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War in Worcester:

Pamela Reynolds

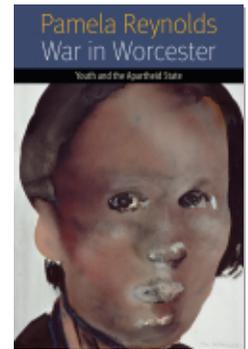
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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

Volumes 1 to 5 of the Commission's *Report*, published in 1998 in South Africa, are drawn on in the notes and are referenced by the number of the volume and the pages in that volume.

1. The apartheid state classified people into one of four population groups—"African," "Coloured," "Asian," and "White." The apartheid state was based fundamentally on racial (however unscientific) and ethnic groupings. Sociological and historical analysis of contemporary South Africa uses these groupings and the commission followed suit (1:168). See the reason proffered by the chairman of the Commission (1:3).

Chapter 2 of volume 2 outlines the historical context of the Commission's timeframe. It marks the major features of conflict between a minority that sought to dominate a majority, beginning in the mid-seventeenth century. Racially discriminatory practices and deep conflict existed from the beginning and, by the twentieth century, a well-established tradition of excessive or unjustifiable use of force against government opponents "had been instituted" (26). The National Party, which came into power in 1948, did not initiate discriminatory practices, but it introduced social engineering on a vast scale. Three acts are identified as perpetrating "wholesale dispossession and discrimination" by the white minority before this date. One was the 1909 South Africa Act, passed by the British parliament, granting judicial independence that transferred power in perpetuity to a minority of white voters (28). Another was passed by the first postunification government: the 1913 Land Act, which laid the basis for "the territorial separation of whites and Africans [and] it destroyed, at a stroke, a thriving African land . . . and peasant agriculture sector . . . by prohibiting land ownership outside the 7 percent of land allocated to the so-called traditional reserves and ending sharecropping and non-tenancy arrangements on white-owned farms" (27). It began a massive forced removal of African people. The third act singled out was the 1936 Repression of Natives Act, by which Cape African voters were disenfranchised (28).

The apartheid state was constructed after 1948. The *Report* observes that the system was “of a qualitatively different type” (29). It set out to segregate every aspect of life, and it “constructed a totalitarian order” (30). The *Report* says that the system itself was inhumane and degrading (34). See pages 30–33 for key legal enactments under apartheid. The Commission did not address the systemic abuses of apartheid. In the notes, I focus on the ANC, as the men of Zwelethemba, with whom I worked, belonged to that organization.

Worcester fell within the “Coloured Labour Preference Area,” making it more difficult for Africans to find work, as it meant that in order to employ an African the employer had to prove to the Labour Department that no “Coloured” person was qualified for the position. Implementation of the preference took shape in the demarcating of the Eiselen Line along the Fish River in the Eastern Cape, which designated the boundary point west of which Africans were not allowed to live permanently. This resulted in numerous forced removals and an increase in migrant labor. It was deeply distressing for Nana’s family when his mother, Mrs. Khohlokoane, lost her job in a factory laboratory in Worcester after “Coloured” workers went on strike against the employment of an African.

2. See Reynolds (1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2000).

3. Definitions of violations and comments on torture.

The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 defined victims as

(a) persons who, individually or together with one or more persons, suffered harm in the form of physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, pecuniary loss or a substantial impairment of human rights (i) as a result of gross violation of human rights; or (ii) as a result of an act associated with a political objective for which amnesty has been granted; (b) persons who, individually or together with one or more persons, suffered harm in the form of physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, pecuniary loss or substantial impairment of human rights, as a result of such person intervening to assist persons contemplated in paragraph (a) who were in distress or to prevent victimisation of such persons; and (c) such relatives or victims as may be prescribed.

The Act defined gross violations of human rights as torture, abduction, killing, or severe ill treatment. The last is defined as:

Acts or omissions that deliberately and directly inflict severe mental or physical suffering on a victim, taking into account the context and nature of the act or omission and the nature of the victim . . . [i.e.] determined on a case by case basis (1:80).

Volume 2 (187–220) contains a section on “Torture and Death in Custody,” and it includes “Methods of Torture,” “The Use of Torture in Arrest and Interrogation of Detainees,” “Deaths of Detainees Held in Terms of Security Legislation,” “Knowledge of Condonation of Torture,” as well as the Commission’s findings, from which the following is drawn.

The Commission finds that torture was used by the security branch at all levels and in all parts of the country, that little effective action was taken by the state to prohibit or even limit its use, and that legislation was enacted that was intended to prevent intervention by the judiciary and to remove public accountability of the security forces for the treatment of detainees in the past. “The Commission concludes that the use of torture was condoned by the South African government as official practice.”

On the basis of empirical investigations Foster (1987, 117–118) arrived at this conclusion: There “is clear evidence of the extreme severity of treatment handed out to detainees . . . both physical and psychological torture is employed on a widespread and fairly systematic scale in South Africa. The number and range of health problems particularly of a psychological nature, both during and following release from detention indicate the severity of treatment at the hands of security officials.”

David Dyzenhaus (1998, 63–65) gives an account of the fact that when detainees testified to having made confessions under assault it was often dismissed by the court for lack of evidence, as witnesses—the district surgeon, the magistrate, the police official—said there were no signs of recent injuries. His book is one of the earliest critical analyses of the examination of the apartheid legal order as revealed in the Commission’s deliberations. In his view, apartheid was exceptional (among states that resorted to extremes of violence) in that it was implemented and sustained through law (*ibid.*, 149). See Asmal et al. (1996, 97–110) for a discussion of the nature of state terrorism in South Africa, including torture, detention, hit squads, and vigilantism.

4. The *Report* comprises seven volumes. The first five volumes were published in 1998. An introductory volume includes the key concepts, rationale, and methods of the Commission. Volume 2 addresses gross violations of human rights from all sides of the conflict, while volume 3 considers the violations from the victims’ perspectives. Volume 4 examines the nature of the society, or context, in which the violations occurred and invites self-examination of the involvement in the society. Volume 5 gives the conclusions and analysis of the Commission. Two volumes were published in 2003. Volume 6 presents the reports of the four committees, including that of the Amnesty Committee, and reports on the administration of the Commission plus a section on “Findings and Recommendations”; Volume 7 lists the names of the nineteen thousand declared by the Commission to have been victims.

5. Selected references on the Commission and related matters follow: Asmal, Kader, and Roberts (1996); Asmal, Chidester, and Lubisi (2005); Bell and Ntsebeza (2001); Burton (2000); Coleman and Human Rights Committee of South Africa (1998); du Toit (2005); Foster, Davis, and Sandler (1998); Foster and Skinner (1990); Hamilton et al. (2002); Harris (1999); Human Rights Committee of South Africa (1990); James and van de Vijver (2000); Manganyi and

Du Toit (1990); Nuttall and Coetzee (1998); Posel and Simpson (1999); Ross (2001, 2003); Sarkin (2004); Skinner (1998); Straker (1992); Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (1998); Villa-Vicencio and Verwoerd (2000); Westcott (1988); and Wilson (2001).

6. On reparations and pensions, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act no. 34 of 1995 recommended that reparation measures be considered to achieve unity and reconciliation. Wendy Orr, a commissioner of the TRC and a member of the Reparation and Reconciliation Committee (RRC) wrote an article, “Reparation Delayed Is Healing Retarded” (2000, 239–249), in which she discusses the purpose and process of the establishment and workings of the committee. She discusses the decision to make a “closed list” of persons who could receive reparation and decisions around and differentiation according to the severity or extent of need and/or financial status. Orr offers a critique of the RRC and says that “one of our failures was our inability to deliver some form of reparation or supportive intervention almost immediately. The fact that perpetrators felt the benefit of a positive amnesty decision at once, while victims have had to wait years [even for urgent reparation] has not facilitated healing” (247). She feels very strongly that the Commission (rather than the government) should have had the capacity to implement urgent interim reparation much more expeditiously, and she adds: “The concept of urgent reparation became a complete farce when its delivery only started shortly before the end of the TRC in October 1998.”

Social pensions were provided by the government for members of the liberation armies, but thousands of members were excluded by the stipulations of the bill, for example, that a recipient had to be thirty-five or older in 1996. These terms, notably the age bracket, have since been altered.

7. South African Defence Forces (SADF) and conscription. In 1967, all white men between the ages of seventeen and sixty-five were expected to serve for nine months of conscription in the South African armed forces, that is, the SADF. The length increased so that by 1977 men served for two years and thirty days per year for a period of eight years. In 1957, the SADF entered Angola as part of the “border war,” and during that time men were forced to serve three-month tours of duty. By 1982, conscription totaled 720 days.

The SADF soldiers, the South African Police (SAP) members acting as soldiers, and soldiers of the liberation armed wings who were killed or seriously injured in armed combat (during, for example, the Namibian and Angola “border wars”) were not viewed as victims of gross violations of human rights (GVHR) as defined in the Act that established the Commission. Those combatants who were killed or wounded while they were unarmed or out of combat, executed or wounded after they had been captured, or who had surrendered were held to be victims of GVHR as under the Geneva Conventions and Protocols (1:75–76). This protection had been bypassed under the apartheid regime in various ways

(Asmal et al. 1996, 55). There were uncertain areas in determining whom and under what circumstances a person can be said to have been a combatant (Burton 2000, 84–85). Burton calls for international clarification of the criteria of a combatant (*ibid.*).

In August 1984, the decision was taken to deploy the army in the townships (2:34). The Commission's findings on the SADF and the SAP are given in volume 5 (223–225). The SADF was renamed the South African National Defence Force upon the demise of the apartheid regime.

8. Liberation organizations. The African National Congress (ANC) was the largest liberation organization in South Africa and the one to which the young men in Zwelethemba with whom I worked belonged. It was founded in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress and in 1923 became the ANC. It was banned in 1960 under the Unlawful Organisations Act, and Oliver Tambo established it in exile. A year later, the military wing was instituted as Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation). The ban on the ANC was lifted in 1990, and in 1994, as a political party, it won the first democratic elections held in South Africa.

In 1959, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was formally constituted, and it formed an armed wing named the Azanian People's Organisation (APLA). The PAC was banned in 1960. The Communist Party of South Africa was banned in 1950 and was reconstituted as the SACP in 1962. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was founded in 1978, and its armed wing was called the Azanian National Liberation Front. The organization was oriented toward the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The Black Consciousness Movement emerged in the 1970s, and it became renowned for the philosophical ideas of Steve Biko.

On February 2, 1990, at the opening of Parliament, the new president, F. W. de Klerk of the National Party lifted the ban on the ANC, PAC, and SACP.

9. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). In June 1961, leaders in the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, "came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force . . . the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe" (taken from Mandela's statement in court on April 20, 1964, as accused of "treason" or of aiding "terrorists" in the Rivonia trial. Quoted in Westcott 1998, 76). On December 16, 1961, the manifesto of the armed wing of the ANC, the MK, was published.

The Commission states that the "MK engaged in acts of war from 1961 to 1990 when, following its unbanning on 2 February [1990] negotiations [toward a democratic dispensation] commenced. The armed struggle was suspended in August 1990" (2:326). The Commission's analysis of and findings on human

rights violations committed by the liberation and mass movements can be found in 2:325–366.

In 1991, the MK was disbanded in accord with political change.

10. The Freedom Charter was adopted by the Congress of the People (ANC) on June 26, 1955, at Kliptown. It stresses the indivisibility of political, social, and economic rights. The text can be found in Asmal et al. (2005, 60–64).

11. Security forces. According to the *Report* (1:42), in the 1980s, when the state was in crisis, real rule-making power shifted from parliament and the cabinet to a nonelected administrative body, the State Security Council (SCC), which operated beyond public scrutiny. “Nominally a sub-organ of the Cabinet, in reality the SCC eclipsed it as the locus of power and authority in matters relating to security.” Coleman (1998, 182) describes the security forces as including “the South African Police (SAP), South African Defence Force (SADF), homeland police such as the KwaZulu Police (KZP), homeland armies, municipal and council police and other parastatal law enforcement entities.”

From 1949, “a formidable security network” was built up based on a security force, a network of undercover agents, and the recruitment of infiltrators. The overarching National Security Management Systems (NSMS) brought together the military, police, and national intelligence. It oversaw the “bloody repression of the 1980s . . . it was the true heart of the brute maintenance of apartheid, a vast structure led by those who planned, analysed and ordered the minions who carried out most of the violent acts which became the focus of the TRC” (Bell and Ntsebeza 2001, 191). See Sarkin (2004, 47) on security force indemnifications to escape prosecution.

Security force action “took place in the context of a nation wide state of emergency that effectively remained in place from June 1986 until mid 1990” (2:39).

12. There was an array of strong and important NGOs and institutions that stood on behalf of those adversely affected by the apartheid system. They included the following: The Black Sash Organisation was founded in 1955 as an independent political organization of women in South Africa committed to nonracism and parliamentary democracy. It aimed to secure the recognition and protection by law of human rights and liberties. Its opposition to human rights violations committed under apartheid earned it international and national recognition (Mary Burton, national president of the Black Sash, in Westcott 1988, 4). The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV), launched in 1986, is a multidisciplinary institution involved in research, policy proposals, and lobbying for issues regarding violence, reconciliation, conflict management, and human rights violations in South Africa. In 1995, the Khulumani Support Group was founded in response to the Commission’s activities to create a place for survivors and families of victims to talk about abuses and experiences under the apartheid regime and to find support; it developed into a powerful group

standing for the rights of people categorized as victims. The Catholic Welfare and Development Organisation was founded under the auspices of the Catholic Church in 1972 by two social workers. It is one of the largest and longest-established NGOs in the country. Their aim is to develop people to rise out of poverty, with the major focus being on development work. The Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture was launched in 1993 in Cape Town, having been established in partnership with mental health organizations that had, in the 1980s, addressed the needs of victims of human rights abusers. It aims to provide healing and to respond to the changing face of violence, working toward a nonviolent society in which human rights are respected. In May 2000, following the end of the Commission's work, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) was established. It aims to consider the broader context of social concerns by using the insights that have been gained through South Africa's history to address the need for justice and reconciliation within and beyond South Africa's borders. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) became the Human Rights Commission, then the Human Rights Committee (HRC)—the latter was launched in September 1988. Over fifteen years, they monitored and compiled all the available evidence on repressive methods and practices used to sustain apartheid power. An invaluable historical resource was accumulated. In 1998, Max Coleman produced their findings as a reference work.

13. African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). In 1943, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) was founded by young professionals including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Oliver Tambo, who sponsored a "Programme of Action" that encouraged civil disobedience for the first time (Westcott 1988, 7). The military of the Youth League provided the impetus for the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the drafting of the Freedom Charter (4:252–230).

The state's response to peaceful protest in the 1960s, especially against the pass laws, was mass repression, following which many youth left the country to take up arms and fight for liberation. On September 25, 1979, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was launched. It was formed as a national organization to represent the interests of black school students in the wake of the Soweto uprisings. During that time, the South African Student Movement (SASM) and other organizations of the Black Consciousness (BC) movement were banned. COSAS initiated the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). It focused on organizing the nonstudent youth, unemployed youth, and young workers who shared the interests and aspirations of COSAS but could not belong to it. Individual townships and regions established their own youth congresses, and by 1983, twenty new youth organizations were launched. By the end of 1986, there were some six hundred youth congresses across the country, which was remarkable in its own right, as the youth congresses were established and operating during the time of the first state of emergency. The first youth congress was formed in the Western Cape in 1983. Known as the Western Cape Youth Con-

gress (CAYCO), it brought together thirty-five youth groups. Worcester and Zwelethemba established congresses—WOYCO and ZWEYO. Some youth belonged to the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), a product of the community groupings that simultaneously fought for a qualitative change in people's social and community lives while tackling the overall political issues of apartheid. They called themselves “civics.”

14. Soweto. On June 16, 1976, approximately ten thousand people, many of whom were schoolchildren, held a peaceful protest against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Police opened fire on the gathering. The number of children killed or injured varies widely. Most were under the age of twenty-five; many were schoolchildren. The first pupil to be fatally wounded was thirteen-year-old Hector Zolile Pieterse. The journalist Sam Nzima took a picture that became famous. The photograph depicts Pieterse's body being carried away by another student, Mbuyiswa Makhubo, with his distressed sister alongside him (3:559–560). Details of the protest and testimony at the Commission's Soweto Day hearing can be found in volume 3 (557–562). Resistance spread across the nation, lasting for fifteen months. It was the beginning of mass action by the young against apartheid.

15. Many young men died during the years of apartheid, and their lives and fates became renowned, for example, Moeketsi (Stompie) Seipei. The abuse and killing of Stompie has been widely reported and examined. See the *Report* (2:567–570) for the Commission's account and findings. The findings point not to the security forces but to members of the ANC.

Siphiwe Mthimkulu was a political activist from the age of seventeen. He began, like so many others, with protests against Bantu Education. He was detained numerous times and subjected to severe forms of torture. He was shot in the arm and faced constant police harassment. In 1981, after his release from yet another arrest, his health deteriorated rapidly, and he was diagnosed as having been poisoned with thallium. Despite the poisoning, he fought to recover and began slowly regaining his health. Throughout his convalescence, Siphiwe continued with his political activities and filed a claim for damages against the police in connection with his poisoning. In 1982, he left his home for a check-up at the Livingstone Hospital. He never arrived, and it was later revealed that the security forces had killed him (4:260).

Hector Pieterse was one of the youngest persons shot by the police on June 16, 1976, during the Soweto uprising (see note 14).

The Gugulethu Seven killings. Seven young men (Zandisile Zenith Mjobo, Zola Alfred Swelani, Mandla Simon Mxinwa, Godfrey Jabulani Miya, Themba Mlifi, Zabonke John Konile, and Christopher Piet), members of the ANC, were drawn by security forces into a trap and shot (see 3:451–453). Lindy Wilson has made a powerful film, *The Gugulethu Seven* (2001), on the unraveling by the investigative arm of the Commission of the killings.

16. A short selection of works on children and armed conflict and on the situation of children in South Africa under apartheid: Beah (2008); Boyden and Berry (2004); Cohn and Goodwin-Gill (1994); Honwana (2006); Honwana and Dawes (1996); Human Rights Committee of South Africa (1990); Kuper (1997, 2005); Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (1986); Levine (2000, 2006); Machel and Salgado (2001); Pigou (2010); Straker (1992); Wessells (2006).

17. The Cradock Four. Four men, brave and effective activists from Cradock, a small farming town about 300 kilometers north of Port Elizabeth, Mathew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto, Fort Calata, and Sicelo Mhlauli, died on June 27, 1985. They had been abducted and assassinated outside Port Elizabeth. They became known as the “Cradock Four.” The Report (3:112–117) gives details of their actions and consequences, noting that their treatment illustrates “the use of sophisticated covert operations by the security forces in the assassination of political opponents” (3:116). Testimony was given on April 15, 1996, at the first East London hearing of the Commission, by their wives Nyameka Goniwe, Sindiswa Mkhonto, Nomonde Calata, and Nombuyiselo Mhlauli and by the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Mhlauli, Babalwa Mhlauli.

Two inquests were held, and at both of which it was found that the four men had been killed by unknown persons. In January 1997, the Commission received amnesty applications from the members of the Port Elizabeth security police for the killing of the Cradock Four.

1. THE GROUND ON WHICH THEY STOOD

1. One form of attack by community residents on people perceived to be informers was called “necklacing.” A vehicle tire filled with gasoline was placed around the neck of the person under attack, then set alight. Burning was also used by police to cover up killings (2:386). Targets of necklace murders were frequently those suspected of being collaborators and informers. The *Report* estimates that seven hundred people were burned or necklaced, and of this number 191 were recorded in the Commission’s database. During the mandate (1960–1994) years, there were a total of 5,707 (2,870 in the Commission database) deaths related to general public political violence (389). The figure is set in a context of security force tactics that included the widespread use of informers, some of whom had been turned during physical and psychological torture.

2. Detention refers to detention without trial. The *Report* (2:194–204) lists the security legislation that authorized detention during the mandate period. Torture of political detainees was reported as having begun in the early 1960s. Countries that trained South African security force members in methods of torture and third-degree harm are named (*ibid.*). The General Laws Amendment Act of 1963 extended from thirty to ninety days the initial period of detention that had been sanctioned before a detainee had to be brought to court. Any

commissioned officer was authorized to detain without a warrant any person suspected of political activities (dangerous to “law and order”) and to hold such persons in solitary confinement without access to a lawyer. People were often released after having been held for ninety days only to be detained once more on the same day for a further ninety days. “The Minister of Justice said the intention was to detain uncooperative persons ‘until this side of eternity’” (197). The period was later extended to 180 days, and subsequently the law allowed for redetention of a further 180 days. The old and the young, women and men, boys and girls were detained, as were persons of any “race” or ethnic group. The Terrorism Act (1967) authorized indefinite detention without trial, and the definition of terrorism was very broad. The security force members who interrogated detainees worked in teams. During the 1976 unrest, an amendment of the Internal Security Act (ISA) allowed for “preventive detention” that was not meant to exceed twelve months. Other acts followed, and in 1982 the ISA was altered in an attempt to consolidate security legislation. The men of Zwelethemba were frequently detained under Section 29 of that Act, which was chiefly used for those suspected of links with the underground. It was covered by the following clause: “Indefinite detention for interrogation, with detainees held in solitary confinement” (203).

State of Emergency regulations gave police wide-ranging powers, including extensive indemnity provisions that, with hardly any censure for excesses, “reinforced their understanding that they enjoyed impunity for extensive abuses committed in the interests of state security” (204). See note 3 in the introduction.

4. *IMFOBE*: THE REACH FOR MORAL PRINCIPLES

1. “Etymologically, ‘attend’ is a submerged metaphor. It comes from the Latin words *ad*, meaning ‘to’ or ‘toward,’ and *tendere*, ‘to stretch.’ ‘When I attend to you, I stretch my ears toward you’” (Alvarez 2005, 16n).

2. At the time of the conversation, Fiona Ross and I were still working on the project on the TRC. She had completed her fieldwork for a doctoral thesis on young women activists in Zwelethemba under my supervision. She held the discussion with Nana, who was not a part of her study, to obtain his views on a number of issues. Their dialogue does not represent a formal interview between researcher and informant. Both have given me their permission to draw from the discussion. Fiona turned her thesis into a book (Ross 2003).

3. He is making the point that a woman as a potential mother—with all the weight of marriage that this implies—represents more than herself: she is the embodiment of the past for the future.

4. I remind the reader that in response to widespread unrest the government declared a State of Emergency in 1985. It was lifted later in the year, but another was declared in 1986. Wide legislative powers were given to the security forces

to reinstitute “law and order.” Over forty thousand people were arrested during these years (see Foster et al. 2005, 116–119).

5. On the Cradock Four, see note 17 of the introduction.

6. In 1993, the senior ANC leader Chris Hani was assassinated. See Sarkin (2004) for details of the prosecution and refusal of amnesty for the two men accused of killing him.

APPENDIXES

1. Throughout the country, deponents implicated an average of 1.4 victims per statement and 1.6 violations per victim (Report, Volume Three: 3).

2. At the time of writing, statements are not public documents and details are not released. On 6th March 2000, I checked a list of names that I had obtained with Mirriam Moleleki, who had taken statements for the Commission in Zwelethemba. She was unable to identify five names on the list of twenty-six women and I have been unable to trace the women. Nine women made statements about their own experiences of gross violations of human rights; eight described violations committed against their sons, three were about husbands, and one about a father.

3. Numbers in brackets refer to statement case numbers.

4. In terms of the *Public Safety Act* No. 3 of 1953, magistrates had wide-ranging powers to limit the size and scope of funerals. By 1985, the Act had been amended to permit the state to limit the number of mourners, and to specify that there were to be no political speeches or political songs and no flags flown. If a number of people had been killed in the same incident, they could not be buried at the same time. In terms of the 1986 *Security Laws Amendment Act* No. 13, a person caught and charged with attending a restricted funeral could be imprisoned for up to ten years.

5. Amnesty was refused on the grounds that there was no political motive for Dyasi’s killing. Decision no AC/2000/0005, TRC website, accessed 30th January 2002.

6. In a divide and rule strategy, policemen were brought from elsewhere in the country.

