

# SPEAK

THE VOICE OF THE COMMUNITY



## We tell it like it is

Volume 3 Number 1 Non-profit Community Newspaper 20c March 1985



Samson Ndou  
UDF vice president

## UDF elects new executive

Although facing a charge of high treason, Albertina Sisulu has been re-elected president of the UDF (Tvl), and heads an 18 member executive committee. Elections for the UDF's new exex were held at its AGM on

March 9. The AGM also adopted a new constitution, drawn up after months of consultation with affiliates. Samson Ndou (Gawu), Ram Saloojee (TIC) and Ismail Mohamed (Tvl

Anti PC) were elected as the regional UDF's three vice-presidents. Others elected are:  
● Mohammed Valli and Paul Mashatile — general secretaries  
● Eddie Makue — minute secretary  
● Sydney Mafumadi — publicity secretary

● Murphy Morobe — rural secretary  
● Azhar Cachalia and Titus Mofolo — treasurers  
● Mzwakhe Mbuli — media officer  
● Raymond Suttner — education officer  
● Dan Montsisi —

youth portfolio  
● Mathews Sathekge — student portfolio  
● Paul Maseko — labour portfolio  
● Amanda Kwadi — women's portfolio  
● Arthur Mkhwanazi — civic portfolio

Speaking after the elections, Samson Ndou said the arrests of UDF leaders "will not deter us from pursuing our struggle for a just cause". "Today's election means an intensification of the struggle for liberation," he said.

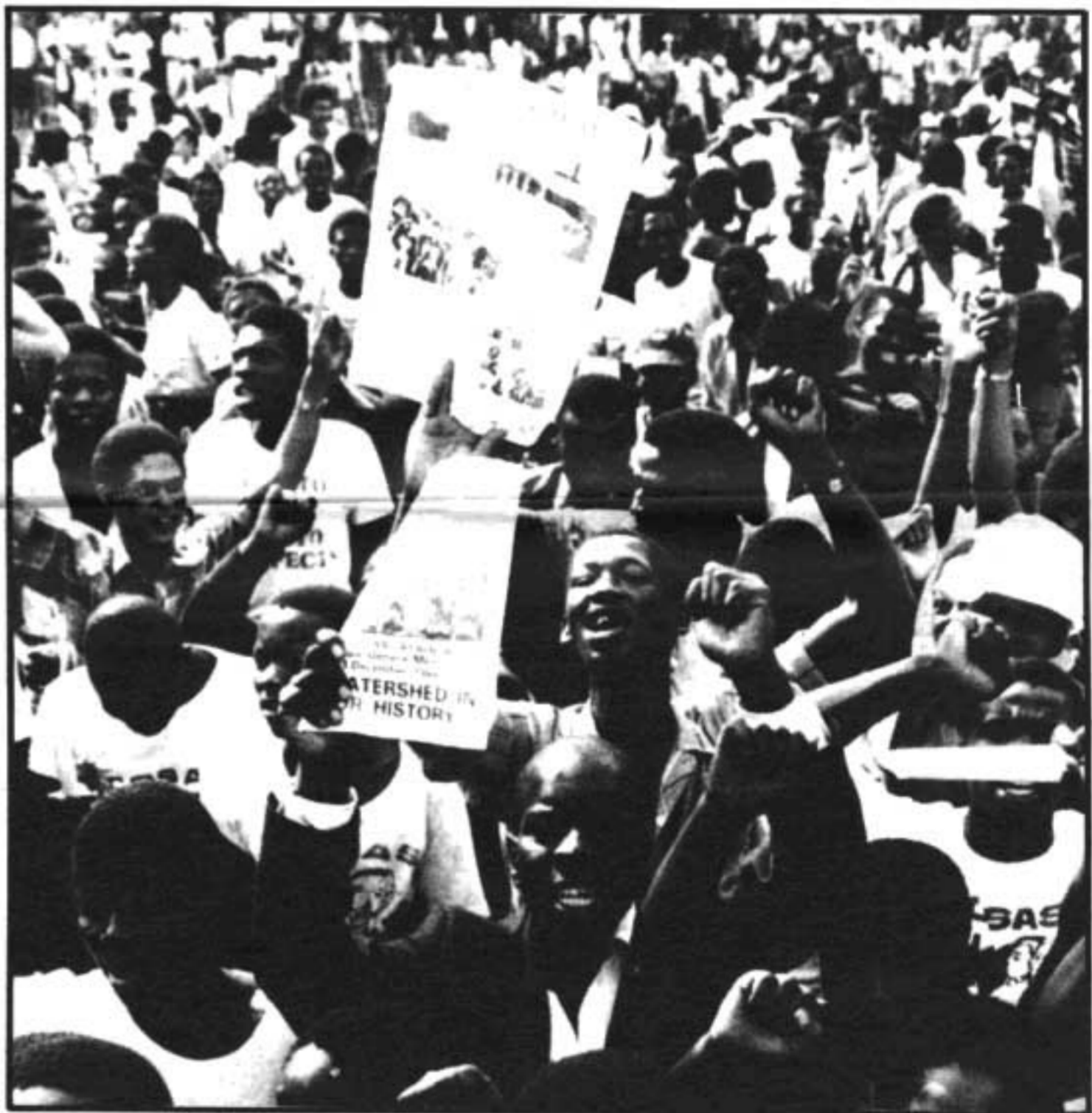
# People shall govern



Vaal residents continue to defy the authorities by not paying rents in what is becoming the longest ever rent boycott in South African history. Students continue to demand democratic SRC's and better school conditions against against tear-gas, sjamboks and threats to close down their schools. Workers continue to demand higher wages, better working conditions and the right to work and to organise. Thousands recently attended a rally in Tembisa to mark the 30th anniversary of the first non-racial co-ordinating trade union body, Sactu. And women demand food at prices the people can afford. People all over the country are fighting for the right to govern. With rents high, food prices going up, wages the same and thousands losing their jobs — many more people are aware that

their problems are the result of an unjust and undemocratic system. Only when they have rights to govern, will these problems be resolved. It is thirty years since the people declared their right to govern. This is the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter and organisations countrywide are celebrating the occasion. The Freedom Charter, the most democratic document ever produced in South Africa, spells out the demands and aspirations of the people for a just and democratic country in which they would have the right to decide their own lives. Most of the grievances experienced by people 30 years ago remain, and they are more than ever before determined to achieve their demands as spelt out in the Freedom Charter. "There has been a massive increase in

the numbers of people that have joined youth organisations, unions, women's groups and civics in the past year," a TIC spokesperson said. "The people have not been intimidated by the fact that 15 UDF leaders have been charged for high treason — or by any other acts by the police for that matter." The Release Mandela Committee said: "With the government's reform strategy in shambles in the wake of the low polls in August and the township turmoils after that, we need to move forward". "We need to link our protests against the evils of apartheid and the unsatisfactory conditions in which we live and work with our ideas of a future society". The RMC, the Transvaal Indian Congress, Transvaal Anti-PC, and Johannesburg Democratic



With Freedom Charter in hand, the people go forward -determined to win its demands

Action Committee (Jodac) and many other organisations are spearheading a campaign to spread the message of the Freedom Charter. "Who cannot identify with the Freedom Charter, with its demands for living wages, adequate housing, land for all and so on," the Anti-

PC asked. Organisations plan to pamphleteer, visit people in their homes, visit churches and call meetings to inform people about the demands of the Freedom Charter and encourage them to join the struggle to work for the realisation of those demands.

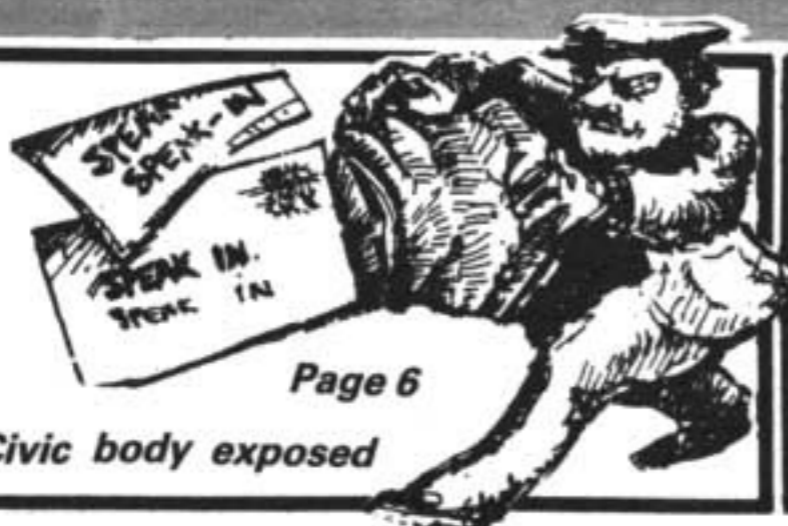
"Through celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, we will be reaffirming our commitment to a united, democratic South Africa," said the TIC. Jodac pointed to the inspiring role the Freedom Charter has played and added, "when we celebrate 30

years of our Charter, we will also be celebrating the proud and brave history of all South Africans in the struggle for democracy in our country." Many more organisations are expected to adopt the Freedom Charter this year. ● See page 7

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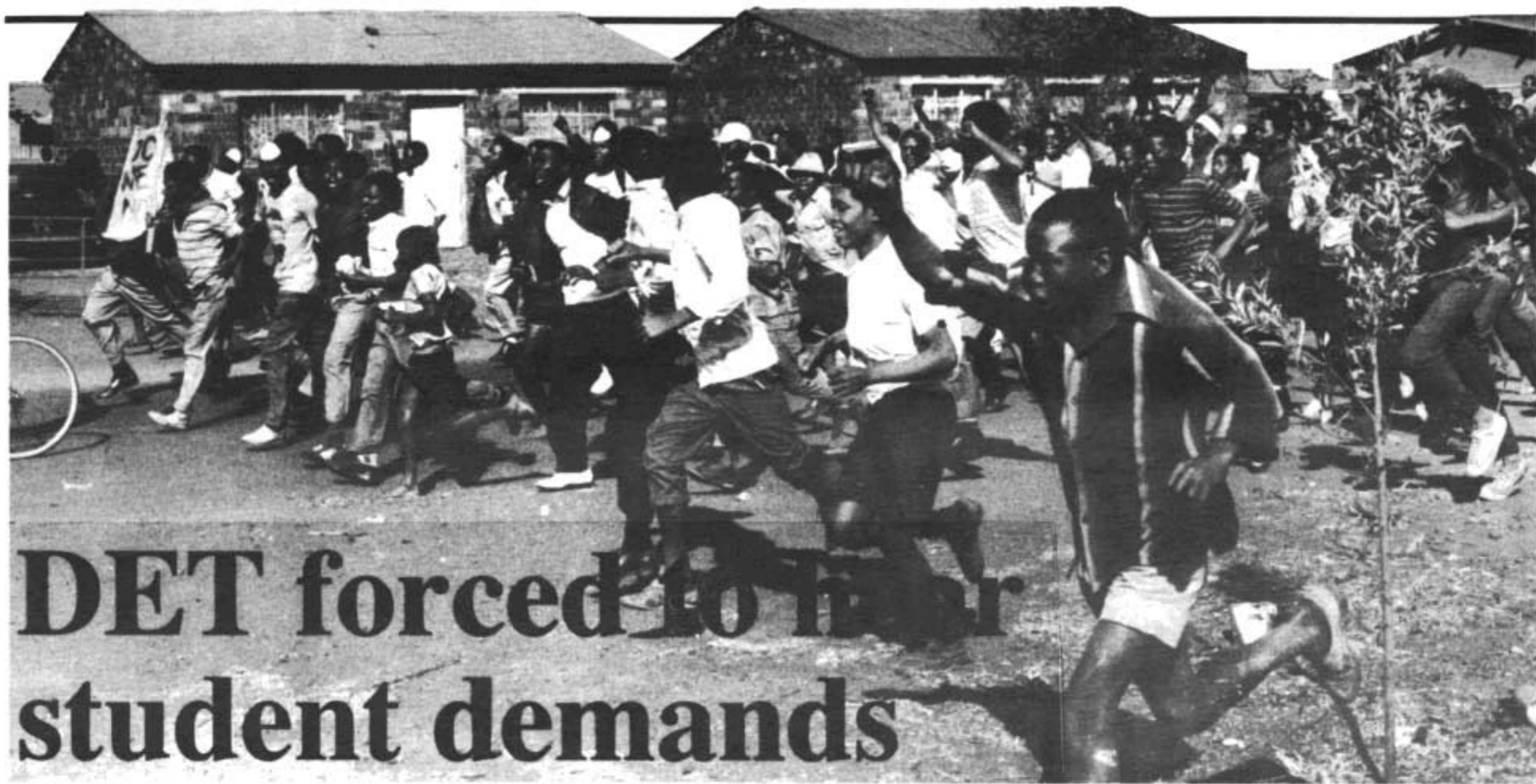
Economy in crisis

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There's an organisation near you!

Centrespread



## DET forced to hear student demands

Months of boycotts and protests have forced the Education and Training Department (DET) to listen to student demands for truly democratic SRC's.

The National Co-ordinating committee of parents presented Deputy Education Minister Dr S de Beer

with a draft constitution for SRCs in high schools and a memorandum listing student demands.

The committee was formed to investigate grievances of students throughout the country.

They talked to students, parents and teachers before draw-

ing up the constitution and the memorandum.

The memorandum said the real cause of the unrests is that students do not have a say in decision making.

It called for democratic SRCs and democratic parents governing councils (School

Committees) to be established.

The committee also asked that the present SRC constitution (Communication structure proposed by DET) should not be implemented while negotiations are going on.

The constitution proposes SRCs do the

following:

- act as representatives of their fellow students in all matters concerning their education.

- act as a channel of communication between students, staff and the DET.

- organise social, cultural and sporting activities for students.

- affiliate to any other organisation concerned with educational matters.

- represent students of the school on a Regional Students Council.

The DET has asked for six to eight weeks to study the constitution and has promised to investigate the

other demands.

The Minister also agreed to a demand that the prefect system not be forced on students.

Security police harassment of students, teachers and parents was also raised at the meeting and the Minister asked for detailed information.

### Death threats from thugs

VAAL-Armed thugs are terrorising Vaal residents — threatening them with death.

In recent months unknown men wielding grenades and other weapons have threatened members of Vaal organisations and detainees families.

A former Sharpeville Civic Association member who did not want to be named, told Speak he was woken up by three men and threatened. "Open the door, we want money. We'll burn down your house if you don't open," they shouted. "Two men had guns while the third held a hand grenade."

"We had to play a game of wait and see until the morning when they disappeared. The children were so scared they cried the whole night."

Men armed with knives and kiries have also thrice threatened a detainee's family.

## 'Councillors doing board dirty work'

TLADI — The Tladi-Moletsane Civic Association recently held its first public meeting to discuss residents problems. The Tladi-Moletsane Civic is a branch of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA).

A five man committee was elected at the end of the meeting to look into the problems of residents and consider ways of fighting them. The committee was mandated to work

closely with the SCA executive and report back within four weeks.

The Soweto Council and West Rand Development Board came under heavy attack.

Mr. Amos Masondo, publicity secretary of the SCA reminded residents of Tshabalala's election promise to reduce rents to R5. "These false promises show that the

black local authorities do not have real powers to make changes," he said.

"Instead the dirty work of the administration boards has been passed on to the councillors. They evict people and are now responsible for increasing rents and rates."

Pat Lephunya, secretary of the SCA explained why electricity bills were so



Popo Molefe, UDF national secretary, addresses Tladi residents

high. Thebehali and Tshabalala made large loans to upgrade services in the townships, but there have hardly been any improve-

ments. They are now forcing the people to repay the loans.

"Those who mandated the Tshabalala's to take the loans must

pay the loans, not the residents," he said.

He called on residents to unite and force the councillors to resign.

## Health plan breeds apartheid

The Government's move to create four different health departments would only serve to further entrench apartheid.

In condemning the move, Transvaal Indian Congress secretary Ismail Momoniat, called on

all communities to resist the proposals.

He said already attempts are being made to force this system.

- Indian nurses, previously paid from Coronation Hospital,

are now being paid from Johannesburg Hospital.

- Some departments at Coronation will be moved to the old Non-European Hospital in Hillbrow with the intention of making it for Indians only. And

Coronation Hospital will remain exclusively for coloured people.

- Baragwanath Hospital has been treating Africans ever since it was built.

"Financing four departments will add

to the ever-increasing cost in medicines and health care. Poorer people will find it difficult to afford health care services," he said.

"This would lead to a deterioration in health of many people in our communities."



Ismail Momoniat — TIC secretary

# “Our struggle is for peace”

JABULANI-Our Struggle for Liberation is a Struggle for Peace.

Against the backdrop of this UDF banner, Bishop Desmond Tutu brought home the Nobel Peace Prize for the people, and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela spoke to South Africa for the first time in 21 years. Almost 10 000

people came to celebrate the prize with Bishop Tutu at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Bishop Tutu said that he and others like him were leaders by default-because the true leaders had been jailed or exiled.

“Many of you young people have never heard the likes of Mandela, Walter Sisulu or Oliver

Tambo speak,” he said.

“But when I say to you: Who are your leaders? — there is absolutely no doubt.” But the people at Jabulani did hear Mandela speak — through his daughter Zinzi.

It was the moment the crowd had been waiting for — to hear Mandela's response to the Government's

freedom offer.

“I am not less loving than you are, but I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free,” he said.

But the day was not only filled with political speeches.

Music, poetry and dance by many different groups all made the day a success.



Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu greets Zinzi Mandela who brought “home” her father Nelson Mandela reply to PW Botha freedom offer



Cosas members form a guard of honour for Albertina Sisulu on her arrival at Jabulani. Ma Sisulu has been arrested on high treason charges.

# “Free them now”

“Detentions prove that peoples organisations are growing stronger while the government is not”, said NIC executive member, Zac Yacoob at a 1000 strong meeting in Lenasia to protest against the arrest of 16 UDF leaders — four of whom are trade unionists.

“The state hoped to

frighten our leaders and the communities with detentions, but this meeting is an indication that we are not afraid and we will not sit back while our leaders are jailed.”

Yacoob called upon all communities to “remain strong and united and to campaign for our leaders release”.

“What justice is there”, he asked, “when our leaders are refused bail and made to sit in prison for three months because the state is not ready for the trial.”

“It is detention WITH trial,” he said.

“If there was any genuine evidence that they had committed treason, then why wait

so long for the trial to begin”.

Similar sentiments were echoed at a prayer meeting called by the Transvaal Anti-PC.

“I’ve racked my brain, to think of what sort of things they can charge my husband with,” said Mrs Mohammed, wife of detained Anti-PC

chairperson, Prof Mohammed.

“Is he a traitor because he stood up against injustice and tried to do something about it?,” she asked.

Mrs Mohammed described how the security police searched their home for 12 hours.

“They took away all our photo-albums, my school reports from the 1940’s and even letters my husband had written to me in 1952,” she said.

The Hendrickses and Rajbansis are now as much to blame for the arrests, said Anti-PC member, Achmat Dangor.

At the TIC meeting, Gawu president, Samson Ndou recalled the 1956 treason trial in which after four years 156 people were finally acquitted.

“The state hoped to crackdown on democratic organisations at the time. The present detentions are another attempt to do just that,” he said.

Other speakers at the meeting were Helen Joseph, one of the 1956 treason trialists, and Firoz Cachalia

Cachalia warned the Government: “We will meet you on any terrain for our freedom.”

# Peaceful protest is no cause for treason

The charge of high treason against 16 UDF leaders is seen as intimidation and harrassment.

The Government seems bent on crushing open protest, disorganising the democratic movement and scaring the constituencies of the various organisations the 16 represent.

Accused of high treason are:

- Archie Gumede-UDF president
- Albertina Sisulu-UDF president
- Essop Jassat-TIC president
- Cassim Saloojee-TIC publicity secretary
- Frank Chikane-UDF vice president
- Ismail Mahomed-Tvl Anti-PC chairperson
- George Sewpersadh-NIC president
- Mewa Ramgobin-NIC exec
- MJ Naidoo-NIC exec

- Paul David-NIC exec
- Curtis Nkondo-RMC chairperson
- Aubrey Mokoena-RMC secretary
- Thozamile Gqweta-Saawu president
- Sisa Njikelane-Saawu secretary
- Isaac Ngcobo-Saawu
- Sam Kikine-Saawu

All have been involved in open and peaceful protest against Government policies. They have not acted on their own but with the full support of the people. All they did was represent the views and aspirations of the oppressed in South Africa.

To charge them is to charge thousands upon thousands of freedom loving South Africans too.

The right to protest, to struggle-is under attack. Space for legal and peaceful protest is being

narrowed. This only further heightens tension and conflict in South Africa.

The charges come after mounting pressure that the leaders be charged or released.

But no charge of treason against people who oppose apartheid can be considered legitimate.

The question of “charge or release” cannot be applied to South Africa. Here, nothing links the law with justice. South Africa's laws protect unjust and illegitimate rule.

Treason charges is all the Government can respond with after the series of blows its been dealt over the last few years. There has been:

- major opposition to Republic Day celebrations
- overwhelming boycott of the SAIC elections

- ever growing unity and organisation, and the formation of the UDF
- rejection of undemocratic Black Local Authorities

- opposition to the new constitution and disastrous turnout at the polls
- international attention on the detention laws through the British consulate sit-in

- relentless campaigns for decent housing, better wages, equal education, low rents, etc
- campaigns for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners

These have all been part of a just struggle for democracy. In the eyes of the majority of South Africans their leaders have committed no crime. The call for their immediate and unconditional release grows louder every day.

**UNITE AGAINST  
HIGH RENTS  
RISING FARES  
NEPO CINEMA  
3/2/85  
9.00AM**

**SUPPORT TEMBISA CIVIC**

# “Strengthen the struggle for unity”

TEMBISA-In a new message the Tembisa Youth Movement said the Tembisa people had forged their unity through struggle. It called on the youth, students, workers and parents to strengthen this unity.

Unity in struggle had:

- united parents and students in demands for truly democratic SRC's.
- forced open the doors for DET to listen to them.
- brought women together under the Tembisa Women's Group — who joined in the fight against high rents, bus fares, GST etc.

strengthened the Tembisa Civic Association in its fight against undemocratic community councils, high rents, electricity, water and transport fares, and for the withdrawal of the army from the township.

● united worker and community organisations in the Simba dispute to win a victory for worker's demands.

● swelled the ranks of youth movements in campaigns against conscription, community council and tri-cameral parliament elections.

● achieved worker support for student demands through the stayaway.

# Vaal residents stand firm

VAAL — Threats of eviction, a police and army invasion, electricity cut offs and attempts by bosses to deduct rent from salaries, have not stopped Vaal residents from ending the rent boycott.

"We will not pay rent until the rents are reduced to R30 and we do not intend paying arrears", said a resident.

Murphy Morobe of the UDF saluted the "courage and determination" of Vaal residents.

"Never before in the history of our struggle has a rent boycott lasted for long," he said.



Vaal residents show their support for Black Christmas at meeting

Over eighty people have been detained including most people in the Vaal Civic Association, Vaal Cosas and the Vaal

Youth Steering Committee. Many have spent more than five months in detention and some without visits, food parcels or

books. "The detentions were seen as a tactic to disorganise us and instill fear in the hearts of the people so

that they should fear to express their grievances," a member of the Vaal Detainees Parents Support Committee said. "But they

have not been successful."

Proof that people can still be mobilised was clearly demonstrated at Christmas.

At a prayer meeting on December 23, the Vaal Information Service, Detainees Parents Support Committees and Cosas called for people to observe Christmas as a period of mourning

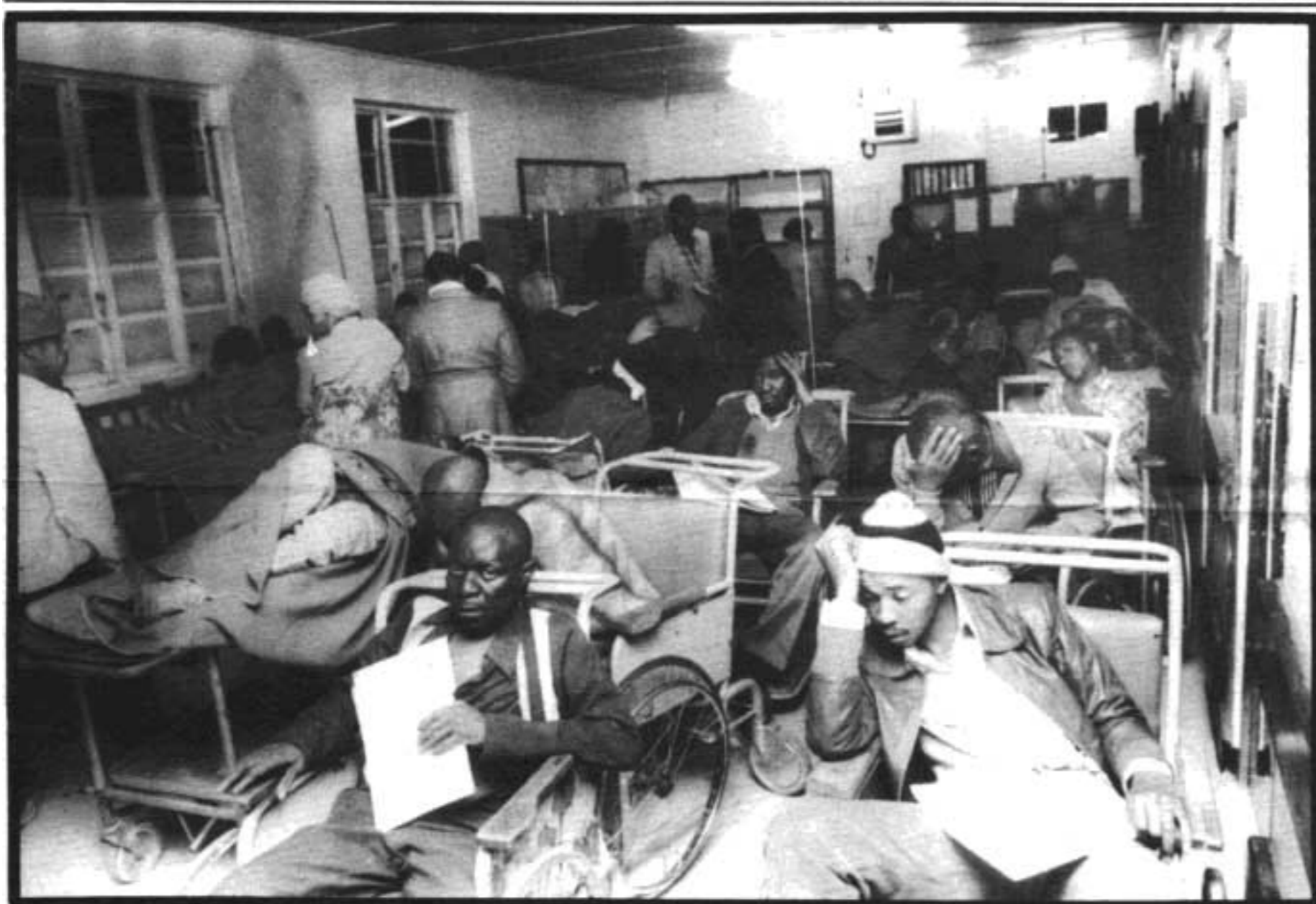
and that the graves of unrest victims be cleaned.

"On Christmas day the whole location was practically mobilised," a member of the DPSC said.

"Thousands of people thronged the streets walking to the graves and participated in cleaning them. Sharpeville residents were joined by the people from Boipatong.

"After cleaning the graves we went to Bophelong where we did the very same thing. It was songs of freedom all the way. And Black Christmas literally became Black Christmas.

"The people of the Vaal had once more demonstrated their solidarity with the detainees. And Vaal Information Service and Cosas were respected for spearheading such a venture."



Overcrowded Baragwanath Hospital: High tariffs for poor service

## Increasing medical costs, but no cure for the poor

Hospital and clinic fees are going up and community organisations are outraged at the increases — which include a 50% surcharge for after hours and weekend visits to hospitals and clinics.

"It is a tremendous drain on the salaries of workers, especially in the present economic climate," a spokesperson for the Health Workers Association (HWA) said.

"The recent exorbitant increase in hospital tariffs further increases the burden for survival on the labouring masses. They are the hardest hit."

A spokesperson for

the Lenasia Federation of Residents Association (FRA) said: "We can't afford to pay rent, we can't afford to pay transport costs, and now we can't afford to get sick."

Eric Molobi of the Soweto Civic Association condemned the increases saying they have come when people can least afford them.

"The increases in health services occur simultaneously with increases in rents, electricity charges, transport fees and basic foods," he said.

He also pointed out that workers need health care most

because they have the most serious health problems. Often their work is dangerous and unsafe and they are forced to live in unhealthy conditions.

A recent survey showed that women cleaning buildings in Johannesburg earned only R200 a month and would spend up to 26% of their wages on clinic fees. These women — often breadwinners and supporting as many as 7 people — would have to survive on less than R150 per month. Even people earning R600 a month, would have to pay R20,00 for each day they spent in hospital.

Explaining why fees have gone up, Eric Molobi said the government is looking for ways to spend less money.

"The economy, hit by drought, a long recession and inflation is facing a crisis.

"The increasing expenses of a bureaucratic structure, and worsening internal and external instability fails to harness the militarisation, and arms buildup which demands billions of rands.

"The government, being the largest employer and spender, opts to cutdown on health expenses —

the very cornerstone of community life."

He said this meant:

- higher hospital and clinic fees and less drug prescriptions
- shorter periods in hospitals
- extra hours work for health workers without extra pay
- freezing employment on "non-vital" posts

All this means that fewer and fewer people will be able to afford hospital fees. People will be forced to leave their illnesses untreated and health will become even more of a luxury than it is already. There has already been a significant drop in the number of patients.

### 'Organise now or you will be homeless'

RATANDA — "Organise or be homeless," called the Ratanda Civic Association (RCA) and over 700 people in this small township near Heidelberg attended a meeting in protest against a R5-60 increase in rents.

"We will not pay the higher rents and will stand behind anyone who faces eviction," a resident said at the meeting. "If they evict one of us, they must evict all of us."

The meeting followed the distribution of East Rand Development Board (ERDB) pamphlets warning tenants to pay their rent arrears or face further action.

When rents first went up last year, strong protest by the community forced the ERDB to suspend the increase. Residents also got the entire community council to resign, and no one stood as candidates in fresh elections held soon after.

"Now the Board is trying to introduce the increase through the back door," Zakius Maghitje, an executive member of the RCA said.

The community is also boycotting taxis



Daniel Nkosi — RCA Exec member

since single fares to town were raised from 60c to 80c. After discussion with the RCA the Taxi Association agreed to bring fares down to 70c, but residents rejected this at the meeting, saying that as recently as December fares went up from 50c to 60c without the community being consulted.

The RCA is to ask taxi owners to suspend the increase indefinitely while talks with residents continue.

Guest speakers at the meeting were UDF General Secretary Popo Molefe and Pat Lephunya of the Soweto Civic Association.

Mr. Molefe told residents they were not alone in their struggle — similar battles were being fought in Katlehong, Tembisa, Parys and the Vaal.

He said democratic civic organisations are vital in the fight for justice and peace.

# They ran, and ran, and ran...

**KATLEHONG** — Katlehong town councillors fled for their lives when angry residents chased them from a rent meeting called by the council.

And now the council has suspended the rent increases.

Mayor A P Khumalo told the meeting that rent increases, which came into effect on January 1, were necessary because the council was bankrupt.

"But when we tried to ask him what happened to the money he did not give us a chance to talk," said one resident.

This angered the crowd of 6 000 who bombarded councillors with stones and other missiles. Councillors ran for cover. Eye witnesses claimed a councillor shot a 14 year -old girl in the back. When order was restored Mr Khumalo

announced rent increases were suspended.

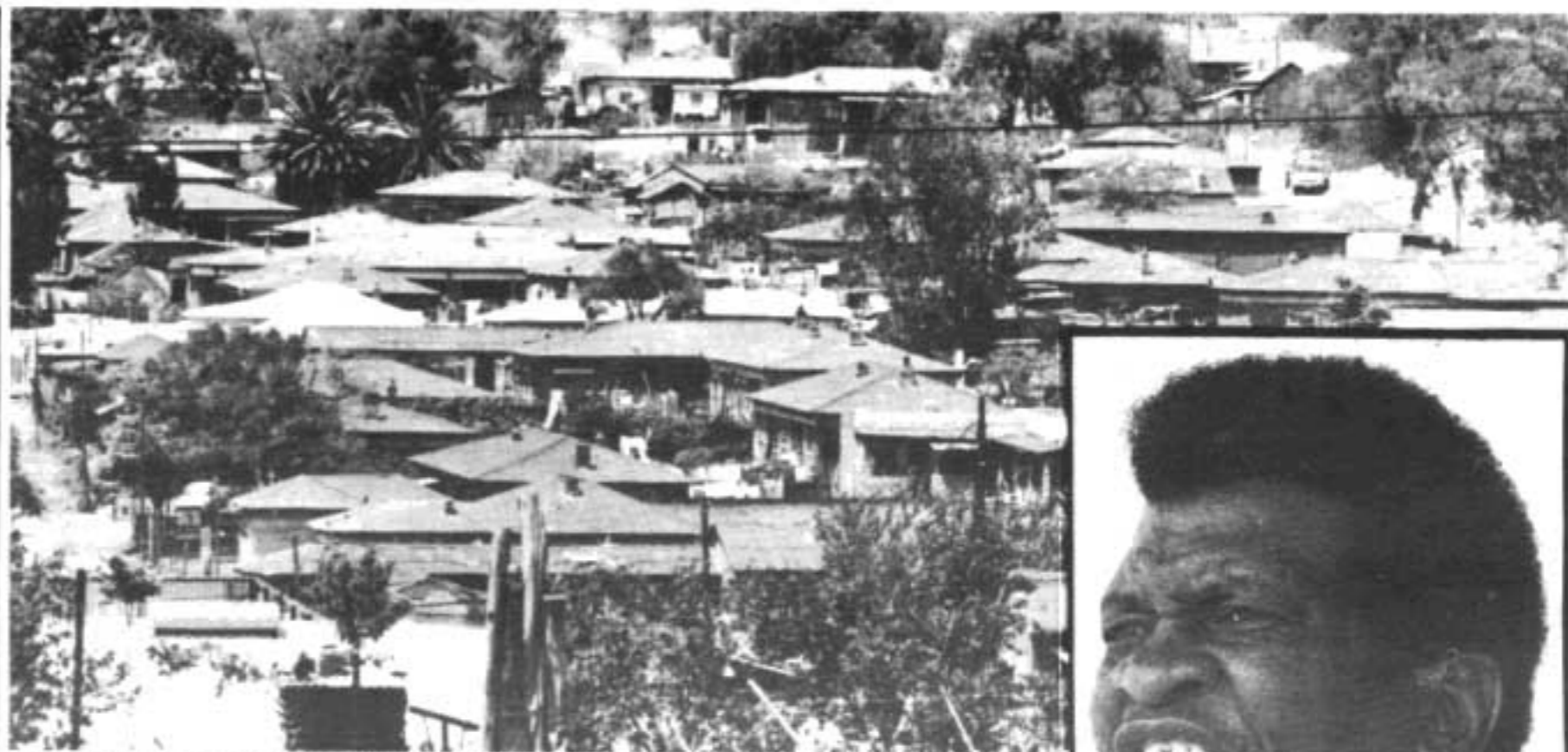
Later that afternoon about 2 000 residents attended a meeting called by the Katlehong Action Committee at the Methodist church. The committee is taking up the community's fight against high rents.

An elderly resident complained "councillors treat us like children — they want us to listen to them when they cannot take care of their affairs."

Must we keep working, only to see the council eat our money?"

The meeting resolved to:

- Demand councillors resignations
- Stop paying rent until it is reduced to an affordable amount.
- Boycott businesses owned by councillors.



Mayor Sam Buti (right) wants to spend R700 000 on an army for Alex — while the people go homeless.



## Low rentals, less police - say Alex residents

**ALEXANDRA** — Alex residents are angry about the council's plan to establish a private police force in the area.

And they have all the right to be, residents said at a meeting called by the newly-formed Alexandra Residents Association (ARA).

While the council wants to spend R700 000 of residents money on a private police force, hundreds need houses at low rentals - especially the aged and handicapped.

Recently some residents were forced to move into the new Phase One area. Some cannot afford the high

rents there. Mayor Sam Buti has admitted his council made a mistake in allocating sites irrespective of whether people could afford the rents.

His 1982 promise of rentals for sub-economic homes at between R10-R30 has backfired. In 1984 he tried to force rents of

R160 to R180 for the sub-economic homes.

It was pointed out at the meeting that it was the duty of the state to ensure a township's security rather than private armies.

Township "peace-keeping forces" could be used as personal armies to protect councillors.

Residents also demanded that the council provide permanent housing at affordable rents.

● Meanwhile 300 families faced with removals to make way for a sewage system have vowed not to move until they are given proper alternative accommodation.



Delegates at the SCA Annual General meeting

## Soweto civic plans

The Soweto Civic Association will soon be getting an office where residents can meet with members of the SCA Executive and discuss their problems.

The decision to open an office was taken at the SCA Annual General Meeting in December last year.

The AGM also decided to employ an organiser.

"A central place where activities can be co-ordinated and where residents can find us, will be an important step

towards building the SCA," said Amos Masondo, publicity secretary.

"The AGM was a watershed in our history," said the newly elected recording secretary, Pat Lephunya.

"It was attended by more people than ever before and with a great deal of rank and file participation," he said.

The AGM decided to replace the Committee of Ten with an executive committee.

Members of the new executive are: Dr. Nhato Motlana (president) Rev. Frank

Chikane (deputy president), Isaac Mogase (vice president), Amos Masondo (publicity secretary), Pat Lephunya (recording secretary), Nat Ramagopa (treasurer), Vusi Khanyile (organising secretary) and Phillip Kgasago (additional member).

The SCA has produced a booklet which details its recent activities and records what happened at the AGM. Copies are available from members of the SCA or from Speak, P.O. Box 261677 Excom, Johannesburg 2023.

## A handbook on detention



UNZIMA LOMTHWALO  
A Handbook on detentions DPSC/DESCOM

Have you ever been woken up by the loud knock of the security police and thought, "Do I know what my rights are?"

The Detainees Parents Support Committee and Descom have published a book, "Unzima Lomthwalo — a handbook on detentions".

Tracing the cases of seven people it describes every possible incident that can happen to a detainee, what their rights are and how they could respond.


Nor does it forget friends and relatives. It contains advice for them as well as sugges-

tions on how to set up detainee support groups and committees.


And if the detainee goes to court and prison, the book gives information about one's rights and what to expect, too.

Unzima Lomthwalo is being sold for 50 cents and is available from the DPSC or the UDF offices at Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

Copies may also be obtained from Speak if you send a 75 cents postal order to cover postage. Write to Speak, P.O. Box 261677 Excom, Johannesburg 2023.



**CIVIC**



**SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION  
Annual General Meeting  
1 December 1984**

**A WATERSHED IN  
OUR HISTORY**

# SPEAK

## Yesterday's Legacy

Such mass action as there was last year has not for a long time been seen.

Thousands — in all communities — refused to passively accept the age limit law and prefect system, high rents and dummy councils, forced removals and the undemocratic new constitution. And with the November 5 and 6 stayaway, all grievances and struggles were united in a single message of opposition to apartheid rule.

Almost no-one in oppressed communities was left untouched by these mass struggles and experiences. Yesterday's legacy is a people today more united, more aware, more determined.

The call to the people now is **GET ORGANISED!**

Wherever you may be — in the towns or countryside, in schools, townships or factories — you have a democratic organisation. Join it. Where there are none, form one.

Only through such organisations are the people able to remain united. Only with such unity and organisation can the people defend themselves against further attacks on their living standards and their livelihoods, against repression and undemocratic control over their lives.

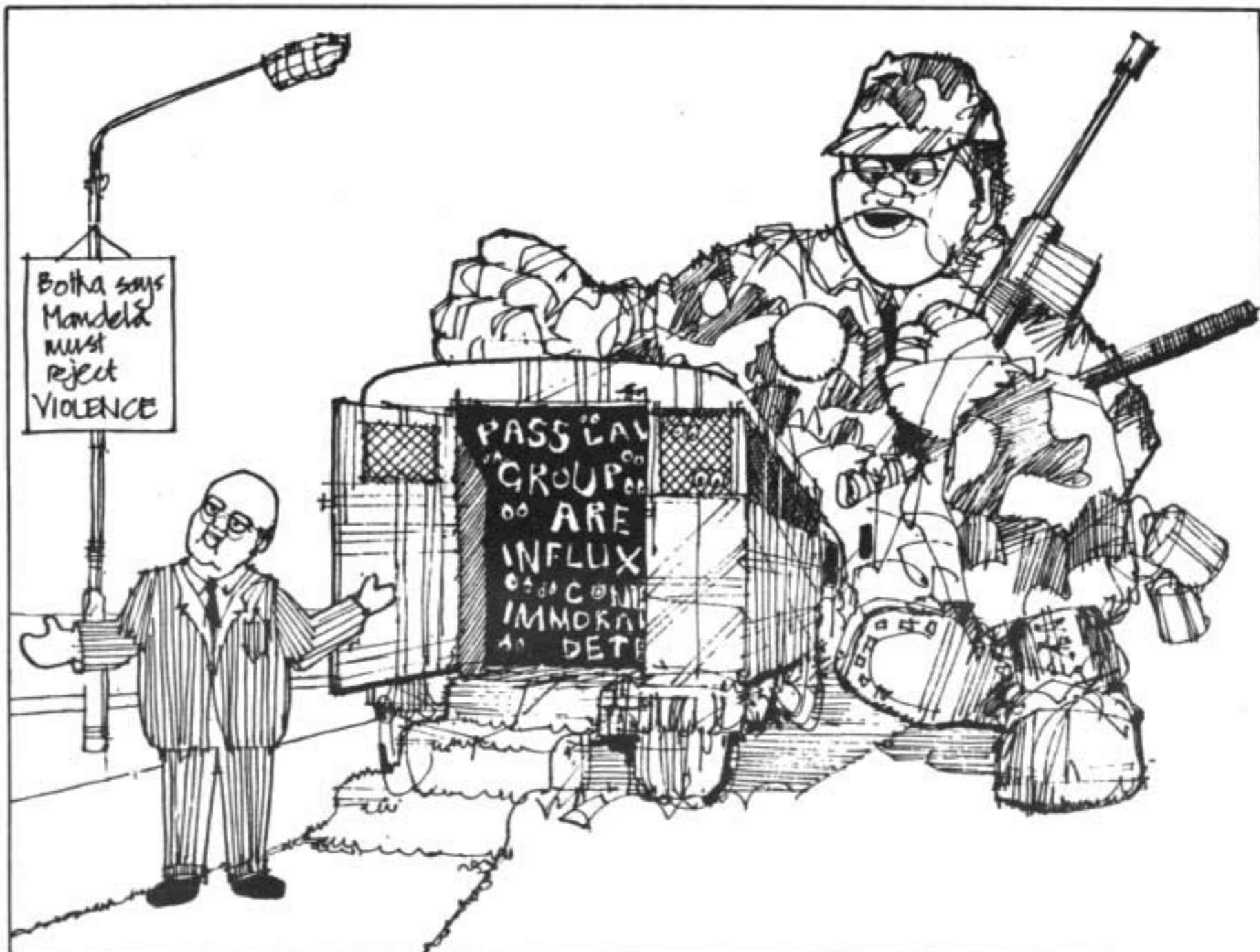
1985 brings with it an even greater need for unity and organisation. The economy is in crisis and the burden inevitably falls on the people.

But to be united and organised is also the way to go forward.

With 1985 comes the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

The people's struggles will not only be AGAINST age limit laws, retrenchment, repression, high rents and inadequate housing, but FOR opening the doors of learning and culture, for work and security, houses and comfort, peace and friendship.

Only a South Africa free from oppression and exploitation will guarantee this. Do what the Government may — detention and treason charges, batons or bribes — the people are determined to overcome apartheid and win their right to govern.



## Sharpeville speaks

*In a letter urging Speak to expose the present leaders of the Sharpeville Civic Association, a resident says that the Sharpeville Civic Association has since the detention of some of its founding members been taken over by people who do not have the people's interests at heart and are no different from the community councillors.*

*Such serious concern cannot be dismissed, and Speak publishes the letter in the interests of the community.*

Dear Mr. Editor

Give me that opportunity to speak the truth — the truth of our democratic struggle in the Vaal which has been shadowed for sometime. I believe it is only when the truth prevails that justice will be done

In Sharpeville, after the rent protests a few well respected leaders felt that an organisation with broad representation needed to be established to cater for all aspects or matters emanating from the rent issue eg. casualties, detentions and the welfare of society in these troubled times.

### Sharpeville civic

So it was decided to form the Sharpeville Civic Association (SCA). The founding members were somewhat divided as to what should be done to resolve the rent issue. One individual felt that the matter should be taken to court, while others, including Mongezi Radebe who is now on trial, felt peaceful protest should continue until we get an answer.

The argument was, can you take a government institution i.e. the Orange Vaal Development Board

to government created courts and hope to win. Are not the laws of the country designed by the powers to dominate and exploit blacks? Has there been any precedence of success in court? People have only won their demands through united action.

### Peoples' hands

Despite the differences, the ultimate decision lay in the hands of the people. And in a mass meeting on 4 November, the need for court action was not considered.

The same meeting also elected an SCA executive which included Mongezi Radebe as chairman and Matsoso Ramakau as additional member.

After the two day stay away Mongezi and Matsosa were detained as well as other prominent figures in the Vaal Civic Association such as Rev. Lord McCamel, and Petros Mokoena.

This was a pattern which took place. Most people felt it was some kind of tactic designed to disorganise the masses and instill fear in the hearts of the people so that they should fear to



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express their grievances.

In Evaton and Sebokeng, the Vaal Civic Association said they could no longer hold negotiations when their leaders are being detained. Leaders should be released to participate in the negotiations.

However in Sharpeville, the SCA leaders went ahead with negotiations with the town clerk, Louw and even with Mahlatsi and Co. Don't they stand in solidarity with their comrades and demand their release?

### No solidarity

At a report back meeting the remaining SCA executive members made it clear that they were in no ways in solidarity with their comrades who were detained. They said, "Mongezi and Matsosa were detained for their own politics and they had been hunted by the police."

Mongezi and Matsosa are very popular in Sharpeville and so there was a big commotion in the hall which was packed to capacity. People picked up placards which read, "Who sold Mongezi and Matsosa", and "Civic

Association — a sell out".

The stance of the individuals heading the SCA today is similar to that of the council who have never protested against detentions.

The press have also covered them favourably. The press only reported on what was said by the SCA and the rent issue and not on the commotion.

### Apolitical?

In a press statement after the meeting, the SCA said "We are not political, we are not affiliated to any political organisation".

What do they mean when they say they are not political? Is the rent law not made by politicians? Is the uprisings not a product or response to the doings of politicians? Is Mongezi's politics which they claim he was detained for, not OUR politics?

Speaking to Mahlatsi and Co. was a helluva blunder since the people feel that they are just puppets and not worthy for negotiations. The people's non-collaborationist position was demonstrated by the burning down of the councillors houses.

Failure of these negotiations was certain. For instance, Louw threatened to evict residents despite negotiations.

As a result the good image of the SCA was in jeopardy and they had to try and become popular once more. They tried to blackpaint in the press and at meetings organisations like Cosas and the Vaal DPSC who said there should be no negotiations until our genuine leaders had been released.

For example they said Cosas were agitators who prevented their children from going to school. This is exactly what Dr. Viljoen says.

### Our demands

So my people are we going to forget what our leaders in detention stood for?

They stood for:  
●rents to be R30 and no arrears to be paid.  
●the police and army to leave the township.  
●the resignation of the councillors.

The best thing we can do for the many detainees is to continue fighting for the things they stood for. Yours sincerely Sharpeville resident.



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# The Freedom Charter — still living

groups.  
All the people shall share the country's wealth.  
The land shared among all the people.  
Equality for all before the law.  
Equal Human Rights for all.  
Work and security for all.  
Free compulsory equal education for all.  
Adequate food, clothing and housing for all.  
Peace and friendship among all the people of South Africa.

This year is the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter and organisations all over the country are planning to celebrate its adoption.

The Freedom Charter is a document which sets out the type of South Africa our people want when they are free. It was adopted at Kliptown on 26 June 1955 at the Congress of the people.

The people themselves

made this Charter. For months the Congress organisations went from door to door in the cities and to the kraals and farms in the countryside. They gathered the people's demands. Each person said what type of South Africa they wanted.

That was 30 years ago and today not a single demand of the people has yet been met.

Against bantustans, Group Areas, and all attempts to dispossess people of their rights in the

country of their birth, the Charter says:

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

It rejects racist rule when it says that THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN! and that "no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people...."

It speaks to the needs of those whose labour is exploited at slave wages, when it declares that THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

It responds to the people's rejection of gutter education. It caters for those now excluded from school by age-limits, lack of money and other discriminatory factors, when it declares:

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

When the Charter is realised apartheid violence will be destroyed. In consequence, the Charter declares that THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

The Charter will not be realised without struggle. That is why it concludes with a pledge:

"Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.

And now, 30 years later, the people of South Africa re-dedicate themselves to achieving their demands as set out in the Freedom Charter.

## Birth of the Charter

In 1953, Z.K. Mathews, then president of the African National Congress went overseas. Repeatedly he was asked — what type of country do the people of South Africa want in place of the present Apartheid order.

When he came back to South Africa he raised the question within the African National Congress — then a legal organisation — and the idea of the Freedom Charter was born.

At the ANC's Congress in mid-1953 it was decided that a huge gathering would be organised where representatives of all the people of South Africa would come together to draw up a blueprint of their vision of a future South Africa. This democratic gathering, the Congress of the People, would with authority state what the people of South Africa wanted in place of apartheid.

The suggestion to organise such a Congress was welcomed by the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples Congress and the South African Congress of Democrats representing democratic whites. All four organisations, who together formed the Congress Alliance, began the enormous task of going out to the people of South Africa to ask them what kind of South Africa they wanted and collecting all the demands into a single document.

Through a National Action Council, set up in March 1954, the people's demands were collected from the branches of the four sponsoring organisations and from communities where there were no branches.

A call was made for "Freedom Volunteers" — men and women whose task it was to travel to every corner of South Africa — to visit every town, village, farm, factory, mine and reserve to gather demands for the Freedom Charter.

An incredible ten thousand people volunteered. They volunteered to call people together to explain the idea of a Freedom Charter, to encourage them to speak out, listen to and record their demands, and send these to the Congress of the People Committee.

They went from street to street, block to block organising



Electing delegates



Welcome for delegates to the Congress



The peoples demands

meetings, explaining, listening, and recording people's demands.

The Congress of the People was planned for June 26 and 27, 1955.

As the day neared, activity stepped up. Despite constant police harassment and the banning of organisers, demands flooded into the Congress of the People headquarters.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) which had been formed a few months before the Congress of the People actively collected demands from workers.

The Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) met in early 1955 to discuss their demands and prepared their own document called the Women's Charter.

From cities, small towns and country areas; in English, Afrikaans, Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu, the demands came in — On sheets torn from exercise books and on little dog-eared scraps of paper.

Some of the demands said:

"I would make a law protecting

the public from being assaulted by the police even when they are not resisting arrest."

"I would like every individual to buy and sell his cattle or sheep everywhere he likes..."

"I would like the Bantu Education Act reconsidered and put aside for it is a dangerous poison to the brains of our fellow citizens, the Africans."

"There must be equal rights for all in this country."

"The district commissioner is not fair to us, we want his removal."

The demands were collected in many different ways.

The next step was for organisations and branches to elect delegates to attend the Congress of the People. The organisers wanted as many people and organisations represented as possible.

Delegates left from their respective centres with much fanfare.

The Western Cape delegates received a send-off at a torchlight rally. Fifty however did not get there. They were

arrested in Beaufort West where the police were in no hurry to release them and they missed the Congress of the People.

Despite such harassment in almost every area, 2 884 delegates attended.

The Congress of the People was held in a huge veld at Kliptown. People were allowed to hold outdoor meetings then.

In the words of one: "On that day thousands of South Africans made their way to Kliptown by car, by bus, on bicycle, on foot and on horseback.

rying their areas' views on the nature of the South Africa of their dreams. They were coming from all areas of the country and some of them were setting their foot for the first time in the urban areas."

Each delegate was given a draft copy of the Freedom Charter in which the organisers had tried to include all the demands.

The Charter was introduced by leaders of the different organisations. For example the Sactu general secretary read the

clause: "There shall be work and security".

Delegates then discussed the Charter section by section, after which it was approved by a show of hands from delegates.

The proceedings were brought to a dramatic close in the afternoon of the second day by the arrival of a large contingent of policemen bearing sten guns. They took over the speakers' platform, confiscated all documents that they could find, announced they had reason to believe that treason was being contemplated and took the names and addresses of all the delegates before sending them home.

However that was not the end of the Campaign of the Congress of the People.

On returning home, delegates reported back to packed mass meetings about the Freedom Charter and volunteers again went out to the people to talk of what had happened on the 26 and 27 of June, 1955, and the Freedom Charter was endorsed by the masses of South Africa.

# Join an organisation NOW!

## • CIVIC ORGANISATION

Our townships are in a shocking state. There are not enough houses, the roads are not maintained, there is often no electricity, water is cut off, transport is expensive. Despite this rents and rates keep going up.

To fight all this and to oppose undemocratic management committees and community councils, residents have come together to form civic or resident associations.

These organisations have called public protest meetings, circulated petitions, gone on delegations to the authorities and even led people in stay aways to force the authorities to back down.

It has been proved that it is only through the united action of residents under their own democratic organisations that their demands have been met.

Look out for the notices, newsletters or posters of the civic association in your area and attend their meetings. The more residents that support the civic associations and encourage others to do so, the more effective their voice will be.

## ◀ STUDENT ORGANISATION

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) is an organisation for school students. It was launched in 1979 and has been growing ever since. Today with branches in almost every township, it is at the forefront of the fight for students rights and for better conditions in schools.

Cosas also organises educational and cultural events for its members and many branches have set up women's committees.

## ◀ YOUTH ORGANISATION

Most youth organisations are just over a year old and yet in a short space of time have attracted hundreds of young people. They have organised sporting, cultural and other events to cater for the needs and aspirations of youth.

For example, Soyco have organised a Fun Run, Ayco a Cultural Day and the LYL a youth Festival.

Many have joined youth organisations to play a role in the struggle as a whole. Members of youth organisations often help distribute pamphlets, put up posters and visit homes to take the UDF and its message to the people.

This year is International Year of the Youth and youth

organisations are aiming to celebrate this event by doubling and tripling their membership. So, if you see posters about youth activities in your area, do not hesitate to go along.

## ➤ POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Nothing can stifle the peoples demands for political rights. Again and again the government has tried to ban political organisations, detain their leaders and make people fearful of joining them.

Yet, thousands of people have put their support behind the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Anti-PC, the Release Mandela Committee and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee who have been voicing and fighting for equal political rights for all South Africans.

The low polls in the tricameral parliament elections dealt a decisive blow to the government plans. This success can largely be attributed to the work of these organisations, united under the UDF.

They are preparing to counter any new moves the government may make. Their doors are always open to people who want to become actively involved in fighting against apartheid. And day by day more people volunteer to join these organisations.

If you too want to make this decision — contact the local branch, group or committee in your area. If you do not know how to do so, you can contact the UDF office at Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

## • WOMENS' ORGANISATION

Women bear the heaviest burden in South Africa. Not only are they often most affected by the evils of apartheid, but face many problems of their own.

Women have come together to tackle the day to day problems they face. Some have started bulk buying schemes, others vegetable gardens to ease the high cost of living and others have united to fight forced removals or evictions. Women's organisations have also organised cultural evenings, outings, and food parcels for the needy.

In December last year, all the womens groups in the Transvaal came together to form the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw). Through Fedtraw, women's organisations will be able to co-ordinate their different efforts and participate in the broader fight for freedom.

Do you belong to an organisation? Have you thought about it?

Over the last few years many more people have become involved in the fight for their rights and against apartheid, and have joined youth, student, women's, residents or political organisations.

People have shown their support for these organisations — mostly under the banner of the United Democratic Front — who represent their aspirations and fight for their demands.

Five years ago most of these organisations did not exist. Today, there are very few townships — from the Vaal to Pretoria — which do not have a Cosas branch, a youth organisation, and possibly a civic, womens group or group linked to one of the political affiliates of the UDF. And more and more organisations are being set up in the rural areas.

What are the features of these organisations which collectively have the support of hundreds of thousands of supporters?

• They voice the aspirations of the people for better conditions and a free South Africa.

• They have brought people together to fight for their demands in an effective and united way.

• Most are affiliates or supporters of the UDF. Many helped the UDF get off the ground two years ago, while others began as a result of the excitement the UDF generated.

• They have come together under the banner of the UDF to ensure united action on issues like the new constitution.

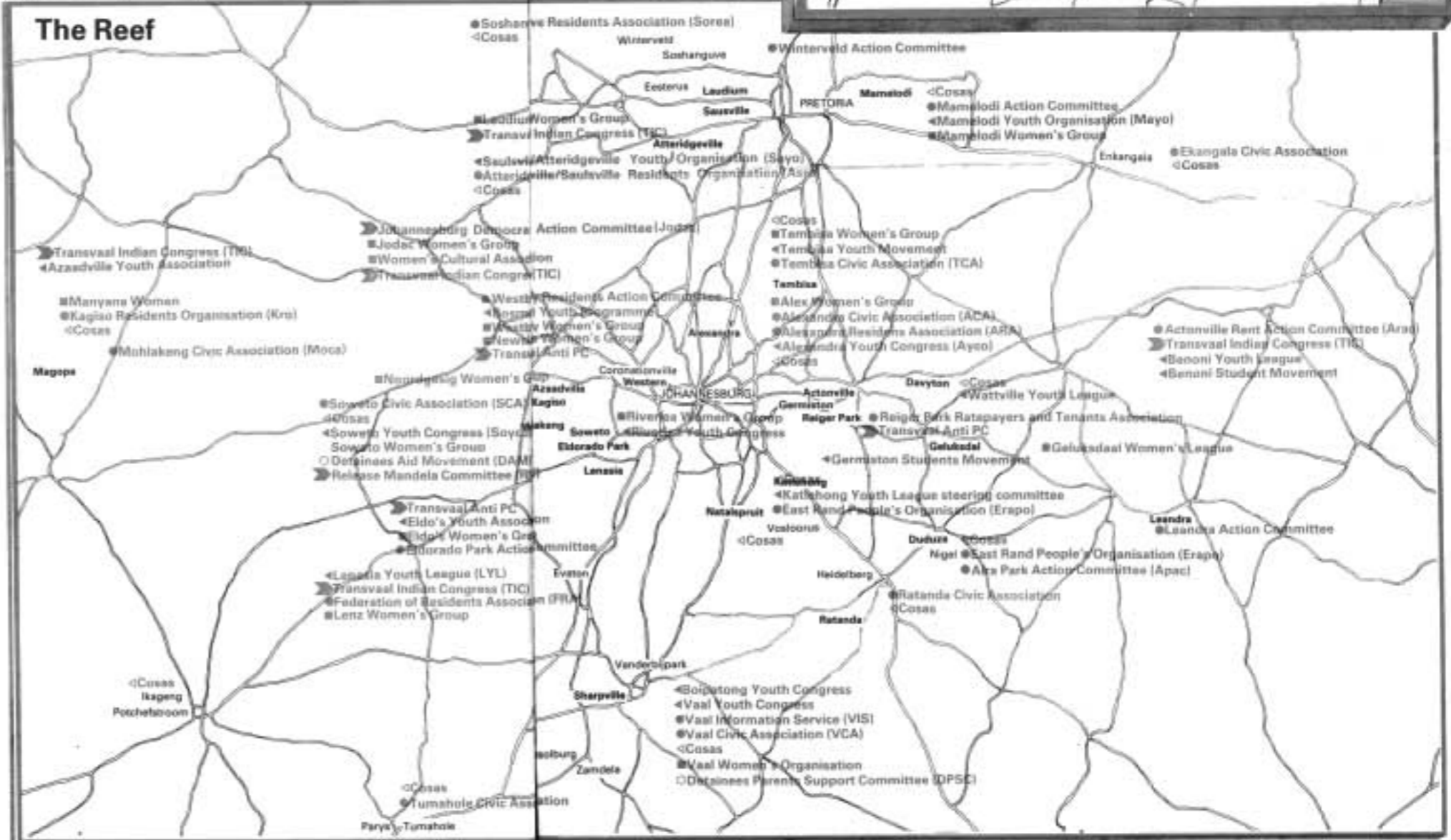
• They believe that decision making must be placed in the hands of the people. In these organisations people participate in the making of decisions and in taking responsibility for the work of the organisation.

• They believe that we need to draw all people who suffer under apartheid together in a common assault on the rulers.

• They are fighting for a non-racial democratic South Africa where everybody — black and white — will have equal rights.

The struggle to win freedom has to be fought at all levels — against apartheid education, against low wages, poor housing and high rents, and for political rights. Thus there are many different organisations working amongst women, youth, students, teachers and doctors.

Freedom will come only if we work for it; only if we struggle, unite ourselves, and join a democratic organisation in our area. Join now!





# Join an organisation NOW!

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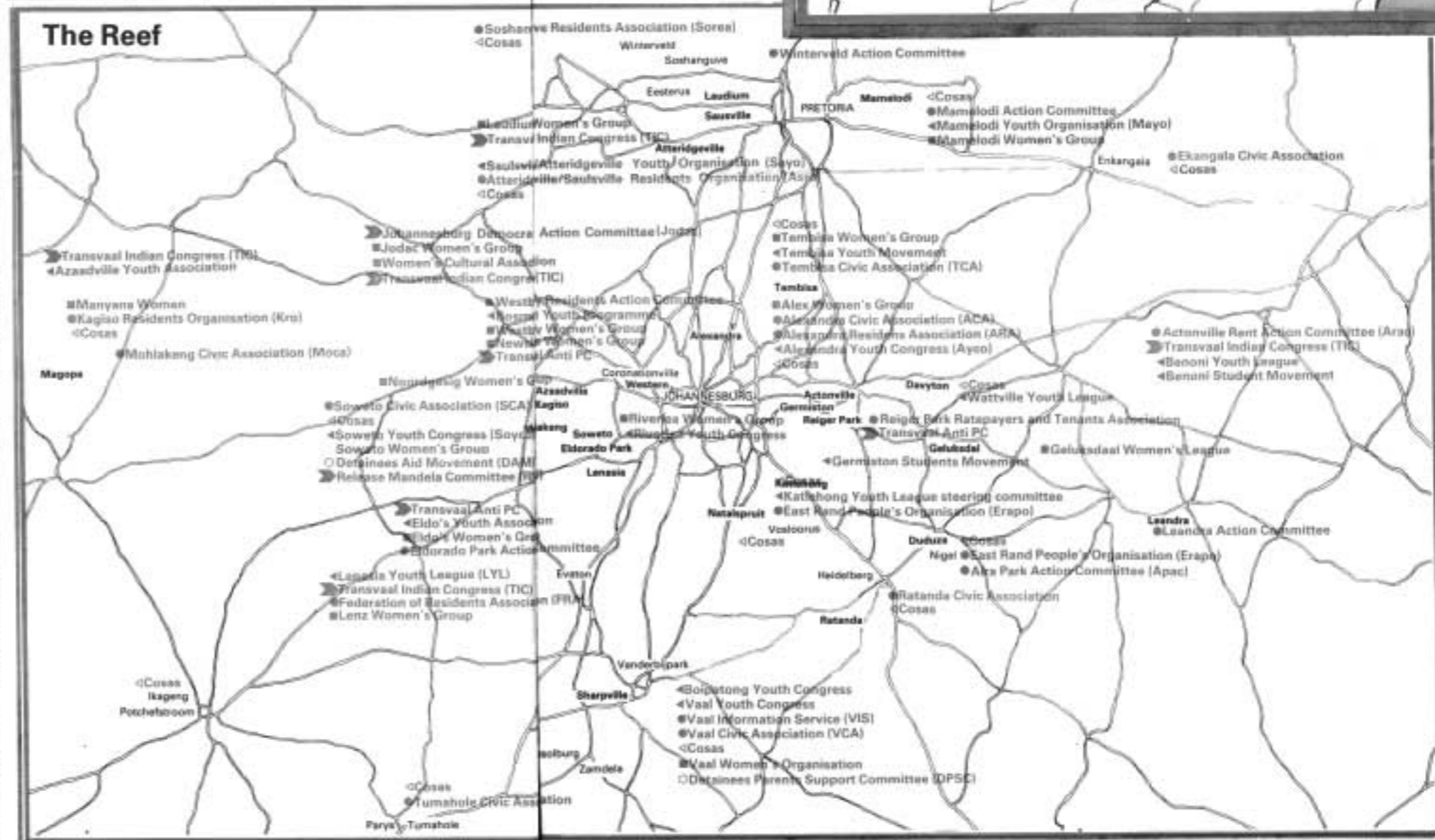
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# Kennedy's visit was aimed at apartheid

Much discussion has taken place on Senator Edward Kennedy's trip to South Africa. Was his visit a step forward in the fight against apartheid or not — there are many views on the issue. SPEAK interviews Terror Lekota, the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front on the UDF's position.

**How did the UDF get involved in Kennedy's visit?**

Firstly, the visit was initiated by well known opponents of apartheid and patrons of the United Democratic Front like Bishop Tutu, Bishop Hurley and Allan Boesak.

**The UDF saw the visit as an attempt to mobilise and educate international opinion on South Africa.**

Secondly, the visit was aimed at the assault on apartheid — an issue which is central to our people and the UDF, and so it had implications for us.

Thirdly, we were asked by our patrons to assist in briefing the Senator about the South African scene and about our people's views and wishes.

We were also invited to assist in organising the public meetings

which were held in the Western Cape and Soweto.

**What is UDF's view on the Kennedy visit?**

From the beginning, the UDF made the point that the visit was heavily weighted against apartheid. Our patrons who had invited the Senator were certainly calculating and saw the visit as a means of informing him so he could become a more effective anti-apartheid campaigner in his own country.

Secondly, he is well known for his oppos-

tion to constructive engagement, which is Reagan's disguised form of support for the apartheid regime.

The UDF therefore viewed the visit as an attempt to strengthen international pressure on the Reagan administration to abandon constructive engagement and at the same time to mobilise and educate international opinion on the views of the people of South Africa.

**Azapo says that Kennedy is an imperialist and represents international capitalist interest. What is the UDF's opinion on this?**

Let there be no doubt about the UDF's commitment to ensuring that it is our people themselves who will

determine their future in this country. No other force, what ever their interest, will determine the outcome of events in S.A.

We don't question the fact of American imperialism and even the involvement of the Kennedy family as a whole in American imperialist designs. But certainly on the immediate question that is eating our people today — that of apartheid — the Kennedys have taken a stand.

**The main question is where does Kennedy stand in relation to the burning question of apartheid.**

So the main question is where does Kennedy stand in relation to the burning question of apartheid.

By supporting Kennedy's visit we were not doing anything new that has not been done by people struggling for freedom elsewhere.

For example — take the situation of the people of Vietnam. Before 1954 they were fighting against

French imperialism and they mobilised American public opinion — indeed one can say American imperialism — to assist in pressurising the French to leave their country.

**We will co-operate on the question of apartheid but not on American imperialism.**

But after 1956, the Americans substituted themselves in the place of French imperialists and this time the Vietnamese went on to mobilise French imperialism, which they were fighting yesterday, to help them pressurise American imperialism.

The government has embarked on a strategy to win support for itself abroad and to isolate our democratic movement. This is very important for the government in its grand plan of entrenching and maintaining white domination. Our consideration at this point therefore must be to frustrate that strategy. We must do everything that we can to isolate the S.A. government and to win support for our people's democratic demands and organisations.

It would obviously be an error of judgement to alienate people who support the struggle against apartheid, like for instance Kennedy who today is mobilising for sanctions against South Africa.

We must make as many friends and deprive apartheid of as many friends as it is likely to get.

**How does the UDF see itself fighting imperialism?**

The struggle against imperialism begins with the struggle

against apartheid. In defeating apartheid we are laying the foundation for the liquidation of imperialism.

The struggle against imperialism, will take on different forms at different points in time. Let us not be fooled that slogans, rhetoric and banner waving is necessarily fighting imperialism.

**What do you think of Azapo's stand on Kennedy's visit?**

I think the role they played was very destructive. In the judgement of the people of our country it must have reduced their standing and whatever respect they may have had. Their position also dented their international credibility as authentic critics of apartheid.

**Our people will determine their future. No other force will determine the outcome of events in South Africa.**

We must also ask to what extent their actions actually educated people on imperialism and made any advance against imperialism.

By demonstrating against Kennedy, Azapo wittingly or unwittingly allied themselves with the Nationalist's position on Kennedy's visit.

The fact that Azapo was opposed to the visit and therefore opposed to the UDF, to the trade unions that met Kennedy, to the South African Council of Churches and Bishop Tutu, to the oppressed of our country — pleased the establishment, and Azapo was therefore given huge national and international publicity by agents of the state.

**What happened at the planned Regina Mundi meeting which Kennedy was meant to address?**

The conflict was not between the UDF and Azapo. It was more between the masses of people who were keen to hear what Kennedy had to say and a hundred or so Azapo supporters who were preventing them from listening to him.

UDF leaders acted responsibly by agree-

ing to the meeting being called off and were forced to intervene to prevent the situation from deteriorating.

**Were there any differences of opinion in the UDF about this visit?**

In some regions the UDF was asked to participate in the visit and there was a slight disagreement on the extent to which the UDF could participate. The invitation came at fairly late notice but it was discussed by affiliates and the UDF assisted to the extent that it was possible towards making the visit a success.

The allegation that the UDF is split on the issue has no foundation.

There have also been suggestions that the UDF has lost members to Azapo because of its stand on the visit. This is absolutely untrue.

**Many people say we should not speak to Kennedy now because one day he may become president of an imperialist power. What do you think of this?**

Firstly, although he may become president of the United States this does not necessarily mean that he will begin to support apartheid.

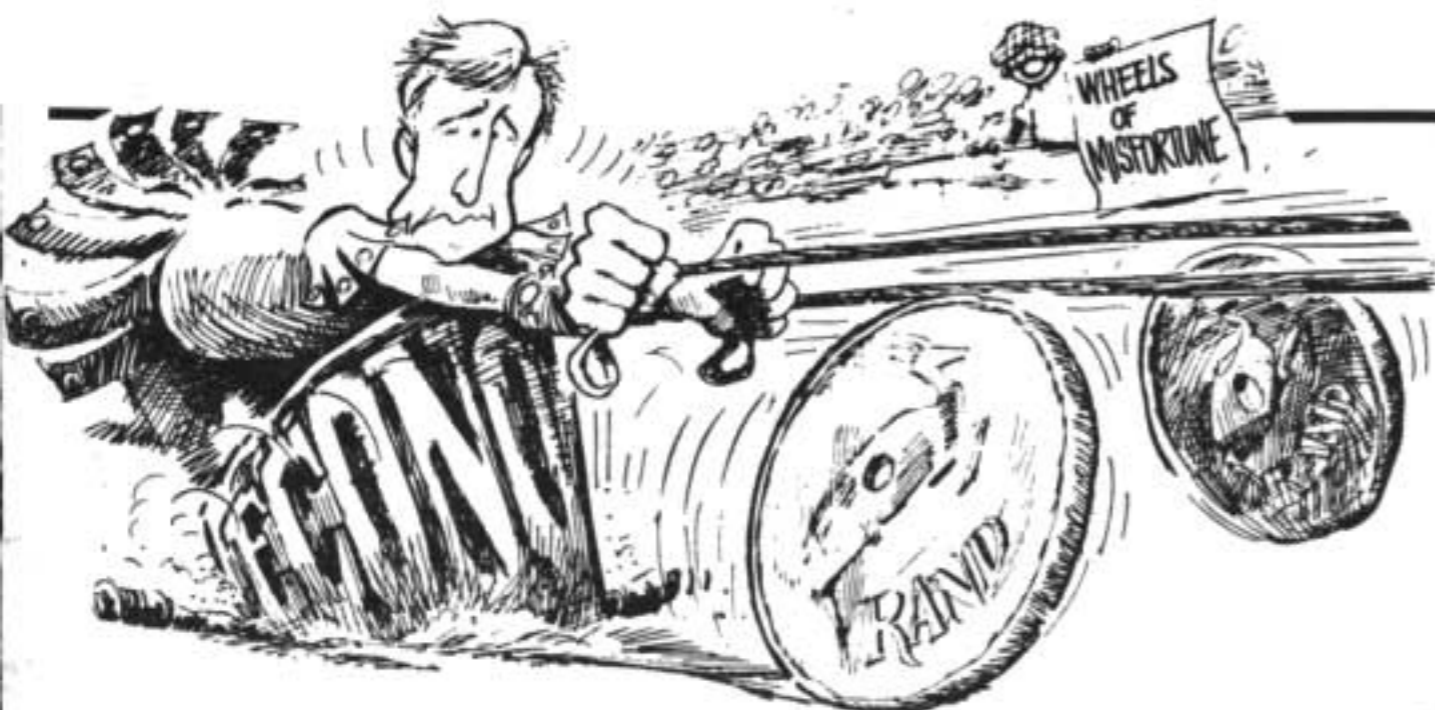
Secondly, it is true that there are areas where we have differences. The fact that he supports us in the struggle against apartheid does not mean we are agreeing with him in everything that he is doing everywhere around the world.

We are saying — here is an issue that is confronting us, apartheid — and we want him to support us on this issue. But if tomorrow he were to invade a country like Nicaragua and deprive the Nicaraguan people of their freedom we would clearly stand up and condemn that.

We will co-operate on the question of apartheid but we can't be expected to co-operate on the question of American imperialism.



**Terror Lekota on the Kennedy visit: "We must do everything we can to isolate the Government and to win support for our people's democratic demands and organisations."**



# Economy in crisis: Workers pay the price

The value of the rand has declined against the currencies of many European countries and the United States. A year ago you could exchange one rand for about 75 American cents but now it is worth less than 50 American cents.

Why has this happened, why does it always make news headlines and how does it affect us?

This article will try and answer these questions.

We need to look at the economic policies of overseas governments and to the crises faced by the South African government to understand why the value of the rand has declined.

Capitalist countries overseas like Britain, West Germany and the United States face many problems.

Big business has introduced machines to replace workers and so millions of people do not have jobs. There are children in Britain, whose parents have never worked because there are no jobs. In addition prices are high because the new machines are very expensive.

their increased profits to build more factories. These factories would need people to work in them and so, conservative governments hoped that the unemployment problem would be eased.

Yet, this has not happened. Big business has not used its profits to build more factories. They have simply become more wealthy.

INFLATION THE WORKERS ENEMY

American businessmen have done especially well and with huge super profits did not mind when the American government decided to print fewer dollars.

The American dollar is the international currency which means that all governments in the world have to use dollars to buy things from each other.

Since American president Reagan decided to print fewer dollars there has been fierce competition for the few dollars available and not surprisingly the price of the dollar on the international market has risen dramatically. More German marks, South African rands or British pounds are needed to buy one dollar than before. And so the value of the rand has declined against the dollar.

The United States federal bank has also raised the interest rate on dollars. This means that international bankers and others are not interested in buying gold — the major South African export — any longer. They prefer to buy dollars which they know they can lend out at very high interest.

The low value of the rand and poor gold

sales have contributed to the bad state of the South African economy. But this is only part of the story — most problems result from the way the government is mismanaging the country's money.

For the last decade the South African government has on the one hand been spending more money than it budgeted for and on the other, it has not been receiving as much money as it hoped.

● Because of the drought they have had to pour millions of rand into drought relief and have had to buy food from overseas.

● Due to international pressure against apartheid, the South African government has not been able to export so many things.

● As a result of the disinvestment campaign, less overseas companies are operating factories in South Africa. The government makes a lot of money from taxing overseas companies.

INFLATION THE WORKERS ENEMY

● The government used to get lots of money from selling gold to overseas countries. However now they are less interested in buying gold and more interested in buying dollars because they are worth more.

● Because machinery which factory owners rely on, has to be imported from the United States and Europe. These machines are very expensive because the value of the rand is so low.

● Because the government is trying to impose an unpopular,



Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has no reason to smile — the government is very heavily in debt.



Faced with price hikes — workers demand a living wage.

undemocratic and unjust system on the majority of the people it has to spend vast sums of money on the army, police, forced removals and influx control. The new tricameral parliament structures and black local authorities were also very expensive and it is rumoured much more expensive than they initially envisaged. More than a quarter of the budget for 1984 was spent on maintaining and defending Apartheid.

INFLATION THE WORKERS ENEMY

So the government is very heavily in debt. They have tried to pay their extra bills by :

- Printing more money.
- Borrowing money on the international market.
- Passing the costs onto the people.

However all three solutions have only got them into an increasing mess.

INFLATION THE WORKERS ENEMY

When the government orders the Reserve Bank to print more money it increases inflation. Inflation means that a given sum of money buys less and less as the prices of goods increase.

Wages rarely increase as fast as prices and so people get poorer. They also can no longer buy so many things and so businesses earn less money and the government gets less money from general sales tax. Their problem has not been solved.

Borrowing money from overseas does not help either. When the government bor-



Workers bear the brunt of rising costs.

rows money from overseas it often has to pay back in dollars. Because the value of the rand is so low, far more rands have to be paid back than were borrowed in the first place.

In addition the government has to pay interest. The South African government is a big borrower of money and so the interest that has to be paid back is astronomical. So the country gets deeper and deeper into debt.

INFLATION THE WORKERS ENEMY

Therefore the government has turned on the people. In an effort to raise money to pay its bills, it has :

- Increased the petrol price.
- Increased hospital and medical tariffs.
- Increased rents and service charges.

● Cut the subsidies on food and public transport so bread and train fares have gone up.

● Encouraged business to be more productive which usually means they get machines to replace people.

The effect on the people as the government loads its financial burden onto the shoulders of the people, they are going to suffer more than ever before.

For example workers are being retrenched in their thousands. Recent research revealed that about seven million workers, which is little more than half of South African's workforce could be jobless by the end of the year.

The government's talk of change for the better has amounted to naught. Far greater changes are needed before the financial problems of South Africa can be sorted out.

# THE WOMEN WILL MAKE FEDTRAW STRONG

The Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) is off to a great start. Close to 200 women from all corners of the Transvaal attended its launching conference in December.

The spirit of our women was one of unity, of sharing and caring. We came from urban townships, from rural areas as far as Driefontein and the Northern Transvaal.

Together we formed our organisation — the Federation of Transvaal Women to be the voice of our women. To take up our problems and to fight for our rights.

## Vaal troubles

Ma Letanta from the Vaal moved us all when she spoke of the hardships in that troubled area. She said: "I come here alone today, to be with you because most of the people I know are dead, detained or running from the police." Beauty Mkize and

the Driefontein women need outlets for their crafts. They told of their difficulties with high fees for their children's schooling.

Other women were concerned about high prices and the rents that we cannot afford. They spoke of their fears that our sons may be sent to fight on the borders to defend apartheid.

## Programme

Forced removals, the lack of child care and educational facilities for our children were high on our list.

These were the major concerns of the women at the conference. We took many decisions and adopted a program of action. In this program we were very clear about what we need to do.

"We need to organise our neighbours, our friends, our fellow workers. We must set up women's groups. We must organise the



Tsakane women demand housing and low rents.

unorganised. In this way we will make Fedtraw strong to be the voice of the women and, to state our demands." This was said by the women as they reported on the road ahead for Fedtraw.

"It has taken us a long time to organise

ourselves into a provincial organisation. It has taken more than twenty years but we are on our feet again and we are marching forward. For too long, we women have been silent, we must go forward", said Sister Bernard, our newly elected President.

Since our conference, women have not sat back.

In Soweto, the women will be campaigning against the rising fees at hospitals. In Fordsburg, the women have started a keep-fit class. "We are not here for beauty, but for health," they

say. Tembisa women are busy with soap making projects and bulk buying to survive in these times.

And in Tsakane, the women marched in protest against the housing problem. "Housing is a human right not a privilege."

Amanda Kwadi, one of the Fedtraw organisers said, "Women, let us take off our aprons, there is work to be done. We must start at home, we must start at work. Fedtraw must be strong."

## At Fedtraw's conference ....



Francis Baard, Bernard Ncube (President) and Helen Joseph

The Federation of Transvaal women was launched at a three-day conference in December last year. 200 women from 20 women's groups all over the Transvaal attended the launching conference.

It was the first time in twenty years that our women have come together.

"We have worked hard to lay the foundation for this Federation. We organised workshops on why we need a women's organisation. We celebrated August 9 — National Women's Day where close to 3000 women participated in our program. In this way we could go forward to forming our organisations."

On this page, the women of the Federation speak.....



Talking about the issue of the day.

## Women demand food at prices they can afford

"Life is hard for us. My baby died last month. The nurse says its malnutrition. I say its hunger. My husband lost his job a few months ago. We do odd jobs to earn a little money. He is still waiting for his unemployment money.

We live on very little. The world looks bleak around us. Our furni-

ture has been taken back. We may lose our house.

Every day I stand with empty pots and hungry children. There is no work. There is no food."

This is the sad story of a Soweto woman. But, it is the story of many South Africans in the cities and in the country. Prices are going up and up.

Wages are staying the same. Three million people are unemployed.

But women are always hit the hardest in such bad times. When jobs are scarce, women are laid off first. So, we have great difficulty in getting work and feeding our families.

Food prices are going up all the time. For every R10 that we

spend today, we are paying R2,10 more than last year. There is talk that the government needs more money and so we have to pay for it through GST. But what do we get in return? Nothing.

Basic foods such as maize, bread, milk and eggs have all gone up this year.

"We demand food at

prices we can afford. Our children are starving. We women need to do something. In some areas, bulk buying food clubs have been started. In other areas, women are thinking of buying vegetables in bulk or making gardens. Fedtraw needs your ideas. Please write to us at P.O. Box 10366 Johannesburg, 2000.

## Women's charter unites

The Women's Charter is our charter. It is a charter that unites us, it speaks of our problems and our demands.

Today, 30 years after the women's charter was adopted by our brave sisters, we still stand by its demands. "Nothing has changed today. We women still suffer the brunt of life under apartheid. The bosses still exploit us by paying us low wages. And as women — our voice, our problems — are always the last to be heard." These were the views of women at the conference.

We adopted the Women's Charter, because we believe that it is our charter. It is the voice of women from all walks of life. From urban and rural areas, from different religions and backgrounds. We stand for a new South Africa where we women will be treated with respect and dignity.



# "We got our message to Pretoria loud and clear"

Last December, domestic worker representatives confronted officials at the Manpower offices in Pretoria about a commission of inquiry appointed to investigate the conditions of employment of domestic and farm workers.

The 10 person delegation was made up of representatives from the S.A. Domestic Workers Assciation (Sadwa), the Domestic Workers Association (DWA) and Domestic Workers Association of South Africa (Dwasa). Margaret Hlapo, national organiser for Sadwa, tells us what happened.

We were all admitted in the main entrance, had our handbags searched and were directed to the receptionist. We caused quite a stir firstly by being so many (ten is a crowd in this country) and by the T-shirts we wore.

After we were told for the umpteenth time that we could not see anybody, we stood our ground, and ended up seeing somebody who at first did not want to identify himself. We were all ushered into a room, probably a waiting room for those who come daily with complaints. Mr. Erasmus (Researcher), as we later learned of his identification stood for two hours while the improptu meeting was in progress.

Questions put to him were:

gation took so long?

● Why our correspondence seemed to have fallen into a void?

● Why the first memorandum disappeared?

● Why the investigation was in Afrikaans?

● How long it will take to translate it into English, table, become a bill, and finally an Act?

Mr Erasmus was very evasive in his answers and appeared to be a little shaken. He admitted that it was the longest investigation ever that our first memorandum disappeared because there were too many of them, that our letters never reached their office, that 50% of the report of the findings has been translated into English (this he said in confidence), but does not

know when it will be completed, as it is in the hands of the Minister of Manpower.

We then entrusted him with the letter to the Minister and departed in peace.

In the evening we sat down to evaluate the day. Our findings were:

The day was a success. We got our message loud and clear to Mr. Erasmus who himself is involved as a researcher in the investigating team.

Mr. Erasmus did not take a seat because he never anticipated talking to us for two hours instead of five minutes.

We chose the best time when the Vaal riots were cooling down. This situation contributed to their listening to us instead of turning us out.

Our T-shirts will forever be in their memories. As far as the Pretoria officials who saw them are concerned, it was the cheek of the first order.

Some members of Sadwa in all regional associations held prayer meetings on our behalf and others fasted throughout the day.

The Minister has since acknowledged our letter with the usual promise: The matter is receiving attention.

For the next decade THE MATTER IS RECEIVING ATTENTION will echo in our ears.

This is the continuation of the WAR OF NERVES which is one of the deadly weapons our country possesses.

Our nerves are at breaking point and if a nerve breaks, it spurts out blood.

## Focus on SCA

Soweto Civic Association



### What is the SCA

SCA is a democratic civic organisation primarily concerned with the bread and butter problems of Soweto residents. It is an organisation of the people, stressing the need for people to unite and take an active part in solving their problems. The community knows its problems best and can therefore be represented only through its own democratic organisations and leaders. The SCA is the people, the people are the SCA.

### When and how was the SCA formed

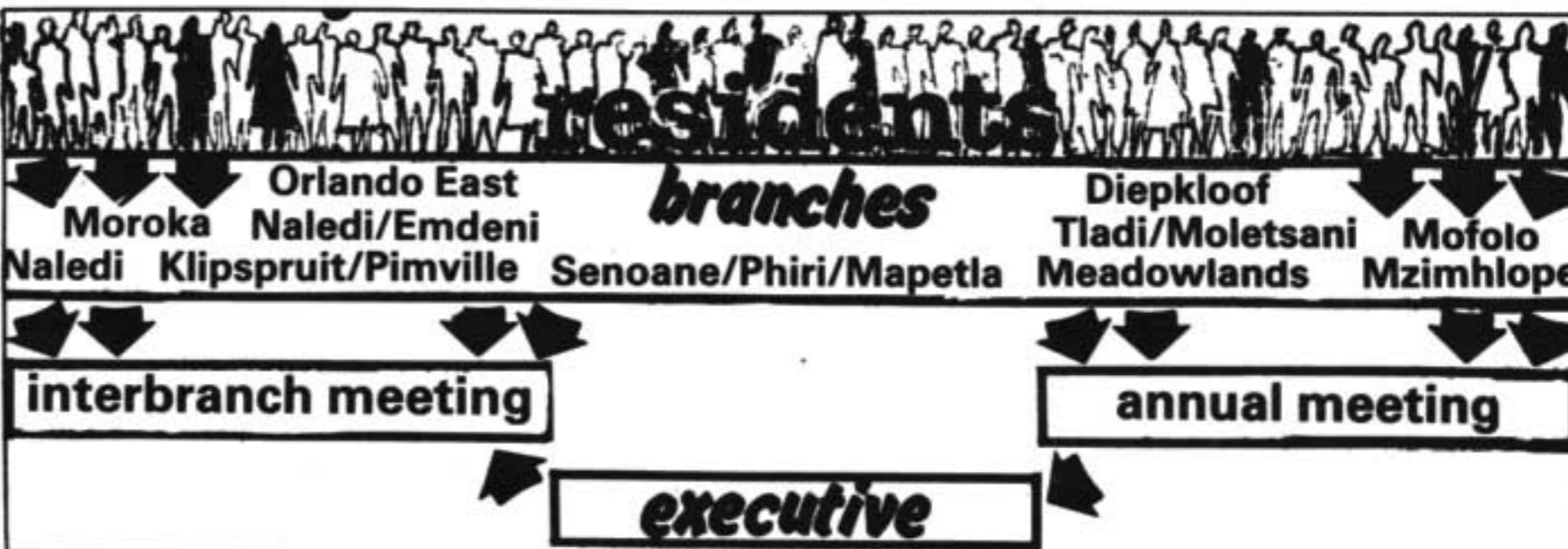
Following the uprisings of 1976, prominent figures in the community met in 1977. The idea of a Committee of Ten

was born at this meeting.

In 1978 a group of residents came together in Diepkloof to make funeral arrangements for victims of a serious bus accident. This group, under the leadership of Isaac Mogase, soon developed into a civic organisation and influenced the formation of local civics in other parts of Soweto. The Diepkloof civic decided to work under the broad leadership of the Committee of Ten.

In 1979, all the local civic organisations came together and formed the Soweto Civic Association. At this meeting the Committee of Ten was elected as the executive of the SCA.

By 1980 many branches of the SCA had been formed.



Today the SCA has done away with the Committee of Ten idea and now has an Executive Committee.

### Why was the SCA formed

Problems facing Soweto residents are many. Amongst these are the critical shortage of houses, high rents, high electricity and water bills, shack demolitions, evictions,

leaking roofs and sewerage, dog tax, high train and bus fares, and many more.

The Government is not concerned about our problems, in fact it is the cause of them. And the undemocratic community councils have no power and can do nothing about our problems. They are there just to fill their pockets and help do Apartheid's dirty work. Realising that only

through our own unity and action can anything be done about our problems, we have formed our own democratic organisations to

take up these problems in the areas where we live. And we know we are even stronger if the different areas of Soweto come together.

In this way the SCA has been formed to unite the community in our struggle

for democratic rights and to determine our own lives.

### How does the SCA work

● By bringing people together to share their opinions and jointly develop desired solutions

● With the people and through consultation — using public meetings, house visits, newsletters, surveys, house meetings, street

representatives, etc

● Sincerely and honestly — without pretending it can take on all the problems of Soweto and solve it for the people. Rather it is an organisation of the people and is as strong as the people make it.

● Democratically — by encouraging the community's participation at all levels and striving for collective decision making.

# Mandela addresses the nation

From Pollsmoor Prison, through daughter Zinzi, to 10 000 gathered in Soweto to celebrate the Nobel Peace Prize award to Bishop Tutu and all freedom loving South Africans — Nelson Rolihlala Mandela spoke to South Africa for the first time in 21 years.

He rejected Botha's offer to release him on the condition he renounce violence as a political instrument.

So who seeks peace and who is responsible for violence?

The very occasion at which Mandela replied to Botha's offer is perhaps answer enough. The prize for peace has gone to the people, not the government.

But Nelson Mandela did more than just reject the offer. His statement was an address to the nation — explaining, exposing, demanding.

"I am not a violent man," he said. "It was only when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle".

Government force to crush political opposition, laws making forms of open protest illegal,

and the banning of the ANC following the Sparpeville massacre — forced the ANC to take up arms against apartheid rule.

Apartheid exists through violence against the people. The Release Mandela Committee (RMC) said: "The very platform from which Botha asks Mandela to condemn violence is founded on the blood and suffering of our people".

No justifiable link can be made between Mandela's release and the rejection of violence.

Mandela made clear what the government has to do if it is sincere about peace in South Africa:

- Dismantle apartheid
- Unban the ANC
- Renounce violence
- Free the jailed, banished and exiled
- Guarantee free political activity

Condemning Botha's offer to Mandela as a political ploy, the RMC said it was calculated to undermine Mandela's integrity.

RMC notes that the offer is made when "heroic struggles of the people have been fought".

The offer is the result of relentless struggles of the people and a move aimed at undermining these struggles.

Mandela himself exposed the offer as a political ploy. Herman Toiva Ja Toiva, the Swapo founder, never gave any undertaking and was not called upon to do so.

The release of political prisoners is therefore not necessarily bound with conditions. Mandela was asked to give undertakings only because it suits the government's political considerations at this point.

Mandela, through rejecting the offer, cannot be held responsible for his own imprisonment as the government would have the world think.

Other reasons for the offer being made include:

- An attempt to win credibility for the "reform" initiatives.
- Its a prelude to further repression. For the government, any euphoria accompanying Mandela's release would possibly overshadow the imprisonment of UDF leaders presently awaiting trial, or any other repressive

acts.

- Remove one of the biggest issues on which the Government has been criticised.

Mandela also pre-empted a possible motivation behind the release offer. He emphasised his membership of the ANC and the fact the he cannot, and will not, be distanced from it, and its leadership - in particular Oliver Tambo. Many think a government intention in prematurely releasing Toivo was the hope that it would sow tension between him and Nujoma.

Mandela's integrity and courage shines through his statement - two decades behind bars have failed to crush his spirit.

"I am not less life-loving than you are," he said. "But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free".

It reflects his total commitment to the struggle for freedom.

For Mandela the needs and demands of his people are most important. "Your freedom and mine cannot be separated"



This total selflessness and boundless love for his people, are outstanding qualities of truly great leadership — so unlike the Mangope's, Matanzima's, Buthe's, Hendrickse's and Rajbansi's.

Mandela's reply also has an important message of hope

He calls on the people to keep up the struggle — fully aware that only the freedom of the people can bring about his.

Victory is certain is Mandela's message when he says, "I will return".

## Its 30 years for the SA Congress of Trade Unions

More than 2 000 workers recently came together at a rally in Tembisa to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) — the first non-racial trade union co-ordinating body in South Africa's history. Speak looks at the birth and history of the organisation.

### What came before

When Sactu was founded in March 5, 1955 it was the culmination of 30 years effort organising workers.

The first major union in South Africa was the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICU). It had as many as 100 000 members during the 1920's and began the tradition of collective action amongst South African workers.

During the 1930s and 40s strong national trade unions in each of South Africa's main industries grew. Unions came together in the multi-racial Trades and Labour Council and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU).

The most important event of the time was the African mine workers strike in 1946. 100 000 workers on 21 mines struck against poor wages and living conditions, shaking the very foundation of South Africa's economic system.

So workers were met by a barrage of legislation from the

newly elected Nationalist government in the early fifties. Completely separate industrial conciliation machinery for blacks was set up to divide the trade union movement on racial grounds. The Suppression of Communism Act intended to force the trade union movement into a moderate role.

In response to this challenge, Sactu was formed.

### Sactu is founded

The Foundation Conference held at the Trades Hall in Johannesburg on March 5 and 6 attracted 66 delegates from 33 unions representing 41 253 workers of all races.

Principles adopted at the conference included:

- The future of South Africa is in the hands of the workers and only they together with the progressive minded community, can build a happy life for ALL.
- Workers can only succeed if they are united and strong.
- A co-ordinating body of trade unions shall strive to unite all workers in its ranks under the slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all".
- Organising the mass of workers for higher wages, better conditions of labour and life is inextricably bound up with the struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices.

Thus Sactu immediately joined the Congress Alliance with the ANC, Congress of Democrats, South African Indian Congress

and Coloured Peoples Congress.

### Freedom Charter campaign

One of Sactu's first activities was to participate in the campaign to draw up the Freedom Charter. Through its affiliated unions, Sactu asked the workers of South Africa: "If you could make the laws ... what would you do?"

Sactu participated in other campaigns of the Congress Alliance during the 1950's. It played a leading role in the "One Pound a Day" campaign.

Workers conferences, deputations, memoranda and demonstrations highlighted the poverty of African workers and called for the introduction of a national minimum wage. The peak of the campaign was a mass stay away on 1 May 1957.

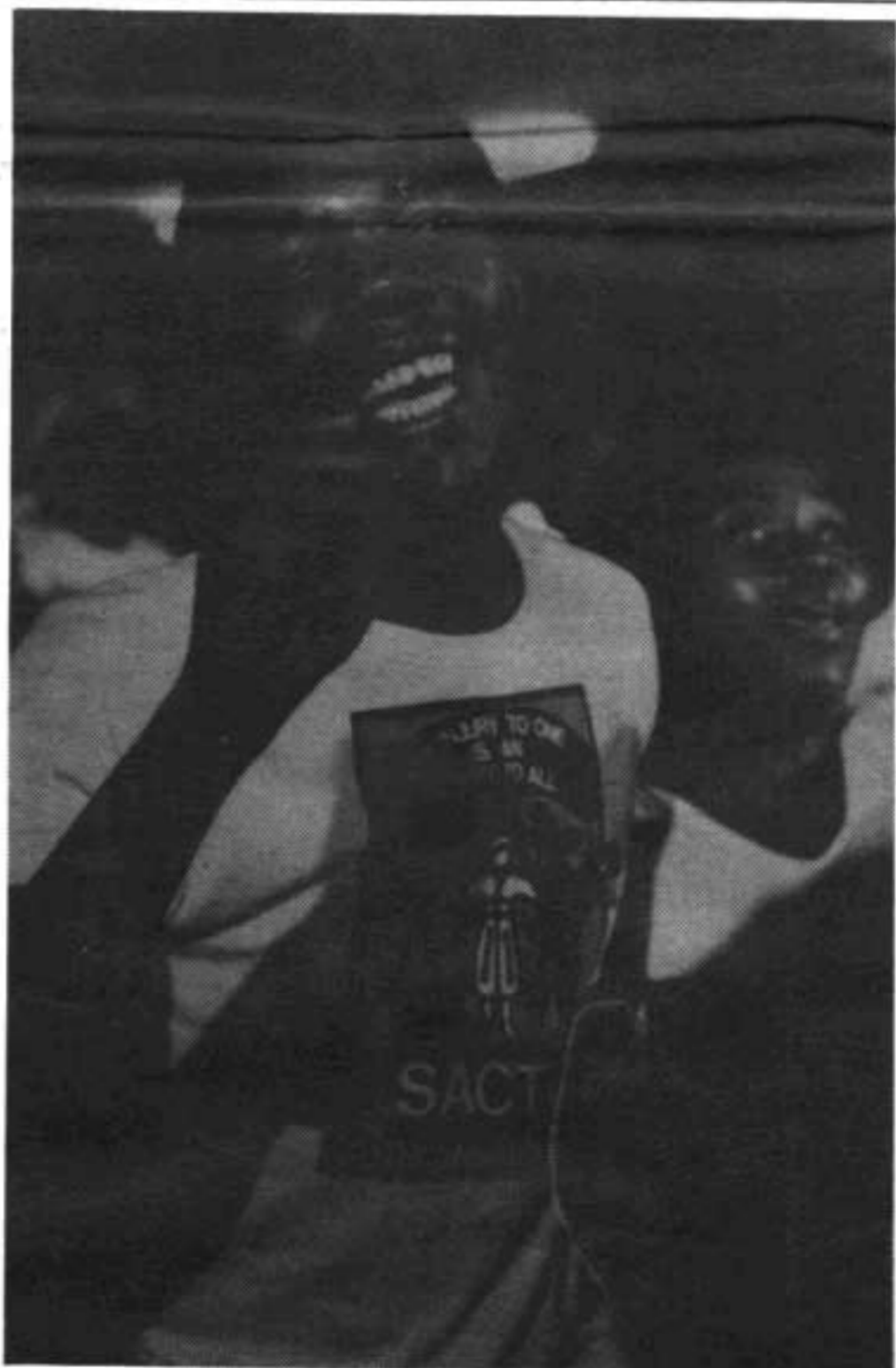
Other demands of the stay away included:

- No increase in taxation.
- Away with Group Areas.
- No to bantu education.
- No to passes for women.

Two years later Sactu hosted massive worker conferences throughout the country as part of the Congress Alliance Anti-Pass year.

### Building the unions

As a co-ordinating body, Sactu's main function was to help build strong unions. Under the banner, "Organise the unorganised", committees were set up to promote unions in the



Hundreds bought Sactu anniversary T-shirts at Tembisa

transport, mining, agricultural and metal industries where no unions existed.

Unemployed workers' unions and general workers' unions were established as part of the process of building industrially based unions.

### Under attack

Sactu was always a victim of police action. Conditions worsened dramatically with the shootings at Sharpeville and Langa, and the state of emergency in

1960 when the ANC and PAC were banned.

Although Sactu was never banned, from 1962 to 1964, the Government launched an offensive clearly intent on destroying it.

The last Sactu conference to be held in South Africa was in 1964 - in the midst of repression.

Moses Mabhida and others were mandated to leave the country and set up an office in exile and a chapter in Sactu's history came to an end.

# Participation, Development and Peace

## Lenasia Youth League

We must take the opportunity of IYY to challenge our problems with a spirit of participation, dedication and discipline. We must work actively to break the divisions which have been thrust upon us and build a united youth. We call on the young people of Lenasia to join us in the struggle for a better and brighter future.

## Young Christian Students

Taking into account the struggles waged by the youth last year, YCS sees the IYY as an opportunity to consolidate the gains that were made. Now is the time for the voiceless to be heard and to make their hardships and sufferings known. By taking up the IYY through consistent action and reflection we hope to respond to the needs of young people.

## Congress of SA students

1985 is the year when the youth of the world will look for ways of improving their living conditions and those of their people. A year in which the youth will be discussing problems they experience. Poor education, unemployment, no political rights, conscription and lack of recreational facilities.

## Soweto Youth Congress

Black youth are denied participation in decision making, stunted through Bantu Education, lack facilities, and repeatedly suffer batons, teargas, and bullets. We are duty bound to organise and mobilise the youth of Soweto around Participation, Development and Peace.

## Mamelodi Youth Organisation

We urge all youth to participate in progressive campaigns. The aim is to organise, mobilise and educate. To understand our role in the community, to strengthen our unity, and to take our rightful place in the struggle.

# South African youth take up the challenge

The United Nations declaration of 1985 as International Year of the Youth (IYY) has sparked off a great deal of activity amongst the many new and growing youth organisations around the country.

Youth organisations hope to celebrate IYY by drawing record numbers of young people into their ranks and into the struggle for a better future.

And they have come together at regional and national levels to co-ordinate activities and share experiences. Youth organisations also hope to establish links with other youth organisations throughout



Dan Montstitsi the world.

As a result of co-ordination a national youth week is being planned to coincide with the commemoration of June 16th and a national youth festival is on the cards for the end of the year.

Meanwhile many youth groups are planning local activities to celebrate IYY and bring the themes of IYY to as many young people as possible.

In Soweto, Soyco had an IYY launch recently with a combination of speeches and cultural events. The Lenasia Youth League will be celebrating IYY with a Youth Sports Day open to all youth.

The themes of IYY are "Participation, Development and Peace" and Dan Montstitsi, National Co-ordinator of IYY explains in an interview it could not have been more appropriate for South African youth.

**How did the idea of an international year for the youth come about?**

The idea originated in 1979 when the United Nations General Assembly received recommendations to discuss the problems of youth. Youth were not playing a role in the decision making of their respective countries. So they decided that 1985 should be declared the year of the youth.

**Why were the themes — "Participation, Development and Peace" chosen?**

Let me explain briefly what the United Nations meant. With "participation" they explain that youth generally do not participate in the decision making of their countries and governments don't deem it necessary to consult young people on decisions which affect their lives.

The United Nations felt that young people need to be part and parcel of decision making since many decisions will affect the type of lives they would lead in the future.

By "development" the UN said different countries are not doing much to improve or develop the youth. They mention in particular the high rate of unemployment amongst young people.

By peace, well, they say that with the building of a neutron and atomic bombs this is not a sign of peace but actually a sign of war, and until such time that

the destruction of human life and poverty is done away with, there will be no peace.

**What is the relevance of these themes to South African youth?** When the youth in South Africa look at the themes of participation, development and peace, in fact, they are quite relevant.

Let us look at participation in the South African context. The majority of young people are oppressed — they are deprived of an education system, they are deprived of playing a role in the economy of the country and they are also deprived of participating in political decision making.

When we come to "development" we find that as much as our country is quite wealthy and developed we do not have the right to an education system that would advance us, make use of our creative talents or even expose our talents to the fullest.

We find that in South Africa development is actually stifled according to the needs of industry.

There is a great disparity in the education system when it comes to facilities, equipment, the quality of teachers and so on. You find that the white child has much more of an advantage of learning and actually getting developed than the African child.

Most young people in the oppressed section regard things

like ordinary dancing and those type of events as privileges, not to mention swimming pools, tennis courts and so on.

In the African sections these facilities are usually non-existent. And if you do find some of these facilities, you'd find that there are thousands and thousands of people using the same facilities. As a result it is difficult for the talents which some young people may have, to develop.

**The government is also celebrating IYY.**

That is quite true. The government has actually set up a national co-ordinating committee to co-ordinate all national activities of IYY. This committee was appointed by the government and the people on it, were elected by the government and not by the youth.

This is in direct contradiction to the United Nations initiative in that young people should make decisions themselves about the type of activities, resources and structures they want. By imposing a national co-ordinating structure on youth, it is quite clear that the government has started off on the wrong footing.

We have also discovered in Soweto that a central committee has been formed by representatives of youth groups as well as community councillors and members of the West Rand



Soyco's IYY launch



Many interesting activities to look forward to during the IYY campaign



A meeting of youth organisation representatives

Board. It is supposed to plan a programme for youth and even decide what future facilities youth would like to have.

However this committee is not consistent with our interests in that it also has people from the council and board who are not youth as members.

**Would you say that the government's IYY campaign is not addressing itself to the real issues affecting youth in this country?**

From our perspective, there can be no development until the doors of learning and culture are open to all young people irrespective of colour. So until the government allows all young people to mix freely from kingergarten, play together, study together, live together, work together and so on, we cannot say that it is addressing itself seriously to this aspect of development.

**What about the theme of peace and its relevance to in South Africa?**

When we look at South Africa it

becomes obviously clear that we won't be having a situation of peace for many years.

If the South African government is serious about bringing about a peaceful situation then all people in prison especially the leadership of the people like Mandela, Sisulu and others must be released.

Those in exile must return, banned organisations must be unbanned, apartheid laws must be suspended and the problems of this country must be discussed with the real leaders of the people.

Another important aspect is that the government must withdraw its troops in neighbouring countries which would also end the conscription of young people.

If the majority of people are not included in political decision making of the country, then problems in the schools, communities and factories will still be there.

# Mandela Speaks

This is Nelson Mandela reply to PW Botha release offer. His daughter Zinzi read the message to 10 000 people at Soweto Jabulani Amphitheatre on February 10.



Winnie and Zinzi Mandela



My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you, the freedom-loving people of this our tragic land in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

He, with his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who, without hesitation, made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

My father and his

comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison, but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They

have made this claim both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

My father says, I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly fifty years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom Oliver Tambo cherishes it more and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

My father says I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored.

When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This too was in vain.

It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different

to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the peoples' organisation, the African National Congress.

Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to their

widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered through these long lonely wasted years. I am not less life loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the African National Congress which was banned.

What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with

my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected? Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so. My father says I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return.

## "I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom"

