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Paul Weinberg

Women march on Moroka Police Station to protest against the presence of SADF troops in the townships

What you may not see or hear

You may not see up-to-date pictures of unrest in Emergency areas any longer. The photograph on the cover was taken before a proclamation was issued by the State President on November 2. The proclamation prohibits any person, without police permission, from making, taking, reproducing, publishing, broadcasting, distributing, taking or sending to any place in or outside South Africa, any film, photograph, drawing or any other representation or sound recording of any public disturbance, disorder, strike, boycott, assault, killing or damage to property etc.

The prohibition includes a representation of a 'person present at or involved in' any public disturbance, disorder, etc; and any 'conduct of a Force or any member of a Force with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public, or the public order, or for the termination of the state of emergency'.

The proclamation was preceded by an announcement by the State President to the effect that the presence of foreign journalists in townships provokes unrest. He alleged that youths are paid to cause disturbances for media people to film and photograph. Commenting on this the Foreign Correspondents Association said:

'We reject the Government's contention that the restrictions are meant solely to help reduce the level of violence. It is absurd to hold a small group of journalists responsible for a profound political conflict that has been going on for more than a year, left 800 people dead and placed a third of the population under emergency rule.

'The ban on correspondents entering an unrest area except under police and army escort will impede coverage and a news vacuum will develop in which rumours and distortions, from whatever quarter, will prevail, without the possibility of independent verification . . .

'We view (the) ruling as the beginning of the slippery slide toward a totally controlled press.'

In spite of the ban, *Sash* magazine will do its utmost through the work of its members to continue publishing as much as it can within these onerous restrictions to keep its readers informed on what is happening to our compatriots in the townships.

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Cover photo by Greg English, on file



For one hundred years the black people of South Africa have struggled for political rights in the land of their birth in order to gain a stake in its wealth and a say in the formulation of the laws that govern them.

Towards the end of the last century, defeated by the weapons of the white invaders, further dispossessed of their land by the 'laws' of those invaders and finally, rapidly being reduced to what Olive Schreiner described as a 'vast engine of labour', Africans sought a solution through political action. The first embryonic African political association — *Imbumba Yama Africa* (Union of Africans) was formed in 1880.

Time and again their struggle was blocked. But each generation persisted. Now the new generation of black youth has emerged more desperate and determined than ever to reverse the tide of history. Its demands for change have moved from educational reforms to age-old demands for direct political representation.

The National Party, that controls the weapons and the people who use them, controls the political arena. It has responded to these demands with bullets, detentions, torture and prison sentences. It has captured the leaders of the youth movement and banned their organisation.

The youth, now without leaders and acting under conditions of severe political repression, lack clear direction and cohesive strategies. Their acts take the form of isolated and increasingly more violent attacks on their real or perceived opponents. They are spilling over into the once unaffected white urban areas.

This situation has brought us to the edge of civil and economic disaster. It demands fundamental change. The wide-spread use of weapons and violent confrontation are becoming a generally accepted method of resolving conflict. International banks have added their voice to a call for major government concessions to meet black demands, by refusing to roll over South Africa's debts.

Yet the Government persists, hoisting it and us by its own petard. In the last three months it has dug in its heels and stuck to its guns. Its reform announcements have been either hollow or contradictory. Its acts of repression and the State of Emergency have exacerbated the situation.

The so-called reform announcements made since September have entrenched the apartheid principle of divide and rule — the homelands, separate areas with separate authorities and the new constitution, all rejected by the majority of the black population.

Firstly, the announcement on September 11 about the restoration of citizenship to those black South African residents who lost it when the homelands to which they belong took independence, went hand in hand with an indication that citizenship does not include equal political rights.

Secondly, the State President's address to the last National Party Provincial Congress in Port Elizabeth entrenched the principle of 'an own territory for each of the self-governing states'. In the same address he also reiterated Nationalist policy on the 'principle of self-determination of own community life such as education, residential areas and social welfare, local management and private ownership', ie, separate education, group areas and separate local authorities, all violently rejected now.

Thirdly, Minister Heunis announced further plans for the consolidation of homelands involving the removal of thousands more people to the already crowded and impoverished resettlement areas.

Finally, acts of repression such as the use of the State of Emergency to detain political opponents, threats against the UDF and the press and last, but not least, the inclement execution of Benjamin Moloise, all inflame feelings of anger and suspicion.

The stupidity, brutality and intractability of government response to political unrest and economic morass has mobilised more and more people into protest action. Initiatives from a wide range of likely and unlikely quarters in the white community have at last begun to emerge. They are to be encouraged and supported, for a change in the white community is essential to avoid conflict and bring peaceful change.



War with youth in the International Youth Year

It's ironic that 1985 is International Youth Year. According to a United Nation's publicity leaflet young people have been a priority in the global attempt to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'.

Here in South Africa a battle is waged on, and by, the youth over the goals that the rest of the world is trying to achieve for its youth — participation, development, peace.

Over the last year the youth have changed their demands — from issues concerning the running of their schools, such as equal education, democratically elected SRCs, free text books, and an end to sexual harassment and corporal punishment, to a single demand 'liberation before education'.

Their original demands were not met. Instead their organisation COSAS (the Congress of South African Students) was banned and their leaders detained. Many are now in hiding. The police have waded in with sjamboks, teargas, rubber bullets to inflict even more brutal

methods of corporal punishment on them.

Now without leaders and prohibited for organising their just campaigns for 'participation' and a viable share of the national cake, youth have become more determined and headstrong than ever, using increasingly more violent tactics to make the rest of the community concede to their demands. In the process consultation and democracy have begun to suffer.

As one township resident put it: 'In some areas they are becoming like a headless monster', giving the State the justification it seeks to crush the movement of this unrelenting vanguard with even greater force and brutality.

In this report AUDREY COLEMAN, Black Sash member who is also a member of the DPSC, describes some of the background of State repression and tactics that give rise to violent confrontation. Her report is combined with one from ANNICA VAN GYLSWYK of Pretoria Black Sash. Annica's report is an illustration of the path of township conflict between youth and the police who seek to crush them.

In the DPSC we come face-to-face each day with the reign of terror on children. One tactic used against children is detention without trial. Of the 5 000 people detained during the 1985 State of Emergency (which compares with 2 000 in 1960) we have estimated that over 60% are people under the age of 25. There are currently about 1 200 of the 6 000 still in detention.

Children as young as seven have been detained. Parents constantly come to ask our help in tracing their children. For example, one parent described how the security forces entered his home at 2:30 am in search of his 12 year old son. The boy was taken from his bed. The family spent the whole of the next day looking for him. They came to the DPSC and we are now also looking for the boy.

Parents tell us that they are too frightened to send their children to school but also too frightened to make them stay at home. There is a rigid curfew in force in some townships. If children are found on the streets bet-

ween 8 am and 2 pm they are detained. Even those who go to school have also been detained. I received a letter from a school principal relating that two children on their way to school in two different incidents were detained and kept overnight — one was 11, the other 12. Their parents were not notified and the children were not told why they had been detained.

One student of 16 who is a Cosas member was detained for six months in 1984. She was one of the first to be held when the State of Emergency regulations came into force this year. She came to see us when she was released. She stated that she had been tortured by various means including electric shock and is now too afraid to return home because the police visit her home threatening to detain her again if they catch her. There are many, many like her.

Other methods used to suppress the youth include charging them with public violence and setting bail at impossible heights. We estimate that some 20 000 people

have been charged with public violence this year. In Col-
esberg, for instance, bail has been set at R300 or R400,
an impossible amount in an area where the average
monthly wage is R95. In this way hundreds are held and
intimidated because parents cannot afford bail.

Finally, hundreds of young people are assaulted by
sjamboking and other methods and not detained.'

● **The DPSC findings are borne out by experiences in other
areas. Statements collected by the Pretoria Branch of the
Black Sash show that the youth of Mamelodi which does
not fall under the Emergency regulations, have also been
under attack.**

Annica reports: 'In Mamelodi the appearance of the
SADF coincided with the three-day stay-away on Au-
gust 10 to 12, a boycott of white-owned businesses called
by the Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee and a
conflict situation that arose between youth and hostel
dwellers.

On August 9 a student who allegedly robbed a hostel
inmate was killed. In retaliation some youths broke win-
dows and burned beds in one or more of the hostels. A
group of Mamelodi residents went to make amends.
They took R200 and offered to repair the windows, and
pleaded with the hostel dwellers not to avenge them-
selves again.

It seemed as if the hostel inmates, at least those ap-
proached, were satisfied. According to eyewitnesses
there was no apparent animosity between the two
groups at the funeral of the youth the following day.

Then allegedly, trouble broke out when the police ar-
rived and started attacking the youth who were leaving
the cemetery to board the buses. More hostel inmates
arrived, apparently transported by police. People
claimed the hostel dwellers had been taken from their
beds "to go and fight". Police had, it is claimed, told
them to strip to the waist so that they could be distin-
guished from township residents. They were apparently
told to go ahead, they knew where to find the students
and would know "what to do". Youth were pulled out of
the buses and severely sjamboked. Photographs in the
Pretoria News showed "a group of men involved in the
unrest", all without shirts.

On the following Sunday, hostel inmates went on the
rampage. Houses nearest the hostels were damaged,
vehicles were set alight, several people were injured and
two were reported to have died. Youths retaliated. A
policeman's house was attacked, windows were broken
and within 15 minutes the police arrived. They appa-
rently hauled youths from the yards around, beat them
and arrested 25 who were subsequently charged with
public violence. Of the 25, one was a visitor to Mamelodi
for the day, another boy was dragged from inside his
home, two youths were apparently washing the family
car. Police burst into the yard and started to beat the two
of them. When the sister rushed out and objected she
was arrested as well.

Acts of violence against students increased after the
banning of Cosas. There are several accounts of young
people walking on the street, being attacked by police
shouting "Cosas, we want Cosas".

The most severe of the incidents against students took
place on Saturday August 31 when police allegedly at-
tacked youngsters leaving the cemetery after a funeral.



War on youth — soldiers arrest a student in Soweto

photo on file, courtesy City Press

According to teachers who were there, there was no pro-
vocation whatsoever. Students were told to leave
quietly, six by six, which they did. There was no singing,
no raised fists, no slogans and no chants. Some youths
were attacked before they could board the buses. Others
were attacked later in the buses which were allegedly
stopped by the police some distance from the cemetery.
Adults were ordered to alight and the students inside
were severely beaten. When a woman, horrified by the
scene objected, she too was beaten.'

Statement from a youth aged 15

On Saturday August 31 I attended the funeral of
Amos Molele. On our way out of the cemetery we
were told to board buses which we did. While the
buses were moving towards the Molele home our bus
was stopped by a hippo and policemen boarded the
bus. They were both white and black, and in blue uni-
form. They asked all the other people to alight and
told us that they had found petrol bombs and huge
rocks in the bus. They started to beat us with their
guns, sjamboks and batons. I was injured on the left
knee and left knuckle with the butt of a gun. I did not
receive treatment for the injuries. All of us were
beaten up including the girls.

Statement from a parent

On Saturday August 31 I went to the funeral of Amos
Molele whose parents are my neighbours. After the
burial at the cemetery we were instructed by police to
board buses, and we did so. The buses were to take us
to the Molele's house. While we were en route a
hippo stopped the bus and some policemen got onto
the bus. They told us parents to get off the bus and I
stood by to watch. The policemen came to myself and
two others who were standing by and told us to go
away. We refused and said we wanted to see what
they would do to the children in the bus and they
started to beat us. They beat us with sjamboks and ba-
tons and I had to go for treatment. I was treated by Dr
R who advised me to go to the police station to lay a
charge. I went to the police station but the policeman
there refused to take a statement from me. I am still
receiving treatment for the wounds on my back.

War by youth

DILISA MATSHOBA, an education fieldworker for the SACC (South African Council of Churches) gives a personal account of the war being waged by youth

In South Africa the IYY is 'celebrated' in a peculiar way. For some months now, not a single weekend goes by without a funeral of a youth or two who have been killed in the township 'as a result of police action'. Yet these deaths have not instilled any fear for the police in the young peoples' minds. One of their songs reflects their spirit: *Noma kubi siyaya . . .* (Even in adversity we continue marching forward.)

Who are these youths whose way of doing things has shaken the walls of the apartheid strongroom?

Certainly, they are not strange creatures; they did not descend from outer space.

They are the daughters and sons of the men and women who fill the trains and combi-taxis every morning and afternoon to manufacture commodities, to clean business premises, to sweep city streets, to be sent on errands by the white bosses and to look after the children and homes of the same bosses.

While most of these men and women have been conditioned to accept that this is what life has destined them to be, their children think otherwise. They blame it on the 'system'. For the rest they do not understand why they should submit themselves to the authority of elders who play 'boy' and 'girl' before the bosses at work, and 'boss' before the children at home. In this regard Nelson Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, who resisted are more important to them than mom and dad at home. To use the words they themselves painted on a township supermarket wall, they will not 'allow the whites to sh.. on them'.

The spirit of resistance has spread like a prairie fire to every part of the country wherever youth can be found — even in rural areas. In most townships all over South Africa the youth have set up youth organisations.

In Natal, the Inkatha Youth Brigade used to have a strong branch in the resettled community of Limehill, a district of Msinga. In 1984 things changed. All the members of the youth brigade, save about a dozen, led the brigade in another direction — they formed themselves into what they called the Limehill Youth Congress (LIYCO). The ringleaders in this mutiny went into 'exile' in other parts of Natal following rumours that their elders in Inkatha were planning to kill them on December 16, 1984. Asked why they broke off from the youth brigade, they answered that they simply wanted to do things like other youths everywhere in South Africa.

The youths started by organising themselves as student organisations. They then extended their organisations into their communities in order to reach out to those who had dropped out of school. At school, the student-youths resist the system of Bantu Education and demand a say in the way they are educated.

A history teacher in one high school in Welkom blamed himself for causing a school boycott. He said that during a history lesson the whole matric class walked out on him after he had introduced the subject of 'Independent National States (Homelands)', in accordance with the school syllabus. Other classes followed and the boycott spread to other neighbouring schools.

Outside the classroom the 'comrades' continue their struggle against apartheid. In the townships they have selected as targets of their resistance and anger community councillors, 'informers', and the police. Recently they have added the SADF (South African Defence Force) to their list. They have burnt down houses and businesses of councillors, including those of other



photo on file, courtesy City Press

categories of 'collaborators'. In many townships, police residents had to vacate their houses on the advice of their superiors who were concerned that they were sitting ducks for the youths.

Members of the SADF have stopped playing football with the township boys in the dusty arenas of Soweto. But I could not understand why the youths, who display a total dislike for the army and police, could ever have kicked leather with their 'enemies' in the first place. Some people said it was because of the 'inherent goodwill of blacks'. I personally don't believe in it. I could understand the part of the soldiers. Their participation in these football games was consistent with the strategy of winning the hearts and minds of the township youths. As for the youths, I could not explain the paradox until I listened to people relating tales from the township on the train.

One afternoon, so went one tale, a group of youths invited some soldiers to a soccer game. While the game

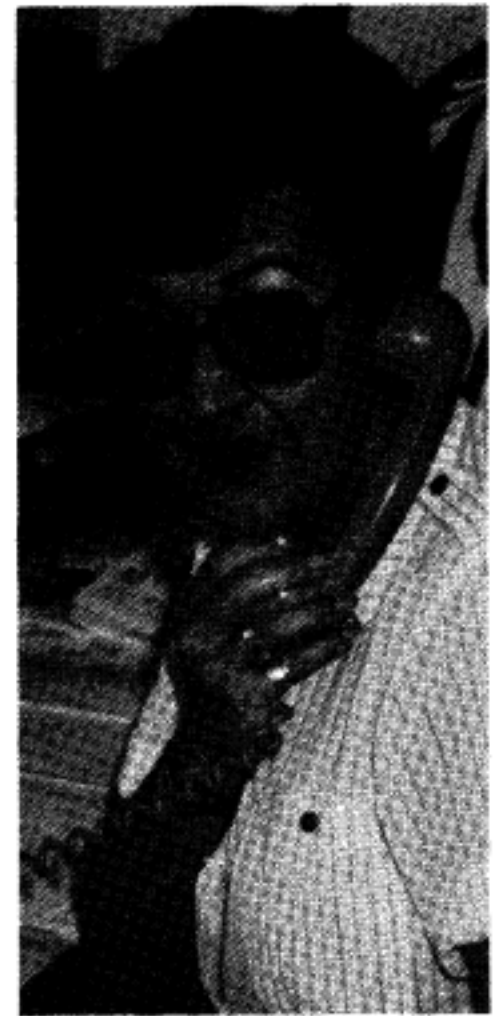
was in progress with all the soldiers taking part, some youths climbed into the cassirs and stole the rifles.

Another tale was that in Meadowlands, Soweto, a group of youths had dug deep trenches in a football field. They placed sheets of corrugated iron over the trenches and covered them with sand to conceal the trenches. Near the trenches they lit a bonfire from old truck tyres. Two youths went to report to the soldiers, who had parked their vehicles in open veld some distance away, that a house had been set on fire. The armed vehicles made for the direction of the fire. The first vehicle fell into the trench and overturned. Six soldiers were fatally injured. This story has never been confirmed.

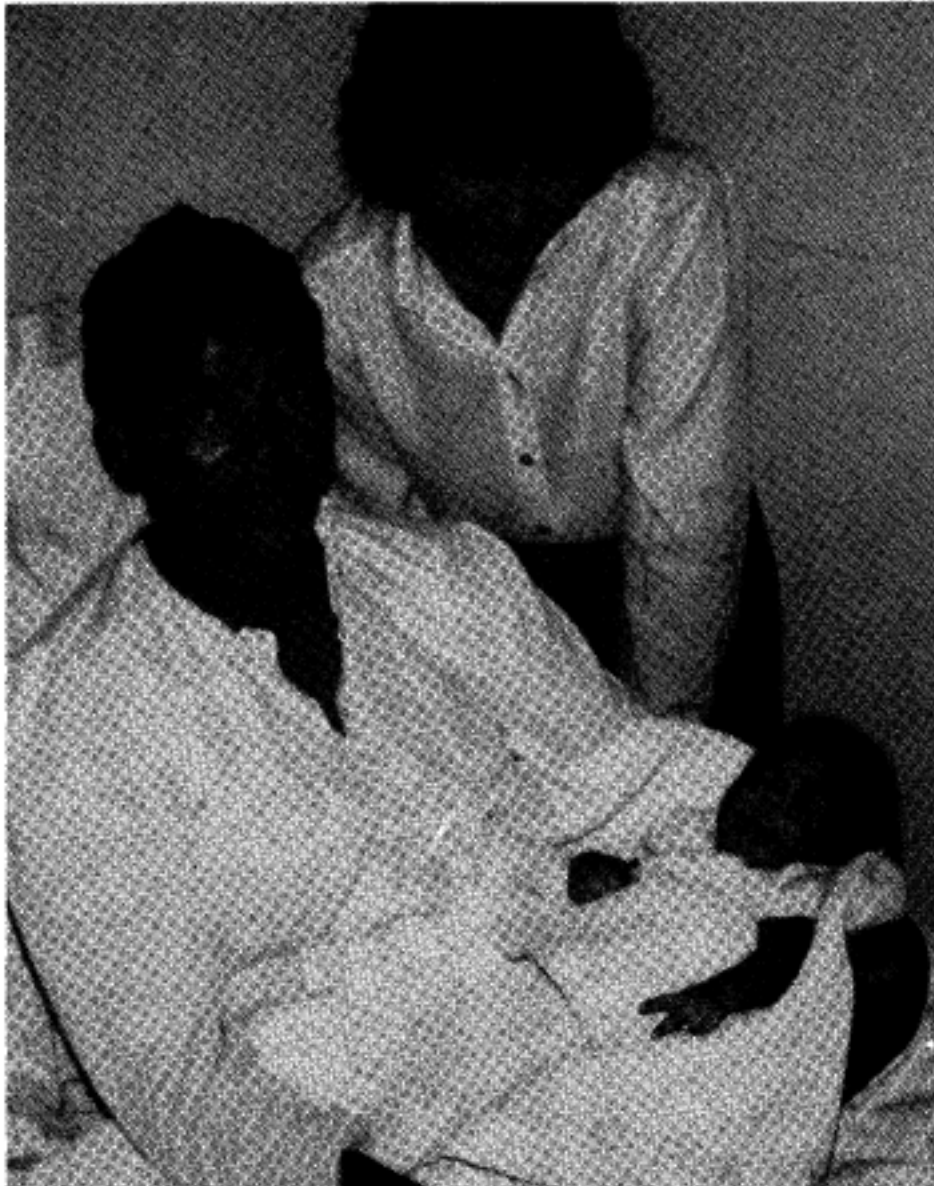
Many journalists have tried in vain to set up interviews with township youth who are in the forefront of the township events. Since the State of Emergency and the banning of the Congress of South African Students these activists have become faceless while a legend builds around them.

Members page

Marion Crawford, a Black Sash member, chose a prison sentence rather than pay a fine for failing to register a domestic worker. She said 'influx control strikes at the roots of people's basic rights — eg to sell their labour. The law makes me an agent of this. It is also blatantly discriminatory. My charge referred to "wrongfully or illegally employing a black"'.



Di Bishop with Fort Calata's wife Nomonde and her new baby. Fort was one of the four Cradock leaders murdered at Blue Water Bay, Port Elizabeth on their way home to Cradock in June.



Mary Burton, chairman of Cape Western Black Sash was arrested on August 27 under the Internal Security Act for taking part in an illegal gathering. She was among a group who were delivering a letter to Pollsmoor Prison to plead for the release of Nelson Mandela. Her case has been remanded.



The effect of the State of Emergency

From its experiences and research the DPSC (Detainees Parents Support Committee) has drawn some conclusions about the effect of the State of Emergency — an emergency which was declared in 36 areas ostensibly to re-establish 'normal community life'.

Their report to the end of September concludes, 'Sixty two days of emergency rule have indeed established new norms in our country':

- * a tolerance for the greater use of force
 - * space for the government to use this force in non-emergency areas as well
 - * an acceptance that ending township violence is related to a crackdown on the UDF and its affiliates
 - * an acceptance of the ever-increasing suppression of information on the activities of the SAP and SADF.
- Reports received from DPSC sister organisations in Natal, East London, the eastern, western and northern Cape, northern Transvaal and Orange Free State indicate that while different regulations may apply in emergency and non-emergency areas, there is very little difference in the intensity of repression experienced by residents.*

Patrols, searches, curfews, restrictions

Reports from all over the country indicate a high police and army presence in most black communities. Twenty four hour patrols, searches and roadblocks have become common.

In an effort to end the school boycotts, police and army have taken strong steps. In emergency areas, classrooms curfews prevent students from being outside their classrooms during school hours. Only students and school employees are allowed on school premises without police permission.

At night curfews in emergency areas keep residents at home. Shops, supermarkets and nightclubs close early. Concurrently, in non-emergency areas, fear caused by the presence of large patrols has much the same effect. In Durban's black townships there have been reports of anti-UDF impis combing the streets at night to forcibly enlist passers-by for their attacks on UDF supporter's homes.

In emergency areas, funerals of unrest victims have been restricted by the police commissioner in terms of the powers granted to him under section 6 of the Emergency Regulations. Political speeches, marches to the graveside, and the bearing of placards, banners and pamphlets are all forbidden.

In the non-emergency areas of Tumahole and Paarl, funerals of unrest victims were restricted by the local magistrates under the Internal Security Act.

Detentions

By the end of September some 4 400 people had been detained under the Emergency regulations. Of these about 1 000 were still being held. From patterns that emerged previously, it is likely that two thirds of these detainees are being held in the Eastern Cape and one third in the Transvaal.

Based on a statement by the Judge-President of the Eastern Cape concerning visits by judges to emergency detainees, it appears that detention camps have been established. Justice Zietsman had seen 303 detainees being 'kept in tents'.

In the meantime, in non-emergency areas detentions under the usual security legislation continue. At the end of September security detentions for 1985 reached a figure of 1 168 (613 known persons and at least 555 unknown persons), thereby exceeding the figure for the whole of 1984. Some 440 people were still being held at the end of September.

Two more deaths occurred in detention during September, one in Kingwilliamstown, the other in the Transkei.

Of those detained under the Internal Security Act and known to the DPSC, all come from the non-emergency areas of Cape Town, Durban, Brandfort, Witbank, Middelburg, Northern Cape and Pretoria.

In Mdantsane, Ciskei Security Police detained 2 900 people whom they claimed were attending an illegal gathering.

'These examples lead us to conclude that an undeclared state of emergency exists in many areas not included in the 36 emergency districts. We believe that this is one reason why Minister Le Grange thinks it is unnecessary to extend the emergency formally to other areas,' states the report.

Crackdown on the UDF and its affiliates

In the second week of the emergency a DPSC analysis of



detainees' parents support committee

a sample of emergency detainees revealed that 86% of those detained were members of the UDF and its affiliates. From this the DPSC concludes: 'An important aim of the emergency was to smash extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid under the guise of ending so called "township violence"'.

On the eve of the emergency Mr P W Botha said in his press statement that the aim of the emergency was to restore 'normality' to black communities and to create a climate for 'continued negotiation'.

However, the majority of black South Africans had rejected the 'normality' of apartheid rule with its 'continued negotiation', and the community councillors, and bantustan leaders who implement it.

The United Democratic Front has been in the forefront of this rejection. The repression of the UDF and its affiliates makes it clear that a major aim of the emergency is to remove opposition to apartheid from this quarter, so that negotiations with black leaders who support apartheid can continue. While the 'reform' period forced the government to allow legal extra-parliamentary political organisations to operate, the emergency aims to close off this space. The emergency gave the government both the climate and the cover to detain hundreds of UDF supporters in both emergency and non-emergency areas.

To date 47 out of 80 UDF office bearers have been detained, put on trial or murdered. Thirty four of these office bearers have been detained since the emergency was declared, the majority of whom were detained in *non-emergency* areas. It has been reported that many of the remaining UDF office bearers are in hiding to escape detention, creating a situation in which although not banned, the UDF has extreme difficulty in operating openly.

The repression of many UDF affiliates has been even more severe. The Congress of South African Students has been banned outright, and 500 of its former members detained.

In the Transvaal, youth and civic organisations appear to have been hardest hit. The entire executive of the Alexander Youth Congress is detained as are some executive and committee members of the Soweto Youth Congress, the Federation of Residents' Associations, the Tsakane Home Seekers Committee, the Duduza Civic Association, the East Rand People's Organisation and the Soweto Civic Association.

In non-emergency areas like the Northern Transvaal, and Potchefstroom, UDF and former Cosas activists have been detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act which allows for indefinite 'preventive' detention.

In Natal, Inkatha has been in the forefront of the attack on UDF. In late August, Inkatha leader Winington Sabelo warned all UDF supporters and their families to leave Umlazi or face the consequences. Since this time three UDF activists have been murdered. The houses of several UDF activists have been attacked by armed impis, fuelling speculation that a hit list of UDF supporters exists for the entire Durban area.

Suppression of information

Perhaps most sinister of all has been the inverse relationship between the level of repression on and the informa-

tion published and available on it.

Prior to the emergency certain legislation often had the effect of preventing the publication of detentions and SAP and SADF activity without official confirmation.

When the emergency was declared, Johannesburg Legal Resources Centre attorney, Geoff Budlender, pointed out that press censorship was probably the most important aspect of the emergency regulations.

Section 8 (b) prevents the publishing of detentions under the Public Safety Act unless officially sanctioned. A journalist who does so risks a fine of up to R2 000 or 10 years imprisonment.

Far worse are the provisions of Section 6 (1) (i) which give the authorities power to prevent the publication of any piece of information whatsoever. While this section has not yet been put to use, Budlender points out that if the press 'reports what is actually happening in the State of Emergency, then it will be stopped from doing so.'

This threat of tougher action has been combined with journalists being barred, expelled and harassed whilst reporting on unrest in both emergency and non-emergency areas.

The result of this has been that the public is forced to rely for their information on police situation reports and police detention announcements.

Inadequate as these reports may have been in the past, they too have been restricted in the course of the last two months. During the first days of the emergency, police reported daily on detentions and gave the place of detention of each detainee. Now detentions are announced once a week and no areas are given.

Initially, situation reports included a breakdown of unrest incidents in different towns. However, the head of the Police Counter Insurgency Unit, General Bert Wandrag, pointed out that if detailed breakdowns of unrest were given, this could create the impression that: 'the whole world is on fire instead of the usual Sunday sports'. In future he explained, only lists of the number and type of unrest would be given for a region. Towns in which unrest occurred would not be reported.

In the absence of free access by journalists to all areas and the suppression of community organisations, the public can only be given a distorted and one-sided picture of what is occurring in the country.

Perhaps the clearest example of this was an SABC interview with an Inanda resident at the height of the Natal unrest. The resident blamed the UDF for the unrest in Inanda and his words were screened on every TV news broadcast that day. The same man later wrote a letter to the *Natal Post* apologising for his statement and saying that the SABC-TV crew had taken advantage of his anger at losing his house and his property to provoke him into making anti-UDF remarks.

The recent deportation of *Newsweek* journalist, Ray Wilkinson, together with rumours that the government intends to implement the Steyn Commission's recommendations for controlling foreign journalists, give cause for alarm. Present press controls have been an important smokescreen for emergency excesses today and further curbs suggest an attempt to prevent news of increasing repression reaching the outside world.

Economy in crisis

— interview with Stephen Gelb

The South African economy has been wedged into a very tight corner — at a time when we need its resources most. According to MR STEPHEN GELB, an economist at the Institute of African Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, the two major prongs that have driven the economy into that corner are the damaging effects of government economic policy and the interconnection between the political and economic situation.

Based on an interview with Mr Gelb and articles published by DR DUNCAN INNES (also of the University of the Witwatersrand) GLENDA WEBSTER sketches some of the causes and the extent of the economic crisis.

Fundamental political change has become a necessity for our economic survival. For political issues such as separate education, separate avenues for political representation and above all, a separation in the allocation of resources have political consequences that affect the viability of the economy itself. That viability is now being fundamentally destroyed at a time when we need its resources most.

Resources are needed now to quell the unrest by redressing the imbalance that has built up as a result of this 'separate development'. It means spending money on education, houses, unemployment benefits, feeding schemes, health care and the creation of job opportunities. However, what little resources there are are being spent on other things and the alternatives for raising finance are either impossible or problematic —

- ★ Resources continue to be spent on police and army manoeuvres
- ★ International bankers demand repayment of their loans
- ★ South Africa's credibility has been lost and her chances of borrowing from abroad have fallen along with the value of her currency
- ★ The private sector that produces the bulk of the goods that generate income has curtailed its activity and in defence of its capital is beginning to ship the machinery it is not using to sell abroad.
- ★ Government's power to create more money simply by writing out more Reserve Bank cheques contributes to the problem of rapidly rising inflation.

In order to explore the two prongs which have driven the economy into this corner one needs to look at the programme of export promotion which the South African authorities have embarked on since the 1950's. It has meant competing for international markets with products produced in highly advanced economies that enjoy greater economies of scale, more efficient technology and highly trained labour forces. To compete, South Africa had to import the technology and replace labour-intensive processes with capital-intensive processes. The

result was a skilled labour shortage and structural unemployment, the latter having its greatest effect on the black population that was being prepared by 'bantu education' to take their place in society as 'hewers of wood and carriers of water'.

Throughout the decades, economic issues have been affected by responses to apartheid policy, another prong of the attack. Mr Gelb illustrates this point: 'Going back to the 50's and 60's, the economy was growing at between 4 and 6% per annum. Now it is only growing at between 2 and 4%, if that. This is because of many things — the whole western world has experienced lower rates of growth that feed through into South Africa. But in SA economic developments such as these are exacerbated and given a different kind of shape by political issues. In 1973 when workers went out on strike for wages and started to form more unions the whole question of racism in the workplace and wider society became an issue. In 1976 one of the main reasons for student unrest was the fact that there was such a high level of unemployment. People who were coming out of school were not very hopeful of getting jobs. In 1984 when the government removed subsidies on bread, raised the petrol price, or forced community councils to increase rents, the response to these economic issues was political.'

And political ideologies also make direct impact on economic resources themselves. Over the years, maintaining the apartheid apparatus has been a costly business and has aggravated for South Africans the worldwide problem of inflation. Much of State expenditure is unproductive and in South Africa vast amounts are spent financing homeland governments, purchasing land to consolidate ethnic areas, policing influx control, maintaining prisons and courts and last but not least, defending the whole edifice from physical and verbal attack both inside and outside the country's borders. Whatever was not available was borrowed or printed, the latter contributing to inflation.

The recession that started in 1984 was intensified by the problem of inflation. Economic policy chosen to curb inflation had 'damaging effects'. Prong two, the interaction between economics and political stability had the severest repercussions ever.

In 1984 the government decided to attack the problem of inflation by using methods designed to curtail spending. Money, eroded by inflation, became more difficult to obtain. Interest rates soared. Companies started to borrow from abroad to avoid these high local rates. The nation's debt to the rest of the world rose from, 8% of the value of exports in 1980 to 94% of exports at the end of 1984, according to figures quoted by Dr Innes.

The effect of high interest rates also had a profound effect on economic activity. 'In the car market, for example', Mr Gelb explains, 'up to 50% of all cars are bought by companies for their fleets. Demand from this quarter dropped. At the same time individual consum-

ers could not afford the exorbitant consumer credit rates. The car market has shrunk to about half of what it was a few years ago and most companies are operating at about a third of their capacity. They've laid off thousands of workers — a recent figure claimed that about 35 000 workers had lost their jobs in the automobile industry in South Africa as a whole.

'So jobs have been lost and industry has been destroyed. It's horrifying to read in the paper that hundreds of millions of rands worth of machinery and equipment is being shipped out of SA because companies are short of money and they're not using the equipment, so they're selling it abroad.'

Those companies that do have the resources — the mining companies that earned more rands from the sale of their products abroad as the value of the rand dropped, and financial institutions that benefited from high interest rates — have started to buy up smaller companies that are short of cash.

'This is standard practice in a recession' comments Mr Gelb but it does not increase jobs. It rationalises operations and leads to the loss of jobs. For example, take the case of Ford, an international company. It sold a large stake in its operations to Amcar, an Anglo American subsidiary. They merged to form Samcar and it meant that at least two thousand Ford workers lost their jobs in Port Elizabeth when Amcar operations were moved to the Transvaal. As estimated 8 000 workers in the Eastern Cape will also lose their jobs.'

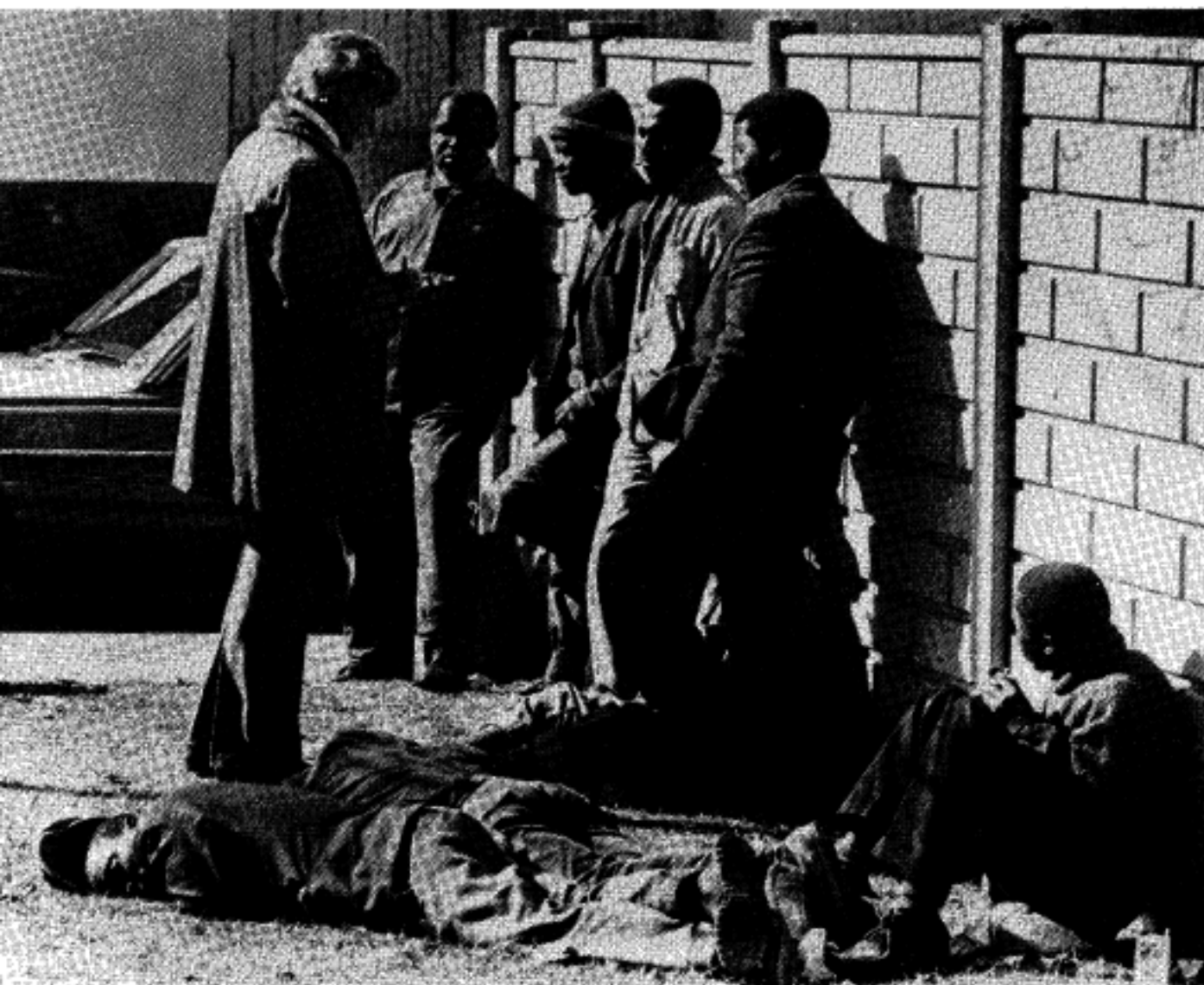
Nationwide, unemployment jumped from 30 000 registered unemployed whites, coloureds and Indians in 1984 to 61 000 in less than a year. The number of unemployed black people is not counted but academics such as Prof J Keenan at Wits and Prof J Natras at Natal University have estimated equivalent figures for the

black population at 20% in 1984 (with some areas at around 35%) rising to about 30% in 1985 (with areas such as the Eastern Cape reaching 50%).

Economic policy failed also to reduce inflation as it was intended. From a figure of 13% in 1984, it has risen to around 17% in 1985.

Rising inflation and unemployment intensified the state of unrest. 'The State of Emergency was designed to suppress resistance in order to restore productivity for economic growth', explains Mr Gelb, 'but it hasn't worked. And the economic and political consequences of government strategies have made the situation a whole lot worse. While their economic policy may have succeeded in turning the deficit on the balance of payments into a surplus, they haven't achieved much else and have actually created a whole lot of new problems. International bankers got worried and started to call in their loans. Faced with political uncertainty companies are now submitting dividends to their parent companies abroad instead of investing them here as they used to. The surplus on the Balance of Payments isn't going to go very far. At any event it's going to have to be used to repay debt over the next few years so we'll have nothing with which to refuel the economy.'

In conclusion Mr Gelb says 'It's clear to me that you can't separate politics and economics. Part of the problem of fuelling long-term growth lies in finding a political solution to the situation. For instance, the problem of inflation can be solved by means of an incomes policy in which prices and wages are only allowed to increase by a certain amount. But that kind of policy depends on the existence of consensus in the broader society, which we don't have. We need consensus in order to get the economy going again.'



Policies that aggravate unemployment contribute to political and finally economic instability.

photo: courtesy SAAN

Will the disinvestment campaign aggravate the economic crisis?

Mr Gelb replies . . .

'I believe that it is the economic problems that are causing disinvestment rather than disinvestment causing the economic problems. The profitability of companies in South Africa and their confidence in the future has declined dramatically in the last five years. Many are withdrawing, not because they don't like apartheid, or because there's pressure on them, but because of this economic crisis. The relationship runs from economic problems to disinvestment which may then cause some further difficulties but not nearly as much as is suggested by government or big business.'

Disinvestment campaigns do have an effect but it's a marginal effect compared to the economic problems. I think that if there wasn't a high profile disinvestment campaign, not as many companies would withdraw. At the margin when a company is making its decision in terms of profitability, the political issue which affects its high profile will make some difference to its decision. But its real calculation is about profits!



Gill de Vlieg

Molly Blackburn

Black Sash members in court



Liz Thomson

On March 17 this year, nine members of the Black Sash witnessed an assault on a black youth, Norman Kona, in a police station in Uitenhage on a Sunday afternoon (See *Sash* May '85)

As a sequel to this, two cases were brought before the Port Elizabeth Regional Court in September. The one is a case of assault in which the State has charged two black policemen with kicking, hitting and beating Norman Kona with a sjambok.

The second is a case of *crimen injuria*, or alternatively, defamation brought by Lt William Fouche, against two Sash members, Molly Blackburn, MPC for Walmer, and Dr Liz Thomson, a medical practitioner from Paarl. Lt Fouche is the station commander from Kirkwood and the officer who on occasion was in charge of riot units in the Uitenhage area. According to the Kannemeyer Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the death of 21 people in Langa on March 23, Lt Fouche is the officer who gave the order to shoot.

The case against the two black policemen, who have already been suspended from the police force, came before the court at the end of September. The prosecution opened the case by calling the first of three Black Sash witnesses to the stand. Molly Blackburn gave evidence first, followed later that day and on subsequent days by Audrey Coleman and Liz Thomson. Norman Kona and Mr Blaauw, a township parent who had called on Molly to help locate missing children, were also called into the witness box. These witnesses were cross-examined by Mr Hysemen, defence attorney for the two black policemen. The prosecution then closed its case.

Thereafter, Mr Hysemen called three police officers (two men and a woman) into the witness box. They all testified that Norman Kona was already scratched and injured when he came into the charge office in Uitehage police station to sign the bail book.

At the time of going to press, this case was still being heard.

The second case, of *crimen injuria* against Molly and Liz, arose when the nine Sash members were waiting to find out what had happened to Norman Kona who had been whisked away. They wanted to report the matter of his assault to the district commandant and to make sure that Norman received the medical attention he needed.

While they were waiting Lt Fouche came into the charge office and picked up an R1 rifle that was lying on the desk. In doing so he dropped a magazine of bullets

on the floor. They alleged his behaviour was loud and extremely aggressive. Molly told the magistrate of Port Elizabeth, Mr Groenewald, who had come to the police station at the Sash's request, that she wanted it placed on record that she believed Lt Fouche had been drinking.

Liz Thomson also subsequently prepared an affidavit in which she, as a medical doctor, swore that Lt Fouche had slurred speech, ataxic gait, and breath smelling of liquor. He was 'blustery, garrulous and aggressive'. Her affidavit was given to the *Sunday Tribune*. Lt Fouche subsequently laid a charge against both of them.

Their case came before the Port Elizabeth Regional Court on Monday September 23. The State alleged that they had, by their statements, 'injured, insulted and impaired the dignity of Lt Fouche'. The defendants, represented by Mr Chris Nicholson of Durban, pleaded not guilty to both charges.

As part of the defence strategy, Mr Nicholson questioned Lt Fouche on his reliability as a witness. He raised the matter of Fouche's evidence to the Kannemeyer Commission. Four important aspects of it had been rejected by Justice Kannemeyer.

Mr Nicholson then questioned Lt Fouche at length on his drinking habits. Lt Fouche admitted that he 'took strong liquor on certain occasions . . . I usually drink brandy on weekends and often after golf on Wednesdays and Saturdays'.

Referring to the Sunday in question Lt Fouche said that he had had a braai at his home after church before going on duty. He had not drunk liquor at the braai. Pressed in cross-examination he finally conceded he might have had a 'drink of water' at the braai.

In presenting his argument for the defence, Mr Nicholson, said that any fair observer of South African society would concede that the statement about a 'dry braai' was improbable.

Molly and Liz were finally acquitted and discharged on the grounds that the State had failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that Molly could have been directly or indirectly legally aware that Lt Fouche 'was sober'. She could not have been aware that her judgment of him 'was wrong'. Liz was also found not guilty because there was no evidence to suggest that she had said Lt Fouche had been drinking or was drunk. The affidavit she had prepared and given to the *Sunday Tribune* was all done in Cape Town and if an offence had been committed to defame Lt Fouche, it was not perpetrated in the area of his jurisdiction.

Seeking solutions

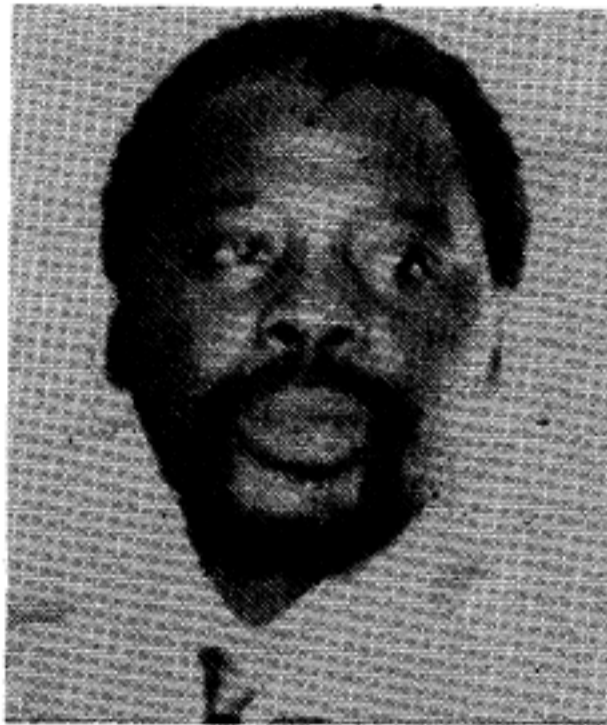
National Cultural Liberation Movement

1 Do you see a peaceful solution to the present political impasse?

Yes I do, but a lot depends on what both the government and the governed are prepared and willing to do within the next 12 to 18 months.

2 If so how do you visualise its achievement?

- (a) The government must first prepare a political climate conducive to negotiation and peaceful change. All political prisoners and detainees must be released, all banned organisations must be unbanned, all exiles must return and the State of Emergency must be lifted.
- (b) The government must then issue a Statement of Intent declaring its willingness to negotiate an apartheid-free political dispensation with representatives of all groups. It must be impressed upon the government that as long as ethnicity and apartheid are elevated to the status of constitutional principles, there shall neither be stability in nor international respect for South Africa. For this reason the Statement of Intent must also give an undertaking that South Africa, including the so-called independent homelands will be re-united along geographical and not ethnic lines.
- (c) Having issued a Statement of Intent the Government must then summon a National Convention to work out an apartheid-free constitution with representa-



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

tives of all groups. This need not necessarily be called a National Convention if the Government has problems with that name. What is important is the agenda or the intention of such a gathering, and not the name.

- (d) Advocates of peaceful change must then close their ranks regardless of political differences and stop paying lip service to the notion of peaceful change. In other words they must unequivocally eschew violence from both the state and the revolutionary activists. They must speak out equally when police brutality rears its ugly head in our townships as when citizens kill, maim and burn other citizens alive simple because of political differences. Here one assumes that we are not fighting white dictatorship to replace it with black or brown dictatorship.
- (e) Once the talks about a new apartheid-free constitution have begun, a broadly representative and high profile group of South Africans must be sent to Africa, America, Western and Eastern Europe to request these coun-

For the current issue Sash sent out letters to nine political leaders and thinkers to gather some practical opinions on a way out of the present economic and political crisis. The nine people canvassed were MR F W DE KLERK, leader of the National Party in the Transvaal; MRS HELEN SUZMAN, Member of Parliament for the Progressive Federal Party; MR CLIVE DERBY-LEWIS, chairman of the Johannesburg Region of the Conservative Party; MR CHRIS DLAMINI, national president of the Federation of South African Trade Unions; DR OSCAR DHLOMO, secretary general of Inkatha, MR ISHMAEL MKHABELA, president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO); DR BEYERS NAUDE, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches; REV BISHOP DESMOND TUTU, Bishop of Johannesburg, and the executive committee of the United Democratic Front (UDF) whose leaders are not available as they are mainly all on trial for treason. Finally, a press release previously issued was requested from representatives of the business community.

Four of these offered their apologies as they did not have time to reply. Solutions put forward by the other six are presented here in random order.

tries to support and encourage the initiative to establish a new political order in South Africa. This group should consist of representatives from the following: ANC, Inkatha, UDF, PAC, National Forum (or Azapo), Trade Unions, churches, National Party, PFP, Conservative Party, business, homeland governments, House of Delegates, House of Representatives, independent homelands.

(f) Once agreement has been reached on a new constitution at a National Convention, free and fair elections should be held to elect a new government. If necessary, elections should be

supervised by an impartial international commission. All parties participating in the election should give a prior undertaking that if they won they would form a government of national unity representing all the groups in South Africa. This should be the case for at least the first 10 years of existence of the new government.

(g) To avoid a debilitating civil war before and after the elections, we must desist from being judgemental as to who are so called 'representative or authentic' leaders, who are 'stooges, puppets and paid employees of the government' or who are

'celebrity or spokesman leaders without constituencies'. Let us leave those judgements to the voters of South Africa. All we should ensure is that as many representatives as possible are present at a National Convention and that no one who claims a following is excluded simply because an all-knowing spokesman has decreed that he is not 'authentic' or 'has no constituency'. We should rather have more than fewer representatives at a National Convention.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo
Secretary-General

Conservative Party of South Africa

In view of the disastrous consequences world-wide of both power-sharing and majority rule, South Africans of all racial groups are becoming more aware of the fact that South Africa is moving in the same direction and that there is a need for a practical political alternative to the National Party's 'step in the dark' constitution, in order to re-establish a state of stability, peace and prosperity in the region.

To achieve a peaceful solution to the present political impasse, we require, first of all, a general election for the whites. Should the National Party government be rejected, and the PFP also suffer the same fate — which is likely — then the Conservative Party would come to power.

The Conservative Party's policy of partition is the only course which can provide for peaceful coexistence in South Africa. The struggle in Southern Africa is a struggle for self-determination — a self-determination which cannot be attained without each nation having its own area of jurisdiction (territory). As self-determination is in effect a people's right to govern itself, this right cannot be exercised in a common territory.

As partition brought relative



Clive Derby-Lewis

peace to Europe, Cyprus and the Indian sub-continent, so too will it bring peace to South Africa; partition led to the establishment of Europe as it is today; the partition of Cyprus into a Turkish and a Greek territory has brought peace, and the partitioning of the Indian sub-continent into Bangladesh, Pakistan and India has limited the continual bloodshed and violence. Extended to the Sikhs, peace will return once again to mainland India, at present torn by Sikh/Hindu conflict.

Local government

In effect, all groups will exercise local government control over their own urban areas, but *parliamentary expression* of a nation must be exercised in the territory of that nation.

A coloured living in Coronationville, a Zulu living in Soweto, an Indian living in Lenasia and a white living in Johannesburg will have the same political rights — they will send their parliamentary representatives to their national halls of power as the white voter of today sends his representative to Parliament in Cape Town.

The whites have no reason to feel either ashamed or guilty of what they have achieved in South Africa. In spite of limited financial resources, the standard of living of all nations residing in Southern Africa is the highest in Africa and is higher than that enjoyed by any Third World country. Surely then whites can feel proud. Surely they too have earned the right to a land of their own where they can live in freedom.

They are an indispensable factor in determining the future of South Africa; no solution which is not acceptable to them in terms of security and stability will work.

Once political independence is a reality, a European-type situation will prevail in South Africa. Economic interdependence will ensure the smooth running of the sub-continent and will result in the weaker areas of the economy being strengthened. Political independence will eliminate the potential for conflict, will ensure the retention of national identity and will exclude all possibilities of political domination by any one nation over another.

Clive Derby-Lewis
Johannesburg regional chairman

United Democratic Front



At present SA is in the grip of war, a massive war launched by the apartheid government against the people of SA. The peace has already been breached for some decades. Perhaps it is more accurate to suggest that modern SA was created through conquest of the country's black inhabitants. Ever since the creation of Union, the majority of South Africans have lived as prisoners within their own country.

The present state of emergency is a condition of heightened conflict because the people's resistance to continued aggression has in turn produced more vicious state repression than has been witnessed even by previous South African standards.

Apartheid cannot exist peacefully. It depends for its continued existence on violence against most South Africans. Neither that aggression nor the people's resistance will cease till apartheid is no more.

Some people suggest that a solution can be negotiated. We do not rule out negotiation for all times and circumstances. We have often stated, however, that negotiation cannot even be contemplated while leaders are in jail, organisations banned and the SADF and SAP are in existence. But even if these and other pre-conditions were met, the question remains: who negotiates and about what?

We believe that representative leaders are entitled to negotiate on the people's behalf. By representative leaders we mean people who are accountable to democratic organisations.

This is not to say that they can negotiate on an 'open agenda' without preconditions. There are some things that are non-negotiable. The people have made it clear that they

will accept nothing less than full democratic rights in a non-racial South Africa. Those are rights accorded to citizens in all democratic states. To suggest that we bargain over such questions as universal suffrage is to query universally accepted fundamental freedoms.

We would prefer this to be achieved peacefully. The UDF would support negotiations that might ensure this. But the fundamental character of the future South African state could form no part of such negotiations. The apartheid government cannot bargain with the people over their rights.

Apartheid must go. How it is removed depends in the first place on those who rule SA at present. They chose violence. They rule by the gun. They have consequently evoked military and other aggressive responses. They will have to lay down their arms first. Peace will demand the disbanding of the apartheid army and police. Once apartheid is no more, once its apparatuses are removed, the people themselves will build a democratic SA. Until that is achieved there can be no peace. Once that is achieved, all South Africans, black and white can determine their future together.

Statement by the United Democratic Front, October, '85

Business community

In August, organisations claiming to represent the 'great majority of commerce and industry' put out a press statement which suggested an 'approach' which 'could contribute towards breaking the current stalemate'.

The organisations are Assocom (Association of Chambers of Commerce); Nafcoc (National African Chamber of Commerce); FCI (Federated Chamber of Industries); the Urban Foundation.

Below are extracts from their press statement which started by expressing concern 'about the deteriorating state of the economy' and the need to 'overcome the negative prevailing political perceptions through positive and imaginative action to restore business confidence' . . . It is impossible to 'seek

ASSOCOM

NAFCOC

FCI

Urban Foundation

out new investment opportunities and to create much needed employment . . . in the current climate of political instability'.

"Underlying the situation is a deep mainstream of legitimate black aspirations seeking recognition and accommodation in decision-making structures up to the highest level. This is a major dynamic of South African society which security action alone cannot resolve. Such aspirations will have to be addressed by a

process of serious negotiation with the whole spectrum of accepted black leaders.

'No real negotiation is possible without normalising the security situation through lifting the partial State of Emergency as soon as circumstances permit. Equally essential is a commitment by Government that it will deal even-handedly with the accepted leaders of the black community, even if some of these are currently in detention.

'Normalising the situation can only come about if all the country's people realise that they have a shared destiny to be arrived at through serious negotiation between partners of equal negotiating status.

'In the area of negotiation with blacks, commerce and industry have in recent years been in the front line. Implementing the new labour dispensation (to accommodate legalised black trade unions) has brought fresh insights and much experience. That background suggests

that the following approach could contribute towards breaking the current stalemate:

- (a) Prior to formal negotiation the agenda (to serve as the basis for subsequent negotiation about reform) to be discussed must be determined. Unless all relevant black and white leaders can be assured during this pre-negotiation stage that the issues which they regard as vital to their own respective futures will indeed be subject to serious negotiation, they are unlikely to come to the bargaining table.
- (b) In turn, an effective dialogue aimed at agenda setting can occur only if government states publically a clear acceptance of an open-ended agenda.
- (c) Once the essential agenda points have been cleared with all accepted black and white leaders, the negotiation process can begin. Certain basic

assurances or pre-conditions from government may well be necessary, such as, for example, an undertaking to move away from racial discrimination in the affairs of state. But these will also emerge during the agenda-setting phase.

'In addition Nafcoc wished to assist in clearing the way for his (Mr Nelson Mandela's) release, as well as that of other political detainees, albeit on an unconditional basis.

'The organisations are convinced that in the interests of getting even-handed and credible negotiations with all accepted black leaders off the ground, a formula must be found to allow these leaders to participate in the essential agenda-setting process outlined above'.

Finally, the statement deals with a warning to government about the negative effect of policies of 'economic isolationism and a controlled economy' in response to pressures, like boycotts and disinvestment, on the investment climate, employment etc.

Foreign and domestic investors are concerned about 'political stability coupled with reasonable after-tax returns'. Economic controls (such as rationing devices in the areas of foreign exchange, imports prices and wages) will not rectify the situation.

'Our survival depends on making the necessary structural changes to uphold the political, social and economic values of our major trading partners, in essence, the great democracies of the world.'

To this end, the organisations undertake to remain actively involved in 'research and mediation' on issues such as 'various constitutional options', conditions for abolishing influx control, development of small business enterprises, eliminating obstacles in the way of common citizenship and introducing a 'non-discriminatory and vocation oriented education policy' for black advancement and to remove 'the constraints on productivity and competitiveness in the country'.

Progressive Federal Party

HELEN SUZMAN, Member of Parliament for the Progressive Federal Party, chose to come into the Black Sash office to be interviewed.

Apart from briefly putting forward PFP policy (universal franchise in a federal system for the devolution of power) as a peaceful solution she also had this to say:

'It's so useless for us to advise the Government what to do. The object is to get into power, then you can make the necessary changes. A government is elected to carry out the policy on which it was elected.'

• Influence the white electorate

'You've got to get the white electorate that put the Government in power to change its mind about what sort of government it wants. Hopefully, the white electorate will come to its senses and realise the apartheid which got the government into



photo: SAAN

Helen Suzman

power nearly four decades ago has been a total disaster. We must change to a totally different solution.

The Government is making reforms but the fundamentals of apartheid — race classification, group areas, separate education and influx control — have not been affected yet. So we've got to change the government.

In the short term, you are not going to change the Government by

violence. This Government is far too strong. I can assure you that its full military and police powers have not even been unleashed yet. Therefore, the idea of a successful revolution around the corner is quite unrealistic.

• The use of outside pressure

Outside pressure has its use. However, it gives young black people the idea that victory is around the corner and that a transfer of power from white to black will happen overnight. People don't understand this Government if they think that. It's going to take much longer than they think and the pressure must continue from outside.

One of the positive signs of response to international pressure has been the awakening of the business community. The sanctions that have been imposed don't really mean anything. They are of political rather than economic importance. Except, for instance, new bank loans. The country needs capital to maintain any growth, and anything that retards economic development is self-defeating. Black advancement up the economic ladder, I believe, is one of the major forces for change.

● Pressure from within

In the immediate future, I can't think of any other way than the use of pressure and protest, in diplomatic circles, through the press, and from all sources.

It's pressure that's caused the government to make the announcements that it recently has, for example, about citizenship. P W Botha didn't have a sudden fit of conscience in the middle of the night.

But none of the things that have been talked about have yet been implemented. In any case, what does citizenship give black people these days? It doesn't give them a vote, mobility or equal opportunities.

What it does give them is a claim on the future, which is important.

● Government action to defuse tension

In the meantime there are things the government could do to defuse the tension. They wouldn't immobilise the politicised radical activists. I don't think anything will do that except the black population becoming so content with changes that these people have no influence.

To defuse tension now the Government could abolish the pass laws, stop removals completely, restore citizenship (which they have promised) and practical things like building houses for low income groups to

alleviate the acute discomfort that township residents suffer as a result of gross overcrowding.

Inclusion in the President's Council doesn't mean anything to black people. It is by no means a substitute for a voice in central government and that is the important issue.

Finally, the removal of troops from the township, leaving only a minimum police presence, and lifting the State of Emergency would help. The State of Emergency should never have been declared. I think that, insofar as it has involved a greater use of police and army powers, it has probably exacerbated the situation.

Helen Suzman

National Party

MR F W DE KLERK addressed a public meeting in Pretoria on September 19 on the question of the road ahead. His office supplied a copy of his speech and relevant extracts are presented here.

What does the National Party say? Where are we really going with reform and change?

In a nutshell this is it . . .

The NP wants to establish an understanding between all peoples and groups in South Africa — an understanding that will enjoy the support of the reasonable majority from all groups.

This can only be attained through reform. Without fundamental adjustments and imaginative development, the existing political and other infrastructure is incapable of gaining majority support amongst *all* population groups.

The NP has accepted the challenge to develop a ground plan which can retain majority support of the whites and gain majority support of all other groups.

It is the NP's conviction that a ground plan should conform to definite requirements. I name six for you, and you can add more:

1 Self-determination on a group basis must be the starting point. Therefore every people or group must have its own political power base and certainty that its sec-



photo: SAAN

F W De Klerk

urity, existence and character can effectively be protected in the long term.

2 In respect of common interests there must be a form of common responsibility. A practical formula which can be carried out must be built in to make certain that one group cannot dominate another. To change one form of domination for another is no solution.

3 In order to gain acceptance, any ground plan will have to provide veritable and full participation for all those who are engaged in it.

Any system aimed at keeping some of its participants in a subordinate position, through clever or devious means, is doomed to failure. It must be visibly and honestly just and equitable towards everybody.

4 A ground plan will only gain wide acceptance if all participants can be convinced that they will benefit

from it in the economic, social and educational fields.

To put it even more clearly:

The whites will have to be satisfied that there is no threat to their own community life and existing standards.

And all other groups and peoples must feel convinced that they will make progress and that their quality of life will substantially improve within a reasonable period.

Altogether, everybody wants the assurance of a reasonable share in the resources available to our country.

5 Discrimination — as a concept distinct from differentiation — must be eliminated. While it is necessary to differentiate on a group basis, all measures with a humiliating or degrading effect on the individual, should be repealed.

Differently put: a proper balance should be struck between group rights and group protection on the one hand, and the freedom and rights of the individual on the other.

6 The entire question of SA citizenship and the rights of blacks to share in it, is fundamental to majority support by all for a ground plan.

In these simple strategies is the NP's ground plan. In this framework the NP will build a safe and successful future for all our country's people.

● *Translations by Dr Eugene Rollnick*

A South African revolution?

Following discussions with a number of academics interested in social change the editor draws on their opinions and research analyses to address the question of whether the current unrest in South Africa constitutes a revolution. Based on a particular definition of, and conditions for, a 'revolution', and by drawing comparisons with other third world countries, the writer speculates on what is likely to happen in the 'near or medium-term future'.

With the continuing unrest in South Africa, many people see the prospect of revolution as increasingly likely. This view has been reinforced by the coverage of recent events in the international media, which has shocked people in other parts of the world into taking unprecedented action against apartheid. The prospect of revolution has engendered fears that have led many of those affluent enough to emigrate. And it is also a prospect held by some political activists who argue that South Africa is entering a revolutionary phase from which there will be no turning back.

Certainly South Africa will never be the same again after 1984-5, but are we witnessing, or are we about to witness a revolution?

There are many definitions of revolution. For the purpose of clarifying our argument, we need a definition which goes beyond the transfer of state power from minority to majority control. Instead, the concept of a revolution implies the transfer of state power from one social class to another, and the subsequent consolidation of that power with a view to bringing about fundamental social, economic and political changes.

Three further points give insight into what constitutes a revolution:

Firstly, revolution is often identified with specific events like mass-riots, coups, strikes, demonstrations, attacks on government institutions. Action of this kind has occurred in the course of many revolutions, but these incidents do not in themselves amount to revolutions. It would be more useful to view revolutions as having a fairly long period of gestation, through the development of coherent plans launched by disciplined organisation, and working themselves out on a large scale over a substantial period of time. So we are not concerned with isolated acts, no matter how great an impact they may make at any particular time.

Secondly, according to the definition of revolution as a process of fundamental socio-economic transformation, we are concerned with social processes which have a lasting importance. Mere changes of government do not necessarily constitute revolutions. And while force has historically been a part of most revolutions, it is not a necessary factor. The historical significance of a social revolution does not lie in the extent of violence used but in its political and social consequences.

Thirdly, social revolutions crucially depend on mass support and mass involvement in one form or another, otherwise there would be no real distinction between such processes and more limited actions such as a coup d'état or political reforms from above.

Armed with this definition it seems that South Africa is still a long way from revolution.

Assessing the likelihood of a revolution in South Africa involves a systematic appraisal of South Africa's contemporary social system, in comparison with other third world countries in similar circumstances.

Extreme class inequalities

At present this country is marked by extreme class inequalities, not merely in terms of wealth, but also in lifestyles, amenities, political rights and in the overall social existence of large sections of the population. This a feature common to other underdeveloped countries that have experienced social revolutions during this century, for example, Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam and Mozambique. Obviously the form taken by these inequalities, and the conditions under which they occurred in each of these countries, differed widely, as they do in the South African case.

Major social inequalities also characterise a number of other societies which are in the process of transformation, like El Salvador, ruled by a tiny oligarchy ('the 14 families') but where the broad-based guerrilla movement has already established liberated zones in which new forms of production and schooling are being applied.

Tyranny and repression of popular organisation

Tyranny and repression, glaring political and economic inequalities, and a high level of popular organisation seem to constitute the ingredients which might precipitate revolutions. Yet in response to rising popular pressure, the state may apply intensified repression. In the Philippines, which like South Africa, has not yet undergone a major revolution, the level of inequality and the level of the resistance struggle bears certain parallels to our own situation.

In the case of the Philippines, a social crisis was already quite pronounced in the early 1970s and in 1972 president Ferdinand Marcos declared a state of martial law, claiming that the country was threatened by 'communist subversion'. Although martial law was lifted in 1981, this was in name only, since by then government was being carried out by presidential decree. Between 1965, when Marcos became president, and 1981, 70 000 people had spent time in jail or in prison camps and repression in the Philippines has escalated significantly since then. One glaring example has been the state's implication in the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino on his return to Manila from exile.

The popular response has taken a number of forms including the expansion of the church-supported democratic movement, labour struggles and the emergence of guerrilla movements. Marcos continues to rule through the application of further repression and at the expense

of his government's domestic isolation and unpopularity.

Intransigent rulers

Like the Philippines, a striking feature of contemporary South Africa is the obstinate nature of its rulers. This intransigence is also reminiscent of the Portuguese government of Mozambique, of Somoza in Nicaragua, Smith in Rhodesia or the Shah in Iran, all of whom indulged in the illusion of their own regime's impregnability.

Despite the present South African authorities' awareness of the political crisis of their own making, their responses to this crisis have been tardy and insufficient. This is a function of two processes, not necessarily contradictory. One is their general unwillingness to institute any reforms which might lead to a major adjustment of power. The second is that the government is enmeshed in a set of political, social and economic contradictions so vast and complex that it is unable to make any major changes. Each of these assessments suggest that the road to reform is blocked. This does not necessarily imply that the government is on the verge of collapse.

Failure of reforms

The unrest that has occurred around the country over the past year has clearly demonstrated the failure of the constitution introduced at the beginning of 1985. One of the major aims of the new constitution was to build political relations between the country's rulers and collaborative sectors of the oppressed population. Those who chose to participate in the new structures of government have not only run the risk of being isolated from the majority of the people, but now also face real threats to their physical safety. No doubt a similar fate awaits those contemplating participation in a fourth chamber or in any other forum created by the present government for negotiation.

A simple reason for the failure of these relatively narrow political reforms is the growth of 'liberation politics' which has taken place. In this society such politics is more wide-ranging than parliamentary politics, and is concerned with changing the regime through extra-parliamentary means. Support for organisations espousing 'liberation politics' has grown significantly, although this may often be tacit support. Nevertheless it does signify a greater legitimacy for demands for the abolition of apartheid, the release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of police and military from the townships, and so on.

This has been accompanied by a growth of anti-capitalist sentiments among sectors of the black population. However, there is no simple connection between

anti-capitalist sentiments and revolutionary socialist strategies or solutions. The trajectory of the events in post-independence Zimbabwe, where capitalism has not been overthrown, illustrates this quite clearly.

Looking at South Africa historically, this politics of opposition is not a new phenomenon. But what is new is the persistence since 1976 of a more organised extra-parliamentary opposition. This persistence suggests that the state is unable to crush opposition effectively in the way that it did in the 1960s. Yet this does not imply that the forces opposing the state will necessarily prove victorious, come what may.

Likely near and medium-term outcome

Revolution is only one of a number of possible outcomes for the near and medium-term future.

Another possibility may be a more severe government clampdown, which would temporarily put a lid on the oppositional politics that have been taking place. A third possibility is that of South Africa limping on through a prolonged period of mass unrest, guerrilla war and repression, coupled with reluctant attempts at reform from above, as in the Philippines and El Salvador.

However the last two options are unlikely to resolve the deep-seated contradictions which underlie the events this country has experienced during the last year or so, contradictions which relate to an economy that produces vast disparities in the distribution of wealth and which generates large scale unemployment; and a political system which excludes meaningful participation by the majority of the population.

What is now of critical importance for the organisations central to the present phase of liberation politics, are the organisational tactics employed, and the longer-term programmatic alternatives put forward. These organisations will also have to develop defensive strategies in order to survive a more thorough-going phase of state repression.

Recent events have indicated a growing level of mass discontent in South Africa. The events do not themselves indicate that the level of organisation of the struggle has reached that of a pre-revolutionary phase. However one may safely say that a number of ingredients exist for the development of a revolution in South Africa. Yet it still remains almost impossible to predict with any accuracy the trajectory or the nature of the potential revolution that may take place in this country. In other words, there may be a transfer of power from one social class to another with lasting and fundamental social, economic and political changes, but what form those changes will take is impossible to say.





Top: Beauty Mkize and the women of Driefontein dance outside the new clinic.

Above: Pickson Mkize holds the plaque given by the Black Sash to commemorate the occasion.

Right: Aninka Claassens translates while Beauty Mkize hands out gifts to express gratitude to the many who supported Driefontein in its struggle.



These children ran through the fields laughing during the ceremony.



A woman gathers water from one of Driefontein's 'three fountains'.

Glenda Webster

Glenda Webster

Driefontein celebrates a reprieve

*photos by
Gill de Vlieg*

● **and a new clinic**

Mr Manguela leaps for joy in celebration of the new clinic and the reprieve, while, right, the schoolmaster, who was conducting, suddenly turned away from his choir and started dancing.

● See overleaf for the background to the reprieve



A reprieve

— taken from a press release written by Aninka Claassens

Ethel Walt



Driefontein and Kwa Ngema have been reprieved. What this means is that the black people who own these two farms, which lie in the 87% of South Africa that was set aside for white ownership alone when the 1913 Land Act was passed, may keep their land and remain where they are.

The settlement also includes the transfer of adjacent land and money to compensate for land that will be flooded by the construction of the new Heyshope dam in the area.

This unprecedented decision was finalised on August 26 at a meeting between Mr Ben Wilkens, deputy Minister of Land Affairs, and representatives from the communities involved. It is the result of a long and determined struggle by both communities who have been under threat of removal since the early 1960's when government officials told the communities that they were going to be removed because the areas constitute a 'black spot' in a white area. In the process of this struggle the leader of the resistance, Mr Saul Mkize, was shot and killed by a policeman who interrupted a community meeting.

In recent years the Government's plan to move these communities received new impetus. The rising waters of the new dam were used as an excuse to say that both communities must be moved en masse to Oshoek, a resettlement camp due to be incorporated into KaNgwane, an independent homeland.

Leaders from both communities proposed that instead of this the Government should make some adjacent land available to compensate for the areas to be flooded.

They sought help from any possible quarter. Mr Enos Mabuza, the Chief Minister of KaNgwane took an unprecedented step for a homeland leader when he refused to cooperate with the removal plans. His stand averted a removal which would have taken place at the end of last year.

With this year's summer rains approaching, a settlement was urgently needed. The Government's dilemma was either to move these particularly strong and famous communities by force within the next two months or to make other land available.

The Government, thankfully, chose the latter alternative, but stressed that no whites would be forced to give up their farms to make land available to Driefontein and KwaNgema. Yet an equivalent amount of land was not available. To this end Barlow Rand, one of South Africa's biggest business enterprises, stepped in to complete the compensatory package for Driefontein. One of their subsidiaries, Lotzaba Forest, provided the government with a slice of land adjacent to Driefontein. A shortfall of agricultural land in the Ngema case will be met by monetary compensation from the Government.

In a letter to *The Star* on September 10, ETHEL WALT, chairperson of Trac described the significance of the reprieve when she wrote:

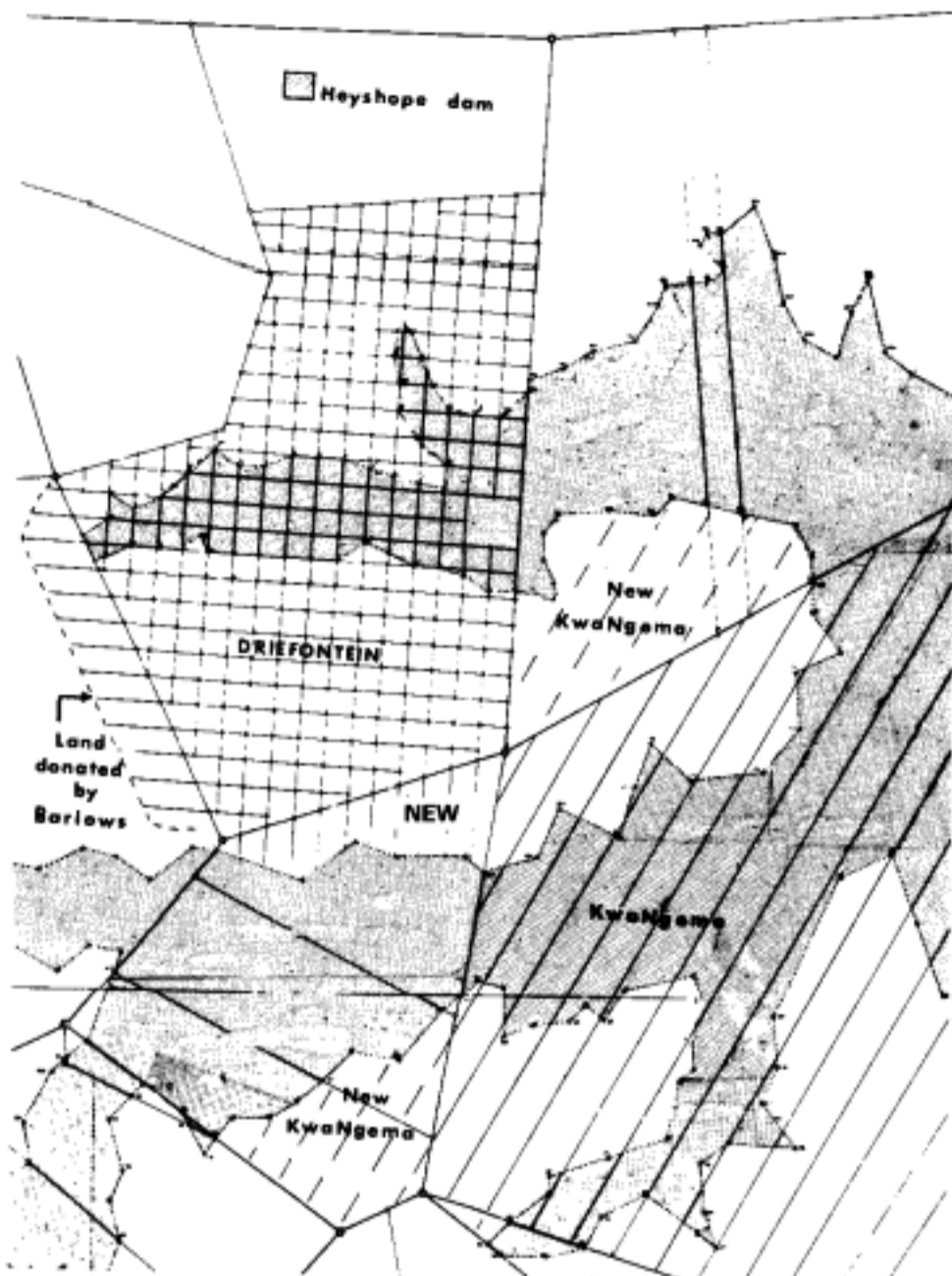
'It was not only a signal victory for the determined people who have staunchly resisted forced removal from their land. It also had wider-reaching significance.

'For the first time since the passing of the Land Act in 1913, it established the right of black people to occupy and own land, bought prior to 1913, in what is officially regarded as "white" South Africa.

'Another aspect of this experience deserves mention. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time that a prominent business house has interceded on behalf of the black people.

'It was largely due to the fact that Barlow Rand made land available to the government as partial compensation for land being flooded by the Heyshope Dam, that a satisfactory agreement could be reached.

'This should be clearly recognised for the generous and principled act it undoubtedly was'.



Map of original Kwa Ngema and Driefontein farms showing new adjacent pieces to compensate areas flooded by the dam.

— mapwork by Paula Cardoso

KAY GAYNOR, who joined the Bryanston Branch of Black Sash in 1956, died recently in hospital in Durban.

Without accounting experience, but with the help of her accountant husband, Herbie, she became treasurer for the Transvaal Region. Kay and Herbie left the Transvaal for Natal in 1970. Kay was chairman of Natal Coastal for two years and then treasurer for five. She joined Highway Branch when it was formed.

Kay was a wonderfully willing member, prepared to do anything she felt she could do. This trait was apparent in her whole life. She ran a small poultry and dairy farm outside Johannesburg in 1946. She was also a piano teacher and loved painting. She worked with the Wayfarers (African Girl Guides) in the 1930's and joined the WAS during the war working in the aerial survey department.

An interesting and able woman, Kay was modest and fine, always ready with a laugh. She faced every new development in her life with great enthusiasm. She showed courage when, feeling that Sash was taking the wrong path, she was brave enough to opt for showing a minority opinion, and finally resigned from Black Sash altogether — a sad day for all in Natal Coastal and a very sad day for Kay herself.

We miss Kay for her moral courage, her willingness, her ability to turn her hand to most things and above all for her stand on principle. We miss her as a friend, and send our love and sympathy to Herbie and their family.

Mary Grice

A National Convention, negotiation, the Convention Alliance

The Black Sash has repeatedly called for a National Convention in resolutions of its national conferences and, on a regional level, in statements and demonstrations.

Now Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, has proposed the formation of a Convention Alliance to pressurise for and promote the idea of a National Convention.

In these two articles, two Black Sash leaders declare the prerequisites of a National Convention and 'negotiation', adding their support for Dr Slabbert's stated intention.

Gill de Vlieg



Sheena Duncan

What is a National Convention?

Sheena Duncan comments . . .

A National Convention in South Africa must be a meeting of representatives of *all* the people in the country, gathering together on an equal basis to thrash out a mutually acceptable constitution for the future.

It would not be a *National Convention* were representatives of any group or any political conviction or policy to be excluded.

Therefore in South Africa a necessary preliminary to a National Convention would be the unbanning of all banned organisations, the release of political prisoners and detainees, and the free return of exiles.

The Black Sash would not support any attempt to bring together groups in the 'moderate centre' in a pretence of meeting as a National Convention.

Nor would we support any Convention at which the representatives were chosen and invited to be present by the Government. Representatives must be chosen by the people in their various constituencies. The present ruling party would be only one of the many constituents of a National Convention, not in control of it. (It seems likely that in the bitterly divided South African society an outside moderator would have to be invited to preside over the meetings of the Convention).

The very nature of a National Convention is essentially a coming together of people with diametrically opposed views and policies to hammer out through hard bargaining from positions of strength some constitutional framework broadly acceptable to all of them within which public affairs can be conducted in the future.

Mechanism for constitutional change

We have to find a mechanism for moving from where we are now to a just and democratic future.

Now that the government has accepted the principle of South African citizenship for all black people, including those living within the independent homelands, political rights are an inevitable corollary. Minister Heunis and the South African ambassador designate to Washington have stated this.

The present South African Constitution offers no mechanisms for transformation to democracy. Based as it is on race classification, group areas and the exclusion of the black majority it is not open to real change or to any kind of acceptable reform. No possible permutations and combinations of those parties represented in the tricameral Parliament with the legislative and administrative structures set up for black people could be acceptable to the majority of the people.

It is possible that an attempt will be made by the present government, through the President's Council, in consultation with government selected black leaders, to introduce yet another new Constitution. It is impossible that such a process could bring us to an acceptable democracy. Whatever its details such a Constitution would be imposed on the people from above.

Mr Smith tried it in Rhodesia with Bishop Muzorewa. Such an attempt could only prolong our agony and worsen conflict in this country.

Some political leaders have rejected all negotiation and say there is nothing to be discussed but the hand-over of power. It is unrealistic to think that change in

South Africa can, in the foreseeable future, be brought about by the violent overthrow of the government or by coup by armed liberation forces. The power of the State is enormous and the current dreadful repression is only a fraction of the armed force which could and would be unleashed in response to such a challenge. We are in grave danger of moving into a kind of Lebanon conflict which could go on and on for many decades and which would offer little hope of justice and democracy at the end of the misery of killing and wounding, burning and disintegration.

If one sits down and tries to analyse in practical terms what mechanism can move us into that just and democratic future for which we have worked it is difficult to visualise any other way but some kind of meeting together of all the interest groups who are in conflict with each other now.

Whether that meeting is called National Convention or Lancaster House or whatever is immaterial. It will not be an easy process and it will inevitably be a lengthy one. No one will get everything they want but it has to be attempted.

The Convention Alliance

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has proposed the formation of a Convention Alliance to pressurise for and promote the idea of a National Convention. He has specifically rejected the idea that any Convention could take place under conditions of a state of emergency. He said 'I am simply saying that those who are in favour of it (a national convention) should come together and demonstrate their commitment to getting rid of apartheid completely and substituting it with one constitution with one citizenship in one individual country'.

On this basis I have supported the idea of a Convention Alliance. I would not be in favour of it were the alliance to make any attempt to set up a mini-convention or to try to weld the constituents in the alliance into a power block seeking to impose solutions on the wider majority. I do not believe that this is what Dr Slabbert has in mind.

He has said 'A Convention Alliance does not mean that all who participate in it share the same policy, or belong to the same party, or necessarily have the same detailed plan for South Africa. In other words, it does not seek to compromise its members, or its supporters in terms of policy, principles, programme of action, or personalities and leaders of their individual organisations and movements'.

There is considerable opposition to entering into the Convention Alliance.

From conversations I have had it seems that this opposition is *not* an opposition to the idea of a National Convention. There is a very small minority of people who seem to hold to the 'overthrow or nothing' theory.

The majority of those who do not wish to enter the Convention Alliance are certainly not rejecting it because they believe in violent solutions. Many of them agree that a National Convention is the way forward and are prepared to work hard for it in their own constituencies but they do not wish to be part of any 'alliance' with people to whose policies and principles and actions they are diametrically opposed.

This is a major difficulty for some. I myself believe that the Alliance has a specific task and that it will inevitably be composed of antagonistic interest groups just as will a National Convention. I do not experience problems with the idea of an alliance but if it is going to be a major problem within the Black Sash we will have to debate it at our next conference. With that in mind all regions should have discussions with their members so that delegates come well prepared to Durban in March.

One person one vote

My opinion on this is constantly being asked at the moment. I stand firmly behind our long ago conference resolution declaring that we are unequivocally in favour of a universal franchise.

I don't myself think this is really a point of conflict in South Africa. Even the National Party has said the vote is essential for everyone. Mr Vorster used to claim that the ruling party recognised the principle of one-man-one-vote and that everyone in South Africa has a vote!

What the conflict is about is what kind of constitutional structure we will build upon the foundation of the universal franchise.

I don't think it is necessary for the Black Sash to produce constitutional blueprints. We would not be represented at a National Convention anyway. Our constituency is too small and insignificant. Our task will be to measure other people's proposals against the yardsticks of justice and democracy and to nag and push from the sidelines a system which guarantees the Rule of Law and the democratic rights of the poor and marginalised people.

I expect we shall have to go on fighting for that to the end of our lives.

What is the meaning of 'negotiation'?

Joyce Harris explains . . .

Communication has suffered at the hands of the government which has constantly misused words to alter their meaning.

One of the latest words to suffer in this way is 'negotiation', which the government uses interchangeably

with 'consultation', although they have entirely different implications.

Consultation implies talking together between parties not necessarily of equal standing, instigated usually by the more powerful party, and with no obligation whatsoever on it to do more than listen. It is not in any way committed to act upon the results of the consultation. Consultation, government style, has brought

Gill de Vlieg



Joyce Harris

little joy. It is entirely different from negotiation, not a substitute for it, though the government has succeeded in fudging the difference.

Negotiation implies discussion between parties all of which have some clout, all bringing to the conference table their particular views, opinions and aspirations and all prepared to bargain with each other in order to reach some kind of acceptable consensus which is then acted upon.

The readiness to negotiate implies a commitment to put into practice the fruits of negotiations, and is therefore a commitment to listen, to influence and be influenced, and to arrive at conclusions which will resolve the problems under discussion.

The fewer non-negotiables brought to the conference table the more successful negotiation is likely to be, for non-negotiables could scuttle the process before it is even begun. Negotiation provides an arena for the hardest possible verbal bargaining and, providing all the participants are motivated to reach solutions acceptable to all, even though they are unlikely to fulfil every need, it should be possible to hammer out a modus vivendi for South Africa.

A National Convention is about negotiation and not consultation. Those who call for a national convention are presumably committing themselves to a process of negotiation with ALL concerned in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of our country's manifold problems.

The constituent assembly must represent ALL peoples and constituencies within the country through their chosen and recognised leaders, which in turn implies that all such leaders must be released from detention if that is where they are. If such a convention were intentionally to exclude certain constituencies that too could scuttle it before it is begun. There should be no non-negotiables and no exclusions.

It would seem that when the call to join a Convention Alliance is rejected because the government has ruled out some of the conditions some of the potential participants would like to see met, or because at the present time a leader has not been released, then the meaning of the call has been misunderstood.

In his call Dr Slabbert made it clear that his party is committed to

one country, one citizenship and one constitution, despite the fact that 'the government has shown its true colours', which are certainly not the same as his. Presumably he wants to provide a vehicle through which all those who would rather negotiate than fight can come together, irrespective of their political and ideological differences, in order hopefully to exert sufficient pressure on the government to force it to call a national convention and participate in it itself, with the same commitment to negotiate and compromise and find solutions.

He is offering potential impetus to the Convention movement, the arguing and hard bargaining to take place once a Convention has been achieved.

A National Convention Alliance is a beginning, a means to an end, not an end in itself. The end is the calling of a truly representative National Convention which will be the place where differences can be argued out and hopefully settled. What other alternative is there to violent confrontation?

This article originally took the form of a letter to The Star and is republished here with their permission.

The United Democratic Front was presumed by many to support the idea of a national convention to negotiate South Africa's political future. Yet it has remained resolutely opposed to the present initiative to launch a Convention Alliance. In an article specially written for *The Star*, publicity secretary MURPHY MOROBE explains the Front's stance.

The idea of negotiating a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems is being advocated by a broad range of individuals and organisations here and abroad. We are unable to agree on the form, content and outcome of such negotiations. Often we cannot even accept the bona fides of those who claim to be committed to this idea.

We are explaining our position at a time when there is an all-out effort by the Government to destroy or at least cripple the United Democratic Front. The loss of life in the townships in the last year is already higher than in 1976. Talk of peace has become increasingly abstract but the UDF hopes it is still possible to negotiate a just peace in our land.

The National Party says it is prepared to negotiate only with those leaders who reject violence and the concept of one person, one vote in a unitary state. Parties to negotiation must accept the broad parameters of apartheid, it says.

The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, for example, remain non-negotiable. So when Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis talks about an 'open agenda' for negotiations, he is trying to mislead us that the Nationalists are really prepared to listen to people whose views differ fundamentally from their views.

The stated objective of the Inkatha-Progressive Federal Party-sponsored Convention Alliance is to bring about by non-violent

means and in the shortest time possible complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation — through a national convention — of a constitution based on one citizenship in one country.

The end product of such a convention would be some form of 'power sharing' between various groups — a solution that implies that all participants will have to agree to some form of compromise.

For the UDF negotiation does not mean South Africa's 'leaders' can sit around a table and work out a solution while the people sit outside the conference room waiting to hear the outcome.

The myth is that a think-tank of leaders meeting in effect under the shadow of the South African De-

fence Force or the South African Police and over the heads of the people will be able to arrive at an acceptable deal. This is a fundamentally undemocratic and elitist view.

The UDF believes that any negotiation must be the product of a democratic process which involves the masses. After all, the outcome of negotiation requires mass acceptance if peace is to be attained.

A climate favourable to mass participation needs to be created. This means that the African National Congress and other political organisations must be unbanned. All detainees and political prisoners must be released unconditionally. Apartheid must have been totally dismantled and there must be free political activity.

These are not bargaining chips — they are conditions which must prevail for democratic participation in free negotiations.

When we call for the release of Nelson Mandela it is not so that he can be whisked off to some top level negotiations behind closed doors (assuming that he would allow this). We demand that Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees be released to play their full role in the development of a mass-based democratic participation.

It is meaningless to push for a national convention while the basic preconditions have not been met.

It is unfortunate therefore that the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, chose a time when no semblance of democracy exists to call for the formation of a convention alliance.

Those who genuinely want to see peace and justice brought to our country and believe this can come about through negotiations must struggle side-by-side with the oppressed people to create the atmosphere for negotiation.

To assert the need for a convention alliance now undermines the very concept of negotiations. **Indeed we must conclude that the Convention Alliance is no more than a front intended to act as a buffer between apartheid and the genuine aspirations of our people.** It is an attempt to find a solution above the heads of the people.

Both the Government and the Convention Alliance appear to accept concepts such as 'a united South Africa with one citizenship' and 'universal franchise'. The Government appears to see the outcome of negotiations as some form of 'power sharing' — but through structures which are racially defined. This is in fact only apartheid being restructured and the UDF will have no truck with it.

Leading proponents of the Convention Alliance would also like to see full adult suffrage based on 'power sharing' without any domination. Where those who presently control the instruments of power and privilege agree to share power with the powerless and underprivileged this must inevitably perpetuate the subject condition of the latter.

Unless we begin to address ourselves to redistribution of wealth

and the creation of conditions of equality in all spheres of life, power sharing will remain hollow and will continue to be rejected by the UDF.

The front believes that political negotiations must be directed toward achieving a non-racial democratic South Africa and a unitary state. While the process of achieving this is negotiable the creation of democratic rule is not. This is the demand of the majority of the people and the international community.

We reject the notion that this is an extremist view, regarding it as the only reasonable alternative to white domination. Only when the vote becomes the embodiment of true people's power in a united South Africa can we realistically address the other problems of this land.

. . . and Joyce answers

At the first meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Convention Movement of which I am a member I made it perfectly clear that I was there in my personal capacity. At that time it was established that all members were acting in their personal capacities and did not represent constituencies.

From the beginning I felt that the creation of a movement to work towards the calling of a National Convention, after certain basic priorities and preconditions had been met, would be welcomed with the same sense of relief and hope I experienced. It seemed to me to be exactly what was needed in a time of unrest, instability and despair, especially for those who would like to see a peaceful and negotiated settlement of all our problems.

As the Black Sash has been calling for a National Convention for many years I did not doubt its support for such a call. I was wrong. Admittedly conditions have changed, and we are living in a state of escalating repression and violence which does not lend itself to negotiation. Admittedly many pre-conditions must be met before negotiation will be possible. And admittedly the opposition political spectrum is so fractured that hostility is rife. Despite all this I

still believe that the best hope for our country lies with words, not guns, and I shall continue to do everything I can to make words work.

I understand very well the reservations of certain black organisations, and therefore also of members of the Black Sash, but I do not believe they are valid. I suggest that the National Convention Movement be given a chance, and that a beginning be made by listening carefully to what it is saying. It is so easy to close minds and condemn.

With respect I believe that is what MR MURPHY MOROBE has done in his article, 'UDF will come to the Conference table only if . . .' He makes so many points with which the Convention Movement is in complete agreement, yet he uses them as weapons with which to attack the Movement.

Its wording may not have been precisely the same, but the Movement clearly has implied that 'any negotiation must be the product of a democratic process which involves the masses'; that 'a climate favourable to mass participation needs to be created'; that 'the release of Nelson Mandela' and other leaders is a necessary prerequisite to negotiation at a National Convention; that

• *continued overleaf*

The rule of law

Former advocate, and one-time member of the Liberal Party,
JACK LEWSEN, explains the meaning of the Rule of Law for Sash . . .

There is no short definition of the Rule of Law. It is rather the code for freedom practised in civilised societies.

It derives from Natural Law, historical experience and classical thought and philosophy. It is directed to ensure the continued conditions for human freedom and liberty and to become part of the inalienable legal and administrative practice. Experience has shown there can be no human freedom and liberty if people are exposed to unrestrained arbitrary acts of others, and the Rule of Law requires, as an over-riding law, that no practice develops, or law is made in society, that exposes individuals to invasions of their personal freedom and civil liberties. In short, the Rule of Law protects human freedom and liberty, and is an essential ingredient of law and order.

Man-made laws that ignore the Rule of Law destroy the Rule of Law, and the enforcement of such man-made laws, even by a Court, constitutes an abrogation of the Rule of Law.

Recently in South Africa the term 'Rule of Law' has been grossly misused to mean the need to observe the whole gamut of laws, including statutory laws that breach the Rule of Law: for example, detention without trial, denial of access to the Courts and legal assistance, to say nothing of the more permanent laws that were enacted to bring about apartheid such as the Population Registration Act, the Urban Areas Act, the Group Areas Act etc.

Dismantling apartheid is a substantial part of restoring the Rule of Law.

There is no certified list of personal freedoms and civil liberties. They are constantly redefined according to social needs and experience. A well-known list includes:

- rights of life, liberty and security of person;
- freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile;
- right to a fair public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal;
- freedom of thought, conscience and religion;
- freedom of speech, peaceful assembly and associ-

ation;

- freedom of the Press.

More recent additions are:

- right to social security;
- right to work or maintenance;
- right to education;
- right to participate in cultural activities;
- right to enjoy arts and share in scientific advancement and other benefits;
- right to enjoy arts and share in scientific advancement and other benefits;
- right to take part in selecting the government;
- equality of sexes;
- freedom from discrimination on racial or sexual grounds;
- right to a passport.

Professor Phyllis Lewsen, an historian, formerly of Witwatersrand University, adds the following quotation which she found during her researches. It comes from Hansard, January 24 1947 and records the debate on a motion by Dr Malan calling for bipartisan Native policy based on apartheid.

Donald Molteno, Native representative for Cape Western quoted this definition of fundamental freedom 'laid down in the Supreme Court of New York by Justice Field' — though more than half a century before it was still entirely valid.

'Liberty in its broad sense, as understood in this country, means the right not only of freedom from actual servitude, imprisonment or restraint, but the right of one to use his faculties in all lawful ways, to live and work where he will, to earn his livelihood in any lawful calling, to pursue any lawful trade or a vocation. All laws therefore, which impair or trammel these rights, which limit one in his choice of a trade or profession, or confine him to work or to live in any specified locality, or exclude him from his own house, or restrain his otherwise lawful movements, are infringements upon the fundamental rights of liberty which are under constitutional protection.'

• from page 24

'it is meaningless to push for a national convention while the basic preconditions have not been met'; and it certainly expects that the sort of convention it envisages will be 'directed toward achieving a non-racial democratic South Africa'.

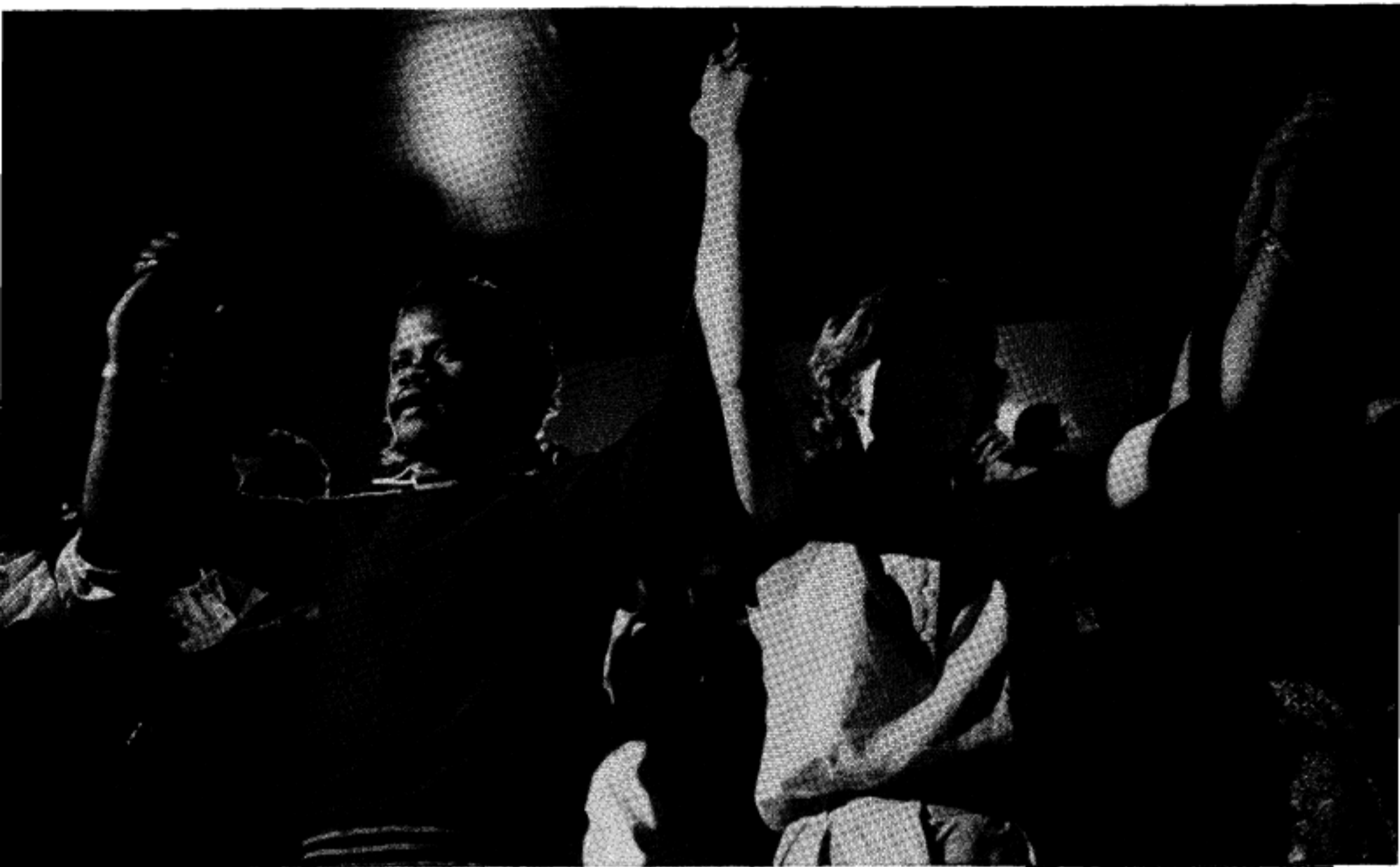
We may differ on detail, we agree on fundamentals. Mr Morobe says 'one man one vote' is not negotiable. The Movement is inclined to agree, but believes that this is part of a con-

stitutional decision that must be thrashed out round the conference table, and that the fewer non-negotiables there are the more likely the National Convention is to succeed. These are differences in strategy, they are not insuperable obstacles. Negotiation in good faith might just produce the miracles we so desperately need, and a start has to be made somewhere.

We all need to stop attacking and start communicating; to listen to

each other and hear what is being said; to show evidence of our good intentions and learn to trust each other; and somehow to get through the agony and violence and hurt that is all around us and go forward together into a future that holds peace, stability and fulfilment for all of us. The National Convention Movement might be the vehicle for achieving this.

Joyce Harris
November 11, 85



ECC peace festival service

— photo Paul Weinberg

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

Since it began in 1984, the End Conscription Campaign has gathered momentum and a breadth of support from all quarters of the population. CLARE VER BEEK explains why.

Opposition to conscription and the role of the SADF reached an unprecedented high in September when thousands of people across the country attended mass rallies and participated in the End Conscription campaign's Peace Festival.

A fast marked the end of the ECC's 'Troops out of the townships' campaign, which started on September 17, the International Day of Peace.

SADF actions arouse ECC support

The growth of the End Conscription Campaign over the past year is directly related to the extensive use of SADF troops in black townships and in neighbouring states. Widespread assaults and harassment of township residents by the SADF; the firing of teargas and bullets at funerals; and the use of troops to arrest pass law offenders are actions which cause young conscripts and their families to face an acute crisis of conscience.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the use of the army in townships will not stop the violent conflict. As

one township resident put it during the 'Troops out campaign', 'You cannot put out a fire with gasoline.'

More and more South Africans understand that the violence of apartheid is the real reason for black resistance, even if they do not agree with the forms that resistance takes. They know that a just and enduring peace will only prevail when the root causes of conflict — minority rule and the system of apartheid — are eradicated. The political problem of apartheid requires political and not military solutions. Thus while the security forces continue to play their repressive role in the country, there can be no possibility of participation on equal terms, in dialogue towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Support for the call to end conscription as a positive step towards the building of a new society, has come from conscripts, their families, religious groupings and the international community.

More conscripts fail to turn up

There is an increasing number of conscripts who fail to

report for duty. Whereas in 1984, 1 596 men did not obey their call-up orders, this number increased to 7 589 for the January 1985 call-up alone. At the same time, conscripts are refusing to take part in SADF actions in the townships. In July, Rifleman Alan Dodson, a law graduate serving a one-month camp, was court-martialled for refusing an order to go on a vehicle patrol in Durban's townships. He was fined R600.

Not only young men, but their parents too are expressing opposition to the role played by the SADF. In Grahamstown and Stellenbosch, a number of men conscripted into 'Dad's Army', including Professor André Brink, have refused to register and participate in army activities.

In a discussion around the theme 'Sons in the streets, sons in the hippos' convened by the Johannesburg Black Sash as part of the ECC 'Troops Out' campaign, black and white mothers whose sons could literally be at the opposite ends of an army gun, expressed their concern at the effects of the escalation of violence of South African society. Indelible scars are being left on the minds and bodies of children by the militarisation of our society.

'White mothers', said one woman, 'should join their sisters in the townships where the battle rages'. As a result of this discussion the women agreed to meet again and work out a joint programme of action.

Support rallies from many sources

The breadth of support for the ECC's campaign is indicated also by the thousands who joined the National Fast for a Just Peace — prominent individuals from the religious and business communities, a military chaplain from Stellenbosch, a group of Jewish students and their rabbi, a coloured family of eight who fasted in relays for three weeks, township residents and squatters, white school children and their teachers, trade union leaders and sol-

diers still in the army.

A wide range of international peace groups have also supported the ECC. They have cited the United Nations Declaration of Human rights and the Nuremberg Principles, which recognise the right of freedom of choice with regard to the taking up of arms and the taking of life.

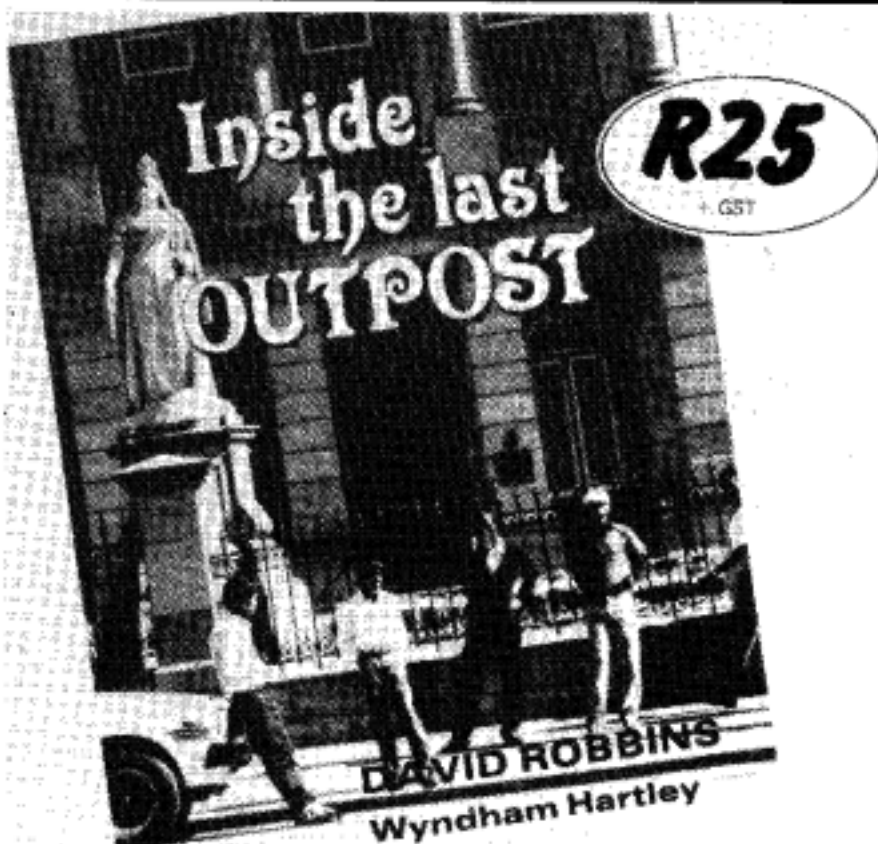
State, and others attack ECC

Predictably, the growing support for the ECC has also led to a number of attacks on the campaign by high-ranking government and military officials and press columnists. Two weeks before the start of the 'Troops Out' campaign, four prominent members of ECC were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, and the homes of 20 ECC members across the country were raided.

Recently, the Deputy Minister of Defence accused ECC of being a pawn in the hands of the ANC. Where is the evidence of this? It is significant that the ECC has thrice challenged the SADF to debate, all of which invitations to state their case have been refused by the SADF. Secondly, the Natal courts ordered the release of ECC members from detention on the basis that there were not reasonable grounds to hold them under Section 29.

ECC's motivation

The ECC is a front of 46 organisations whose opposition to conscription is based on the fundamental belief that individuals should be free to choose whether or not to serve in the SADF. The ECC is not affiliated to or taking orders from any other organisation. It is the role of the SADF itself which has caused the growing movement against conscription and the increasing commitment of South Africans to building a democratic, just and peaceful future for all.



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Inside the Last Outpost

This is a book not about 'Natal' — as the phrase 'The Last Outpost' with its wry irony would seem to imply — but about 'Natal/KwaZulu', a very different entity. The difference is a main subject of the book, which sets out specifically to explore aspects of Natal/KwaZulu invisible to those 'who ride only the highways from the mountains to the sea'.

The exploration takes the form of excursions, expeditions, visits, to numbers of very various places and people. These are described and contemplated; one leads on to another; and they are illuminated by — and in their turn, illuminate — a great deal of social, political, statistical, historical information; a hard core of facts.

The accounts of the excursions make an immediate impact. David Robbins has a journalist's ability to isolate and identify significant details, encounters with people and events are recorded not only accurately and graphically but also sympathetically, with humility and warmth.

Natal/KwaZulu is a large area, a large concept, full of inconsistencies, dilemmas, contradictions and ironies which are illustrated — as David Robbins points out — in the awkwardness of its double name. It is also full of sadness and suffering, seen by him as 'a perfect microcosm of the broader national pain'. *Inside the Last Outpost* is an original, moving, impressive attempt to make sense of it all.

Marie Dyer

English Lecturer, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

UNREST

The pattern of township unrest (first reported in the May issue of *Sash*) prevails in smaller towns and villages. The Albany Black Sash Monitoring Committee sent this report from the eastern Cape. It is followed by DI BISHOP'S report from Worcester in the western Cape.

Unrest in smaller towns and villages

Our account of life in Grahamstown's townships reads like a description of civil war. Troops entered the township on October 7, 1984. Since then, soldiers have patrolled the area on foot and in armed vehicles, while a constant SADF presence is maintained along the national highway. The privacy of township dwellers has been violated by searchlights blazing intermittently from mountings below the 1820 Settler Monument on Gunfire Hill, passing over the valley of the whites — *son et lumière* South African style.

In the valley, white schools practise riot drill; the girls at one boarding school sleep in the chapel during times of acute unrest; 'Dad's Army' has been mobilised, sales of firearms and security systems have increased. The City Council, with the majority of white ratepayers, vigorously approved the National Transport Corporation's plan to spend up to R24 million on a bypass road to remove the problem of having a national road linking town and township. And so whites bypass apartheid.

Sash response

As violence took its toll and the incidence of arrests, deaths and detentions rose, Sash formed a monitoring committee in May 1985. At first we aimed to monitor state repression locally. Police and defence force activity, related developments and events were monitored in the Albany area which encompasses Grahamstown, Kenton-on-Sea, Port Alfred and Alicedale. This led to the monitoring, almost daily, of political cases in the various courts. Out of this grew a bail fund and a mass of information largely in statement form.

Popular resistance

From this mass of information it is possible to discern the unfolding of sometimes explosive patterns of resistance in the small rural and seaside villages as well as in the larger cities and towns. Anger over the failure of state imposed councillors to deal with basic grievances like high rents, housing shortages and the provision of essential services led to meetings and gatherings. Popular leaders responded and grassroot community-based organisations mushroomed.

The State intervened with force to break up meetings and crush the growing movement, and so the spiral of violence began: deaths — funerals — deaths — funerals and so on. These events in turn effectively mobilised and politicised tens of thousands of people. Popular calls for other strategies and more militant actions increased. Consumer boycotts followed school boycotts and stayaways. Those perceived as parties to the system — un-

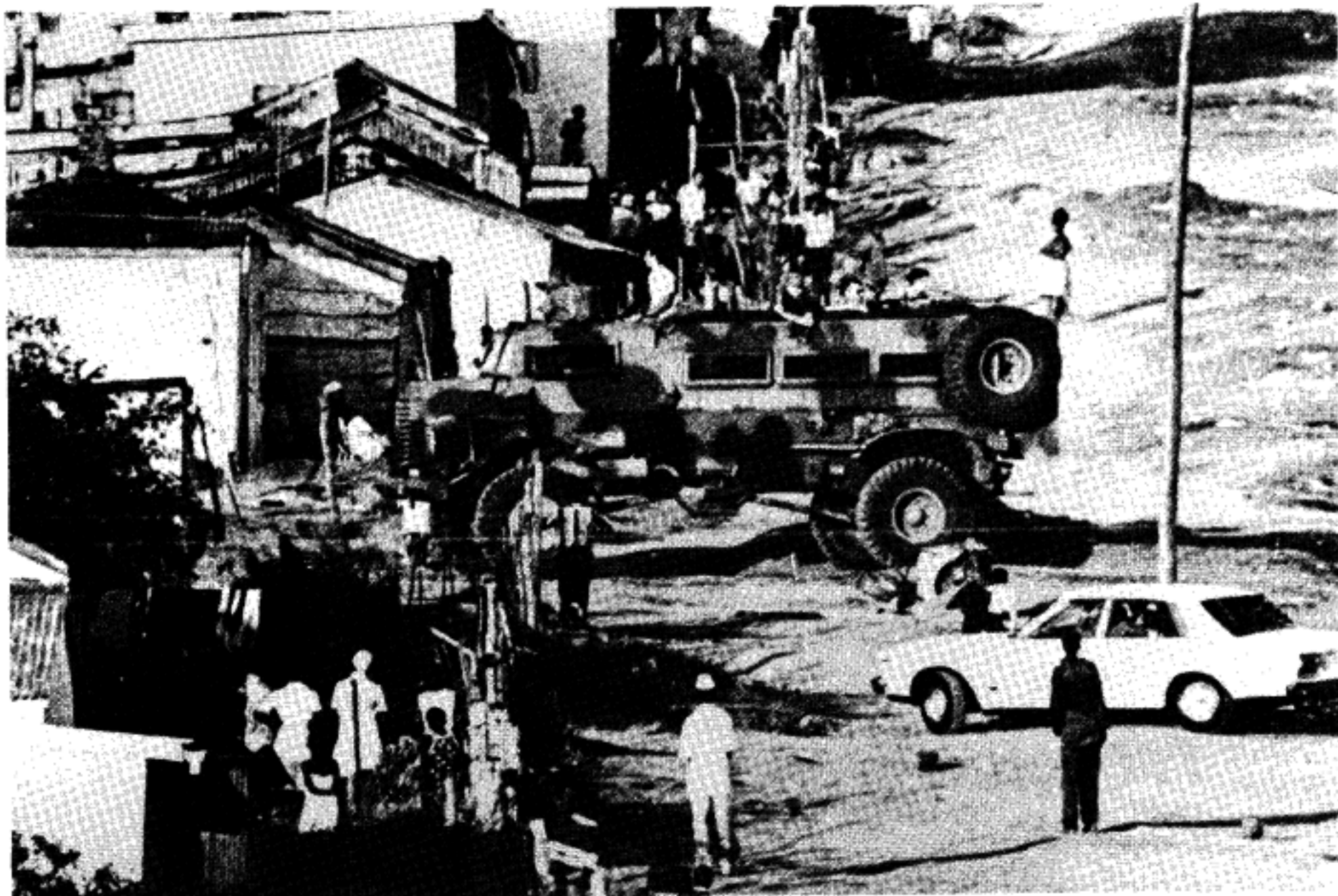
popular community councillors and black policemen — were obvious targets for people's anger. Demands for their resignation intensified, some resigned, some still live trapped and guarded in their homes. Isolated from the community, some demand the use of ever more force in the townships, thus further endangering their lives.

State response

The number of people killed in unrest in the Eastern Cape between January 1 and April 20, 1985 was 123. Of those, 96 were killed by the police or army. Statements taken reveal again and again that people arrested have often witnessed or been subjected to unwarranted police



Township youngsters, October '85



October '85 — 'E' street, Joza, Grahamstown

violence: beatings with batons and quirts, tear gassing, assaults, killings and arrests. Witnesses are, more often than not, themselves arrested. The charge against them: public violence. People who sustain injuries but escape, often refuse to go to hospital for fear of being arrested. Some have died from untreated wounds.

State of Emergency declared to 'normalise' the townships

A random sample of state action demonstrates how the state attempts to 'normalise' the Eastern Cape townships and popular response to this:

GRAAFF-REINET: Children were driven back to school at gunpoint. Pupils can be arrested if found in their homes between 8.00am and 2.00pm without police permission. Any unauthorized person, ie not a pupil or teacher, found on school property can be arrested.

GRAHAMSTOWN: A 10.00pm to 5.00am curfew is strictly imposed. In an attempt to beat the consumer boycott, townships have been ordered to close early each day with no Sunday shopping. Children must be in school or at home or risk arrest or beatings.

EAST LONDON: A successful boycott of the *Daily Dispatch* forced management to review its coverage of township issues. Although not an area restricted under the state of emergency regulations, Duncan Village is like a war zone today. Response to a trade boycott and more recently, a work stayaway, has been almost total.

PORT ELIZABETH: The very success of the boycott there has effected a two-pronged attack by the State: some shops have been closed under the emergency regulations, while other shopowners and their customers are intimidated and harassed by the police, who insist that white shops are being picketed.

COLESBERG: A siege mentality prevails: water to the township is cut off for five hours a day and wholesalers have stopped supplying township shops.

Black people have declared their own state of emergency and are fighting back. It has been suggested that opposition is sporadic, disorganised and lacking in direction. Resistance may be centred around local issues, but it IS being co-ordinated. The spread of consumer boycotts, the growing isolation of community councillors and pressure on policemen and police reservists to get out of the township all bear witness to this.

In effect we have been under a state of emergency for a year, as the story of Kenton-on-Sea shows.

KENTON-ON-SEA

The black area there has been an 'emergency' camp since 1956, so no permanent infrastructure may be provided. The Hansard of April 16, 1985 at column 117 quotes the Minister of Co-operation and Development in debates in the House of Assembly as saying that the population of the camp was 2 001 people. There is, however, some confusion, as the Hansard of April 26, 1985 at column 1 269 and 1 270 quotes the same Minister as stating that the population as at March 31, 1985 had been 1 297. The only employment available is in the shops and hotels and seasonal domestic work for holidaymak-

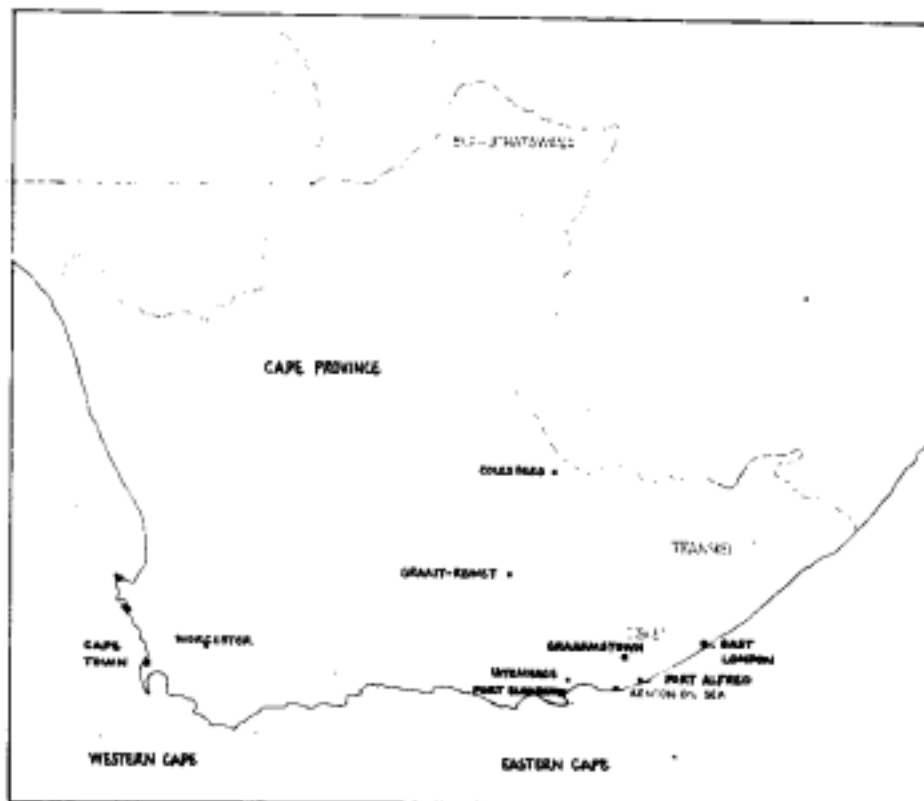
UNREST



The Civic Association banner, Grahamstown, October '85



Gugile Nkwinti, chairman of the Nonzama Student Guardian Association, October '85



Mapwork: Glenda Glover

ers. The average wage is R40 a month.

A meeting was called to discuss local grievances eg four taps at a communal water tank 120 m from the camp, no electricity or sewerage. As people gathered on a rugby field, six armed vehicles arrived, the police declared the meeting illegal and gave the people five minutes to disperse. Before the five minutes were up, tear-gas and rubber bullets were used. People ran to seek shelter in homes, and some hid in the bushes where they stayed for two nights.

One man who ran into the river died. There is some evidence that he was shot by the police, but the district surgeon says he drowned. His body was taken to Alexandria without the permission of his family. His funeral was small, there was a heavy army presence and young people were prevented by the soldiers from attending.

After the funeral 104 people were arrested, held for up to 10 days and released on bail of R100 - R120 each, which is more than R10 000 from a community where there is little employment available.

White shopkeepers and other white people began to get involved as they could not believe the people were guilty of the charges against them: arson, public violence, sabotage and attending an illegal gathering. A community organisation was formed because of the arrests and four women helped by a white shopkeeper collected money for bail. The four were arrested and the money confiscated, but the shopkeeper was left alone. A school boycott began. The state of emergency was declared in the middle of negotiations between whites and black community leaders who were arrested and detained immediately. Two boys were arrested from school and when released told to make the children go back to school and people were harassed continually.

PORT ALFRED

The state of emergency was even more destructive in Port Alfred because negotiations were taking place between the black and white communities and the children had already returned to classes when it was declared. Gugile Nkwinti, chairman of the Nonzama Student Guardian Association was detained immediately and the school and consumer boycotts were resumed. Gugile was released and the trade boycott was suspended but the children continued boycotting.

At the time of writing Gugile and others have been re-detained, and the consumer boycott has resumed. The state of emergency effectively destroyed negotiations which were taking place between the two communities.

Conclusion

The confrontation of State and township is going on mostly over our heads, like the searchlights. This month, September, the Sash is supporting the ECC fast against militarism; some members have joined the consumer boycott; court monitoring, bail work and the taking of statements go on as usual. We helped to get two interim interdicts to protect eight prisoners aged 11 - 23 who had been tortured — which will not stop police violence, and is too late by definition, but still vital for those concerned. The only thing which will stop violence is an interdict like that handed down recently in Port Elizabeth.

The pattern of unrest in Worcester's Zweletemba township is similar to all others. Against a background of extreme social and economic hardship comes community organisation to assist residents. Then follows the State's attempt to smash the organisation and fan the flames of anger. In this case a service charge increase is announced two days after students organise a memorial week for the murders of four Cradock leaders.

DI BISHOP describes the background and the escalating violence and counter-violence that resulted from police threats, the service increase, army presence and finally the Government's decision to send a Colonel who allegedly claimed to have been mandated 'to use force'.



Harry Tyler

Di Bishop

Zweletemba ('the land of hope') is the area in which black residents of Worcester are decreed to live. Zweletemba 'township' was created in 1953 since which time no additional housing units have been built. Last year, some single hostels were converted into 56 family units. There are 13 753 (legal) residents in 1160 houses, i.e. an average of 12 people per unit.

Rigid influx control is imposed in all such rural areas and Zweletemba provides shelter for its fair share of refugee contract workers from the surrounding farms and for others hiding from the inspectors. The Coloured Labour Preference Area Policy, rigorously applied until just recently, has caused gross employment discrimination against Zweletemba residents. Many say that blacks continue to be discriminated against. The economic recession has given rise to increased retrenchments and some employers have introduced short-time. Unemployment is a serious problem.

In 1983 community-based organisations joined forces to establish the Worcester Peoples' Advice Office which has helped many people from Worcester, the surrounding farming areas and nearby village and towns. The Worcester Ministers' Fraternal has served the organisation from the outset and its members are active partners of the community organisations. The Western Cape branch of the Black Sash was invited to maintain close contact with the Advice Office and a warm relationship has developed between us.

Two of the Advice Office's founding members — Mirriam Moleleki and Elizabeth Bushwana — are members of the United Womens' Organisation and are actively involved with the Worcester Branch of the Western Cape Civic Organisation, both of which are affiliates of the UDF. Attempts at attracting increased local support for

the Advice Office has proved to be extremely difficult due to the sustained smear campaign against the UDF.

The Advice Office closed from August 23, 1985 because three of its members were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Abel Dlikilili (chairman, W Civic), Mirriam Moleleki and Lizo Kapa were all released on September 22, together with three other Worcester residents taken by the infamous Worcester security police on the same day — James Issel, Juan Kariem and Donovan Petersen. The Advice Office and its active supporters have been subjected to sustained harassment by these policemen. On August 23 the office was searched by the security police, the typewriter and documents were taken and a small roneo machine was subsequently removed. The spirit and determination of the Advice Office workers to serve their fellow citizens will not be crushed and they all face the future with renewed commitment and determination.

Brief Summary — Course of recent unrest

Like other places throughout the Cape Province, the Zweletemba community was deeply disturbed by the murders of four of Cradock's leaders. High school students organised a memorial week at the High School prior to the Cradock funeral on July 20. Zweletemba clergymen were invited to lead the prayers on different days.

On July 22 notices of service charge increases to be imposed from August 1, were distributed in Zweletemba. The average increase was R1,80 a month. Students staged a march to the Administration Board offices where they handed over a letter of objection to the proposed increases. At a meeting of parents and students of the High School called that evening, the school principal reported that he had been warned by the local police chief earlier that day that if 'normal' classes did not resume, the police would use force. Students have told me that there was every intention to re-commence classes, but threats from the police together with the hardship of increased service charges for their parents served to exacerbate the intense dissatisfaction with the status quo.

The beer hall, a refuse removal van, the Administration Board office and a community councillor's house were burned on the same night.

On Friday August 2 the SA Defence Force surrounded and sealed off Zweletemba. A door-to-door search was conducted together with the police and 85 — mainly young — people were detained, 10 of whom have been charged with 'public violence'. During a subsequent similar raid, 52 young people (including three girls) were detained and charged with public violence. All but eight of them have been released subsequently (and charges withdrawn). Bail of R500 each was eventually set for each of those charged. There was a deeply troubled reaction to the arrival of the SADF in Worcester. One young man said his mother had fainted when she looked up and saw an army van and battled-clad soldiers outside her house. Another phoned to say 'Di, the government has declared war on us here at Zweletemba!'

The violence and counter-violence began to escalate.

UNREST

On Friday night August 16 Nkosana Bahume (aged 20, in Std 10) was shot dead by the police. On Sunday August 18 the mothers of Zweletemba led a protest march towards the road block at the entrance to their township. They fell to their knees when they reached the block and pleaded with the police to go away. Several carried posters saying — 'We are not fighting — take the police away from the township'. Heavily-armed police re-inforcements were hurriedly brought from Worcester. Representatives of the women's group expressed concern at the disappearance of some residents and anger at the death of Nkosana. The commanding officer sent his contingent away and the residents dispersed peacefully after the women agreed to meet him in his office the next day.

Various groups followed the example of the women by making representations to the police. The Black Sash was amongst those requested by representatives of the community to re-inforce requests for the police to remove themselves, stop polluting the Zweletemba air with tear-gas and stay away from Nkosana's funeral on August 31. There was an encouraging response from the police initially. But then the iron fist showed itself in all its ugliness.

* The detentions under section 29 took place on August 23. Miriam Moleleki was taken from the home of the deceased (to whom she was related) by the security police in the early hours of August 24.

* Severe conditions restricting movement and actions at the funeral were imposed by Worcester's magistrate.

In addition the police mounted a road block on the day of the funeral and refused entry to members of the Black Sash and concerned church representatives. Rev Peter Grassow (Methodist), treasurer of the Advice Office, refused to obey the police and entered Zweletemba alone. Once out of sight of the Black

Sash and press, he was arrested and held for the weekend. He has been released pending trial.

* The tensions between the community and police were stretched to breaking point by the government's decision to send one Colonel van Wyk from Pretoria to Worcester. He apparently claimed to be acting on the instructions of the Cabinet and indicated that he had been mandated to use force. Besides his alleged rudeness to community groups which included a school principal and clergymen, he is believed to be responsible for a house to house search by policemen who sjambokked children in an attempt to force them to school. With Miriam in detention, the police entered her house and threatened two of her children. Little Lolo, 13 years old, has a bump on his head from the sjambok blow he received.

One evening I was taking Advice Office workers home after a long afternoon of looking for children who had been detained. We waited our turn in the queue at the SADF/SAP roadblock. The young white faces of the SADF conscripts stared in ashamed amazement at this racially-mixed carload entering the township. Just ahead of us were other faces — the little faces of children in terror as the soldier/policeman ripped open the back of their parents' bakkie in which they were travelling. The search was short, but the impression left on those children will be lasting, if not indelible.

We dropped our passengers at the Methodist manse where Rev Somanā sent us on our way with a prayer. I fervently hope that a way forward may now be found and that Zweletemba's struggle for recognition of the dignity and worth of every person living there will be recognised as a just one. The establishment of justice for all is a prerequisite for peace.

Di Bishop



Women fall to their knees to plead with the police to leave Zweletemba Township, Worcester, August '85

— photo: Pippa Green

Unrest spreads to the Cape Peninsula



Margaret Nash

Before July 1985, conflict in the western Cape was confined to isolated incidents, reports MARGARET NASH of the Cape Town branch of Black Sash. Various measures in the government's 'New Deal' that followed the introduction of the Tricameral Parliament towards the end of 1983, temporarily defused the tension in the rapidly growing township and squatter areas.

The New Deal meant handouts to the coloured community and major construction projects. Both stimulated the Western Cape economy and protected it from the worst effects of the countrywide recession. In addition, a moratorium on influx control; the reprieve of Crossroads; the promise of leasehold at Khayelitsha, then Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu; 18-month permits at Site C for squatters; and R20 per month core houses at Khayelitsha for township residents defused tension in the black townships and squatter areas (growing rapidly in size and population density).

Population figures in Greater Cape Town, 1980

Total	1 511 740
White	482 240
Coloured	776 340
Black (de jure)	183 360
De facto 1985 (at least!)	283 000

But by the middle of 1985 economic boosters were petering out and promises to blacks were not meeting the upsurge in rising expectations. In reality in both coloured and African communities the basic pressures of political and economic deprivation were generating yet greater frustration, but unrest was confined to isolated incidents.

July 20/21 marked a turning point. Riot police attacked black scholars who had started a school boycott with a memorial rally for the Cradock Four. Black township residents who were angered by the State of Emergency proclamation and the treatment of their children resolved urgently to commence a consumer boycott in the Western Cape. The brutal riot police reaction had two other effects; it aggravated youth anger and radicalised slower-moving adults. Representatives of black and coloured schools formed the Western Province Schools Action Committee and embarked on a programme of class boycotts, awareness programmes and demonstrations.

Joint committees of parents, teachers and students began to be formed, with some areas more 'progressive' than others. A broadly based Boycott Action Committee emerged with solid, well-defined trade union support. Trade in white areas, especially shopping centres, declined visibly. Buses were also boycotted in favour of black-operated combi-taxis.

Detentions of UDF and other leaders and the prohibition of the planned August 28 march to Pollsmoor led directly to massive and widespread violence, stone throwing and petrol bombing. Riot police and SADF waded into ordinary people — mostly non-violent demonstrators and including middle aged nuns — with sjamboks, teargas and plastic bullets, as well as those responsible for the stoning and petrol bombs. Casualties — dead, wounded, missing, detained, arrested — run into countless hundreds. Many areas in the Cape Flats, Paarl (Mbekweni) and Worcester (Zweletemba) are in an intermittent or semipermanent 'state of war'.

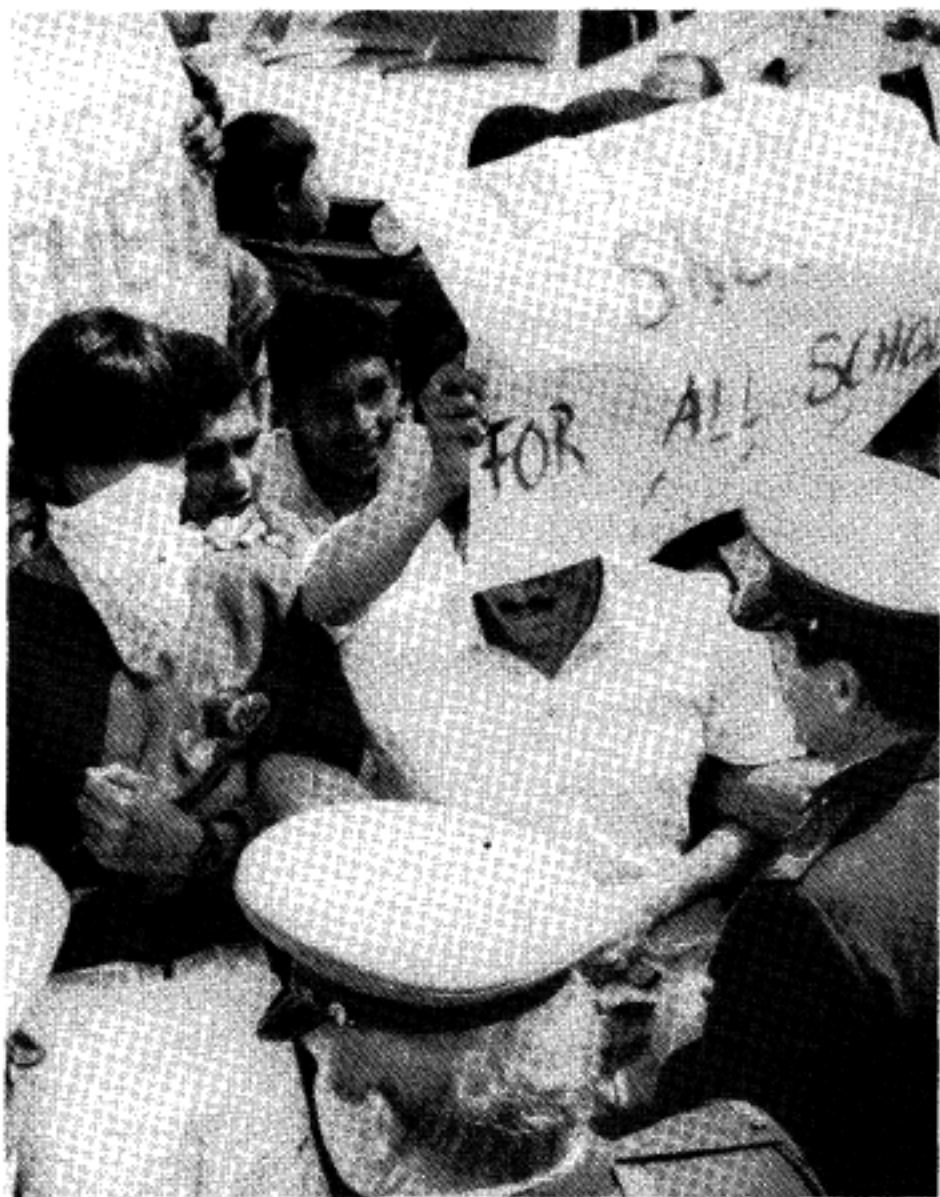
Politically motivated communal violence lurks just below the surface and can be triggered by any police provocation — witness the crowd murder (despite heroic action of Moulana Faried Esack) of 'gentle' police constable Farmer at the September 12 funeral of Ebrahim Carelse, shot dead by riot police a few days previously — and 'tsotsi/skollie' violence by gangs of unemployed alienated youth, aggravates the situation. Despite restrictions, funerals draw crowds ranging from 20 000 to 40 000 and contribute to mass conscientisation of blacks.

All this, coupled with sudden freezing of SA foreign exchange dealings, has impacted on the white sector. Activist responses — UCT/SRC and Nusas, Black Sash, ECC 'Fast for a Just Peace/Troops out of Townships' campaign — are very well supported. But on the whole whites and middle class blacks opt lemming-like for the SATV version, and the gap between black and white, radical change demanding majority and reformist concession-oriented minority has widened massively and dangerously.

We face the bleak prospect of endemic and escalating violence and disorder — white vs black, black vs black, riot police/SADF vs the people. Mobilising for justice as means, as well as goal, for ALL has probably never been more urgent or more difficult and costly. The miracle is that people do not just curse the dark: they go on lighting the candles that help to push back the dark and hasten the coming of freedom's day.

Margaret Nash

The education crisis in the western Cape



Dave Hartman

Confrontation between boycotting school students and police in Wynberg, September '85.

Once again students in tertiary institutions and pupils in schools have initiated and organised protest against apartheid education and the state, writes SUE PHILCOX from Cape Town. She describes the fluid situation to the end of September.

In the Western Cape the response to the declaration of emergency and the ensuing violence of the police and army has been led by students and pupils. This time, unlike 1976 and 1980, there has been much support from teachers, parents and the community. There is, in the Eastern Cape, a large politicised coloured community. Repression has succeeded in steadily increasing the levels of awareness.

This excludes whites and, to a large extent, most of the comparatively small number of blacks, whose circumstances and conditions of life make their central issues and concerns different. This polarisation into racial groups is one of the tragic consequences of apartheid.

There are, therefore, three educational crises and

three solutions being put forward. The aims and objectives of two of the three teacher organisations which have emerged have identified the same issues. No doubt the third will too. It is ironic that the organisations should all be seeking a unitary, non-racial, democratic, free education system, separately!

Coloured students begin the protest

Coloured students were the first to respond to the declaration of a state of emergency by calling a mass meeting at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Over 4 000 students decided to boycott lectures and protest. Three days later about 10 000 students and pupils from all over the Western Cape attended a mass rally at UWC.

In Mitchells Plain, the huge dormitory town for coloured people 35 kms outside Cape Town, the scene was set when about 100 pupils from Spine Road High School were brutally beaten by police as they boarded a bus to take them to the UWC meeting.

On Monday, July 29 schools throughout the Western Cape, excluding white schools, started to boycott classes.

At the University of Cape Town (UCT) black students decided to boycott too. Mass meetings were held at most schools.

An interschools co-ordinating committee was formed which worked with the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) which went a long way in uniting the coloured and black schools. The Western Cape Student Action Committee (WESAC) was formed to co-ordinate the boycott.

At some schools there were complete stayaways from school, at others alternative programmes and/or awareness programmes were organised in which outside speakers were invited, films and videos were shown, group discussions were held, drama was used to express feelings and freedom songs were sung. Rallies of up to 5 000 pupils and students were organised.

All this was accompanied by continuous confrontation with the police and army who seemed always to be present. Teargas, sjamboks, rubber bullets, bird shot and ammunition was used against pupils — primary and secondary — and students. The police unsuccessfully attempted to prevent meetings, stop marches and generally intimidate pupils and students.

Parents and teachers join in

Parents and teachers grew increasingly angry. At a mass rally of over 4 000 teachers, it was decided that teachers would commit themselves to the struggle of their pupils and students.

They denounced the actions of the state, police and army in the brutal treatment of their people, the killing of children and the attack on the right of the oppressed to organise themselves.

'We are outraged at the bannings and detentions and even murder of the leaders of our struggle'. It was decided to 'down tools' on Monday August 19 and Tuesday 20. They would support the consumer boycott, launch a dynamic progressive organisation and commit themselves to assisting pupils in their programmes and the community in their efforts. Parents were to be brought into parent teacher student associations as much as possible. Parent support groups were already meeting in

ever-increasing numbers, Mitchells Plain becoming a centre of activity.

Further mass meetings of teachers were held. The Concerned Teachers Co-ordinating Committee decided to divide into regional committees to monitor the situation and work out a constitution. Many primary school teachers were also present, as were representatives from the universities, training colleges and technical colleges. The missing factor was representation from white institutions — other than UCT.

State's response

The State's response was to ban COSAS. The planned march on Pollsmoor, in which pupils would participate, was banned and there was increasingly violent confrontation between the police, the army and pupils, students and the community, with clouds of teargas, orgies of beatings, showers of rubber and live bullets. Pupils, students, teachers and leaders were arrested and detained. The death toll mounted as people on both sides grew angrier and angrier.

On September 9 the Dept of Education and Culture closed the coloured schools maintaining that the education authorities 'could no longer ensure the physical safety of the children', in other words could not or would not order the police and army to desist. Instead hundreds of thousands of pupils of both primary and secondary schools were forced onto the streets under the authority of the police. There was widespread anger in the community which culminated in parents escorting their children to school on Tuesday September 17 to demand that their principals open their schools to them. This symbolic protest resulted in a further eruption of violence and the arrests of 173 pupils, parents and teachers and the detention of four teachers under Section 50 or Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Consumer boycott

Meanwhile the consumer boycott, backed by the Unions, was under way and organised stayaways from work effectively reduced the labour force. There is no doubt that much of the intimidation which contributed to the chaos in the townships, was caused by the criminal element uncontrolled by police. However the State's oppression had politicised hundreds of thousands and made them determined to seek legitimate and meaningful ways to redress their grievances.

Black pupils join in

The black schools and townships were equally afflicted. Initially black pupils joined coloureds in WECSAC, but as they were a minority and fell under a different department, their interests diverged. Black schools were not closed though black pupils were boycotting lessons and most were staying away from school. Black teachers, more threatened by their department and more isolated, did not come out in significant support of their pupils.

The banning of COSAS effectively reduced communication. Black parents did not give their children comparable support and pupils found themselves increasingly

confronting their teachers. Black teachers are in a most threatened position but are attempting to form some viable organisation which can articulate their ideas and support their needs.

There is little hope that black pupils will return to school after the September holiday as coloured pupils might do. Thousands of black pupils will be making very real sacrifices, for many a year of their lives, while others will leave school without certification.

White community's response

Meanwhile white school children are able to go about their daily lives unaffected by anything other than uncomfortable news programmes — which thankfully for them, grow fewer. There was considerable anger in the white community at the march of the UCT students and a feeling of confirmation that UCT is just a radical institution which misguidedly supports coloured and black aspirations.

The profound silence of white pupils to the events on the Cape Flats — a kilometre away — has been broken by the stand of a couple of private multi-racial schools and by the formation of a new white teacher's association — Education for an Aware South Africa (EDASA) which is committed, like its coloured equivalent, to a single non-racial democratic education system. This organisation emphasises the need to make people and pupils aware of what is happening in SA. This poses a real threat to white control and Gareth Rossiter, the organiser of the association, was arrested on September 11 and detained under Section 29.

Meanwhile a Voluntary Action Committee has been formed at UCT which organised awareness workshops for white pupils — the first was banned and pupils who were to attend a meeting, to have been addressed by Di Bishop, were faced by a casspir and police at the church hall. Headmasters and mistresses at white schools were reminded that any outside speakers to the school had to be approved by the department. Some schools are attempting to promote awareness and are giving some support to teachers who try. It is precarious.

More action committees spring up

In the last week of September parents of black pupils attempted to meet with the Department of Education and Training (DET) in support of their children's demands. At a meeting of about 1 000 parents and students the Black Parents Action Committee was formed.

At the same time, black teachers were in the process of forming a new teachers union called the United Democratic Teachers Union (UDETU). Coloured teachers too have formed a union known as the non-racial Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU).

We hope that the three teachers unions, WECTU, UDETU and EDASA, will in the future find common ground. All three have a similar objective — to strive for a non-racial, unitary education system and teachers union.

At the time of going to press the events in the educational institutions were far from being resolved.

Life in a black township

— an American recounts his experiences

PAUL SPIVEY is a black American who came to work in the Johannesburg advice office during his university summer vacation. He lived in Eldorado Park, a township outside Johannesburg.

He experienced a range of episodes that reflect what life is like in a black township at the moment. He had the misfortune to experience them all in one extraordinary week — and his first one at that. Here he recounts the week for Sash.

Everyone talks about the beautiful countryside in South Africa. Many claim that the bay area of San Francisco is the only part of the United States that comes close to approaching the beauty of South Africa.

Well, one Saturday afternoon, the beautiful landscape came before my eyes and the verdict regarding the uncanny beauty of the countryside proved true. I had just left the city of Johannesburg en route to the black township of Kwa-Thema.

The sight was simply breathtaking — imposing hills surrounded by greenery — hills, valleys all in perfect form.

Suddenly I hit Kwa-Thema or better yet, Kwa-Thema hit me. The contrasts were startling; the contrasts of night and day seem insufficient to capture fully my departure from 'white' utopia into the worse chapter of a 'black' township.

As a black visitor in South Africa, I could not help but experience the trials of apartheid. The powerful devastating experiences began the minute I set foot into the country.

On my second day I spent some time in a grocery store in Soweto which a friend of mine owns. On my way to the shop, I was told that someone had been murdered the previous night a few hundred yards from the shop. We drove past the helpless cadaver which lay unattended. It was explained to me that the police would arrive shortly to remove the body. A few hours later as I left the shop, I noted a few soldiers surrounding the corpse. I drew closer and observed that some armed soldiers were playing soccer with children from the area.

They were playing alongside the dead body. I was informed that often the soldiers attempt to win the hearts of the children by playing with them. The irony of their attempt to befriend the children while displaying a blatant disregard for human life stunned me.

The following day, my friends took me to a restaurant in Johannesburg. As we left our home in the black township I was told that we might be stopped and searched at a military road block. The concept of being stopped, however, did not register until it happened.

Our car was flagged down and directed to the side of the road. There were approximately ten soldiers armed with rifles patrolling the area. The procedure seemed

routine for my hosts. In an orderly fashion they got out of the car and without waiting for further instruction each person placed their hands on the roof of the car and spread their legs in preparation to be frisked. After frisking all of us, they proceeded to search the interior of the car. Perplexed by a medical kit located under the rear window of the car, one soldier began dumping the contents of the kit onto the floor of the car.

My attention however was drawn to the car next to ours where soldiers were removing a briefcase and suitcases from the boot of the car. After searching the suitcases, they began examining the papers in the briefcase. Disturbed by some of the material in it, they created two piles of paper on the side of the road. They proceeded to read the material meticulously by flashlight. The larger the piles grew, the more tense the owner of the car became. He clearly understood and so did we that he would be spending at least one night in prison. We hoped that he would not be brutalised during his tenure in prison.

Finally we were allowed to continue our journey. I picked up the medical items from the floor and placed them back into the kit. The concept of being in a military state suddenly made sense to me. This realisation completely destroyed my appetite once we'd arrived at the restaurant.

On my fifth day in the country, I attended a service at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto held in commemoration of the victims of the Soweto up-rising in 1976. During the service I remained outside for fear that the defence force would invade the church with teargas. Eight army hippos carrying approximately 15 soldiers and equipped with teargas cannisters were positioned on the lawn directly in front of the church. There were also seven vehicles surveilling the area.

The strong presence of the defence force at a peaceful gathering clearly indicated that they desired confrontation. At the conclusion of the meeting, people were instructed to leave the church in small groups of 100 to 150 people to avoid confrontation with the soldiers. All of the groups marched peacefully from the church ignoring the presence of the military. Some groups sang freedom songs while exiting; every group however made a conscious effort not to antagonise the hostile defence force.

The plan seemed to have worked. I was prepared to leave the sight content with absence of violence. Suddenly as the last group exited from the church, the soldiers abruptly put their helmets on and reared back their rifles. Over the loud speaker came an announcement ordering the crowd to stop chanting and disperse. Following the announcement there was utter chaos as the soldiers shot arbitrarily into the crowd and fired teargas in every direction.

I ran quickly into the open field (never have I run faster in my life) just escaping a teargas cannister which

exploded about 40 yards behind me. The cannister, however, exploded right by the home of a family full of youngsters. The dwellers ran from their home coughing hysterically with their hands over their faces. Soon all I could see was a cloud of potent white smoke and images moving through the cloud.

Before my first week of orientation to apartheid had ended, I was stopped yet again at another road block. At the conclusion of this orientation period, I began my internship with the Black Sash. My first day at the Sash was probably the most emotionally draining day in my life. The first person I saw had left his job in Johannesburg for a week to bury his wife, who had been killed in the Transkei. Although he presented his employer with a death certificate for his wife, he was immediately discharged upon his return to work. In his case, there was a possibility of recourse for he was a member of a union.

My second case involved a 53-year-old woman who had worked for a white police officer as a domestic ser-

vant for six and a half years. After receiving a monthly salary of R40 for her entire tenure there, she merely requested an increment in her salary. Immediately following her request, she was discharged. Unfortunately, we were unable to offer her any assistance because unregistered domestic workers have no rights.

I then witnessed an elderly man who after being told like so many others that there was absolutely nothing we could do for him remained peacefully seated while tears slowly ran down his cheeks.

Although the conditions in South Africa are far more oppressive than the conditions in the United States, I feel more at home here. There is a certain comfort that comes with being part of a majority. I have developed a great admiration and respect for the strength and courage of the oppressed black majority of South Africa.

Paul Spivey

The paper for thinking South Africans



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Production editor: Joyce Brown

Township women speak




MARIA lives with her two sisters and their three children in a one-roomed house in Alexander. 'The soldiers can stop the tsotsis — but they must make sure they are tsotsis, they mustn't arrest our children. We don't feel free to move and if someone is sick at night we cannot fetch help'

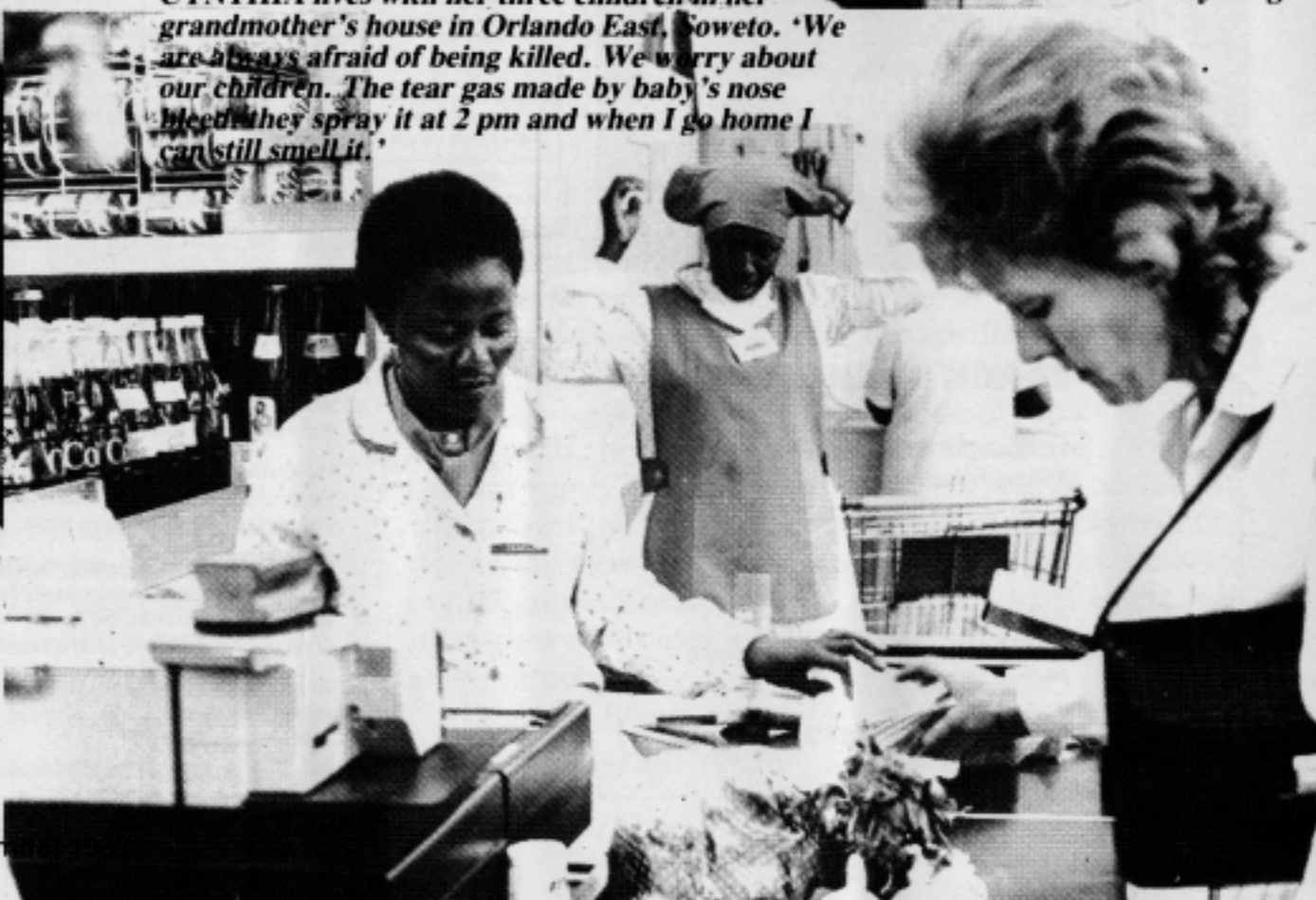
captions and photos by Gill de Vlieg



EVA lives with 18 other members of her family in a five-roomed house in Meadowlands, Soweto. 'The State of Emergency has not improved my life in any way. I see nothing good in it. I can't move. I can't do anything.'



CYNTHIA lives with her three children in her grandmother's house in Orlando East, Soweto. 'We are always afraid of being killed. We worry about our children. The tear gas made by baby's nose bleed they spray it at 2 pm and when I go home I can still smell it.'



RACHAEL is 46 years old and has no husband. She looks after three children and three grandchildren in Moletsana, Soweto. 'When you send children to the shops, the "hippos" threaten them. The children become so frightened they run and lose the money they have been given. I don't feel safe — the soldiers make me afraid.'