

Amendment of section 108bis of Act 56 of 1955, as inserted by section 4 of Act 39 of 1961 and amended by section 17 of Act 146 of 1962 and section 2 of Act 37 of 1963 and section 8 of Act 8 of 1964

# THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

## AND THE NATURE OF RESISTANCE

### SOURCES

These sources give some insight into the underground activities of the resistance organisations, but also the way in which the resistance became much wider after 1983 and included trade unions who became involved in the struggle against apartheid.

#### Source 1:

Barbara Hogan describes her work for the underground ANC in this part of her interview:

I was working underground of the ANC. I was working in the political wing, not the military wing. Besides that I was involved in organization, mobilization and all kinds of other issues.

The security police had cracked my network through a double agent and so I was picked up very early that morning. I must have been 29.

I presumed when they picked me up that I would come to John Vorster. John Vorster was the primary place where they brought people for interrogation and I knew I'd be interrogated so I knew I'd be coming here. When you make decisions to join an illegal organization, it's after a fairly long process so you are aware that being arrested is a likelihood. So I think you do quite a lot of mental preparation and also a fair number of people I knew had been detained so it wasn't as though it was a complete surprise to me, coming to John Vorster. It didn't come as a shock...

The problem was with my case is they had intercepted a document which I had fielded to the ANC which had spelt out all my ANC underground work. I had written a document spelling out everything; I'd even attached a list of names, at the request of the ANC, of the people that I worked with. So there was nothing. They could have literally taken that document and taken me to court and incriminated me but they were so used to dealing with military cases where they had to try and find out the networks, the cells, the munitions dumps, all of those kind of things that they were used to beating people to a pulp. They were under the impression that they'd hit a major ANC underground network, which they hadn't. So the terror was firstly that you knew you were dealing with some deeply psychotic people but secondly, that they could beat you to a pulp for information that you simply did not have. You got into bizarre situations where you could see that they simply did not believe you. You'd give a piece of information and you could see Deetleefs panicking, could he trust this or couldn't trust this?

I think what made it worse in my situation was in those first couple of days when I was protecting people so that they could get out of the country while the going was good, I led them a merry path.

(a) by the substitution for sub-section (1) of the following sub-section:

“(1) Whenever any person has been arrested on charge of having committed any offence referred in Part IIBis of the Second Schedule, the attorney-general may, if he considers it necessary in the interests of the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order, issue an order that such person shall be released on bail or otherwise before sentence has been passed or that he shall be released: Provided that if no evidence has been led against such person, a preparatory examination or trial, within a period of 14 days after his arrest, he may at any time at that period on notice to the attorney-general apply for a writ of the Supreme Court to set aside the order.”

...s year, according to the latest report of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. Of these it is estimated that more than 1 000 are still being held. The DPSC figures show 7 006 people were held under the state of emergency, with 1 229 still in detention at the end of November. Police reported last week that 177 people had been detained under emergency regulations. The official SAP total for detentions was put at 6 438, with 949 still being held. Of the 1 759 people held under sections 28, 29, 31 or 50 of the Internal Security Act or under Trans-

...under the security Act were arrested last year and 18 between January and June this year. The highest monthly detentions under the act were recorded in August (44) and September (40). In Transkei, 1 846 people are believed to have been detained this year, including the mass detentions of 600 Sigoga High School pupils and 390 Umtata Technical College students. Police are awaiting the outcome of a post mortem examination into the death in custody of 16-year-old Meshack Mogale on November 17. His sister, arrested with him, alleges police kicked and slammed the youth.

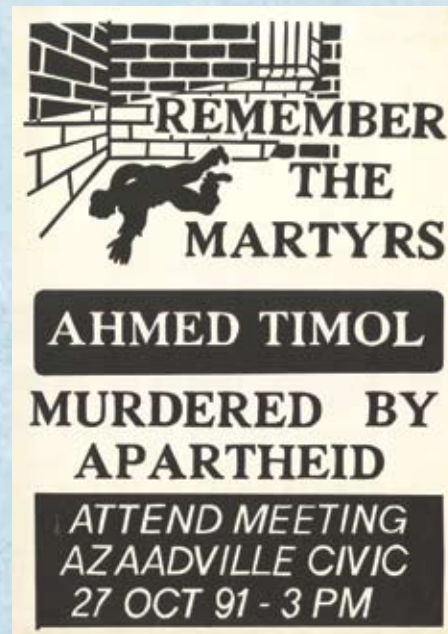
...government's abysmal human rights record," the committee says. The Ministry of Law and Order admitted that five children under the age of 16 were being held in emergency detention in the Western Cape at the time the report was compiled. Two of the youngest section 29 detainees on record, 14-year-old Nontanda Gqeba and 16-year-old Monica Thabethe, were released without charge last Thursday after 77 days in solitary confinement. The DPSC says provisions of the Children's Act appear to have been ignored. Although section 29 is for interrogation, the girls said they

#### Source 2:

Jaki Seroke was an APLA member when he was arrested and detained in 1987. At the time of the interview, he was involved in business but still kept his political links through being the chairman of the ex-political prisoners' committee in Gauteng.

I was first detained in John Vorster Square in 1987, I think it was. I was arrested on a roadblock in Koster. Koster is a small town in the then Western Transvaal. It's part of the North West now and also not far from Rustenburg. We were driving in a car that also had some arms cache of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and I was also driving with a member of the field commanders of APLA. I was a book publisher then and I moved around quite a lot and so when the arrest happened it was late at night around twelve o'clock or so. We did not expect the roadblock to be there but for some reason it was there. And then we were searched but this other fellow that I was driving with, my passenger, the APLA commander, had a copy of the PAC banned literature on him and they happened to come across it and they said "No, No, No, we must search you again," and that's how we got arrested.

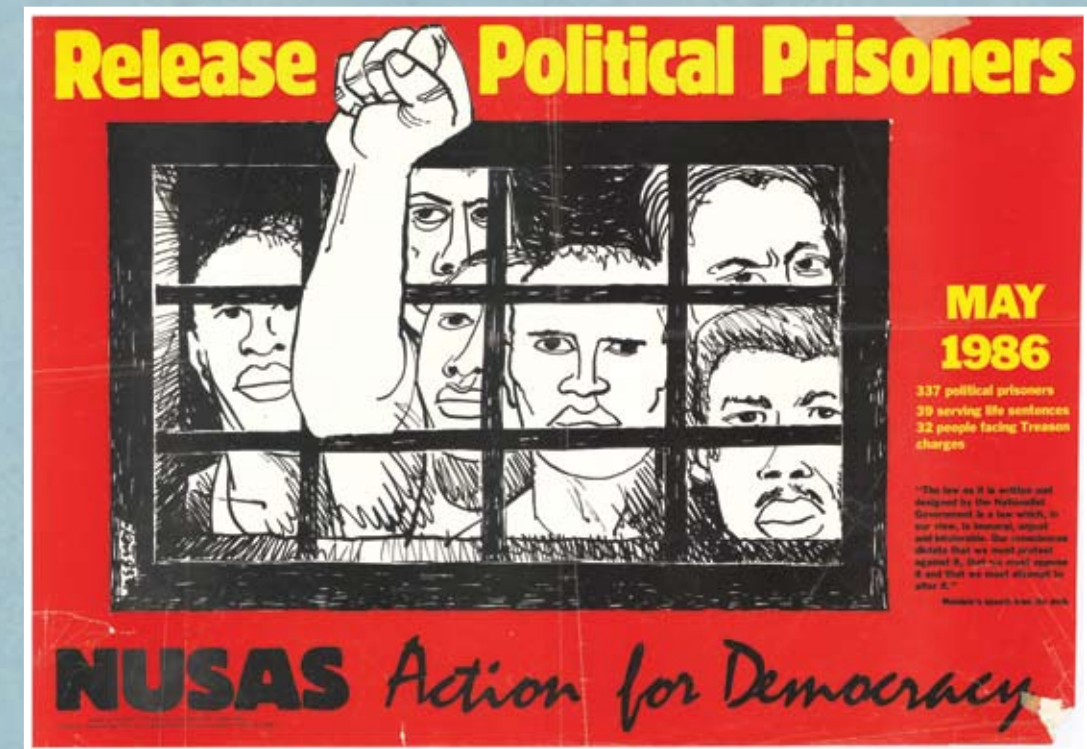
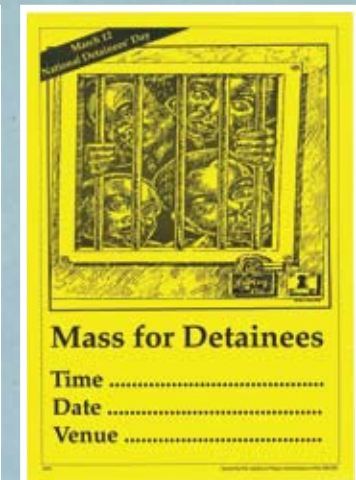
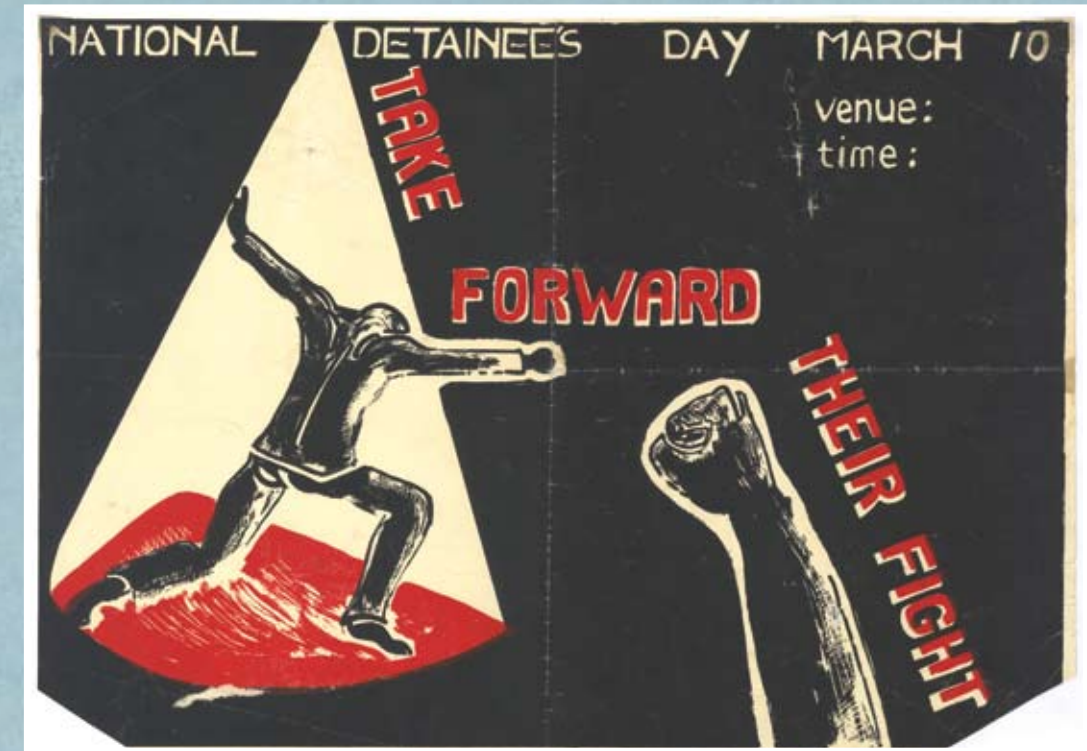
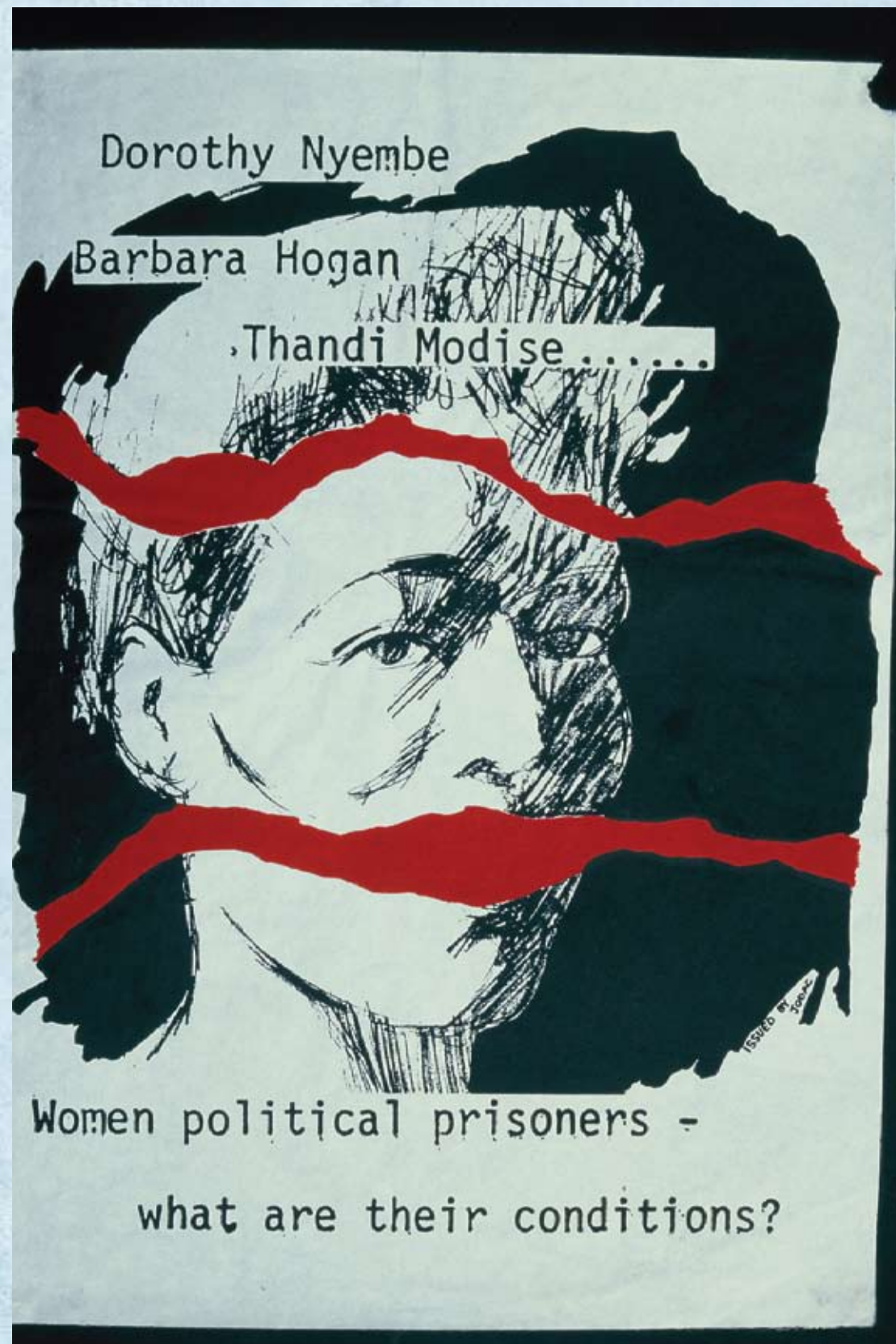
When we were arrested we were then taken to Protea Police Station because our destination was Soweto and we were roughed up there. You know, tortured, interrogated for about four days non-stop and some physical beatings and things like that. And then because they had to take me to a cell they brought me to John Vorster Square. I came here, I was obviously a little dizzy, I didn't know what was happening, I just came here, I was sick...





or he may dismiss the application or otherwise with it as he deems fit.”;

(b) by the deletion of sub-sections (5) and (6) ”





Source 3

**Jabu Ngwenya** was born in Botswana and came back to South Africa as a baby. His mother was a domestic worker in Jeppe. He grew up with his grandparents in Alexandra Township.

... in Alexandra where I used to stay we were not far from the area where whites were staying so I used to see them with their bicycles going to school. So because of that I was also saying to myself I wish that I would have a bike because to have a bike, it was a most difficult thing to have. So I was looking at the way they were dressed, the uniform, the shoes and school bags that they had. So then to me, I became conscious to say what happened, what is happening? By that time I didn't have an answer to say why these children are different from us? And that's that as a child as I grew up because in Alexandra we had everybody, every nationality: we had Chinese, the Indians and everything, you know we had different nationalities and we had all tribes: Zulus, Sotho, Shangaan and so on. So that's when I picked up most of the languages that I understood from Alexandra...

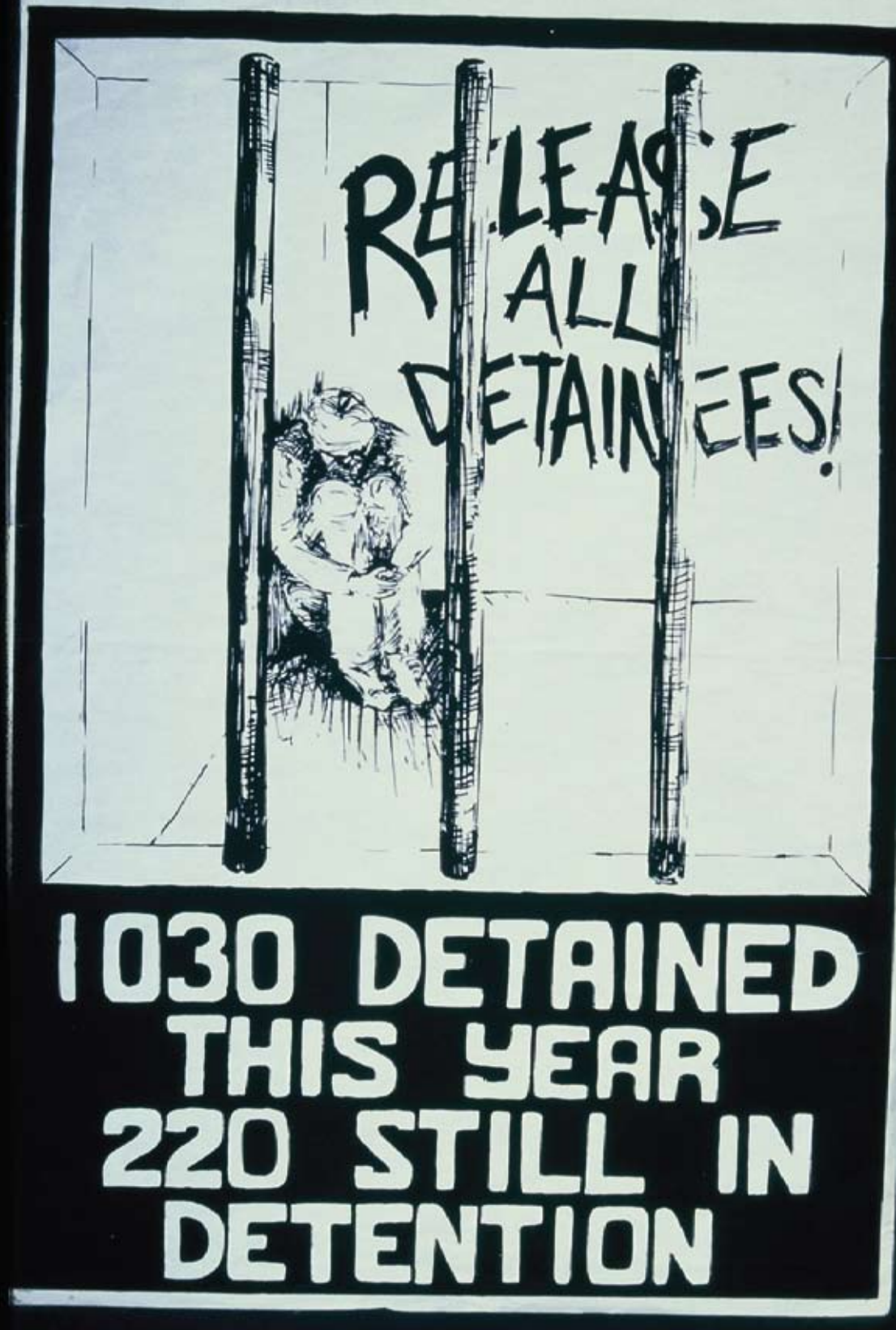
When I got exposed from all those people at the same time during that process I was immediately in one way or another being recruited to the underground structures of the ANC. I worked with people like Joe Qabi, Elliot Shabangu, Phillip Matthews. So those were people that I had links with and then even when Joe Qabi left the country I had contacts with him outside the country and my friends, I would call them my comrades and my friends Rola Masinga, Billy Masethla, Amos Masondo. And then I was interacting with lots of organizations at that time. I worked with Black Consciousness organizations; I worked with all organizations in a way but mostly I was involved in starting structures of organizations. Like when most organizations were banned and so forth, then I worked with most people of Black Consciousness like Mabaso, Ishmael Mkhabela. There were lots of them; the names are endless. So during that process that we formed AZAPO. I was part of setting up AZAPO and so on and well we saw things in a different light. I had also being instrumental to set up COSAS, which those people from Black Consciousness were instrumental to help and assist us through their experience, through their resources.

At that time I got my instructions from outside the country to set up COSAS in a way to say this is the kind of thing that you need to do. It was important for us to set up an organization of students because at that point in time we needed people who could read and write and who weren't carrying lots of baggage. When you look at the side of workers they were really carrying lots of baggage because they were looking after their children and their parents and on the other side when you look at the youths, most of them were unemployed so when you recruit them, they were looking for employment then when you look at the university students they were about to finish and become doctors and so on. So the grouping that was ideal to all of us was students from high school and technikons. So that's where we started to set up the organization that was COSAS. Most other things grew out of that organization, from workers structures; community based structures and so on because students are part of families. So they are many in one place but also they are part of the families that they come from. So it was easy for us to reach out to their families because the students were loved by their mothers and fathers so when they engaged them on day-to-day issues it became much easier.

From there we were instrumental in setting up the UDF, which was I, Vali Moosa and so on and so forth. We were the ones who set up an office and we worked together with Vali Moosa and then from the COSATU side in order to bring different unions because I used to work for the union called GAWU (General Workers Union) with Rita Nzanga, Samson Ndou, Poloto, Shabangu, those people who were instrumental but then what we did is that we came together with the unions that we see alike, MACUSA from Port Elizabeth, SAU from East London and Durban and so we came together as the so-called Progressive Unions because we were very different from other unions in a way because we saw our role from the community, as a community because what happens is that at work situations we had people who were workers, at home they became a family and so on. We believed that we can play dual activities. So we pushed it, then from there that's when we started to negotiate with people like FOSATU, FAWU. We had ways and means of working together with FAWU in a way because there were lots of our comrades in FOSATU.

So those were my activities in a way but I'm just cutting them short, there were lots of them. So I've been from as I was saying, from the students, the youths, the churches, the women's organizations. I worked with all structures. I never worked with any single structure because I worked with churches; I was quite actively involved nationally, not just only in Johannesburg. Then within all those organizations we had campaigns to keep them alive, to keep them working, to keep them doing things and driven and so on. So briefly that's that...

Somewhere between 1977 and 1978, between that time, I was detained. The police were looking for me on several times but the place that I had been detained in several times and been taken in and released and taken in and released most of the case was Protea Police Station but John Vorster I was brought in here I think in 1978...But then in 1980 or 1981 I was detained then for quite a longer time. I was in Sandton Police Station, and then I was brought up here in John Vorster again. During that time it was the first time that I was with whites, blacks and Indians and so on. But usually, during my times of detention there were not lots of white people that were detained but by that time there were lots of white people who were detained. And in my head, my understanding was that whites were not people who were beaten up, you know? By that time those white people, my comrades that I had, they were tortured, tortured badly. Lots of them were tortured badly."





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THE ACTIVITY

Analysing visual images and stereotyping

Why this activity?

This activity helps learners to:

- Develop awareness of historical context
- Develop critical thinking skills, particularly in regards to visual images
- Enhance their observation and interpretive skills
- Develop conceptual learning techniques

STEP 6: CLASS DISCUSSION

Discuss your interpretation with the class, and be prepared to support your view by referring to specifics in the drawing and in what you know about the history of the 1980s resistance.

EXTENDING THIS ACTIVITY

Use this technique in class to analyse a:

- piece of art
- photograph
- video clip, such as the extract from William Kentridge's animation 'Ubu tells the truth' on the DVD.

How to do it:

STEP 1: LOOK DEEPLY

Choose one of the resistance posters from the page opposite or from those on pages 26-28 and look at the poster for a few minutes. Take your time. What shapes, colours and textures do you see? What are the positions of the people and/or objects, words, etc.

STEP 2: POSTER INTERPRETATION

Write down below what you see without making any interpretation about what the poster is trying to say.

I see...

STEP 3: LOOK DEEPLY

What questions do you have about this poster that you would need answered before you can begin to interpret it? (Ask as many questions as you have.)

For example:

I want to know...  
I was wondering...  
Who?...  
What?...  
Where?...  
When?...  
Why?...

STEP 4: POSTER INTERPRETATION

Write down below what you see without making any interpretation about what the poster is trying to say.

I see...

STEP 5 : POSTER INTERPRETATION

Given the historical context and subject of the poster:

- what do you think the artist is trying to say (what does the poster mean?);
- who do you think is the intended audience?

I think the artist is saying...

I think the intended audience is...

