked the factory with the workers' day-to-day problems in the community.

For Saawu, the working people are not simply members of a trade union or the employed — but all those who depend on their labour for survival: those who are evicted from their homes, those who are engaged in the struggle for better houses, those engaged in protest against bus fare increases and poverty.

And according to Popo Molefe, UDF secretary general, it is precisely this philosophy that has made Saawu the most bitter enemy of both Pretoria and Bisho.

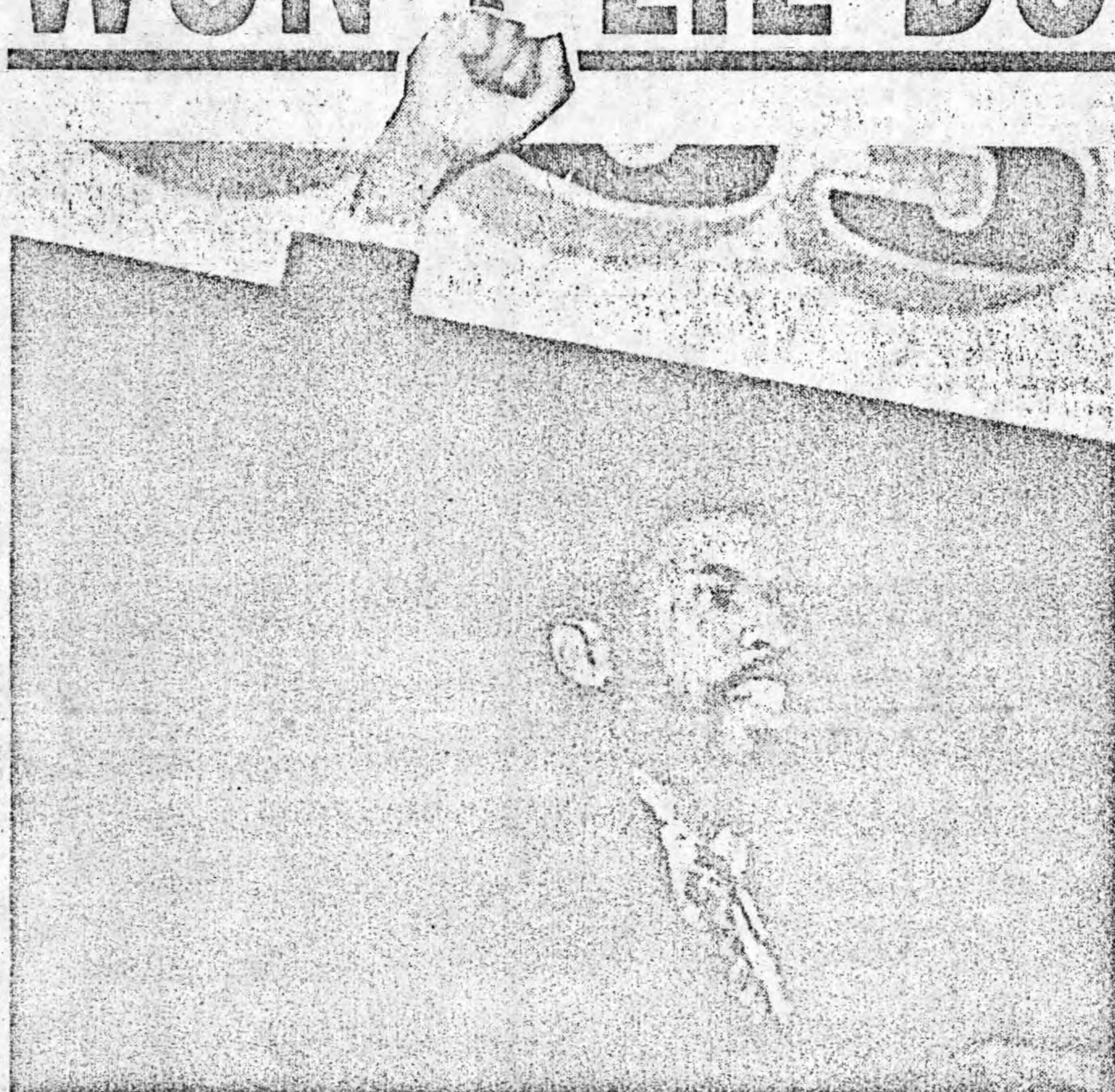
The birth of Saawu can be traced to a national conference of the Black Allied Workers' Union, Bawu, in March 1979 in Durban.

During the course of 1978, a split had developed in Bawu over representation of the union overseas by exile Drake Koka, a founder

THE UNION THAT WON'T LIE DOWN

CITY
PRESS

2/10



● Saawu president THOZAMILE GWETA... in hiding for eight weeks

MONO BADELA examines the development of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) into one of the country's most forceful labour movements.

of Bawu.

The split divided those who supported Koka and the black consciousness philosophy and those who opposed him and favoured non-racialism.

Koka's supporters were mainly from Johannesburg and Newcastle and his opponents from Durban and East London. The national conference decided to expel the Johannesburg officials and change the name of the organisation to Saawu.

Mr Nattal Mkhize became the first president,

Kikine the secretary general, and Thozamile Gqweta, the national organiser.

Dr Neil Aggett, the trade unionist who died in detention in 1981, was at one stage acting branch secretary for the Johannesburg branch and manned the office in Wanderers Street.

According to Sam Kikine, it was Dr Aggett who introduced Mr Herbert Barnabas, now the national organiser, to Saawu officials.

Another top trade unionist who helped Saawu onto its feet in

the early stages was Oscar Mpetha, one of the three presidents of the United Democratic Front (UDF). He helped the union secure an office in East London.

Saawu is strongly opposed to registration because it fundamentally rejects the labour laws as being oppressive and discriminatory.

Kikine says registration means swearing an oath of allegiance to racially discriminatory laws.

And it rejects the State-sponsored bargaining system.

Saawu also maintains an overt and explicit political position. It believes in a unitary, non-racial democratic South Africa based on the will of all South Africans.

It has demanded that black workers be granted political rights.

At its annual congress in Durban in 1981 it demanded among other things, universal suffrage in South Africa as well as the abolition of the pass laws and migrant labour system.

Earlier it had called for the abolition of the Group Areas Act and the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

More recently Saawu became one of the trade unions that helped establish the UDF.

Saawu totally rejects the concept of the homeland system as well as the community councils.

Two months ago the Ciskei Transport Corporation raised bus fares by 11 percent in Mdantsane. But many of the residents of Ciskei are without jobs, and could not pay, so they began boycotting the buses.

This strong political stance — probably the most hardline in the entire SA trade union movement — has cost a heavy price.

Eight times detained president Gqweta is now in hiding because of the Ciskei situation.

And vice-president Sisa Njikelana is currently enduring his sixth spell in detention with 15 other Saawu officials in the Ciskei. But Saawu is not ready to die yet.

As Kikine says: "Their plans to bleed Saawu to death have failed in the past and will fail in future."

Organisations plan joint action on Saawu banning

STAR 20/8.

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A joint action committee of the United Democratic Front, major workers' organisations and the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee will attempt to bring international pressure to bear on the South African and Ciskei Governments in response to the mass detentions and banning of members of the South African Allied Workers' Union in the Ciskei.

Describing developments in the Ciskei in a statement issued yesterday, the organisations said: "A stadium in Mdantsane has been converted into a con-

centration camp."

The bid for international intervention is one of several initiatives planned jointly by the UDF, Descom and worker groupings, which include two major federations -- the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa).

Other plans are:

- To contribute direct material aid, especially clothing, to detainees who are said to be kept in the Mdantsane stadium, day and night, lightly dressed.

- To publicise and "expose atrocities in the Ciskei" by use of the media, public meetings and union structures. An initial solidarity meeting will be held at lunchtime on Thursday at Khotso House, Johannesburg.

- To consult with individual unions about direct action, which might include intervention through companies established in the Ciskei.

A spokesman for the joint UDF-unions committee, Mr Terror Lekota, stressed: "We will not make threats without a basis. Possible action will have

to be seriously considered by unions and must flow from them."

The organisations regard the banning of Saawu as an indication "that the Bantustan structures will increasingly be used to suppress any resistance to their apartheid policies".

They noted that detentions had virtually closed down other unions in the area and predicted that unions which took a stand on community issues would follow Saawu into banning.

"There can be no compromise on the right of unions to take up issues beyond the factory floor."

"To permit the Ciskei Government to suppress union involvement in community struggles is to give away a fundamental element of unionism," they stated.

The list of participants is: UDF, Fosatu, Saawu, Cusa, Descom, Cusa, FCWA, General and Allied Workers' Union, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union, Johannesburg Scooter Drivers' Association, Orange-Vaal General Workers' Union, Municipal and General Workers' Union.

RAND DAILY MAIL 6.10.83

Mortuaries full

RESIDENTS estimate that up to 90 people have died as a result of police and vigilante action against Mdantsane bus boycotters, according to the report.

The deaths are the result, it says, of police action against residents who have boarded trains in preference to the buses which they are boycotting.

On occasions, police have opened fire on residents attempting to board trains, and one eye-witness reports seeing bodies lying on the platform of a station in the Mdantsane area.

In one case, Ciskei police killings are alleged to have occurred at a station which is across the border and is, therefore, in South Africa, not Ciskei.

Residents allege the official death toll is lower than their estimate, because figures released by the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital are sanctioned by the Ciskei Government.

They also allege that some residents are afraid to go to the hospital because police raid it, searching for residents who have alleged been assaulted.

According to the report, both private mortuaries in Mdantsane were full during the second week of August, and one private mortuary owner alone said he was holding seven people who had been killed, five of whom were not identified.

The report also reports numerous accounts of serious assaults on residents by police or vigilantes because they were travelling in private cars rather than buses.

It includes incidents in which a man, who had used trains all his life, had to have his ear

stitched back after being assaulted for not using buses.

A woman had her arm broken by Ciskei police, who several days later assaulted her again on her injured arm.

In many cases, it says, vigilantes and police are stopping residents and demanding documents which residents do not have to carry, or which have never been issued to them.

If they cannot provide them, they are assaulted and arrested.

"Residents claim any resistance to the demands made by them by vigilantes can result in the protester being shot out of hand," the report says.

In some cases, residents are detained and assaulted for not paying a "development tax" imposed by President Sebe's Government.

However, some are civil servants who have the tax deducted from their pay and therefore cannot produce a receipt to prove they have paid.

Police also engage in frequent raids on residents' homes, searching for "political literature".

In one case, police dug up a resident's entire garden, claiming they were searching for "subversive" documents.

Mere possession of an SA Allied Workers Union T-shirt could result in the arrest of the home's occupant, the report says.

In some cases, it says, vigilantes are using their position for "personal gain" by demanding money from residents in exchange for not arresting or assaulting them.

Aus: Broschüre "Südafrika", hrsg. von medico international. terre des hommes,
Weltfriedensdienst, Aktionsgemeinschaft Solidarische Welt
Adresse: medico international, Hanauer Landstrasse 147-149, 6000 Frankfurt/M. 1;
undatiert (ca. September 1983)

Zur Person von A u r e t v a n H e e r d e n ,
Unterzeichner des Briefes des "Community Resource and Information Centre (CRIC)
vom 12. Oktober 1983 betr. die Situation in der Ciskei

Mehr als eine Rassenfrage

Daß in südafrikanischen Gefängnissen die Haftbedingungen gelegentlich zum „zufälligen“ Tod des Inhaftierten führen ist, im Gesamtspektrum dieses Systems, nicht weiter verwunderlich; daß gefoltert wird sicher ebenso wenig. Nur ist unser Blick oft so sehr auf die Rassenfrage fixiert, daß übersehen werden könnte, daß die Barbarei, die Brutalität dieses Systems auch gegen Weiße, gegen die angeblich auserwählte Rasse, angewandt wird, wenn eben jenes System infrage gestellt ist:

Beyers Naudé, der Direktor des verbotenen „Christian Institute“, Helen Joseph, die weiße Oppositionsführerin, wurden härter, häufiger mit Bann belegt, als viele Schwarze Oppositionelle. Dies ist dem System gelegentlich noch zu milde: der weiße, gebannte Hochschullehrer Richard Turner wurde mit einem Schuß durch das Fenster seines Hauses ermordet; Ruth First, führendes Mitglied in der verbotenen kommunistischen Partei Südafrikas und dem ANC, wurde durch eine Briefbombe im Exil, in ihrem Büro in der Universität von Maputo, aus dem Weg geräumt.

Neill Agett, dem weißen Gewerkschaftsführer, gebührt der traurige Ruhm, als erster Weißer in einer südafrikanischen Gefängniszelle „tot aufgefunden“ worden zu sein.

Sie alle griffen das Apartheidsystem so substantiell an, in seinen ökonomischen Bedingungen, daß bei ihrer Vernichtung die Rassenfrage keine Rolle mehr spielte und auch in Zukunft nicht spielen wird.

Auret van Heerden, 1978 Präsident des sich zunehmend radikalisierenden weißen Studentenverbandes NUSAS, hinterlegte im September 82 bei einem Anwalt ein Affidavit, eine eidesstattliche Erklärung über die Folter während seiner Inhaftierung, die wegen angeblicher ANC-Unterstützung erfolgte.

So erschüttert die hier auszugsweise abgedruckten Folterberichte sind, so erhellend ist das Angebot eines seiner weißen Folterer: für ein Geständnis ein Stück Land und zwei „Kaffer“ zu erhalten.

Selbst der Handel des Folterers mit dem Gefolterten reduziert sich auf die Grundzüge der afrikanischen Gesellschaft — Ökonomie der Sklavenhaltergesellschaft.

„Um sieben abends wechselte die Schicht der Beamten, die mich zu dieser Zeit verhörten. Jetzt waren Major Abrie, Captain Olivier von East London und Captain Visser vom Gefängnis John Voster Square sowie Feldwebel Prince von Springs anwesend. Sie fragten mich, ob ich bereit sei, über Dinge auszusagen, die sie zwar wüßten, die ich aber ihrer Ansicht nach in meiner Aussage ausgelassen hätte. Ich erwiderte, meine Aussage sei vollständig.

Ich mußte mich dann auf den Boden setzen, mit dem Rücken zur Wand. Schuhe und Socken mußte ich vorher ablegen, die

Socken haben sie mir um die Handgelenke gewickelt, damit die Handschellen nicht in die Haut schnitten.

Nun zogen sie mir einen Leinsack über den Kopf, es war ein Geldsack einer südafrikanischen Bank, deren Namen ich vergessen habe. Der Sack war etwas zu schmal, sodaß Captain Visser an beiden Enden zog, bis er ganz über meinen Kopf passte.

Jetzt befeuchteten sie den Sack. Vermutlich mit einem Glas Wasser, das ich sie zuvor in den Raum hatte tragen sehen. Sobald der Sack naß war, fiel mir das Atmen äußerst schwer. Nun wandten sie Elektroschocks an

Folter in südafrikanischen Gefängnissen

— erst an den Fußsohlen, dann an den Handgelenken und Unterarmen und im weiteren Verlauf am Nacken und am Rücken.

Sobald sie mit den Schocks anfangen, begann ich entsetzlich zu schreien und konnte, obwohl ich mehrmals versuchte aufzuhören, es nicht unterdrücken. Je mehr ich schrie, desto größer wurde meine Atemnot. Sehen konnte ich auch nichts, da der Sack über meinen Kopf gezogen war. Ein schreckliches Gefühl von Platzangst befiel mich und ich geriet in Panik, da die Schocks durch meinen ganzen Körper liefen.

Als sie die Elektroden an meinen Nacken ansetzten, sah ich blaue Flammen oder Wellen vor meinen Augen und ich hatte Angst, dies könnte mein Gehirn vielleicht dauerhaft schädigen.

Wie sie mehr und mehr Wasser über den Sack goßen, bemerkte ich plötzlich, daß ich in einer Wasserlache auf dem Boden lag, der Strom den ganzen Körper auf und ab jagte, unterstützt durch das Wasser, und ich schrie und nicht mehr atmen konnte. Ich weiß nicht, woran sie maßten, wie lange ich die Schocks ertragen könnte oder wann ich ersticken würde, aber an einem bestimmten Punkt stellten sie die Schocks ab und nahmen den Sack von meinem Kopf. Sofort begannen sie mich mit Fragen zu bombardieren — wer mich für den ANC angeworben habe, an wen im ANC ich meine Berichte gesandt habe, wo mein toter Briefkasten sich befunden habe. Da ich allerdings nie Mitglied im ANC war, konnte ich ihre Fragen nicht beantworten.

Gab ich ihnen die Antworten nicht, die sie hören wollten, zogen sie mir den Sack wieder über den Kopf. Dies war ein kritischer

Gesetze

Dem südafrikanischen Parlament liegt der Entwurf der „Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill“ vor; die Verabschiedung wird für Mitte 1984 erwartet. Diese Bill wird eine erhebliche Verschärfung der Passgesetze, der Arbeitsgesetze (Influx Control), der Wohnungsgesetze (Settlement) für Schwarze bedeuten:

Schwarzen wird nicht einmal mehr das Betreten eines städtischen Gebietes ohne Erlaubnisschein (permit) möglich sein.

Eine schwarze Person kann sich nur noch in der Stadt aufhalten zwischen 5 Uhr früh und 10 Uhr nachts, es sei denn sie weist eine Erlaubnis und Übernachtungsmöglichkeit nach.

Eine schwarze Person, die auf der Straße oder in einem Haus einer weißen oder schwarzen Vorstadt angetroffen wird, kann verhaftet werden, wenn sie kein permit aufweist.

Inspektoren haben das Recht, jedes Haus, jeden Arbeitsplatz ohne vorherige Anmeldung zu betreten und nach illegal sich aufhaltenden Personen zu suchen.

Jeder, gleich ob Schwarz oder Weiß, der einer schwarzen Person ohne permit erlaubt, zu übernachten, kann mit 500 Rand oder 6 Monaten Gefängnis bestraft werden. Zusätzlich kann eine Geldstrafe von 20 Rand für jeden Tag erhoben werden, den sich die betreffende schwarze Person in diesem Haus aufhält oder aufhielt.

Eine schwarze Person, die irgendwo in der Stadt zwischen 10 Uhr nachts und 5 Uhr früh angetroffen wird, kann mit 500 Rand oder 6 Monaten Haft und 20 Rand für jeden Tag Aufenthalt ohne permit verurteilt werden.

Jeder, der eine nicht-registrierte schwarze Person beschäftigt, kann mit 5.000 Rand oder 12 Monaten Gefängnis bestraft werden.

Augenblick, denn sobald der Sack meinen Kopf berührte, befahl mich sofort wieder dieses Gefühl totaler Panik und die Versuchung war groß, nur irgendetwas zu sagen, um sie zu hindern, den Sack wieder überzuziehen, und ich vermutete, daß an diesem Punkt etliche Verhaftete anfangen zu reden und sich nicht zu helfen wissen, weil man einfach weiß, daß die Schocks wieder anfangen, sobald der Sack unten sein würde.

In mehreren Abständen hintereinander wandten sie Sack und Elektroschocks an. Es ist schwer zu sagen, wie lange dies andauerte, aber ich denke etwa eineinhalb Stunden. Jedesmal durchlief ich dieselbe Erfahrung — ich konnte nicht atmen, die Schockwellen durchliefen meinen Körper, ich krümmte mich zusammen und schrie völlig unkontrolliert. Jedesmal, wenn sie den Sack wieder überzogen, betete ich, ich möge ohnmächtig werden, um den Schmerzen und der Platzangst zu entgegen, aber es geschah nicht.....

Nachdem sie die Methode mit dem Sack und den Schocks eine Zeitlang angewandt hatten, wurde ich zwischen die Beine von Captain Visser gesetzt. Er nahm nun ein ziemlich dünnes, nasses Handtuch, schlang es um meinen Hals und begann, zuzuziehen. Dieser Mensch ist ein ausgesucht starker Bursche und er zog jedesmal derart zu, daß ich das Gefühl hatte, meine Augen fielen mir aus dem Kopf. Etwa zehn Tage lang waren meine Augen voll mit kleinen roten Flecken, die, wie ich später erfuhr, geplatzte Äderchen waren.

Jedesmal, wenn er mich strangulierte, sah er mir, aus seinem Stuhl über mir, in die Augen und sagte, jetzt bringe er mich um. Dann schob er sofort seine Fragen nach meiner angeblichen ANC-Mitgliedschaft nach. Es ist schwer, genau zu rekapitulieren, wie oft er mich strangulierte, aber ich denke zehn- bis fünfzehnmal.

Zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt mußte ich mich mit ausgestreckten Beinen auf den Boden setzen. Dann schlugen sie mir mit einer langen Nilpferdpeitsche auf die Fußsohlen und feuerten zwischen den einzelnen Hie-

ben ihre Fragen gegen mich.

Aufgrund dieser Peitschenhiebe war es schrecklich schmerzhaft zu stehen, zumal barfuß, was sie mich zwangen, für die nächsten 18 Stunden zu tun....

Bevor sie mit der Folter um Sieben abends begonnen hatten, war die Gruppe, die die Folterei auszuführen hatte, in der Polizeikantine in Benoi einen trinken gegangen. Sie schleppten einen ihrer Zechkumpare mit, einen Mann namens Hendrik, wenn ich mich recht erinnere. Früher, entnahm ich ihrer Konversation, muß er im Free State gedient haben und jetzt irgendwo im Rand. Er kam nicht von der Tatsache los, daß ein Weißer, ein Afrikaner, sich so verhalten konnte, daß er von der Sicherheitspolizei deshalb gefoltert wurde. Mit größtem Interesse verfolgte er die ganzen Vorgänge und unterbrach sie gelegentlich mit Witzen. (Wobei er in der Tat ein hervorragender Erzähler war und John Vorster täuschend echt nachmachen konnte.) Einmal unterbrach er die Folter und sagte, „Hör zu Aret, ich muß mit dir reden, ich muß dir einen Rat geben.“ Dabei zog er mich in den Flur, nahm sein Brandy-Glas mit, versuchte mich zu einem Schluck zu überreden und meinte „Hör zu, jetzt gehst du rein und sagst den Jungs die Wahrheit, weil sie dich sonst umbringen, und ich kann's nicht mit ansehen, wie sie dich hier zusammenschlagen. Schließlich sind wir beide Afrikaner und müssen uns ja nicht unbedingt gegenseitig solche Dinge antun. In Gottes Namen, sag ihnen, was sie hören wollen, in deinem und in unserem Interesse.“ Weil ich aber auch bei ihm nur wiederholen konnte, daß ich ja eben die Wahrheit sagte und ihnen bereits sämtliche Information gegeben hätte, wurde er böse, fing an, mich zu beschimpfen und stieß mich in den Raum zurück, nicht ohne seine Kollegen aufzufordern, sie sollten mit mir machen, was sie wollten.

Doch mein Fall muß ihn so beschäftigt haben, daß er am nächsten Tag wiederkam, mich aufsuchte und versprach, sobald die ganze Geschichte hier vorüber wäre, mir ein Stück Land und zwei Kaffer zu geben, damit ich mir eine Farm aufbauen könnte.

Am Morgen des 18. November holte mich Feldwebel Prince gegen halb Neun aus meiner Zelle und brachte mich in den vierten Stock der Polizeistation. Dieser Stock ist ausschließlich von der Geheimpolizei belegt, hat einen eigenen Aufzug, der nur zum vierten Stock fährt und an beiden Enden des Flures sind Eisengitter.

Ich wurde in ein Büro geführt, in dem sich Prince, Captain von Aswegen, Captain Olivier und Major Abrie befanden. Sie würden mir, eröffneten sie mir, nur wenig Zeit geben, um jene nennenswerten Punkte vorzutragen, die ich bislang verheimlicht hatte. Vor ihnen läge, sagte ich, eine umfassende Aussage meinerseits. Captain Olivier erwiderte, es sei ganz offensichtlich, daß ich nicht zur Zusammenkunft mit ihnen bereit sei und sie der Blutzufuhr zu meinem Hirn deshalb ein wenig nachhelfen müssten. Feldwebel Prince holte ein Paar Handschellen und klappte einen Teil um mein rechtes Handgelenk und den anderen Teil um meinen linken Knöchel, eine entsetzliche Position, zumal, wenn von einem verlangt wird, in dieser zu stehen. Sie warnten mich näm-

Datum	Name	offiziell angegebene Todesursache
19. 3. 76	Joseph Mdluli	vom Stuhl gefallen
5. 8. 76	Mapetla Mohapi	Tod durch erhängen
2. 9. 76	Luke Mazwenbe	Selbstmord durch Erhängen
25. 9. 76	Dumisani Mbatha (16 Jahre)	natürlicher Tod
19. 11. 76	Thalo Mosala	tot aufgefunden
11. 12. 76	Wellington Tshazibane	Selbstmord durch Erhängen
15. 12. 76	George Botha	fiel im Treppenhause schacht 6 Etagen tief
9. 1. 77	Nanoath Nshuntsha	Selbstmord durch Erhängen
9. 1. 77	Lawrence Ndzanga	Herzschlag
20. 1. 77	Elmon Malele	schlug nach einem Ohnmachtsanfall mit dem Kopf gegen einen Tisch
15. 2. 77	Mathewa Mabelane	fiel aus dem 10. Stock
22. 2. 77	Samuel Malinga	natürlicher Tod
26. 3. 77	Aaron Khoza	Selbstmord durch Erhängen
7. 7. 77	Phakamile Mabija	fiel im 6. Stock aus dem Fenster
1. 8. 77	Elijah Loza	Schlaganfall
3. 8. 77	Dr. Hoosen Haffjee	Selbstmord durch Erhängen
13. 8. 77	Bayempin Mzizi	Tod durch Erhängen
12. 9. 77	Steve Biko	Schlug mit dem Hinterkopf gegen die Wand
10. 7. 78	Lungile Tahaalaza	sprang im 5. Stock aus dem Fenster
12. 11. 81	Tshifwa Muofhe	in der Zelle tot aufgefunden
5. 2. 82	Neil Aggett	Selbstmord durch Erhängen
8. 8. 82	Ernest Dipale	Tod durch Erhängen

lich, mich hinzusetzen, hinzulegen oder auch nur umzufallen. Sollte ich dies tun, würden sie mich verprügeln. Da ich annahm, daß sie dies wahrhaben und die Prügel mich schwächen würden, ich also weniger imstande sein dürfte, die unabwiesliche Folter zu überstehen, versuchte ich krampfhaft stehen zu bleiben.

Nach etwa 15 Minuten waren meine Beine bereits völlig gefühllos und begannen unkontrolliert zu zittern. Da ich kein Gefühl mehr in den Beinen hatte, fing ich an, hin und her zu schwanken und konnte nur mit größter Anstrengung versuchen, die Muskeln in den Beinen abwechselnd an- und zu entspannen, um einigermaßen das Gleichgewicht zu halten...

Die ganze Zeit war immer wenigstens ein Geheimpolizist im Raum, um mich zu über-

wachen. Die anderen verließen zwischen- drin den Raum; was sie genau machten draußen weiß ich nicht. Ich erinnere mich allerdings daran, daß Captain Olivier weg- ging, um sich ein paar neue Schuhe zu kau- fen....

Ich stand so bis Sieben abends, also bis sie mit der Folter begannen. Anschließend ket- teten sie mich in der selben Position, ir- gendwann gegen Morgen, wieder an, wo- rauf ich so bis Sechs Uhr abends stand, bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, als Major Abrie in den Raum kam, ich mich aufrecht vor ihn hin- stellen mußte, er mir eine einstündige Lek- tion erteilte und ich dann in meine Zelle zu- rückgeführt wurde, wo mir nur zum Essen oder zu gelegentlichen Verhören die Hand- schellen abgenommen wurden, sodaß ich dann aufrecht stehen konnte.

Erst fühlt man diese Tortur nur in den Bei- nen, aber nach einigen Stunden fangen die Schmerzen in der Brust an, man hat Mühe zu atmen. Ich bekam eine Art Asthma da- von, und je tiefer ich versuchte durchzuat- men, desto mehr spürte ich die Schmerzen im ganzen Brustkorb.

Natürlich hatte die Sache länger andauern- de Auswirkungen — nach den zwei Tagen Verhören konnte ich mich nicht mehr bücken und nur noch Schritte von wenigen Zentimetern machen, konnte mich nicht einmal mehr so weit bücken, um meine Socken oder Schuhe anzuziehen. Im Ver- lauf der nächsten Tage wurde es noch schlimmer: Sitzen vergrößerte die Schmer- zen, aber auch im Stehen oder Liegen waren sie furchtbar und ich konnte einfach keine Position finden, in der ich ohne Schmerzen in Rücken und Beinen war.

ARBEITER UND SCHÜLER ZUSAMMENBRINGEN

Die Ziele des Schülervverbandes COSAS

Im August 1982 veröffentlichte die Studen- tenzeitung NATIONAL ein Interview mit dem Vorstand der schwarzen Schüler- Organisation COSAS, dem Congress of South African Students, das wir in Auszügen wiedergeben.

Was heißt das Leitthema für 1982, Schüler- und Arbeiter-Aktionen zu organisieren?

Die Schüler haben erst langsam, nach 1978/79, begriffen, daß sie nur eine speziel- le gesellschaftliche Gruppe sind und nur eine begrenzte Rolle im breiteren Kampf spie- len. Ihre Rolle muß es sein, den Kampf der Arbeiter zu unterstützen. Die Schüler sind die Arbeiter von morgen und mit diesem Verständnis müssen sie erzogen und organi- siert werden.

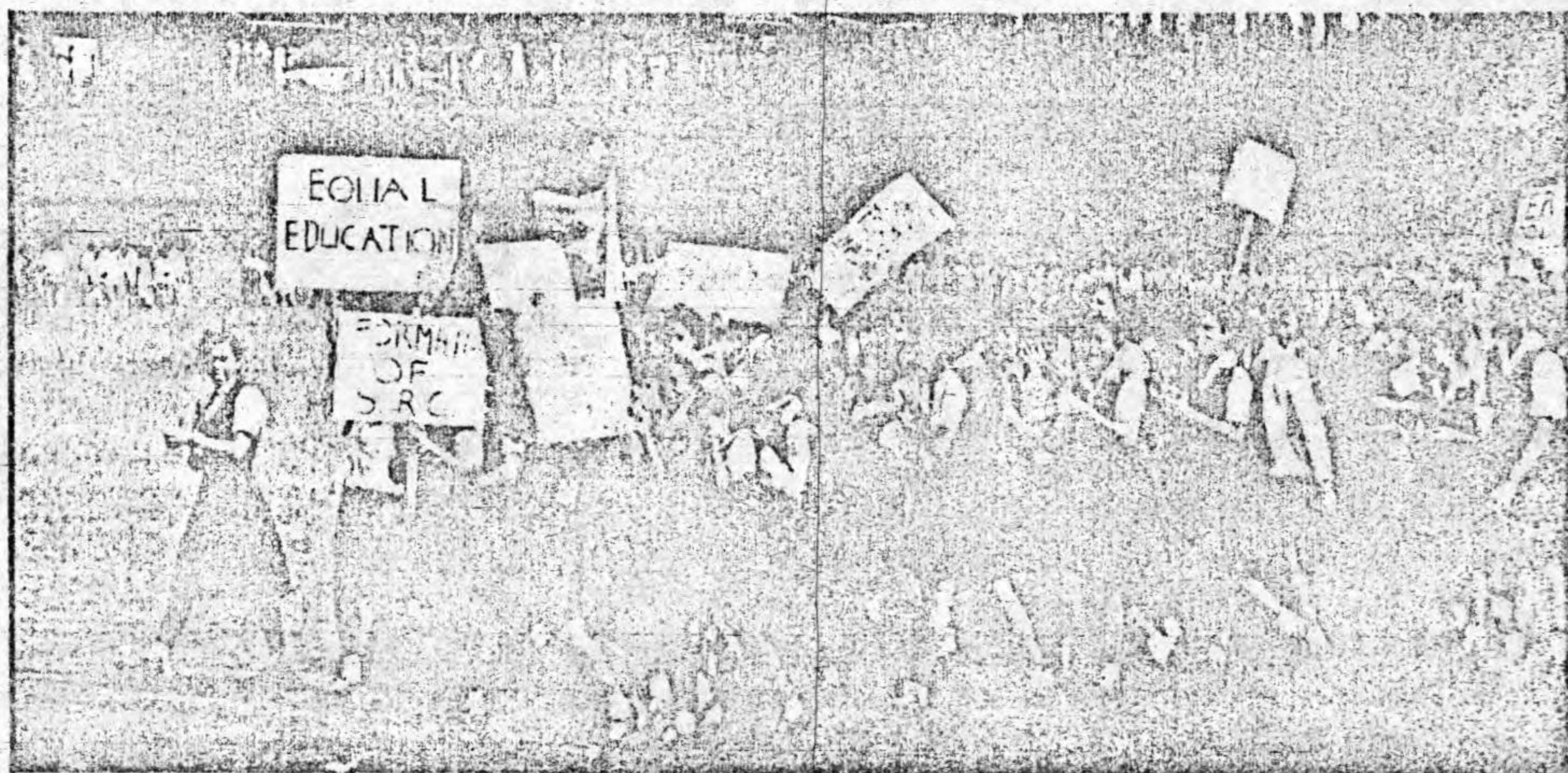
Die Erfahrungen, die Schüler machen, sind vermutlich verschieden von denen, die Ar- beiter machen, am Wohnort und an der Ar- beitsstelle. Deshalb denken wir, daß die Schüler eine stärkere Rolle im allgemeinen Kampf spielen können, wenn wir den Kampf der Arbeiter zu den Schülern brin- gen.

Haben Schüler und Arbeiter eine Basis für gemeinsame Aktionen?

Schüler werden in der Schule unterdrückt, Arbeiter haben Mißstände am Arbeitsplatz. Gemeinsame Mißstände aber haben Schüler und Arbeiter in der Gemeinde, also bei- spielsweise ihre unzureichenden Lebensbe- dingungen. Bringen wir nun diese beiden Gruppen anhand ihrer gemeinsamen Erfah- rungen zusammen, so können sie eine sehr starke vereinte Front bilden, das System herauszufordern, die Ungerechtigkeiten of- fenzulegen.

Ist eine solche Aktion ein Schritt nach vor- ne in der Schülerbewegung?

Ja, ein gewaltiger sogar. So etwas wäre vor '76 nicht denkbar gewesen. Die Schüler dachten zu einem erheblichen Teil, sie könnten das ganze Erziehungssystem ab- schaffen und letztlich die Befreiung errei- chen. Schüler verstanden sich als die füh- rende Kraft im Befreiungskampf, was



Schulboykott indischer Schüler, Durban, Juni 1980

selbstverständlich eine Illusion war. Wir ha- ben unsere Grenzen erkannt.

Wie organisiert COSAS die Schüler?

Seit den Schulboykotts 1980 forderten wir demokratische Schülervertretungen. Wenn man Schüler in den Kampf einbeziehen will, muß man sie organisieren. Die 'Students Representative Councils' vermögen Schü- lern anhand von Themen, die sie direkt er- fahren, Themen begreiflich machen um zu sehen, wie wichtig es ist, die Gemeinschaft zu unterstützen. Eines unserer Ziele ist es, in den Schulen die Beziehungen untereinan- der zu verbessern. Wir sollten erkennen, daß wir unterdrückt sind und gemeinsame Probleme haben, die wir auch gemeinsam angehen sollten.

Wir hoffen auch, daß die Lehrer sich als Teil dieser unterdrückten Gemeinschaft be- greifen und schließlich mit uns gemeinsam die Apartheid-Erziehung bekämpfen.

Welche unmittelbaren Probleme habt ihr?

Eines ist die vom Staat verordnete Schul- pflicht. Durch diese Methoden zwingt der Staat die Eltern, für den Unterricht ihrer Kinder zu zahlen. In einer Gesellschaft, in der Ausbeutung zum Alltag des Menschen gehört, muß man auch Erziehung als eine Waffe sehen, Unterdrückung und Un- gleichheit aufrecht zu halten. Schulpflicht ist nur dann akzeptabel, wenn es sich um eine freie und demokratische Erziehung han- delt, durch die Schüler Fähigkeiten bekom- men, die zur Verbesserung der Gesellschaft nütze sind.

Ein anderes Problem ist die Altersbegren- zung. Schüler über 21 dürfen nicht mehr den normalen Unterricht besuchen, son- dern müssen sich in den Erwachsenenbil- dungsstätten einschreiben. Diese Regeln sind eine Antwort auf die Unruhen von 1976 von 1980, um sogenannte Unruhestif- ter fernzuhalten.

Wie sind eure Beziehungen zu anderen Schüler- und Studenten-Organisationen?

Heute sehen wir die Situation viel realisti- scher und begreifen, welche Kräfte hinter der Unterdrückung stehen: nicht die Haut- farbe an sich, sondern sehr viel mehr die ökonomischen Faktoren. Wir sehen, daß NUSAS* zum Beispiel die Situation so ein- schätzt wie wir. Sie haben demokratische Zielvorstellungen, streben eine nicht- rassische Gesellschaft an und das ist schließ- lich auch unser Ziel.

Die tägliche Erfahrung im Kampf lehrt die Schüler, daß es nicht um weiße Individuen geht, sondern um das System der Unter- drückung und Ausbeutung. In den Reihen der Weißen gibt es sehr entschiedene Per- sönlichkeiten, die ihr Leben dem Kampf verschrieben haben. Daß ihre Zahl begrenzt ist, verstehen wir, weil wir die Zwänge die- ser weißen Gesellschaft begreifen.

Wie seht ihr das Erziehungssystem in die- sem Land?

Ein Erziehungssystem in einer rassistischen und undemokratischen Gesellschaft kann nur zum Nutzen der Herrschenden sein.