

SUBVERSIVE IDEAS:

1. Ap, is logical outcome of type o society u probably support
2. Shouldnt necessarily obey laws just bcos they are t law
3. Everything is political sport, (TU's, culture, education)
4. SA cn b startg-point tt wll determine hw u lead t rest o life
5. Violence - not wrong to use
6. Means & Ends

1 ACT OF IMAGINATION

RADLEY (High School) Radley 2
COLLEGE

U are blk studnt. Startd 7 - W's 5; class o 41, W's 19
7 times more per capita on W thn B

Nt bore wth statistics; U are bright, jump hurdles:

eg: $\frac{1}{2}$ of all leave b4 STD 3 (ie, b4 literate, evn i mothr-tong)
 $\frac{3}{4}$ drop out aftr primary school.

So typical child starts late, drops out early. U are not typical
U struggle thru 2ndary, confrontd wth task o learnng 3 languages.

High schools: into reserves, separation. Howevr - U in Soweto

U hve to contend wth Bantu Ed, inferior; wth firm censorshp o
bks, films, to extent tt Official History o SA produc'd by
grp o eminent academics i SA appeared wth 52 blank pages
bcos quodd statemnts o Af nationalism & by bannd Afs.

Phps u were 2, 3 yrs old i 76 whn school/revolt begn; reasns,
soon ag all Bantu Ed, equl wth W's, nw reject tt.
Peoples' Ed.

U escapd death or serious injury; ^{1000 died. Injured reachd 1000's} bt u certainly bcame politicsd.

U mst, constantly, make decisions. U may hve left, Samafco

U may b in prison, servng, or hve servd, or detention.

U may b i hidng, meetng & organsg wth t comrades.

If in t country, every single day must make decisions tt
wll affect yr whole life.

Perhps yr name mis Lucas Makunyane, i which case, u've servd 5 yr
fr ANC activities, come out to face simlilar charge fr assitng
ANC IN jail, while servg sentence.

Or u cld b Andries Nkwanzi, 20, sentcd to 3 yrs, arrestd while
attendg funeral o friend. Crime: furtherng aims o ANC by
wearng T shirt wth slogans: Viva ANC, Cry, & Amandla.

Mag says 'a serious charge.' T-shirts, like blank spaces
i newspprs, are subversive.

EDUCATION

Startd as revolt ag Afrikaans, widened to opp Bantu Ed, demand ed equl wth W's. Nw rejectd - don't want.

Schools major battleground, main arena o struggle Afr 2 yrs i which military enterd classrms, childrn taught wth guns.

86 1 m childrn boycottd schools, many closd. Nw going bck. Identity Docs. Parents to sign clause givng indemnity to army, police.

Director Generl o Ed:

- . can bar childrn frm schools
- . prohibit any syllabus, program, class or course at anyschool or hostel tt hs nt been approvd in terms o Ed Act.
- . prohibits wearng, possession or dispalyng on any school or hostel premisd o a unifirm, T-shirts or othr articles o clothing, case, flag, banner, pendant, posters, papers, or any othr writing dealng wth a subject specific to t ord.

Parents must sign indemnity clause tt states: tt in t event of child being conveyed i a gvt vehicle or any othr form o transport, parent indemnifies State against any claim fr compensation fr death or injury. Parents think ths indemnifies the DET, SAP, SADF if child dies on Casspir or police van.

'Let every student i t UK knw tt hs counterpart at Turfloop has studied at gunpoint - Eric Molobi o Nat Ed Crisis Cttee. Armd troops present at every school. At Turfloop studnts must present ID cards to get in & out o campus. All studnts must report every mornng at 6 am to military authorities.

~~R167 on every blk child R1,511 on W:~~
~~Teachrs: 1:41 B 1: 19 W~~

Oct 86: Of 23,000 detained, 40% are childrn.

DPSC: 47% under 21, anothr 19% 21-25

Many under 16, oftn parents nt told.

Tyoical: Gilly Nyathela, 12 yrs, detain'd 4 times i 86, givn eletric torture.

11-yr old schoolboy, Fanie Goduki, pickd up on way home frm school, shelterng frm rain, kickd, hit, told to make statemnt throwng stones, lockd up wth 12 men, kept fr 57 days - mthr vistd 3 times, he cried whn she left. Chargd wth public violence - nt guilty. Nightmares, sistr takes to school.

Beresfod: Mrs Rebecca Modebedi - cldnt find 11 yr old son, cryng i police stn bcos beqten up 4 times.

William takn away in Oct, same time as daughtr Sipie, 14; Second son, Johnny, takn i Aug, Elsie i July. Those 4 are all hr childrn.

DPSC: ' security forces are attemptng to instil fear o involvemnt among childrn . . . picture tt emerges is one o seemingly random detentions.' But DPSC now banned

Oftn childrn fakn i pàace o hidng sibling.

Tremblng man: 4am break-in, gun jàbd i stomach - boy nt there. 'Who is ths?' point to child nr mothr.

He is my 2nd son' 'We'll take hm i t meantime'

'He is nt involvd, only 14. Next day, 2 buses + taxi to jail 100 km away. bt nt there.

Mothr leaves daughtr to collect washng, girl gone, latr released, bt screams at night & wont talk.

Johannes Spogter died i prison 2 days aftr arrest, injuries to head & stomach. He ws 12 yrs old.

2 studnts, 15, 20, fled whn chasd bcos singing. Latr arrestd i hse, 2 xdays latr, bth dead

Read Amnesty, Blk Sash reports.

This war against t childrn, prodcng aggressive, alienatd & sometimes brutalisd generation is 1st factor in ensurng future violence i SA

3 yrs ago, media reported every day. TV.

No more visuals, bt press reports.

Now most draconian press curbs deprive wrld o news o depths o SA crisis. No longer an issue.

Press regulations on 11 Dec reinforce existng SoE regulations & apartheid laws. They:

- * Ban all reports abt detainees, includg court cses.
- * Ban all reports on consumer, rent & education boycotts, & 'illegal' strikes.
- * Ban all reports abt 'restricted' gatherngs
- * Ban all reports oppsng conscription
- * Reinforce existng bans o police & army action
- * Require all reports about othr forms o 'unrest' to be submittd fr pre-publication gvt Cenrshp.

in Dec. of 62 submittd, only 15 past

Truth lies i dungeons, frm which drift no whispers

Doesnt hppn, bcos only those o spot knw it is happeng.

This media silence, in which foreign press connive, is ~~the~~ *2nd* factr i bringg inevitability o violent confrontation closr.

Radley G

2. THE BLACK-OUT OF PEOPLE.

Violent society, nw completely i hands o police & military + their agents.

Evry dy people sht dead - 2,000 i 1 yr. Cant b reportd. 13,500 childrn arrestd i 85, held undr indescribable conditions.

Mnster o Justice, Kobie Coetzee said July 84-85 total o 40,288 cases corporal punshmnt (legal V)

We nw hve S Americn model - disappearances, TUnionsts found dead i ditches

Violence o removls - 4 m - wmn, childrn, old, disbled, increasingly unemployd mn - huge quantities. Vilent & brutk process, people 'reloctd' to remote areas, left to exist i conditions o increasng apathy & powerlessness. Trauma o impoverishmnts, divisions, loss o communities - major role i suppressng org opposition to Ap.

Violence o deaths i detention - Biko, 46, nw no tally cn b kept. 'New' causes - epilectic fits.

Violent suppression i townshps: Cape T analysis showd mo more thn 50% o those shot i 85 were wounded i back, ano anothr 11.6% i sides. 12% undr 15, average age 25, youngest 7.

Violence i B/stans where stooges carry out suppression i 'independent' homelnds, undr tutelage o SA police, & apply evn more primitively brutal methods.

Violence ag those i police custody so widespread tt mch evidence, main sources o information hve been evidence i pol trials, inquests, or applications fr damages or ordrs restraining police frm assaultng detainees

~~Between 62 & 83, gvt paid total o ovr R5.5m to covr costs o 758 settlemnts fr assault by police. Of these, 456 cases & over R5 m hd been btween 79 - 83.~~

(Focus 68, Jan-Feb 87)

The violence against people, + terror & torture, is makes the inevitability of greater violence come nearer

3rd factor

Rodley 7

3. BLACK ON BLACK VIOLENCE

A term used by the regime for totally different acts.

A. Direct result of Ap, when people competing for basics. eg. workless, poverty-stricken Pondos from Transkei seeking work where Zuluz themselves competing for shelter & jobs. Resulting violence called 'tribal fighting' - but created by 'homelands' & Ap.

B. More sinister & terrible: death squads, vigilantes now countrywide. They kill former Robb Island prisoners returning to homes after 10, 15 yrs. Attack homes with pangas, knives, axes. Used by authorities, eg. clearance of Crossroads.

Chesterville (Natal) bleeding to death; 15,000 strong community at war with Vig. 40 died in '86. Why?

C surrounded by W suburbs, plans for removal strongly opposed. Blk Sash Anne Colvin: 'harassment, murder, arson & disruption of funerals & schools, the sight of children & community leaders in hiding & the despair of mothers & wives, were daily occurrences in the township' (18/1/87)

B. 2nd kind is not really 'B on B' violence - Nadine: 'terribly ironic form of non-racialism'. Blk workers sacrificing & often dying for liberty seek to punish those who betray - analogy with treatment of collaborators by Resistance during Nazi occupation, not any special phenomenon of B on B. Also agents provocateurs. Random violence will increase while all leaders jailed.

B on B violence in the regime repeats with self-righteous indignation & outrage is the product of Ap. The regime both provokes the violence, then retaliates.

EPG: Ap is sustained by violence. A method of controlling townships, supporting comrades, terrorising.

This arming, building & paying of violence by black agents is the 4th factor in making greater violence inevitable.

ETHIDS OF VIOLENCE.

Issue is nt whether viol per se is 'good' or 'bad.'

Everyone hates, deplores Viol, same as they deplore
~~Passivism - v wrong - rule o thumb - conscience/morality~~ ^{social action} | Ap.
Bt v. is part o strategy o every gvt i wrld - ones
who most deplore v i SA are those who give millions
to tridents, polaris, new frigates, air & army bases
tt littr countryside.

Yr gvt is nt opposed to v. - ~~they~~ ^{many} wld like more,
like hangings. They vote ms o yr money to v.

The church is nt opposed to v - always blesses armies
as they go to fight. (Falklands)

Bt ANC is told b4 Mandela can b releasdd, b4
negotiations cn take place. they must renounce v.
It is, of course, ths violent struggle tt has brought
so many to recognise ANC as leadng force.
Whoever ~~XXXX~~ came to negotiating table after first
abandonng their struggle?

Is there not v. i Namibia, army o 100,000 fr 3 m
where rape is increasng feature o ths occupation,
42% o cases brought b4 Windhoek Supr^eme Ct i 82
involvd rape.

~~Went~~ incursions into Angola v - Ksssinga where
SA troops slaughtered 700 mne, wmn, chilrn, went on
killing fr hours. 611 wounded. Many shot i bk.

Wht abt Matola, Botswana, incursions into Zambia,
Zimbabwe, kidnaps & killngs frm Swazilnd?
Children in Mozambique
Kwashiokor & pellagra are v. Death o 177 miners on
British-owned Kinross mine by fires - 600 minrs die
each yr i accidents.

I do nt blieve i abstract appeals fr peace, to demand
tt ANC mst stop v.

Armd suppression o struggle fr nat lib is feature o
our times. Whn we think o peace, we think nt just o
absence o war, bt o end o colonialism, o oppressive
rule, end o racialism.

Choice o ^{means} weapons does nt depend on whims or ideas o
bt on the degree o v to which rulrs res^{ort} i
maintaing racist regimes.

Pretoria refuses to negotiate nt bcas o armd struggle bt bcas unwilling
to relinquish White minority domination

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REFORM OF APARTHEID

Hear less abt it these days, perhps bcos its not ther
No reofrm cn radically alter nature o Ap or lives o
people.

T issue is nt Immorality Act, Mixd Marriages.
Issue is one o power, power at highest levels.
Exclusion o people frm sphere o decision-makng i
society means their exclusion frm workng out
concepts tt govern ec, social, cultural & pol life.
Same issue fr women.

Kairos (153 theologians, churchmn, Oct 85)
't Ap regime is irreformable...Christians mst learnm
tt unjust laws o t tyrant shld nt b respectd.....a re
regime tt is in principle t enemy o t people
cantt suddenly begin to rul i t interests o all t
people. It cn only b replaced by anothr gvt.....
bcos any reforms wld hve to b done i interests o ~~the~~
those who electd t gvt.

Botha's refoism:

Unions. 'SA's blk tu mo~~ve~~ment drivn underground
by S of E 100s tuionists detaind - numbr unknown
bulk are shop stewards & grassroot organisers.

End to forcible removals. - Crossroads, Oukasie.

Pass Laws - bt no entry without housng. 'Orderly
urbanisation' Blks i Ciskei, Transkei, subject to
aliens Act

Wht still exists: whole structure o Ap society -
B/stans, Group Areas. segregationd colourbar i
industry, i education, i housng, i professions,
i every facet o life.

Police i townships, army

Repression o legal orgs, mtgs, evn funerals.

S o E. Laws tt remain i hands o white magistrates,
courts, judges, officials.

Nt most o all POWER remains i hands o W minority.

Radley 16

To support lib struggle o people o SA is the crucial step in process o reparation.

Solidarity movemnt is widr thn those who are radical & committed. Strugle i SA can b a process o understandg, education, radicalisation fr Brits.

'In a country which has long found its own politics tired, stale & lackng in any moral imperative, the momentous issues of freedom & repression being fought out i SA allow Brit people a faint involvemnt in a grand political passion.'

Sand.

DAY SCHOOL
07:30 AM & 11:00 AM

Nov 15/86

(1)

RESISTANCE TODAY

*. Changg nature o resistance is constant.

* as in 50's, action & countr-action (excpt more violnt nw)

EDUCATION. Startd as revolt ag Afrikaans, widened to opp to Bantu Ed, demand ed equl wth W's. Nw rejectd -dont want.

Schools major battleground, main arena o struggle
Afr 2 yrs, i which military enterd classrooms, childrn taught wth soldiers wth guns, boycotts, street protests, ID documnts
Police usurp teachrs functions. Quote Bfgs 33/10/6

By Aug, more thn 500 COSAS detaind. Ordr prohibtng students to outside clsrooms durg certain hrs. Police & troops search hses, sjambok childrn.

LOCAL & COMMUNITY LEVEL Integration o local issues wth natlib.

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS o shps ownd by Ws or blk collaboratrs highly effective i linkng all sections o community in invisible & powrfl form o resistance. Severl phases to boycotts. Swift impact i E. Cape, bt negotiations wth reps o local commerce collapsd whn boycott leadrs detaind.

RENT BOYCOTTS - some areas rents nt paid fr months - protest against high rents, selective tenants, evictions. Regime chooses rep evictions, whole pop comes out to defend homes.

STAYAWAYS. 50's method to circumvent strikes ban. Nw frequently usd i small towns & countrytowns. 16 durg 85, generally i support o broad demands - troops out, end S o E, bt manyy around local issues - detaind activists, bans o local mtgs. Several held to mark funerals o those killd by police. 100,000 stayd away fr Raditsela.

FUNERALS Regular occurence, so many killd by pol violence. Bannd outdoor meetgs, fun became main vehicles fr public expression - open dispaly o ANC colours, MK songs (Soweto dths)
Permanent restrictions now imposed on funerals fr unvest victims

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

Wmn & yth participatng, makg playgrounds, street cttees.
(unlockd doors at night fr those fleeing. Signals.)

Economy undergoing convulsive transformation.

Basd on ming & agriculture - principal beneficiaries
o cheap labr producd by Ap - diversifyng as West.

Politically Ap hindrs SA's full entrance into ec
systm o transnational finance

Economically Ap blocks emergence o sizeable class o
blk consumers, skilld workrs, managrs

Socially Ap destabilises country, makes labr & peace
problematical

Ideologically Ap hs split W population, ended
cohesion o Afrikanrs

COUNTER MEASURES.

15/11/86

2

DETENTIONS

(Reuters) 12/11/86

DPSC estimates 20,000 detentions since S of E, June
Nearly half under 21 & more thn 60% undr 25

Fanie Duduka, 11, detained 57 days wth 13 men

Detentions inevitably cripple orgs & lead to undisciplnd action
TU's: 2,730 tu-ists held durg emergency COSATU worst affectd
wth nearly 80% o all union detainees. 100s detaind whn on strike.
evidence o widespred torture & violence ag detainees, 13 died i
custody i 1 yr.

POLITICAL TRIALS At least 25,000 arrestd o charges arisng out
mass action i 85. Many charges droppd, bt most result i court
cases o charges o public viol;ence Or damage to property.
Many trials o pol activists & UDF memrs . Treason increasingly
a charge. Ties up people fr months, yrs, evn whn acquittd.
a Delmas - 2 yrs - defencz will b legal exposition o UDF policies
political imprisonment Many heavy sentences - Marion Sparg 25
yrs. Arson, treason, military traing, memrs o ANC, etc.

DISINFORMATION False leaflets, booklets (wth Mandela)
Examples i Machel death - bd weathr, pilots drunk, Moz hd
arrestd airport officials, etc.

VIOLENT REPRESSION O RESISTANCE Armd forces break up mts & stop
demos, widespread. Church & welfare orgs report increasng violenc
i suppression & brutality aftr indemnity to memrs o armd
forces & police. Whips, batons, tear-gas, rubbr bullets, shotguns
& oftn rifles wth live ammunition.
General ban o outdoor meetngs , on education boycotts & wk
stoppages, plus bans o specified orgs

DISAPPEARANCES

Repression is 3rd factor

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