

SPEAK

THE VOICE OF THE COMMUNITY



**SPEAK demands
the unconditional
release of all
detainees!**

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Speak Community Newspaper 20c

Soweto school crisis parents resolve to act

HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS of students are not writing exams. Exam centres are virtually deserted except for members of the SADF on guard.

Students feel they cannot write exams at gun point.

They complain that the army and police presence at schools has disrupted their studies. Time and again they have had to flee from army or police invasions of their schools.

Every weekend there is another funeral of a child killed in the streets by army or police patrols.

Students also do not want to write exams while many of their fellow students are in detention.

Most of the student demands for a better education have also not been met.

Students are saying that they will not write exams until:

■ The police and army leave their schools.

■ The army leaves the townships.

■ Detained students are released.

■ Their demands for democratic SRC's be met.

■ The emergency is ended.

In Soweto, the newly formed Soweto Parent's Crisis Committee (SPCC) has said: "We will make our own arrangements, when the students will write exams."

School principals and teachers in Soweto are fully behind the student's decision not to write.

"We do not know what to examine the students on," they say. "The army and police have disrupted classes making it impossible for us to teach."

The banning of Cosas and the detention of numerous student leaders led to confusion among students and parents.

In addition school children were being killed daily in the township streets and parents were becoming increasingly concerned about the safety of their children.

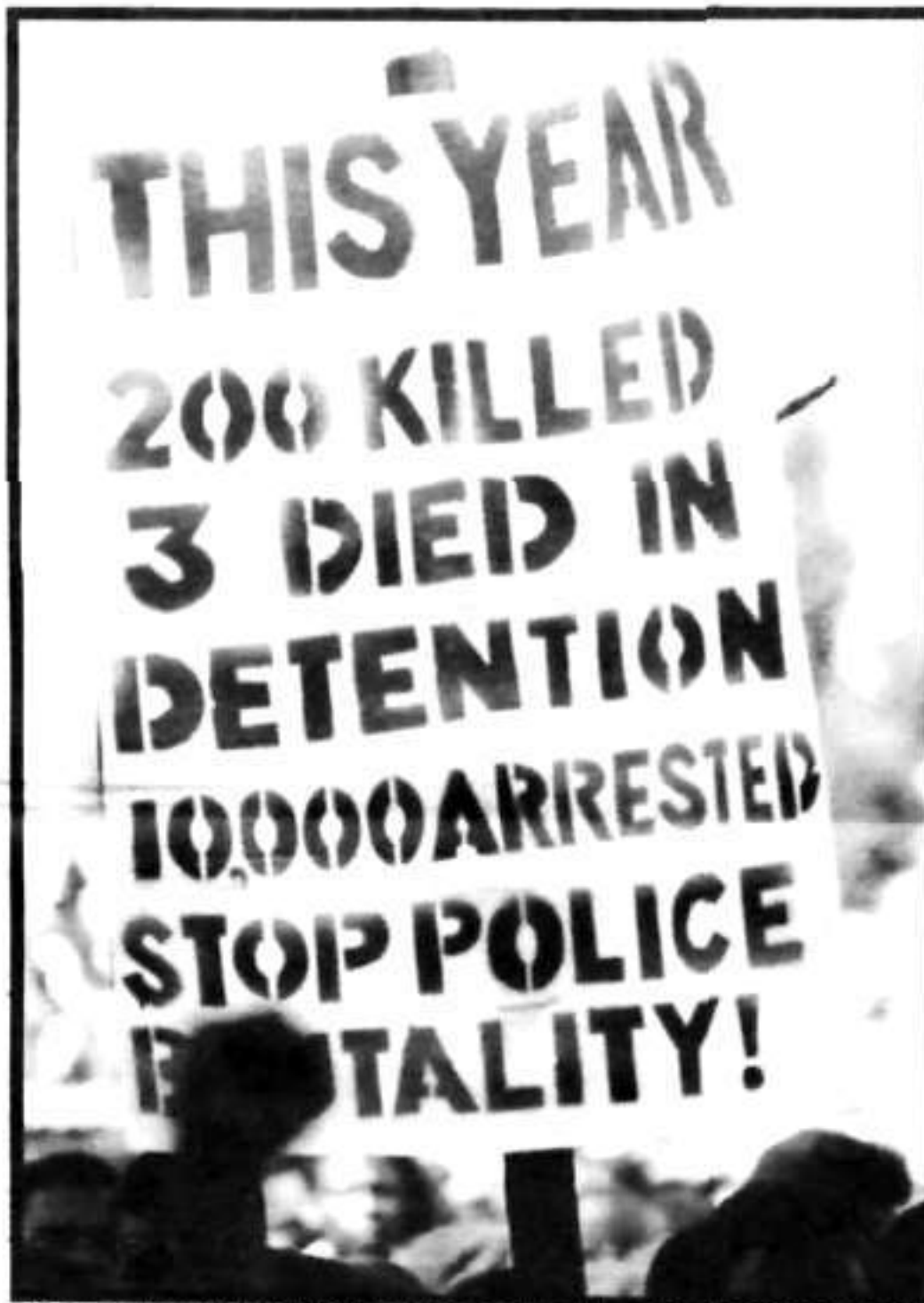
In response, the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) decided to call a meeting of students, parents and teachers to seek ways of resolving the crisis.

Despite the fact that their first meeting was banned and the organisers Vusi Khanyile and Isaac Mogase, two SCA executive members, were detained for a few days, the SCA continued their efforts.

A second meeting went ahead after permission to hold the meeting was sought from the Commissioner of Police.

The meeting decided that the writing of secondary and high school examinations was inappropriate and that they should be deferred. However everyone in the community should assist creches, pre-schools and primary schools to continue.

It was at that meeting that the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee was set up con-



Placard at Andries Radtsele's funeral in May. Five months later the numbers have doubled.

sisting of teachers, principals, parents, church ministers and student leaders.

They were mandated to liaise with the ministers of education, defence and law and order to try and resolve the crisis.

The SPCC only managed to meet with the Minister of Education and Training who discussed the postponement of exams and the establishment of democratic SRC's.

At the meeting the Minister agreed to

defer internal exams to January 1986 and to decide together over the dates for external exams. However a few days later the Minister withdrew his promise. He stated that "other groups" who wanted to write exams had also met with him.

"Who are these other groups?" asks SPCC committee member, Rev. Tsele. "The Minister did not even have the courtesy to inform us who they were."

"When our reason-

able and practical suggestions are rejected, we feel that there are elements in authority who enjoy seeing our children's education disrupted or our children shot dead in the streets," he said.

It is unlikely that the SPCC will attempt to meet the government officials again. "The government has shown us they are intransigent — we see no purpose in another meeting," said Rev Tsele.

Feizel
Mamdoo
SPEAK
organiser
detained



We demand the immediate release of our organiser.

SPEAK's organiser, Feizel Mamdoo, has been in detention since the first day of the State of Emergency.

He was taken off one of the buses returning from the Cradock funeral. Since then he has been held at "Sun City" Diepkloof Prison.

SPEAK demands the immediate unconditional release of all other detainees and political prisoners.

We win appeal against banning of last edition

SPEAK has won its appeal against the banning of its March edition (Volume 3, Number 1).

The Publication Control Board, when asked to provide reasons for the banning, accused SPEAK of giving too much prominence to the Freedom Charter and of the hero worship of Nelson Mandela.

The Board said, "In this publication, the Freedom Charter is linked to the ANC and Mandela is presented as the true leader of South Africa. It is written in popular language and .. readers .. would take courage from the message to organise against the oppressors."

SPEAK's lawyer Krish Naidoo, says, "Publications Committees are obsessed with the Freedom Charter even though the Board has said that the Charter is not undesirable. The Charter is legally and freely available throughout South Africa. Also scientific surveys conducted by independent organisations recognise Mandela as one of the leading figures in the country."

Naidoo says, "There are articles which are anti-government but it is still legal to criticise the government."

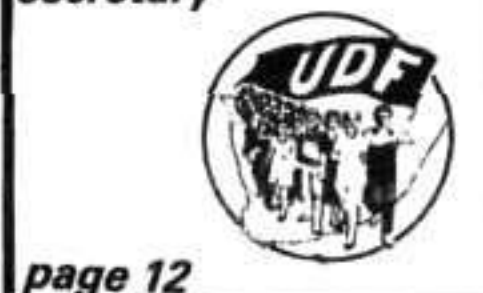
A member of the SPEAK working committee says "This is the second time SPEAK has been banned and the second time that SPEAK has won its appeal against the banning. But the bannings do not achieve anything. We will make sure that the voice of the community is not silenced."

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End repression of children says conference

"Our children are our future" was the theme of a conference on Children under Repression.

Concerned social workers, doctors, lawyers and parents met to discuss the pos-

ition of children under the State of Emergency.

"Children's rights are being infringed," said a social worker. "In Soweto, 800 children were arrested and released a few

days later. In KwaThema children were whipped by police and forced to go to school. Daily there are reports of detentions and violence against children in our communities."

The National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa), the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), the Detainees Counseling Service, the

National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) and the Organisation for Alternate Social Services (OASSA) participated in the conference.

Union exposes Edgars' "equality"



Edgars workers picket in central Johannesburg demanding their jobs back.

Edgars' "equal opportunity" policy was exposed after a canteen worker was unfairly dismissed, says the Federation of Catering, Retail and Allied Workers Union (Fedraw).

Fedraw says management did not give the worker equal opportunity to argue her case and demanded that she be reinstated.

400 workers at various Edgars branches throughout the country were dismissed for staging a sit in protesting the dismissal.

However after a week of protest action, they were reinstated.

South African women are not alone in their struggle

Fedraw, the Federation of Transvaal Women sent delegates to the Women's Conference in Nairobi.

More than 14 000 women from all over the world attended the conference which marked the end of the Women's Decade.

Sister Bernard Ncube, President of Fedraw said, "It was an inspiring experience. Imagine hearing a woman from Greece telling you that she was your sister in the struggle against apartheid."

"There were arguments that women should not involve themselves with politics. But we got support from all over the world when we said politics is our issue too. We are alive. We want justice. We want freedom from racial and economic oppression."

"We learnt from South American women and the



women from North Africa that we share common problems that we are fighting battles at different levels but to one end to live freely, justly and with dignity."

"For us, the women

who went from organisations affiliated to the UDF, the conference marked not the end of a decade for women, but the beginning of a period when women will take their places

in the fight for justice, peace and dignity. We will carry on the work of other women in our history who have struggled against racial and economic oppression."

"We also know, now,

that we have support. We are not alone," said Sister Bernard.

The conference adopted a resolution condemning Apartheid and the economic oppression of women.

P W won't scrap Group Areas Act

The government has said it will not scrap the Group Areas Act.

George du Plessis, Secretary of the Reiger Park Tenants and Ratepayers Association says, "Once more we have to listen to PW Botha's double talk. On the one hand he says all South Africans are entitled to full citizenship, on the other hand he says the Group Areas Act must remain. Full citizenship means the same full property and political rights."

"The government," he says, "cannot be trusted. We hear promises upon promises, but they are

determined to sidestep the real problems and make no concessions."

"The Group Areas Act is one of the worst manifestations of racism in our country. It is to blame for the housing shortage. Thousands of houses, flats and rooms are standing empty in white areas. While in our townships young married couples are forced to live in tin shanties in the backyards of friends and relatives."

"Shelter is a human right. One way to alleviate the housing shortage is to remove the Group Areas Act."

Doctors must follow example of Wendy Orr

Dr. Wendy Orr must be the security police's most hated woman. Yet she has become a hero in the eyes of many thousands of people. Support for her courageous stand has poured in from all over the country.

Dr. Orr gave evidence in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court that most of the detainees she examined had been assaulted by the police. The court then ordered the police to stop assaulting detainees held in terms of the Emergency regulations.

In a statement sup-

porting her stand, the Health Workers Association (HWA) said Dr. Orr had highlighted the role that doctors and other health workers play in the treatment of detainees. Her evidence showed that detainees have little or no legal protection.

The HWA pointed out that health workers have been ordered by the authorities to tell the police about patients with buckshot and bullet wounds. They condemned this and called on all their members not allow themselves to be intimidated by the government.

Even bread is a luxury

The price of bread has gone up again. Brown bread has risen by 7% and white bread 11%.

Unemployment, recession and inflation mean that poor people are finding it more and more difficult to survive. Poor people are the most seriously affected by this latest increase. Bread is a staple food, and up until now the only food that most people could afford. Now, even bread will become a luxury.

Why the increase at a time like this?

Because the government says it can no longer afford to subsidise the price of bread. The government says that it needs the money to repay its debts to foreign governments.

But the government also needs this money to pay for the arms and ammunition it uses in the townships, to pay for the salaries of the puppets in the tricameral parliaments and to pay for the expensive policy of apartheid.



Mineworkers gathered at the Welkom congress to decide whether to strike or not

Lenasia students say: "Boycotts not caused by political ghosts"

"We aimed to show our community...that we are united with the African people in their fight against Apartheid"

Students at Lenasia's high schools boycotted classes for a week, at the end of August. Here student leaders explain why they boycotted and what were their strengths and weaknesses.

"Our boycott was a solidarity boycott. We aimed to show our community and the people of South Africa that we are united with the African people in their fight against apartheid."

"Daily the repressive force of the government, police and army is used against our people. We Lenasia students and youth cannot sit back and do nothing. Neither can we pretend that the conflict in the townships does not affect us."

"We could not let events, like the conflict in Inanda, break the unity of the black communities. The government always uses divide and rule tactics against us. This time it will not work. We are determined to stand with other communities until a non-racial and democratic South Africa is established."

"We call on our parents, principals, teachers and the authorities to take note. The school boycotts were not instigated by teachers, hidden political agitators or other 'political ghosts'. We took it upon ourselves and are aware of our actions and consequences. We will not be bullied and intimidated by their threats

and authoritarian conduct."

The boycott was not as dramatic or successful as in previous years. The wide powers of the police under the State of Emergency instilled fear in the minds of parents and pupils. Pupils were scared particularly by the detentions of leading members of the local Transvaal Indian Congress and the Lenasia Youth League.

Also, teachers threatened pupils that police would close down schools and arrest the pupils. When these rumours reached parents, they pressurised their children to stay at home and remain inactive.

But the boycott was successful in that:

- It made other communities aware that the students of Lenasia are united with them in their struggle.

- Political discussion was stimulated and a greater number of people were made aware of the problems in our country.

- The boycott helped to make Lenasia people aware of the consumer boycott of white businesses.

Lenasia students also had their own grievances. These included:

- The election of democratic SRC's.

- The abolition of school uniforms.

- The abolition of the prefect system.

In support of these demands and in solidarity with the struggles of other people, they plan not to hold their annual matric dances.

Mineworkers battle for higher wages



Cyril Ramaphosa, NUM general secretary, fighting the mine bosses all the way

The National Union of Mineworkers is fighting for higher wages and better living conditions on the mines.

Since the beginning of the year NUM, South Africa's biggest union has been involved in a bitter struggle to improve the working conditions of miners who are amongst the lowest paid workers in the country. Some mineworkers earn as little as R162 each month.

The mineworkers demand

- A living wage a 22% increase for all workers

- May day as a workers holiday
- Scrapping of Job Reservation
- 28 days annual leave.

By June none of the mine bosses had accepted the demands of the workers. The workers decided to strike. In late August, at the last moment, Anglo American, JCI and Rand Mines backed down. They made offers which the miners accepted. Gencor, Goldfields and Anglovaal refused to offer any wage increases.

On the 1st September, 28 000 workers at Goldfields, Anglovaal and Gen-

cor went on strike. The mine bosses did everything possible to break the strike. Workers were dismissed and evicted from their hostels. They were shot, sjambokked and attacked by dogs. Some workers were arrested and jailed.

NUM decided to suspend the strike to protect the workers.

The miners struggle has not ended. The battle continues in court and on the mines. NUM is fighting for the dismissed workers to get their jobs back. The mineworkers demands remain unchanged.

Student, political and community organisations rally behind miners

Trade unions, community, political, youth, health and student organisations rallied around the Mineworkers Strike.

These organisations formed the Mineworker Strike Support Committee when the September strike was announced. Independent groups and affiliates from the UDF and National

Forum were represented.

The Strike Support Committee has been involved in:

- raising money
- distributing pamphlets, buttons and teeshirts
- providing medical help for mineworkers injured during the strike
- providing legal help
- collecting food, and

- helping with temporary housing for mineworkers evicted from the hostels.

The Rock for the Miners concert was the biggest fundraising event. On Saturday 28th October hundreds of people came to the community hall in Lenasia to hear jazz, rock, reggae and funk bands. All the bands played for free.



Rocking for the miners at the concert

Plays bring the story of schools boycott home

Pupils at Westbury, Coronationville, CJ Botha and St. Barnabas boycotted classes last month and used the time to teach themselves. The students organised

"Awareness Programmes" and staged a number of short plays with messages:

- One play compared the lives of rich and poor families. The rich children are spoilt

and wear fancy clothes. The children in the poorer families were more responsible. They helped with the housework.

- Another showed parents telling chil-

dren not to get involved in politics.

"Ons is alright, dis nie ons probleem nie." In the next scene boycotting pupils encourage frightened parents to join the protests.

"We needed to show our support for students around the country and bring attention to the housing struggle in our own community," a student said.

Another student activist explained that local issues and broader political demands are linked. "When students take up local issues, they begin to understand

the wider struggle. We must support the struggles of working people and fight the injustices inflicted on them. It is happening right on our doorstep," she said.

As the Emergency wears on, more and more...

Detainees talk of torture

Since PW Botha declared a State of Emergency on July 20, 4 254 people have been detained under the Emergency regulations.

1 170 people are still being held. Some people have been in detention for more than three months. No one knows when they will be released.

Released detainees are speaking about their experiences inside. They are talking about crowded conditions, bad food and insufficient exercise.

And worst of all they are talking about torture.

There are widespread allegations of torture and mistreatment of detainees. So much so that relatives of detainees, lawyers and detainee support committee members have gone to court in Natal and Port Elizabeth to restrain the police from torturing detainees.

Even if the police do not use physical force against detainees, the threat of torture is enough to frighten people. It is mental torture.

Other people are arrested for overnight, beaten and threatened and then released.

Here SPEAK looks at some of the stories that have been exposed in the Transvaal. Many more incidents occur which are not allowed to be published and many people are too scared to talk because they fear further harassment from the police.

Mamelodi

After clashes between Mamelodi residents and hostel-dwellers in the second week of August, residents said the police/army had "taken over" the township and were committing "daily atrocities". (Star August 21). The Star report contains the following nightmare allegations:

● The mother of a 19-year old secondary school pupil, Abraham, said her son had been in a healthy state when he was collected by police, who had broken down the door at midnight. When Abraham was brought home by residents the next morning, she said, he was bleeding from the ears, vomiting blood, and his face and head were swollen. He could not speak properly and did not recognise his family.

The reporter, who visited him three days after his admission to hospital, said he kept murmur-

ing: "The Boers have killed Sakkie". Sakkie was said to be in a critical condition in hospital.

● A 26 year old man said he had been collected on August 12 by policemen looking for his brother. He said he and others (including Sakkie and Abraham) had been sjambokked, punched and kicked at the police station before being driven to the outskirts of the township. There, he said, they were told to run into the veld and policemen shot at them. He was hit by rubber bullets on the thighs.

● A 57-year old man said he had been assaulted by police after his 14-year old son, Petrus had been shot while hiding in the bedroom and his 11-year old grandson shot in the hand while trying to enter a neighbour's yard. The man said he had been repairing his car, but had run into the house for shelter after

seeing armed police and hearing a gunshot. He, his wife and his children had all hidden. "The policeman came into the house and kicked open the door of the bedroom in which Petrus was hiding. I heard someone say: "Hier is hy skiet hom". A shot went off with my son screaming for help. The man said he and his son had been taken to waiting Casspirs, sjambokked and thrown to the ground before the police left.

● A 29-year old man suffered head, back and facial injuries after allegedly being dragged out of a relative's home and sjambokked by police. Numerous other people said they had been assaulted in their homes and shebeens.

It was later announced that a senior police officer had been sent to take statements from witnesses.



Alexandra

A 15 year old Alexandra schoolboy was admitted to the psychiatric ward of the Johannesburg hospital within days of being released from detention.

He was a normal active pupil before his detention, said family members. In the hospital he was withdrawn and could not communicate.

Friends who visited him described him as agitated, tearful and confused. (Star August 14)



Johannesburg

Ndokie Masenya, who was held in Johannesburg for 20 days under emergency regulations said that during hours of interrogation she was frequently slapped in the face, beaten over the head with a telephone book, partially suffocated with a cloth sack pulled over her head and given two electric shock treatments.

Joseph Twale said he was also held for 14 days in Johannesburg. He said he was punched five times in the stomach and threatened with being thrown out of the window.

When asked to comment on these allegations, security police spokesperson in Pretoria Major Steve van Rooyen said he would not deny the charges. It could quite easily be true. "Some of our police have been convicted of this kind of thing in the past. I definitely wouldn't give you a flat denial ... if these people have a complaint they can file it at their local police station through a sworn affidavit or through a lawyer if they prefer. (Boston Globe August 8)

Mpatho Township, Pilgrim's Rest

Sonnyboy Moekoena was allegedly found hanged at Pilgrims Rest Police station within 48 hours of being taken into custody.

Moekoena, who lived in Soweto, had gone to visit his 84 year old grandmother in Mphato township. According to the man's grandmother one black

and two white policemen and a local shopkeeper came to her home on Wednesday 14 August. They said that they had received information that he had a gun and they demanded that he produce it. Instead of searching the house they started assaulting him.

Mr Moekoena was then

allegedly taken to the shop of the businessmen who was with the police. When Moekoena was later brought back home to collect his clothing he was unable to speak. He was taken away by the police. This was the last time he was seen alive by his family.

The family was not notified

about his death until a Mphato resident saw Sonnyboy's body at the Sabie Hospital Mortuary and informed the family.

When the family "enquired" at the Pilgrim's Rest Police Station they were told Sonnyboy had hanged himself on Friday 16 August.

(Star August 22)



Each one taught one

Many people supported Cosas and have condemned the banning of the organisation. Protest meetings and marches have been held all over the country.

Student organisations, trade unions and overseas governments have expressed their opposition to this latest move by the government to crush democratic opposition.

Organisations and individuals including Azapo, Azaso, Inkatha, Erapo, DPSC, Wits Academics, PFP, Azasm, Nusas, UWD, Azanyo, Chris Dlamini of Fosatu, Cusa and the United States administration have made statements condemning the banning.

The UDF has also condemned the banning. Cosas, which was the largest student organisation in the country, was an affiliate of the UDF.

A spokesperson for the Lenasia Youth League says: "The government is threatened by the mass support which Cosas as a peaceful, legitimate and democratic organisation commanded."

"The only solution to the education crisis is to fundamentally

Demands of Cosas

At a meeting held to protest against the banning of Cosas, David Webster of the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) said

Before Cosas was banned, the organisation demanded:

- Free and equal education for all.
- Recognition of democratic SRCs.
- An end to sexual harassment.
- An end to the use of corporal punishment.
- The release of detained students.
- The withdrawal of the police and army from the townships.
- The lifting of the State of Emergency.

alter the system of education to meet the needs of all South Africans and to dismantle apartheid."



Cosas no stranger to repression

The banning of Cosas has come as no surprise to its members. Ever since Cosas was established the government has tried to destroy the organisation.

- Cosas members have had to cope with constant harassment.
- Leaders have been detained, forced into exile and killed.

Bongani Khumalo, secretary of

Cosas's Soweto branch was shot and killed by the police. Others such as Sipiwe Mtimkulu have disappeared.

- Students have been beaten, sjambokked and teargassed.
- Cosas meetings have been banned.
- Even families of Cosas members have been harassed.

Jabu Khumalo, former

administrative secretary of Cosas said in an interview with the Weekly Mail, "This banning was only the official announcement."

More than 500 Cosas members have been detained so far in the State of Emergency, and the government has said that it will not rest until every member has been locked up.

Cosas: Six years of organising students all over the country

After six years of organising students all over South Africa, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has been banned. SPEAK looks at the history of the Cosas, why it was so effective, and why the government has tried to crush the organisation.

Cosas was formed in 1979 after the South African Students' Organisation and South African Students' Movement had been banned. So Cosas took up the struggle against Bantu Education and became part of the continuing resistance against unequal and inferior education.

Cosas made demands and won victories for students at schools. They demanded democratic SRC's, the scrapping of the age limit laws, and the end of sexual harassment.

But one of Cosas' great achievements was exposing Bantu education. Cosas saw that Bantu education was designed to stop students questioning what they were told. In this way the government hoped to train workers who would do what the bosses said.

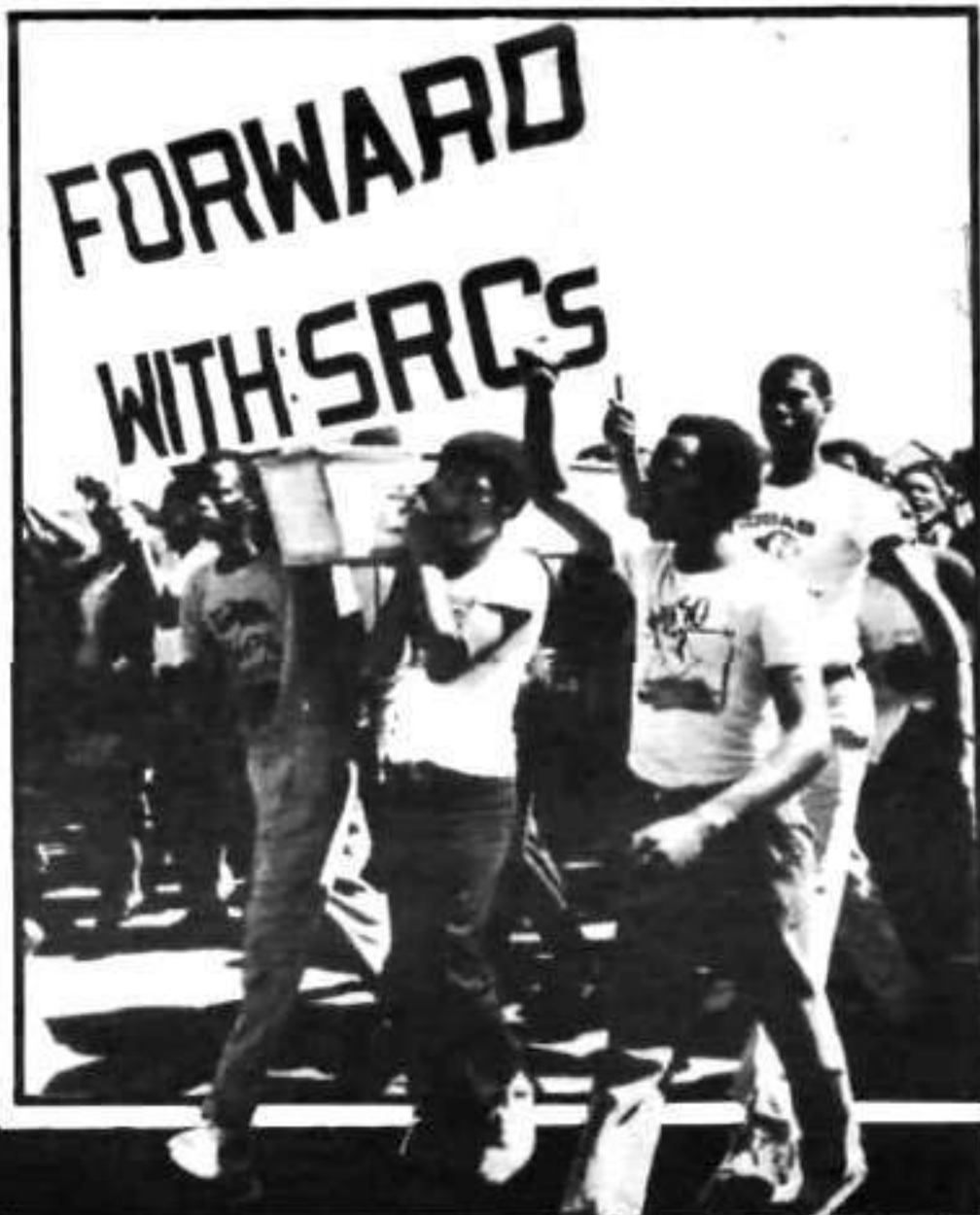
The Cosas message "Each one, teach one" meant that students would take education into their own hands, and make up their own minds. "Every member was responsible for organising and

educating another student," said Jabu Khumalo, former executive member of Cosas. "We wanted everyone to be educated with no-one left behind."

Cosas also aimed to involve parents in understanding their children's struggles at school. At the same time Cosas encour-

aged students to take up issues affecting their parents, and to participate in the community. Cosas worked with other organisations.

The government said they were banning Cosas because Cosas was to blame for the violence in the country. But the violence has not stopped.



ADVICE

Law tries to ban student organisations

When the government banned Cosas, it did more than merely ban an organisation. The law is so broad that it can be used to crush any student organisation and prevent any student from fighting for a just and democratic education.

Here SPEAK looks at the implications of the ban on Cosas.

● If an organisation is banned nobody can join, continue to be a member, or be an office bearer of it.

This means that present Cosas members and officials cannot claim to belong to Cosas or do anything in the name of Cosas. Nobody can become a member of Cosas in the future.

● Nobody can carry or have in his possession or display anything which indicates either that he is an official or member of Cosas or was in any way associated with Cosas.

In other words, all T-shirts, posters, pamphlets and badges associated with Cosas are illegal.

● Nobody can pay subs, nor collect subscriptions or any other money to be used directly or indirectly for Cosas. Cosas buttons and T-shirts are not allowed to be sold.

● Nobody can organise or be part of any activity in the direct or indirect interest of Cosas.

Any meeting, workshop or gathering organised under the banner of Cosas or promoting the aims of Cosas is illegal. The "indirect interest" means that any gathering organised by another organisation but prom-

oting the aims of Cosas is also illegal.

This could make any activity of students illegal because many of the aims of Cosas are the aims of any student such as to strive for better education. Yet in the past, police have not been able to win these cases in court. They may try again in an attempt to crush student organisation.

● Nobody can advocate or defend the objectives or similar objectives of Cosas. Nor can they act to further these objectives.

This means in fact that no-one is able to say anything about the objectives of Cosas. Therefore again if, for example, somebody defends democratic SRC's they could be charged for illegally promoting an objective of Cosas. The police will not be able to charge everybody, but will select people they want to put out of action for a couple of years.

Defying the banning order of Cosas can result in a prison sentence of a maximum of ten years.

No negotiations over the heads of the people People demand: one person one vote in a united South Africa

The government is paralysed. It has lost control of the majority of the people. It is unable to act decisively in the present crisis and it is losing the confidence of many of its closest allies.

So everybody from big business to the PFP, Inkatha and even academics are proposing alternative solutions. The most prominent is the Convention Alliance. In this article SPEAK looks at the Convention Alliance and explains why it will not solve our country's problems.

What is the Convention Alliance?

The Convention Alliance was proposed by the national head of the PFP, Van Zyl Slabbert to draw together all organisations

and individuals in favour of negotiating a settlement through a national convention. It explicitly excludes those who see violence as a means of bringing about change.

His call was immediately condemned by the UDF who said there can be no national convention decided over the heads of the people.

Despite attempts by the Convention Alliance to lure people like Bishop Tutu, Alan Boesak and the UDF, only Inkatha and a few prominent businessmen have responded favourably to the Convention Alliance. After an initial meeting held at the Sandton Sun, vague plans were left for a steering committee to work on.

Why is the Convention Alliance being rejected?

The UDF and some of its affiliates like the Soweto Civic Association, the TIC and Jodac have condemned the Convention Alliance. They question the motives of the Alliance as well as the credibility of the participants.

Here are some of their reasons:

What is the Convention Alliance trying to achieve?

The stated aim of the Convention Alliance is the calling of a national convention to negotiate a constitution. Yet a number of questions remain unanswered. Under what circumstances is this possible?

Who will convene it? What kind of force will its resolutions have?

What would be discussed at a national convention?

The Convention Alliance has not spelled out clearly what they mean by a national convention. Would it be a confidential man-

aged discussion? Or an undemocratically convened think-tank of leaders discussing the future of South Africa over the heads of the people?

Under what circumstances is it possible?

During the 1950s the ANC believed that there was enough goodwill for a national convention to be held where all groups could come together to discuss how to end apartheid and create a framework for a democratic South Africa.

But since the government has continued to implement apartheid and violently repress people's opposition, organisations have lost faith in the idea of a national convention.

As a Western Cape UDF statement said: "We cannot talk in the shadows of hippos and camels."

"You cannot have a national convention between oppressed and oppressor. A national convention can only be held when we have a situation of democracy, free political activity and equality," said a senior ANC source quoted in The Star.

Presently it is inappropriate for the Convention Alliance to call for a national convention when people's leaders are being har-

assed, organisations banned and when the SADF occupies the townships.

Negotiations under these conditions cannot be meaningful. Instead all South Africans committed to peace should be working to create conditions where negotiations could have meaning.

The Convention Alliance should rather campaign for an end to all repression, the unbanning of all banned organisations, the release of all detainees and political prisoners. Only under these conditions can all the people of South Africa decide their own future.



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re people must decide either or not they want a national convention and they are able to choose who will represent them at such a hearing.

How different would it be from the government's idea of a lack Forum?

A national convention behind closed doors which has no way to implement decisions would be a useless exercise.

The Convention Alliance want the agenda of a national convention to be "open" where all differences can be thrashed out. Yet not everything can be negotiated. The people have suffered for long enough under Apartheid. Universally recognised rights such as one person one vote, freedom of movement and association are not negotiable. Neither is the complete dismantling of apartheid.

According to The Star, the ANC's view is that a national convention would "constitute" people's power

only after apartheid has been totally dismantled.

Who should attend a national convention?

The members of the Convention Alliance say that "All forces should attend" But in what proportions? Representation at such a gathering would have to reflect the support that a particular grouping had in South Africa as a

whole. The UDF or the ANC cannot be expected to accept equal representation to the INP NP or PFP.

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The aim of the business community is to 'do business'. But for business to succeed it needs a stable economic and political situation.

As long as the situation is stable, the business community keeps quiet about politics. Yet as the political situation gets worse businessmen have realised that unless they disassociate themselves from apartheid they may go down with apartheid.

Businessmen are trying to create a new image for themselves by distancing themselves from the "system" and calling for peace and action.

The businessmen want a middle road between the two "poles" as they see it: between the government's harsh repression on the one hand and the people's demands on the other. They say the people want too much too soon and will plunge the country into chaos.

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More seriously, at its Congress two months ago, the PFP decided to enter the coloured and Indian houses of parliament and have elected one of the most discredited politicians, Dinkie Pillay, on to their national executive.

In addition, they are raising R10 million to recruit Indians, Africans and coloureds. The PFP hopes to win control of the coloured and Indian houses and the "balance of power" in the white house. The PFP think they then will be in a position to influence the pace of change from within.

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"Can the PFP legitimately recruit Africans, Indians and coloureds into a parliamentary party while these people are denied their rightful participation in a just parliamentary system?" asks the UDF. The PFP's attitude to the army is also questionable. They say they are committed to change by peaceful methods. Yet they are still not supported the call

by the End Conscription Campaign for an end to conscription. They continue to support the use of an army against the government's opposition.

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mittee. He resigned and declared that he had seen "the error of his ways" and was tired of "system politics". Not long after that he surfaced again as a nominated member of the Lenasia South East Consultative Committee.

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The people will not be fooled by P W Botha's speeches, or by puppet structures and reform plans. They will not be fooled by new initiatives and alliances. Until the demands of the Freedom Charter have been met people will continue striving for a democratic South Africa.

Almost every struggle over the last 30 years can be linked to the demands of the Charter.

Student organisations have taken up the call that "the doors of learning and culture shall be opened." Unions make demands for "work and security". Civic organisations have rallied around the demand for "housing, security and comfort".

The government is facing the worst crisis ever because people have intensified their fight for these demands. The government declared a State of Emergency to crush peoples resistance and to try once again to push ahead with an apartheid-style solution.

The State of Emergency cannot succeed. People will continue struggling until their demands have been met. The major demand, on which all others depend, is that "the people shall govern."

While the army occupies the townships and a state of civil war grips the country, people are demanding peace and friendship.

But peace and friendship, as the Charter says, "shall be secured by upholding equal rights, opportunities and status for all."

The Emergency has made things difficult for organisations that work towards a democratic South Africa, but people must continue to dedicate themselves to the struggle for political rights. "These freedoms we will fight for side by side until we have won our liberty," says the Charter.

No negotiations over the heads of the people People demand: one person one vote in a united South Africa

The government is paralysed. It has lost control of the majority of the people. It is unable to act decisively in the present crisis and it is losing the confidence of many of its closest allies.

So everybody from big business to the PFP, Inkatha and even academics are proposing alternative solutions. The most prominent is the Convention Alliance. In this article SPEAK looks at the Convention Alliance and explains why it will not solve our country's problems.

What is the Convention Alliance?

The Convention Alliance was proposed by the national head of the PFP, Van Zyl Slabbert to draw together all organisations

and individuals in favour of negotiating a settlement through a national convention. It explicitly excludes those who see violence as a means of bringing about change.

His call was immediately condemned by the UDF who said there can be no national convention decided over the heads of the people.

Despite attempts by the Convention Alliance to lure people like Bishop Tutu, Alan Boesak and the UDF, only Inkatha and a few prominent businessmen have responded favourably to the Convention Alliance. After an initial meeting held at the Sandton Sun, vague plans were left for a steering committee to work on.

Why is the Convention Alliance being rejected?

The UDF and some of its affiliates like the Soweto Civic Association, the TIC and Jodac have condemned the Convention Alliance. They question the motives of the Alliance as well as the credibility of the participants.

Here are some of their reasons:

What is the Convention Alliance trying to achieve?

The stated aim of the Convention Alliance is the calling of a national convention to negotiate a constitution. Yet a number of questions remain unanswered. Under what circumstances is this possible?

Who will convene it? What kind of force will its resolutions have?

What would be discussed at a national convention?

The Convention Alliance has not spelled out clearly what they mean by a national convention. Would it be a confidential man-

aged discussion? Or an undemocratically convened think-tank of leaders discussing the future of South Africa over the heads of the people?

Under what circumstances is it possible?

During the 1950s the ANC believed that there was enough goodwill for a national convention to be held where all groups could come together to discuss how to end apartheid and create a framework for a democratic South Africa.

But since the government has continued to implement apartheid and violently repress people's opposition, organisations have lost faith in the idea of a national convention.

As a Western Cape UDF statement said: "We cannot talk in the shadows of hippos and camels."

"You cannot have a national convention between oppressed and oppressor. A national convention can only be held when we have a situation of democracy, free political activity and equality," said a senior ANC source quoted in The Star.

Presently it is inappropriate for the Convention Alliance to call for a national convention when people's leaders are being har-

assed, organisations banned and when the SADF occupies the townships.

Negotiations under these conditions cannot be meaningful. Instead all South Africans committed to peace should be working to create conditions where negotiations could have meaning.

The Convention Alliance should rather campaign for an end to all repression, the unbanning of all banned organisations, the release of all detainees and political prisoners. Only under these conditions can all the people of South Africa decide their own future.



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re people must decide either or not they want a national convention and they are able to choose who will represent them at such a hearing.

How different would it be from the government's idea of a lack Forum?

A national convention behind closed doors which has no power to implement decisions would be a useless exercise.

The Convention Alliance want the agenda of a national convention to be "open" where all differences can be thrashed out. Yet not everything can be negotiated. The people have suffered for long enough under Apartheid. Universally recognised rights such as one person one vote, freedom of movement and association are not negotiable. Neither is the complete dismantling of apartheid.

According to The Star, the ANC's view is that a national convention would "constitutationalise" people's power

only after apartheid has been totally dismantled.

Who should attend a national convention?

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party with a vision that can lead South Africa out of crisis. However they cannot win the support of the people while they are in the tricameral parliament. They will have no credibility until they demand together with the majority one person one vote in a unitary South Africa.

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Inkatha says one thing — does another

Many people believe that Inkatha supporters are conducting a campaign of terror against the UDF in Natal. At least 5 people have been assassinated, and the houses of many people have been burnt down.

Yet Inkatha has been described as an opponent of "violent change". Why this contradiction; condemning violence on the one hand and allegedly using it on the other? In this article SPEAK looks at Inkatha and tries to answer this question.

Inkatha, revived by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in 1975, attracted support because:

- Buthelezi has a great deal of personal charm and made statements condemning apartheid. He has always rejected Bantustan independence.

- Until 1980 Buthelezi spoke out for the ANC. Inkatha adopted the same colours and national anthem and similar uniform to the ANC and Buthelezi boasted that he was once a member of the ANC.

- KwaZulu students are taught that after the banning of the ANC, there was a political vacuum which was filled by Inkatha.

- Many Zulus become Inkatha members because one can get land, housing and reference books more easily by becoming Inkatha members.

Inkatha's support could only last as long as it delivered the

goods and as long as its links with the ANC and anti-apartheid stand were unchallenged.

But over the years things have changed. Inkatha has only delivered the goods to KwaZulu chiefs, bureaucrats, traders and landowners who have received jobs, trading licenses or land because of Inkatha's control of the KwaZulu government.

And since the 1976 uprising and the birth of democratic people's organisations, Inkatha's claim to be force for liberation has declined.

Inkatha fears mass action outside of its control. It constantly criticises organisations like the ANC, Free Mandela Committee, UDF, and Natal Indian Congress.

The more popular the democratic movement, the more desperate Inkatha becomes. Today, there is widespread belief that

Inkatha supporters are trying to destroy the democratic movement through acts of violence. There is virtual war between democratic forces and Inkatha impis in Natal.

There is also evidence that the impis are not merely thugs but well trained "brigades". After the school boycotts in 1980, Buthelezi said: "It is time for Inkatha to establish training camps where branches and regions are schooled in the deployment of anger in an orderly fashion...to be able to control riots... to conduct meetings in the middle of chaos which other people try to create. We need to tone up our muscles so that the dove of peace sits easily on the spear."

Buthelezi has also defended impis saying they are part of Zulu tradition and the Zulu nation.

democrats play with "protest politics" which has little chance of success.

Yet opinion polls spell out clearly that support for organisations like the UDF is growing while Inkatha is losing its followers.

When the Institute of Black Research did a survey of Africans in Natal, they found that Inkatha had the support of 4% of their sample. Mandela had the support of 54%. They also found that UDF had doubled their support among blacks.

Inkatha fears mass action.

In 1981, at its conference Inkatha said, "leaders of other liberation movements and anti-apartheid groups must consult with our president before embarking on any action or programme which is expected to have mass country-wide support".

Buthelezi allegedly would not support the Release Mandela Campaign because no-one had approached Inkatha to support the campaign.

Inkatha in the past, has agreed with consumer boycotts as the

Inkatha opposes the democratic movement.

Inkatha is opposed to the politics of the democratic movement. Buthelezi has said that

"most powerful non-violent method of liberation". But when progressive Natal organisations campaigned against the bread price increase in 1983, Inkatha did not participate with them. Instead Inkatha called for its own white bread boycott.

And more recently Inkatha has not given support to the consumer boycott of white shops in many parts of the country.

Buthelezi has always defended capitalism and Inkatha has been one of the few black groups in South Africa to oppose disinvestment.

As Inkatha becomes conservative it becomes more and more attractive to the government and the business community.

This is why it has joined with the PFP and white businessmen in the Convention Alliance. They like listening to Buthelezi condemning universal franchise and the democratic movement. They like his talk of a "non-violent" path, and ignore the fact that many people believe Inkatha is guilty of violence.

The PFP was prepared to have Buthelezi address one of its meetings calling for a "No" vote in the referendum, just days after Inkatha supporters allegedly massacred 11 students at Nkomo University. And today Inkatha members attend the Convention Alliance while their impis are said to be hunting down the UDF leadership.



Impis have rampaged through many Natal townships hounding out UDF supporters.



Inkatha Youth Brigades — being trained "to control riots" and "conduct meetings in the middle of chaos which other people try to create."



UDF supporters at the funeral of Victoria Mxenge. A memorial service for Mxenge was disrupted by impis.

All you ever wanted to know but were too scared to ask...

No to universal franchise

In 1979 Buthelezi rejected "one man one vote". He said this was not possible because of racial hatred and white fear. Instead Buthelezi has called for "power sharing". He has also said that South Africa might have to pass through phases, to "accommodate white fears and other minority interests."

Recently he has linked the demand for one person one vote with violence. He told a conference in Britain in 1984 that one person one vote would be "the end product of an armed revolt". He suggested a federal system which included bantustans. This he said would be the "end product of the politics of negotiation".

No to violence, yes to negotiation

In 1980, the ANC denounced Buthelezi after his role in the school boycotts and since then he has spoken out against the ANC.

He has said that people should use their power to persuade the government to become their allies. So Inkatha initiated the

South African Black Alliance (Saba) with the Labour Party, Reform Party, Kangane and OwaQwa governments to bring the white power-holders to the conference table "through persuasion."

But Saba was an unsuccessful alliance. It finally broke down when the Labour Party decided to participate in the tricameral parliament.

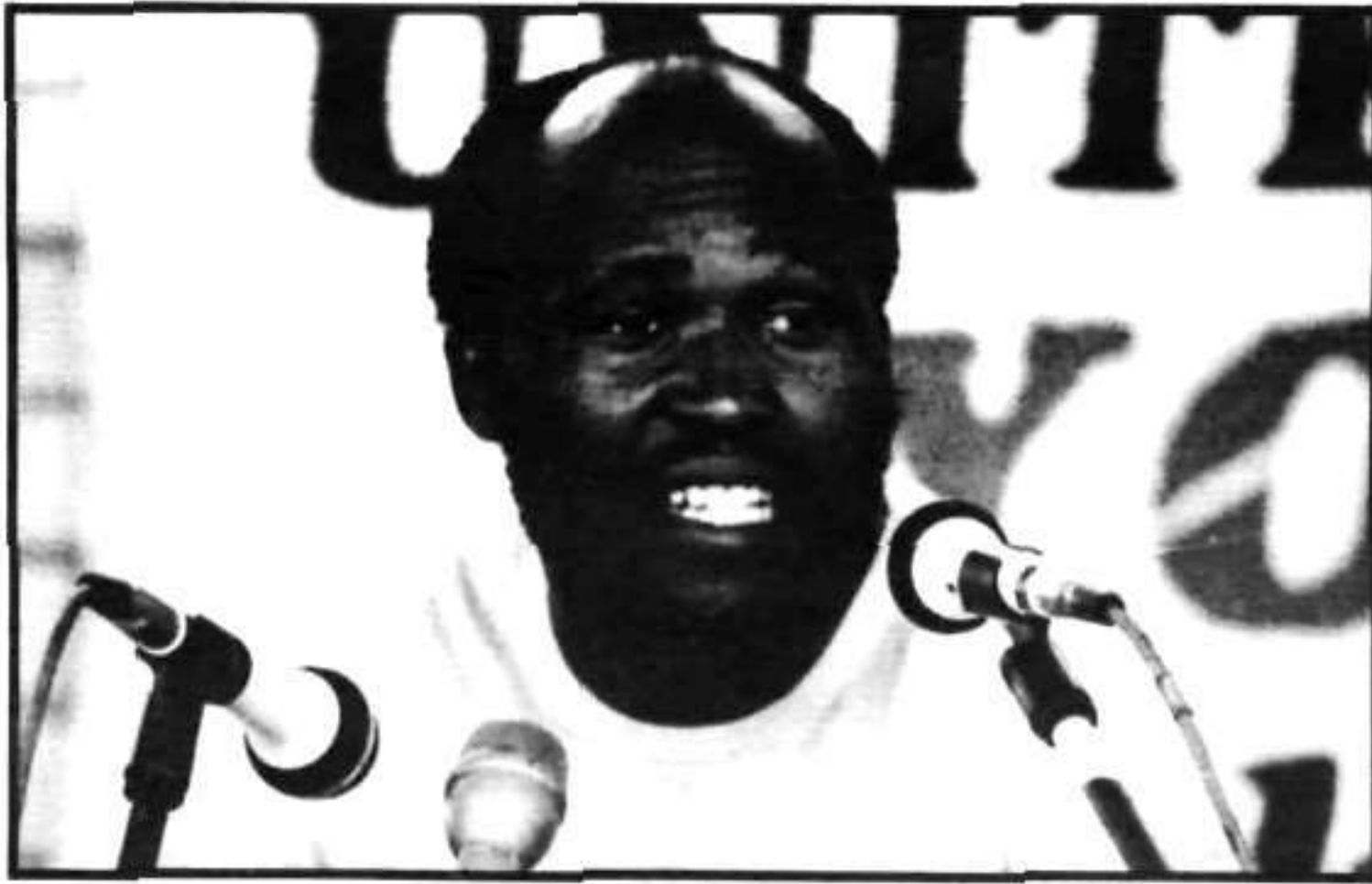
Buthelezi says he believes in a non-violent solution because "human life is precious...I see myself walking through the path of non-violence....If we are concerned with human lives, P W Botha must be given a chance." Yet P W Botha's government has constantly used violence against human lives.

Chief Mpumalanga put it well when he said that while Inkatha's policy was one of non-violence when faced by a powerful government, it was violent towards its black opponents.

To the ordinary people in this country...

The last few months have been tough on the democratic forces fighting for change in this country. Much has happened. **SPEAK** asked Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary, to comment on the State of Emergency and other important issues affecting the struggle against Apartheid.

"Apartheid has always been an emergency"



What effect has the State of Emergency had on the UDF?

Thousands of our activists have been put behind bars. Most of our leadership has been detained or put on trial for treason. Nevertheless the emergency has achieved virtually nothing for the government and instead the democratic movement has made major gains.

Even after more than three months of the Emergency our peoples' resistance hasn't let up. The State of Emergency has merely isolated the South African government even further both here and overseas.

The State of Emergency has been one of our most consistent organisers and a very consistent agitator. The level of politicisation that has developed since the Emergency is quite phenomenal.

For instance, if one looks at the situation in the Western Cape. When Dr Boesak was arrested the entire community was politicised in a way in which it had never been before.

It is important to note that resistance has been intense in the so-called coloured areas the very areas where the tricameral parliament was supposed to deal with the peoples' demands.

"Chopping off opposition leadership will not alleviate the problems."

Chopping off opposition leadership will not alleviate the problems for the government because since the UDF came into being opposition has been more and more at a mass level: at the level of the community, the schools and the trade unions. It is a mass movement we are talking about!

The government could remove us but the seed is still there. It will germinate and it will grow. The march forward will start again.

When do you think the State of Emergency will end?

In the long run the State of Emergency is not in the interests of the government. They will devise ways of having emergency powers without the official declaration of a State of

Emergency.

We know already that they did not need a State of Emergency to send troops into the Vaal townships and other townships last year. They did not need a State of Emergency to arrest thousands of people then.

Their reluctance to impose a nationwide State of Emergency is a political act. If they were to declare a State of Emergency they would then be forced to admit that it is not only 13% of the country but the whole country that is experiencing unrest and that they are not able to control it.

Whether there is a State of Emergency or not, to the ordinary people in this country Apartheid has always been an emergency.

Comments on the consumer boycott?

It has had a tremendous effect because it has been the one campaign that has brought the plight of the black people in this country right to the doorstep of the white community who for all these years have been living in a different world. The consumer boycott has helped in bringing them to reality.

The business community has been moved into action around political issues. It has been so effective in Port Elizabeth, that the Chamber of Commerce has demanded that P W Botha do something because the boycott is beginning to bite them right in their pockets.

"It takes united action."

Another important point about the consumer boycott is that the people have begun to realise that it takes united action, it takes disciplined organisation and it also takes commitment, to ensure that pressure can be brought to bear upon the government.

What about the governments

reaction to the consumer boycott?

We have always stated that we will engage in activities which will enhance our struggle and which will ensure that there will be a minimum of bloodshed if any. The consumer boycott is in fact one of the non-violent means of resistance that our people can still take up.

However as soon as the boycott began the government moved in with all its viciousness. They have gone out of their way to outlaw even this effort on the part of the people to register their complaints and demands.

The government has tried to prevent us from spreading the boycott. People were arrested for distributing leaflets clarifying the boycott.

It is in our interests to ensure that the best possible ways of communicating with the people are used despite the difficulties of the Emergency. It is in our interests to devise ways of going out to the communities to give the necessary explanations and clarifications. If we don't do this then the way is opened up for opportunists to go in and cause trouble among the people.

So it has been successful, despite government action to try and crush it?

Yes. Look at the Eastern Cape. When we went to the Cradock funeral, ordinary people would inform us about the consumer boycott and tell us not to buy in any of the towns that we were passing through.

There were no boycott organisers there, there was no observable UDF presence but ordinary women, ordinary fathers and kids on bicycles would say to us, "Please do not buy here because we are boycotting this town."

How important is it for the UDF to provide support for workers as in the case of the strike called by the National Union of Mineworkers a short while ago?

The miners are amongst the most exploited sections of the working class population in this

country. We know the conditions under which miners in this country work and we know how much money the mining houses make from the sale of gold and coal and so on. Any organisation worth its salt would have come out in full support of the strike.

"The UDF will go out to support workers' demands."

The UDF's support for the miners' strike comes from a recognition of the crucial and central role the working class has to play in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. It is in that spirit that the UDF will go out to support workers' demands.

The mine workers' strike itself has been a source of inspiration to the UDF and its affiliates. The UDF made public statements saying that it supported the miners' strike and would do whatever it could to ensure that that support was not only at the level of statements but also in action. Many UDF affiliates were involved in the Strike Support Committee.

The South African Defence Force has set up complaints offices in the townships and most reports say that they have had absolutely no success. Would you like to comment on the reasons why?

The South African Defence Force can forget about having any success in the townships. Our people have never considered the SADF as their defence force.

We have nothing to defend. We don't have political rights in the country of our birth, so what do we have to defend?

Brutal torture, assaults with sjamboks, breaking up of peaceful marches and so on to ordinary people that is not the defence of people's rights.

The SADF has come to be seen as an army that is there to ensure that white minority rule continues and that the oppressed people cannot stand up and fight

for their rights.

What they are doing not only in South Africa but in Angola, Botswana and other neighbouring countries is not what our people think a defence force should be doing.

Clearly if you were to go into my house, steal my possessions, rape my wife and do whatever and then stand on the pavement and say, "Come and register your complaint with me" — you wouldn't expect me to come to you smiling! That is a sure recipe for conflict between me and you. This is exactly what is happening with the SADF.

When people don't come to their complaint's offices they must know that it is because of their own doings and not because people are ignorant.

What effect has the international anti-apartheid movement had?

The morale of our people has been boosted tremendously because they realise that they are not on their own in the struggle. All progressive mankind supports our effort.

How do you view the sanctions being imposed on South Africa?

The sanctions that have been decided upon by America, Australia and other countries are mainly due to the pressure that the democratic forces fighting apartheid have brought to bear upon their governments.

We think that there needs to be an intensification of these efforts in the months ahead to ensure that pressure is brought to bear on the South African government to change.

How does the UDF view Reagan's constructive engagement policy?

The constructive engagement policy has failed. Statements that President Reagan has been making about South Africa have tended to expose him clearly as being completely out of touch with what the average black person in South Africa thinks and feels.

"The constructive engagement policy has failed... There is nothing constructive about the process."

Reagan has suggested that the reforms in South Africa are largely because of his constructive engagement policy. To us nothing could be further from the truth. In reality the South African government has unleashed a vicious campaign against democratic forces inside the country. To us there is nothing constructive about the process and there are no meaningful reforms.

We don't want accommodation in Bothas' wilderness. What we want is a complete overhaul of the system in this country. A new system with one person one vote. Where people would not be considered in terms of their colour.

Piecemeal reform which is encouraged by the Reagan administration is not enough to ensure that there will be peace in this country.

Not even a State of Emergency has been able to stop The people's march to freedom

The State of Emergency has almost become a way of life. In this article SPEAK looks at the reasons why the Emergency was called and whether its aims have been reached.

The Emergency was called because the government could no longer control rising opposition to unjust laws, racist rule and lack of representation.

When the UDF was formed two years ago it warned the government: "The undemocratic imposition of the tricameral parliament and the black local authorities will only intensify conflict in South Africa. The people will not accept these undemocratic structures."

And they were right. The people did not allow the government's reform plans to work hundreds of organisations under the banner of the UDF united to fight the black local authorities system and tricameral parliament.

They demanded the right to employment at a living wage, adequate housing, health care, pensions and a democratic, free and compulsory education system.

As the people's opposition



40 000 people attended the funeral of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock leaders in a massive protest against apartheid repression. More was yet to follow. On the same day the State of Emergency was declared.

grew from the cities to the small towns and from the schools to the mines, the government came down with all the brute force it could muster.

They sent the army into the townships. They closed schools. They arrested ten thousand people on charges of public violence. People believe that the government is responsible for

the deaths of leaders like Matthews Goniwe.

Yet the people's resistance to apartheid did not stop. Instead it spread and involved more and more people. A nationwide consumer boycott of white businesses began.

The government was in a severe crisis. They could no longer control people with their

existing laws. They had to introduce a State of Emergency.

Under the Emergency the police and army have greater powers to detain, harass, intimidate, assault and shoot people. Any member of the army or police can do so without fear of prosecution or of it being reported in the press. And so the list of atrocities committed

by the army and police grows daily.

Even in areas where there is no declaration of a State of Emergency the security forces do as they please. In small towns and far off places like Pietersburg the police can do what they want. There are no TV crews and lawyers that might publicise their actions.



Emergency tries to crush organisation

The declaration of the State of Emergency marked a change in the government's policy towards the people's uprising. The government turned its back on international opinion and put its foot down on the people's organisations.

The government wants to crush organisations. It believes that these organisations are at the root of the uprising. The government wants to create a political vacuum for discredited leaders to fill.

Since the Emergency over half the UDF office-bearers as well as hundreds of civic, youth and student leaders have been detained. Le Grange has vowed to leave no stone unturned to detain all the Cosas leadership.

Members of organisations who stick their heads out to organise are immediately

detained and kept for 14 days or longer.

The pressure to scrap apartheid both inside and outside the country is too strong. It has forced the government to realise that they have to make changes. But the government refuses to make changes which satisfy the majority of the people. The government wants to force apartheid-style reform plans on the people yet again but before they can do this they need

to crush the people's opposition.

Now the government wants to negotiate a solution with people who they regard as "leaders". They are not prepared to talk to people's leaders. They want to negotiate a solution over the heads of the people.

But the government has realised that as long there is organisation, they will never be able to impose unacceptable solutions on

the people. So they want to disorganise the people by taking away leaders, banning organisations and preventing people from getting together by banning and breaking up meetings.

By crushing organisation they hope they can talk to the Kunenes, Boyas and Kgames without resistance.

The government is trying this trick in Namibia — it tries time and time again to set up its own government

without Swapo. Smith tried in Zimbabwe — he tried to include Bishop Musorewa and exclude Mugabe and Nkomo.

These solutions did not work. In South Africa they will never succeed either. The government has no right to impose solutions on the people, nor will the people ever accept a solution negotiated with discredited puppets above their heads.

A solution will only come about through the dismantling of apartheid, the unbanning of all banned organisations, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the return of the exiles and the withdrawal of the troops from the townships so that all the people can be free to participate in decisions about the future of their country.

People's power works!

The people are winning concessions from the government. They have forced the government to backdown on forced removals and citizenship of bantustan residents. The government has not backed down out of the kindness of their hearts.

They have been forced to do so as a result of the people's resistance and international pressure. Countless people laid down their lives and lost their livelihoods to achieve this victory.

It is possible that the pass laws and influx control may be

scrapped in the foreseeable future. Again this will be as a result of massive opposition waged by the people since the beginning of the century.

The history of the struggle has shown that the government has only made concessions when they are forced to.

With the SADF on our doorsteps, nationwide the call is....

Troops out the townships



Nobody comes to SADF complaints office

The SADF is occupying the townships. In every township there are stories about what the army and police are doing to people.

- In Kettlehong, 200 boycotting pupils were sjambokked on the school premises by SADF soldiers.
- In Mamelodi, three high schools — Thaba-Jabula, Selelekela and Naledi High were surrounded by police and soldiers. Pupils were arrested and searched.
- In Pimville, a 16 year old pupil reported that she was raped by a soldier in an open space near Protea police headquarters.
- In Diepkloof, armed police

and soldiers conducted house-to-house raids. They set up roadblocks and searched people. They urged pupils to go to school. A harassed parent comments, "Why do police urge children to go to school when the same police surround schools and arrest them?"

- In Duduza the civic sent a petition to the Minister of Law and Order, Louis Le Grange. They protested about the presence of army vehicles in the townships and the police. People at a night vigil for three unrest victims were teargassed and fired at.
- In KwaThema the SADF

charged and set dogs on a crowd of 5000 people at the funeral of Welcome Mohlala Lesese. Welcome, a standard 9 pupil was shot by police a week earlier.

The list goes on...

Now the army is worried about what people think about their behaviour. The SADF has

opened complaints offices in the townships. The army has invited the people to come forward and register their complaints about the soldiers.

But no one comes to the SADF complaints office.

One resident in Kettlehong says, "I cannot go to the police station to complain. I fear the very people who beat us up could be the ones behind the counter".

Residents in townships occupied by the police and army have called for an independent commission of inquiry to look into the actions of police in their areas. In the meantime the SADF's complaints offices are quiet.

SADF tries using sweet-talk

The police and army are trying to buy friends in the townships.

In Dobsonville soldiers have been handing out sweets and

biscuits at the schools. In Alexandra and Kwa Thema the SADF have been giving soccer lessons to the students. But the army is not having

much success. An angry township resident said, "We are not interested in their hand-outs. We want them to clear out."

Three week fast for peace

"Troops out of the townships." was the call of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) during a successful campaign to highlight the presence of the SADF in the townships.

"Their presence on every street corner is provocative. They must leave our townships," said an ECC supporter.

All over the country people fasted to publicise the campaign. Three people fasted for 21 days and hundreds joined in a solidarity fast on October 6 and 7.

The three week fast started in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg on Tuesday September 17, the International Day of Peace.

Harald Winkler of Young Christian Students spent the three weeks fasting in the chapel at Khotso House. He says, "I have chosen to fast to show my deep horror at what is happen-



On October 6 and 7, hundreds of people all over the country, fasted in solidarity with Harald Winkler. He had been fasting for three weeks to publicise the ECC call "Troops out of the townships"

ing in the townships."

"The use of the SADF in the townships, and reports of troops beating township residents, raping women, looting houses, conducting house-to-house searches and sjambokking, shooting and teargassing people makes it impossible for me to participate in the SADF."

"I see a fast, at this particular



time, in a country under an Emergency, as a good thing because it's very difficult to stop a fast. Even detention cannot stop it."

One of the people involved in the "Fast for a Just Peace" said, "The troops must clear out. Their presence on every street corner is provocative. They must leave our townships."

Students feel threatened by army teachers

Students in Kliptown and Riverlea say that "teachers dressed in brown uniforms and carrying guns," have threatened them with detention.

A student said, "We are forced to wash the army combi and if we don't we are threatened with detention." Another student said, "Physical Education at my school has become military drill. We march in unison and we are told to keep our feet in a straight line. Our PT teacher is an army officer."

At a school near Eldorado Park, there are five army teachers. They offered the students a trip to a training camp.

At another school students said that a soldier came to their class and told them not to boycott. The soldier asked if any teachers encouraged students to heed stay-away calls.

Students at another school

were taken on a tour of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in army trucks.

Students say they resent the presence of the SADF in the schools, but headmasters have threatened to expell students who do not co-operate with the "teachers in brown uniforms".

A little girl said she was so scared of the teacher's gun that she could not concentrate in class.

Teachers and headmasters explain the army presence as necessary because of teacher shortages. But parents say that new posts are not advertised and they are not consulted.

A spokesperson for the Anti PC Committee said, "Schools in Eldorado Park, Kliptown and Riverlea are like concentration camps and for five and a half hours each day the camps have armed guards."



Consumers will not end the boycott of white shops until the SADF leave the townships

We will not buy at white shops

Consumer Boycott Committees made up of delegates from progressive organisations and trade unions have been formed all over the country. They have called on people not to buy from white shops until these national demands are met:

- The Emergency is lifted
 - All political prisoners are released unconditionally
 - The troops and police get out of the townships.
- In most areas local demands have been added to the list.

Reasons for the boycott

People are boycotting white businesses because the money that businessmen make supports apartheid and the businessmen support the State of Emergency. People demand that the bosses stop supporting the system and put pressure on the government to meet their demands. "Business and Milit-

ary same side of a bloody coin" is the slogan used in the Eastern Cape.

Effects of the boycott

The consumer boycott hits businessmen where it hurts most in their pockets. Many shops have been forced to close down.

In the Western Cape some branches of Checkers were

closed temporarily.

Businessmen are now calling on P W Botha to meet them. They have even complained that the security police have interfered with negotiations and that leaders of the boycott committees have been detained.

The consumer boycott has also raised the awareness of people. It has shown that they are strong when they are united and determined.

The empty supermarkets and deserted city centres are proof of the united action of worker, student and community organisations. The struggle has been extended from the townships to the cities.

Victories of the boycott

In some parts of the country the consumer boycott has been so successful that traders have been forced to negotiate with boycott leaders. Boycott leaders have managed to squeeze concession after concession from the white businessmen.

These concessions include:

- Securing millions of rands for improving services in the townships.
- Forcing the government to abandon plans to incorporate townships into the Ciskei or Transkei.
- Forcing the opening of town shops to traders of all races.
- Forcing the Eastern Cape business community to put pressure on the government to lift the Emergency and get the troops out of the townships.

Police fail to crush boycott

The success and spread of the boycotts is plain for all to see. But as usual the people have had to pay a price. The government, the police and other reactionary forces are determined to undermine the united action of the people's organisations.

- Many boycott organisers

have been arrested or forced into hiding.

- In Graaff-Reinet it has been suggested that the police are indirectly threatening to close black shops in an attempt to force residents to buy at white shops.

- In Tembisa black businessmen have been

detailed.

- In Natal the boycott has been called off because the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce has "openly and publicly" threatened violence to end the boycott. The Chamber of Commerce has links with Inkatha.

Still the boycott continues.

Nationwide Boycott

The consumer boycott started in the Eastern Cape in the middle of July. Today millions of people in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal support it.

SPEAK reports on boycott action.

Johannesburg and Pretoria Areas

The businesses of white general traders, butchers and bottle store owners have been badly affected. The city centres are unusually quiet on Saturdays. People are doing their shopping in the townships.

The South Western Cape

The consumer boycott is in progress in Paarl, Worcester

and Cape Town. The boycott was popularised at mass meetings attended by thousands of people. Seven branches of OK Bazaars have already lost between 20 and 25 percent of their trade.

Natal

For some weeks people in Pietermaritzburg boycotted white shops. One of the demands of the boycott was the reinstatement of workers fired by BTR Sarmcol who belonged to FOSATU's Metal and Allied Workers Union. People have also boycotted white shops in

The potato boycott, Fattis and Monis boycott, red meat boycott and bus boycotts have all shown that...

Consumer boycotts are effective ways to win demands

Oppressed people have used consumer boycotts as a weapon in their struggles. Workers, students and communities have used their buying power to put forward their demands. Here SPEAK looks at past consumer boycotts.



- In 1954 the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and the ANC used a consumer boycott in a labour dispute in Port Elizabeth.

- The famous Alexandra bus boycott in the 50's forced the bosses to bring bus fares down. The buses ran empty while the people walked.

- 1959 was the year of the potato boycott. This boycott protested against the terrible conditions on potato farms where women and young children were forced to dig potatoes with their bare hands. The potato boycott lasted three months until the government made some changes to the farm labour system.



- In 1979 Fattis and Monis products were boycotted. Bosses were forced to take back the sacked workers of the Food and Canning Workers Union.

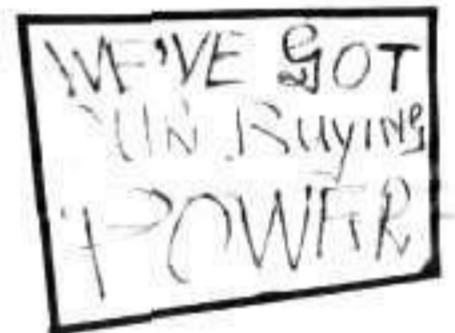
- In 1980 people refused to buy red meat. The boycott was cal-

led by the General Workers Union to put pressure on the bosses who fired workers at Table Bay Cold Storage.

- In 1981, a national boycott of Wilson Rowntree sweets was organised. South African Allied Workers Union called the boycott in support of workers dismissed after a strike over unfair dismissals.

- Recently commuters in Lenasia boycotted the Lenasia Bus Service. The community forced the bus company to withdraw planned increases in bus fares.

Now, in 1985 a national consumer boycott of white shops, collaborators and big businesses is underway. Unlike the boycotts of the past which had specific demands, this boycott is linked to the national political demands of the people.



In many parts of the country public meetings, protest marches and funerals have been restricted or banned under the State of Emergency. The consumer boycott has become one of the few remaining weapons of the people.

"A consumer boycott is an area in which no one can deny the strength of ordinary men, women and children," said Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF. "This is one of the ways in which we can make sure the government knows we mean business".

Everyone can participate in the consumer boycott. In this way people make their opposition to apartheid known and felt.



Rev Allan Boesak makes a call for a nationwide consumer boycott at the Cradock funeral of Matthew Goniwe and his three comrades.

Howick, Pinetown, Moiriver and Durban.

Eastern Cape

Nearly a million people are boycotting white shops. The organisers say that the boycott has been 100 percent successful. Many shops have closed down

and some shop owners have been forced to take extended holidays. The mayor of Port Elizabeth says the situation is "desperately urgent". He says that the boycott "is on our minds all the time". In Cradock workers even refuse to eat at factory canteens. In Adelaide businessmen have pleaded for an end to the boycott.

**End
the
Emergency**

SPEAK

TRIALS

THE VOICE OF THE COMMUNITY



**Troops
out the
townships**

Parents take up students' struggle

School students have been waging a courageous battle against the inferior and undemocratic education they receive. Now parents are beginning to take a stand and support their demands. Recently a Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee was formed. SPEAK spoke to members of the SPCC about their aims and successes so far.

The Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) was formed at a community meeting called to find ways to resolve the crisis in Soweto schools. (See Front page).

"The role of the SPCC is to co-ordinate and encourage communication between parents,

teachers, pupils and the community, said Vusi Khanyile, secretary of the SPCC.

Parents and students

"Pupils see their parents as unsympathetic to their plight. They are getting impatient because adults seem reluctant to take up their grie-

vances."

"We hope that the SPCC can be an avenue for parents to show they are concerned and improve the strained relations between students and their parents."

Students and teachers

"The credibility of teachers in the eyes of the students has withered away," said Rev Tsele.

"Pupils no longer have faith in their teachers because they regard them as aloof," said Khanyile.

Khanyile said the state of emergency had worsened the situation.

"When the army and police disrupt schools,



Students cannot write exams at gunpoint. Parents organise in support.

teachers do not seem bothered and just accept the situation," he said.

"Sometimes teachers are forced to hand over students to the security police," said Tsele.

However teachers are beginning to change. The Soweto

principals association has come out in support of the students' decision not to write exams and two leading Soweto educationalists, Mr. Dlamenze and Mr. Peteri are members of the SPCC.

"Their involvement is a breakthrough," said

Khanyile. "They will surely encourage more teacher involvement."

Student leadership

As a result of the banning of Cosas and the detention of a large number of student leaders, there are no structures for pupils to address their prob-

lems at schools and liaise with parents and teachers.

The SPCC see themselves as playing an interim role in this regard. However they are concerned to develop student leadership and to help students rebuild their structures.

Residents take plans into their own hands

WESTERN—After a long and hard battle, the residents in Western Township are planning their own homes. If their plans are approved, the Department of Housing may build the kind of houses the people want.

Elvis Daniels, secretary of the Western Residents Action Committee (WRAC) talks to SPEAK.

"In May 1980 people started protesting against the inferior houses that were being built in Westbury Extension 3. The Department was forced to stop building after they had put up 315 houses."

"They started building again this year. So in April WRAC made representations to the Council, because the new houses were causing a lot of unhappiness. The houses have no ceilings and hot water. And the houses and stands are even smaller now."

"We also objected to the way the Council went about building them. These guys sat in town drawing up plans. Then they came here and stuck the plans on the wall. There was this show of consulting with the residents but people

didn't really understand what the plans said."

"We started protesting and holding meetings. On one occasion people gathered at the building site and started shovelling earth back into the foundations. But that didn't stop them building this time at the other end of the block."

"Only after people kicked down the walls, did the council agree to make changes. They said they would build better houses. The Department of Housing suddenly found money to put in ceilings and to plaster the walls."

"But people were still not satisfied. They said the stands were too small and the houses too close together."

"The Department decided to call in David Curry, the so called 'Minister of Housing' in the House of Representatives to try solve the problem."

"When Curry arrived at the building site people were waiting with placards. Thirty seconds after his car had stopped he decided it would be safer to speed off even though the riot squad

had come out to protect him."

"The people were angered by the visit of David Curry. Older people marched shoulder to shoulder with youngsters to the house of the local council representative. They were confronted by police who fired teargas at them."

"About two weeks later, after another meeting and the arrests of four people, the township erupted. Cars and buses were stoned in the main road. The police arrived in force and teargas was fired. The atmosphere was explosive."

"At another meeting, the people decided to march again. The security police could not stop the march. The major gave the people three minutes to disperse but and half an hour later they were still there. Instead the major was forced to leave."

"And then the State of Emergency was declared. Things changed. The Housing Department was no longer prepared to talk. They hoped that it would be more difficult for us to press ahead."

"However if we sat back and waited for



Elvis Daniels of WRAC talks about the battle for decent housing in Western.



the Emergency to be lifted, the whole township would be built. So people decided that the struggle would continue despite the risk."

"The Westbury Youth Congress was formed to assist the residents association. Within a week a school boycott began."

"Because of the new police powers the atmosphere was tense. When the students marched, the



police moved in and many were beaten up and detained. Two students are still in detention."

"The government realised that despite the Emergency they cannot force those houses on us. So the Department started negotiating again. But this time they said go plan your own houses."

"They didn't think we would take them seriously but that is what we are doing.



Residents are drawing up their own plans with the help of progressive architects."

"WRAC got an office where we put up draft plans and encourage people to contribute their own ideas to the alternate plans."

"The Department are still building but they have promised to stop as soon as we come up with an alternative. It is not easy. We have to work within the same budget and consult

with 800 families.

"The office is open from two to seven o'clock and we also have meetings where people participate in the planning. The new houses that we are planning are much better than those the Council designed."

"We have learnt that it takes more than talking to get the government to do anything. People had to kick down walls before we won any victories."