

# DETAINEE

(Leonard Mosala, ex-school principal and member of Soweto's "Committee of 10", is, at the time of writing, a "detainee", as are all the other members of that Committee. He was detained, not in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, under which Steve Biko and so many others have died, but in terms of the Internal Security Act. He is held without charge and there is no indication of when he might be released. He has committed no offence, because, if he had, you can be sure he would have been charged with it. He has been shut up simply because the Government thought he was a nuisance. We publish this record of a speech he made to the Black Sash in Johannesburg, two weeks before his detention, as an example of just how mild one's views could be in South Africa on October 19th, 1977, to qualify one for being regarded as a "nuisance" — and for detention without trial: — Editor.)

"I said to my wife, what can I teach them? What can I tell them? Nothing that you don't know better."

He congratulated the Black Sash on its "very dedicated and committed stand for the achievement of justice."

"There is no sign that we will achieve justice," he said, "but your steadfastness has earned this organization a very high regard not only among right-thinking white South Africans but black people have the highest regard for you."

"I have myself sent dozens to the Black Sash offices and none has come back without praise for the manner in which he was treated and the way in which his problem was addressed. As a black I commend you on your work and say to you, forward march. There is no turning back."

Speaking of the role of black leadership he said, "Only can we inspire the masses that we will suffer today and suffer tomorrow. We desire nothing more than a better environment for our children. We yearn for peaceful change for our children."

"When Soweto sneezes this country catches a cold. In Soweto we see a manifestation of black awareness, impatience, an overspill of discontent. The black man is going through the same process as Afrikanerdom and not all the forces of Afrikanerdom will stop it.

"We see a new phenomenon in black society today. We have seen the rise of child power. The children say that talking for 300 years has not brought change. They will not talk but will do things. Their power was shown in the forceable removal of government-created institutions: the beginning of this year saw the collapse of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council and the collapse of other UBCs.

"Then we had what was called a "leadership vacuum." We didn't believe this — for there is latent in Soweto a potent, aggressive brand of leadership. What was lacking was a leadership recognized by the government. There was a vacuum in this respect."

Mr Mosala explained how the Committee of 10 came about.

Percy Qoboza called a meeting of leaders of all organizations that functioned in Soweto. This group of 10 were

given a mandate by their organizations to draw up a draft constitution for a municipality of Soweto. The Committee of 10 represented a broad spectrum from radical to moderate: it was an extremely interesting and exciting mix. Their request for a municipality represented a shift on the part of the black power movement in Soweto: for there were representatives of BPC and Saso on this committee, which was committed to working within the government structure. "We are trying to address our problem in a pragmatic and meaningful way." "We want to get off our backs the superintendents' police at 3 a.m. who take people to the superintendent's office to wait till he arrives at 8.30 a.m. You cannot imagine what Soweto is like if you have never borne it. Some of the happenings are so unnatural as to make fairy tales to those who don't see them."

The Committee of 10 felt it needed a public mandate and tried to call public meetings. Minister Kruger banned two and also the third that was never called. The Committee, nevertheless, remained committed to the establishment of a City Council in Soweto and:

1. mobilizing black opinion behind its blueprint:
2. mobilizing black opinion against Community Councils or anything cooked up in Pretoria and imposed.

Mr Mosala pointed out, "Whatever will happen in Soweto will happen throughout the country, although we are concerned only with Soweto. We are aware that whatever happens in Soweto represents the stand all urban blacks will take. We are aware of the consequences that will befall. Most of "the Committee" have been in detention. They are a group of totally dedicated men and a woman.

"We are fully aware there will be more detentions and some may not come out alive. We are committed to peaceful change but cannot guarantee this without a guarantee from the other side. We cannot control events: the students are running their own thing. But the measure of credibility that "the Committee" has, gives them a good chance of negotiating on the students' behalf.

"It is up to the government to accept the "Committee of 10" as the legitimate mouthpiece of the people of Soweto."

Mr Mosala spoke of the frequency of funerals in Soweto and of the general unsurprise there over Steve Biko's death. He said, "I have never seen the black people so united even during the time of Luthuli who didn't unite blacks the way Kruger has done today.

"For as long as Kruger, Vorster and their henchmen refuse to see reason for that long this country will be kept in a state of uncertainty."

"No amount of persecution will deter us. All we are asking for is a fair share of the economic cake and a fair say in political decision-making, because this is our country — all of us. It is not true that blacks don't want whites. The grievances of blacks are as legitimate as those of the Afrikaners until they assumed power.

"In June 1976 M. C. Botha was reminded that he had organized the protest against the imposition of English on Afrikaans children — and the English did not reply with guns. Kruger was reminded that his Prime Minister was a detainee.

"We are the last generation to speak to whites," warned Mr Mosala. He said that he and his wife had spent their lives trying to build bridges. He spoke affectionately of his white friends and pointed out that whites had been detained, imprisoned, banned, house-arrested in the cause of black liberation. "I owe to my white friends a debt of gratitude that I cannot repay, but I'm not sure that my children will feel this." He told how his wife Bernadette used to take children from the Morris Isaacson school to debate with white school children: but now the black school children would no longer go.

Of the future, Mr Mosala said, "I do not believe the adult black expects change in his lifetime — even Biko did not expect this. All we seek is to come to an agreement on a programme of change that will lead to a sharing of economic and political power — that will bring immediate hope even among my own age group. He ended, "Mr Kruger cannot tell us about communists when he is practising worse. Until the government recognises habeas corpus we cannot be a democracy but qualify as a police state." □

# DUALITY IN NONVIOLENCE

by Geoffrey Ostergaard

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**Discussions of nonviolence tend, not unnaturally, to focus on the issue of the supposed merits, efficacy and justification of nonviolence when contrasted with violence. In this article, however, I propose to pursue a different task and I shall have little to say directly about the main issue. My object is to explicate the Gandhian concept of nonviolence and I think that this can best be done, not by contrasting nonviolence with violence but by distinguishing two kinds of nonviolence. My thesis, in short, is that nonviolence presents to the world two faces which are often confused with each other but which need to be distinguished if we are to appraise correctly Gandhi's contribution to the subject.**

It is only in very recent years that academic researchers have begun to make a serious study of nonviolent action as an unconventional political technique intermediate between constitutional action, on the one hand, and violent revolutionary action on the other. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* by Gene Sharp catalogues no less than 200 distinct methods of nonviolent action into three broad categories: (1) nonviolent protest and persuasion, (2) nonviolent noncooperation, and (3) nonviolent intervention. The first includes actions which are mainly symbolic in character, such as mass demonstrations, marches, vigils, and teach-ins. The second includes actions which involve the withdrawal of particular types of cooperation with the opponent. Examples, in addition to strikes and boycotts, are mass voluntary emigration, tax refusal, and abstention from elections. In the third category fall those methods

which intervene in the situation either, negatively, by disrupting established patterns of behaviour or, positively, by creating new ones. Actions of this kind are the most radical of all and are exemplified by fasts, sit-ins, work-ins, and the establishment of alternative or parallel governments.

In Sharp's terminology, "nonviolent action" is a generic term for a political technique adopted by those who seek to achieve their objects without the infliction, or threat of infliction, of physical injury on opponents. Defined in this way nonviolent action is not synonymous with pacifism or identical with religious or philosophical systems emphasizing nonviolence as a moral principle.

In the West, the interest of political scientists and political activists in Gandhi has centred largely on his use of various methods of nonviolent action. It is assumed that it is possible to abstract from Gandhi his technique and to ignore his philosophy and metaphysics and also his peculiar social ideas, such as "the fad" of reviving the *khadi* (hand spun cloth) industry by means of the *charkha*, or spinning-wheel. This assumption rests, in turn, on more general assumptions: that techniques are merely techniques, neutral between various social philosophies, and that means are clearly separable from ends in the sphere of human action. To make explicit these assumptions is to indicate the risk involved in treating Gandhi in this way. For it is an essential element in Gandhi's thought that, in human action, means are not separable from ends. Means precede ends temporally, but the two are morally indistinguishable and, in the last