

**SASPU** 

# FOCUS

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## Raising the Fallen Pen

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South Africa's  
independent press



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## Dented but undaunted

IN SEPTEMBER and November last year, over fifteen trade union leaders were detained. The consequences of these detentions were tragic: Neil Aggett died while in security police custody, several unionists spent months in solitary confinement and many have alleged torture and psychological maltreatment.

Now more than a year later, all have been released without the state successfully pressing charges against any of them.

Recently Alan Fine an official of the Liquor and Catering Workers Union was acquitted of charges under the Terrorism Act. The state has also withdrawn charges against Saawu leaders, Thozamile Gqweta and Sisa Njikelana.

Detaining of these unionists, banning Macwusa officials in the Eastern Cape, Oscar Mpetha's trial, and charging union officials under the new Intimidation Act are all part of a state attempt to smash the independent trade union movement.

These actions come in the wake of the Wiehan proposals' failure to co-opt the black trade union movement or to curb its rising militancy. Wiehan has not succeeded in forcing workers to negotiate through the official bargaining structures set up by the commission nor has it managed to confine their attention to bread and butter issues on the factory floor. Management is increasingly forced to negotiate with unions that represent most workers at their plant, whether or not they are registered. For example, in the metal industry Seifsa has instructed its member companies not to negotiate with unregistered unions, but many employers have been forced to negotiate with Mawu because it has a majority worker support on the factory floor.

In the face of failing to bring about a tame, racially segregated, apolitical trade union movement, the state has resorted to measures to try to smash worker militancy. After the detentions failed to prevent the growing number of workers from joining trade unions or engaging in strike actions to win their demands, the state introduced the Intimidation Act.

The Act, which is so widely defined that anyone organising a strike or boycott can be charged under it, has recently been used against Mawu officials at Alusaf in Richards Bay, Litemaster at Wadeville, Germiston and B and S metal plant at Brits.

Why does the state want to crack down on the progressive union movement?

These unions are playing an important role in organising and mobilising the workforce. The state has tried for years to prevent this — firstly by outlawing African trade unions and later by trying to remove bargaining from the factory floor through the industrial councils.

As worker awareness increases, they begin to draw links between bad working conditions and the undemocratic and unjust society beyond the factory gates.

By including demands to abolish influx control and the bantustan system in long term objectives, progressive unions have made it clear they oppose apartheid as well as the exploitative system it promotes.

Some of the unions have expressed this political opposition in alliance with community and student groups in campaigns such as anti-Saic, anti-Republic Day and anti-Ciskei.

Over the next year, life doesn't look easy for these unions as the state looks for new ways to counter shop floor organisations. Introducing the Intimidation Act is but one example of this trend.

At the same time, managements threaten to get tougher on factory floor militancy as the recession deepens. Already they are trying to use retrenchments as a weapon to curb worker activity.

However the past year has shown that militancy on the shop floor is an inevitable result of growing worker consciousness of, and resistance to poor living and working conditions. Although state repression and management's intransigence does hamper worker organisation, this effect is only temporary.

Workers will continue to organise against their living and working conditions as long as they are denied political rights and a share in the wealth they produce.

## INFLUX CONTROL



Pass checks — a common experience

# Pass noose tightens

## 5 000 arrested in nation-wide raids

IN A NATION-WIDE crackdown on blacks living in the Western Cape, in Soweto and on the East Rand, more than 5000 people have been arrested and fined a total of over R60 000 for pass law offences in the past seven weeks.

In Cape Town, trade unions and progressive organisations have condemned the savagery of the arrests which have put about two percent of Cape Town's black population behind bars in just a few weeks:

"They are attempting to make life so intolerable for people that they would be willing to go back to the Ciskei and Transkei rather than face jail, fines and humiliation," said one community organiser.

In Orlando, Soweto, several hundred people took a decision at a meeting not to demolish their zozo's following Wrab raids in which 2000 people were arrested last week for being "illegally" in the area.

On the East rand, Erab has started demolishing backyard zozo's in the Germiston township of Katlehong and the Alberton township of Thokoza. Erab claims there are 22 000 illegal dwellings in Katlehong and 10 000 in Thokoza.

In Orlando, Wrab gave out eviction notices to people living in backyard zozos. The tenants were

given three weeks to demolish their shacks. Residents ignored the demolition order. Last week Wrab began to demolish the shacks and arrest people whom they claimed had no right to be in the area.

According to the Black Sash, however, only 100 people have been prosecuted so far.

In the Western Cape, the recent crack-down has been linked to the freezing of housing schemes at Kuils River and at Crossroads Two. This restricts even further the number of houses that are available to blacks on the Cape Peninsula. Virtually no housing has been provided for blacks in the Western Cape over the past decade and conditions in the townships are extremely cramped with sometimes up to four families living in one tiny house.

About 3000 people "legally" there and who have bothered to put their names onto the waiting list, have been waiting for up to ten years for a house.

There have been a number of evictions of tenants who have lived in their houses for more than 20 years. In protest, township residents have mounted a boycott of community councillors businesses, and Administration Board beerhalls. The Administration Board also moved into

Crossroads and in a single morning demolished the trading market. This destroyed the livelihood of 100 families. The market supplied meat, vegetables, clothing and building materials to the community.

In the face of the overcrowding in the township people have been forced to move into single workers' hostels. It is here that the administration board officials have been concentrating their attention.

workers' hostels. It is here that the Administration Board officials have been concentrating their attention.

Dressed in uniform, armed with police for back up, the "inspectors" of the board arrive before dawn and encircle the hostels to ensure no-one escapes.

"Illegals", including a number of women with babies on their backs, are put into the back of vans and taken off to appear in the courts of Langa where they are faced with fines of up to R1000 or jail if they don't have the money."

Another target of raids in all the areas mentioned is the white suburbs. Administration Board vans follow buses carrying domestic workers to work, and arrest those without passes as they get off the bus.

# Detainee dies after release

**Dlodlo "never the same" after detention**

AN EX-DETAINEE, Linda Dlodlo died on the way to hospital thirteen days after she was released from detention.

Linda Dlodlo, who was a chronic asthmatic, was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on August 15 and released on September 7.

Soon after her death, it was reported in the commercial press that the Johannesburg district surgeon, Dr Norman Jacobsen, had laid a charge of assault against the security police in connection with Dlodlo's death.

A few days later a police spokesperson said that Dr Jacobsen had not laid a charge, but had completed a prescribed form relating to a medical examination for awaiting trial prisoners. He mentioned in the report that Dlodlo had said she had been assaulted.

Lawyers acting for the Dlodlo family said that they had informed the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, that Dlodlo was a chronic asthmatic. He had said the district surgeon concerned had been informed and would ensure that Dlodlo received the required medical attention.

However when Dlodlo arrived home after her release, she was critically ill with an asthma attack. She was taken to see a private doctor and the next day was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

The doctor who treated her said Dlodlo's asthma attack could have been brought on by emotional stress. He said that when he examined her, she was anxious and there was a bruise on her back.

Her mother, a senior nursing sister, said Linda was never the same after she was released from detention: "She frequently complained of having difficulty in breathing," she said.

Ten days after Dlodlo returned home she suffered another asthma attack. She died on the way to hospital.

The detainees Parent's Support



Alan Fine



Thozamile Gqweta



Sisa Njikelana

## Three unionists released

CHARGES AGAINST Saawu (South African Allied Workers Union), trade unionists Thozamile Gqweta and Sisa Njikelane have been dropped and Alan Fine, an official of the Liquor and Catering Workers Union has been acquitted after more than a year in detention.

Fine was found not guilty in the

Johannesburg magistrates court of charges under the Terrorism Act and of furthering the aims of the ANC.

Gqweta and Njikelane had charges under the Terrorism Act dropped after several court appearances and postponements where the state failed to produce a charge sheet.

The release of the three brings to

fifteen the number of trade unionists released without being convicted after lengthy periods in detention. In acquitting Fine, the magistrate said the state had failed to prove that Fine had passed information to an official of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) with the intention of furthering the aims of the banned ANC.

Committee issued the following statement on Dlodlo's death:

"We deplore Linda Dlodlo's tragic death. Her death highlights yet again the absence of any effective safeguard to protect detainees both in detention and in the long term. Once again we call for the immediate release of detainees and political prisoners and the repeal of all security legislations."

## Workers press assault charges

SIX EMPLOYEES of the Johannesburg municipality have laid assault charges against white colleagues and black security guards.

The employees are Jaca Sibukeni, Ngwavu Thabangu, Daniel Ngobeni, Leonard Mdinyane, Million Nyalunga and Nelboth Matyana.

Nelboth Matyana of JCC Water Branch says he was assaulted by a white colleague after he refused to serve him tea.

Matyana, who is employed by the tea club to make tea said he refused to serve the man because he wouldn't pay for the tea.

"When I didn't bring him his tea he

got very angry and hit me in the face a number of times."

An official of the Municipal and General Workers Union (Mgwusa) said at least one assault case was reported to the union every week. "We are offering these workers legal aid, but there doesn't seem to be much point in laying charges as the police seem very reluctant to take up cases."

He said that Jaca Sibukeni who had had to use crutches for several weeks after being assaulted, withdrew a charge of assault after the State prosecutor said there was not enough evidence.

The Mgwusa said management does not seem to take steps to prevent its employees and supervisors from assaulting workers. "It seems that they allow this to happen because it controls workers," he said.

He said that in some cases management punished the victim instead of the person responsible for the assault.

In September, at Kelvin Power Station, an employee assaulted a parking attendant who had asked the employee's wife not to park in front of a gateway. Management suspended the worker for two days after the assault.

## Going forward together

THE SIXTIETH congress of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) is being held at Durban's Howard College from November 28 to December 3.

Gerry Coovadia, a Natal Indian Congress executive member will open the Congress, which will include a number of talks and discussions.

Nusas holds its annual congress at the end of each academic year to bring students from all the centres together to assess the activities of the past year and to define its direction in the coming one.

The congress, attended by 200 delegates from Nusas affiliated campuses and the Pietermaritzburg local committee, is a crucial part of the Nusas calendar. Says president Jonty Joffe, "This year's theme "Student Action for Democracy" has seen students organising and mobilising on campuses to work for change in the university and the broader society. They must now put together the lessons they have learned and forge them into a programme for the year."

## GENERAL

## Anger at Wrab rent increases

RESIDENTS IN five West Rand townships are up in arms about the rent increases announced by Wrab. The Mohlakeng Organisation of Civic Associations (Moca) and the Kagiso Residents Organisation (Kro) have arranged protest meetings for residents from Mohlakeng, Kagiso and Munsiesville.

Residents in these townships have decided not to pay the increases which were announced on November 1 until the Community Council gives satisfactory reasons for the increase. Residents are drawing up a petition protesting against the increases which they will hand to Wrab.

Wrab says that the reason for the rent increases is that the townships are "running at a loss".

The residents however have a totally different view of the situation. At a meeting in Mohlakeng attended by over 3 000 residents, one speaker said: "You should not allow these people to dig holes in your pockets. They should first clean the streets, tar them and electrify the township."

In the face of rising food prices and fare increases, very few residents could actually afford to pay more for their accommodation, he said. "They must make sure we earn enough to pay a higher rent."

The residents asked the Community Council to come to the meeting and explain the rent increases. The Mohlakeng mayor, Alfred Tekwane, claimed he had fought a long hard battle with Wrab to have part of the rent increases deferred until next year. However, he still refused to attend the protest because he said, "There will not be enough protection for councillors."

Earlier he promised residents that if they could not afford the increases they should approach him. Pensioners and unemployed people who took up his offer say that the Council referred them to Wrab who referred them to the Department of Social Welfare, where they were told there was no money available to assist them.

In Kagiso, the executive committee of Kro was mandated by a residents' meeting to invite the local Community Council to a meeting to explain the rent increases. The Community Council refused Kro the right to use the local community hall for its meeting and also refused to attend the meeting.

bread subsidy reduced



## Let them eat cake

### Despair as bread price rockets

THE RECENT hike in the bread price sparked off a nationwide protest campaign which included a bread boycott and a petition.

The campaign was most successful in Durban where more than 75 000 people signed a petition to protest against the increase and to demand that the government subsidise bread to the old levels.

An ad hoc Bread Committee was set up with representatives from organisations including the Natal Indian Congress, Durban Housing Action Committee, SRC's from the three Durban campuses, Detainee's Support Committee and Diakonia.

The committee arranged mass meetings, protest concerts, a jumble sale and a Bread Conference on International Food Day. They also distributed thousands of pamphlets, stickers and posters.

"The problem," said Zac Yacoob of the Democratic Lawyers Association "is not one of a shortage, but of distribution. We have starving third world countries and an affluent western society which clings to more than it needs. Similarly here in South Africa, we have an affluent, predominantly white society with more than it needs and an impoverished predominantly black working class." The Bread Committee feels the

bread issue can test the extent to which the government is prepared to listen to the people.

The petitions will be sent to the government, said the Durban Committee, to "test the extent to which it is prepared to listen to the people".

Petitions were also collected by an ad hoc Bread Committee in Johannesburg and by the United Womens Organisation in Cape Town. The Guguletu branch of the UWO organised a one week bread boycott from the 22 to 29 November.

Inkatha called for a white bread boycott. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi chose to mobilise black consumer power through the Inkatha Women's Brigade. He asked the 5 000 delegates at their October conference in Ulundi to decide whether a boycott would be worthwhile.

The dual aims of the boycott, Buthelezi said, would be to serve as a test of black consumer power and to win respect from commerce for black consumers.

The KwaZulu government backed the boycott by instructing schools, hospitals and other institutions under its control not to buy white bread. Inkatha officials said the boycott was motivated by a need to show that blacks would not sit back and be economically strangled by increases

in the price of basic foodstuffs.

It is unclear how successful the white bread boycott has been. A spokesperson for a bakery delivering to Soweto said, "Some people in Soweto still buy white bread but most buy brown bread because they can't afford white bread."

The Wheat Board recorded that bread purchases countrywide dropped by 11.7 percent after the July increases last year.

In Mohlakeng, on the West Rand, where a fierce campaign against the rent increases is being waged, residents pledged at a meeting not to buy white bread and all shops in the township have since stopped stocking white bread.

Meanwhile twenty-two people arrested at a demonstration organised by the residents of Paarl and Mbekweni. The demonstration was accompanied by a two day symbolic bread boycott.

Residents from the two townships with members of UWO, Cosas and Food Canning Workers Union assembled with placards near the Sasko Milling Company early in the morning.

The demonstrators were charged for holding an illegal gathering and were sentenced to three months or a fine of R120. Two minors were sentenced to five cuts each.



Amsterdam demonstration for condemned ANC men

# International call to save the six

ANTI-APARTHEID groups in the Netherlands which organised a demonstration to protest against the death sentences passed on six ANC guerillas have asked the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs to protest to the South African authorities.

The demonstration and the

approach to the Foreign Minister are part of a campaign to save the lives of six ANC guerillas — Tstotsobe, Shabangu, Moise, Motaung, Mosololi and Moegoerane — who are presently awaiting execution in Pretoria Central Prison.

The Dutch Foreign Minister has

been asked to request that the death sentences be commuted. He has also been asked to consider withdrawing the Dutch Ambassador in South Africa or implementing sanctions on the South African Government should the sentences be carried out.

At the same time, an open letter

addressed to the Dutch Foreign Minister has been circulated among political parties, trade unions, church and student organisations. The letter sets out the demands made to the Foreign Minister and is being used to ask for the support of these various groups in the campaign.

## Still no say in what we'll be taught

THE CONTINUAL and powerful dissatisfaction shown by black communities since 1976 was behind the government's request for the de Lange Committee's investigations.

This was said by guest speaker Dr Essop Jasset, chairperson of the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee, at the annual conference of the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa).

He said that the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) investigation into education under Professor de Lange was dominated by conservative, Afrikaner educationalists and that many members were drawn from government supported institutions and private enterprise.

"Under the guise of objectivity, the committee worked on the assumption that the political and economic status quo should be maintained".

He said it was therefore not unexpected that the commission's conclusions would match the interests of the government and big business rather than the aspirations of South Africa's majority.

In his address, Neusa President, Michael Gardiner said, "The situation in our country's education is no more optimistic today than it was



when this conference met before. I cannot share the exuberance of other teacher organisations when they claim that we are in an era of reform."

He said the only difference which had come about in the seventies was that education is now being talked about more than before and it is more respectable to include politics and economics in such discussion.

"All this talk serves to confirm the gravest doubts about the educational direction the planners of our society have decided upon. Education is increasingly intended to serve apartheid's interests which has pinned hopes on capitalism and technology to continue controlling people," said Gardiner.

Neusa is a non-racial teachers' organisation set up in the wake of the 1980 school boycotts as an alternative

to existing organisations which were seen as inadequate to the ongoing education crisis in South Africa.

Its broad aims are:

- To work towards a single unified education system where places of learning are open to all South Africans.
- To promote teacher and parent responsibility for the design and control of education in consultation with students and the wider community.
- Free and equal education for all in a democratic and just society.

## Keagile alleges sexual assault

A YOUNG Soweto woman, Lillian Keagile, who appeared in the Johannesburg magistrates court in early November, has been charged with furthering the aims of the ANC, undergoing military training and providing information on a Soweto power station to the ANC.

Keagile was detained as she was returning from Botswana by train on November 19, 1981.

The state alleges that Keagile is an ANC member who has undergone military training, acted as a courier for the ANC, and recruited people to undergo military training.

She is accused of reconnoitering the Inhlanzane Power Station at

Molapo in Soweto. The state alleges that she made sketches of the power station and sent these to the ANC in Botswana.

Press reporters were prevented from attending the first days of the trial to protect the identity of a state witness who gave evidence against Keagile.

Defence counsel has questioned the admissibility of a confession which Keagile made while in detention.

Giving evidence in the trial within the trial, Keagile said two security policeman had taken her into the veld on a journey between Mafeking, where she was arrested, and Magaliesburg police station. The two policemen had placed a wet sack over her head and choked her, she said, and one of them had repeatedly assaulted her by putting his finger up her vagina.

Keagile said she had finally agreed to make a statement in front of a magistrate because of the assaults. Keagile also said that she and three children who were arrested with her had been deprived of food from 4.30 in the morning when she was arrested until late that same evening when she was detained at Magaliesburg police station.

She said the children had been present when she was assaulted. When they had started crying one of the policemen had said "Voetsak klein terroriste".

## INQUEST

# The veil is lifted

## Security police techniques revealed at Aggett inquest

ALTHOUGH THE outcome of the Aggett inquest remains in doubt, the importance of the lengthy procedures — as one of the few opportunities detainees have had to describe life in the hands of Security Police — has already been established.

In the first few days of the inquest into trade unionist Dr Neil Aggett's death in a John Vorster Square cell, lawyers for the Minister of Law and Order argued that it should not become a "commission of enquiry into detention without trial".

But during the 42 hearings over six months, the Johannesburg Regional Court heard masses of previously unprintable evidence about the treatment of detainees.

By allowing a number of other former detainees to tell of their alleged torture, the magistrate, Petrus Kotze, set an important legal precedent that will have a bearing on future cases.

He also opened the way for exposing information about prison life that is normally suppressed by law.

So when advocate George Bizos, appearing for the Aggett family, rose in the last few days to accuse two Security Policemen of culpable homicide, he was providing a fitting climax to the marathon hearing.

The colourful advocate delivered a 180-page final argument, a mixture of obscure debate and striking rhetoric that summed up his view of how Aggett died, a document that could only be described as legal poetry.

The two policemen he pointed to were Major Arthur Cronwright, the chief interrogator at John Vorster Square at the time, and Lieutenant Steven Whitehead, the man who admitted that it was his own decision to subject Aggett to intensive interrogation.

Cronwright, who was accused of "gross neglect of duty", bore responsibility because he was in overall charge of the investigation and knew the circumstances of the interrogation, Bizos argued.

Whitehead was in control of Aggett in the crucial period of his final interrogation — the period when Aggett complained that he was given electric shocks, kept awake and assaulted.

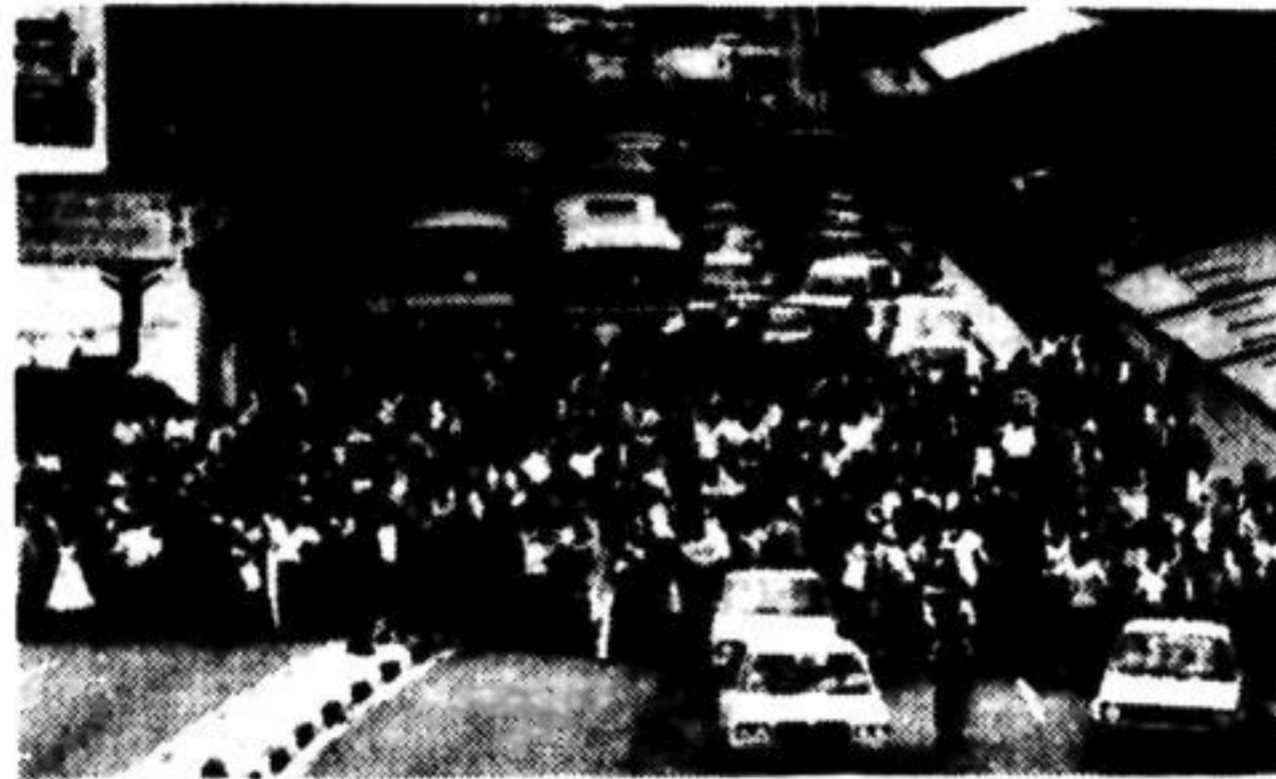
These two policemen were fully aware of the dangers of a detainee becoming depressed and considering



Brigadier Muller



Neil Aggett's father outside court



Flashback: Mourners at Neil's funeral

suicide. They had complete power over the detainee and therefore had a special responsibility for his well-being.

The evidence was that Aggett had never shown any risk of suicide before his detention.

"The evidence establishes that the circumstances of Aggett's detention and physical ill-treatment, resulted in his decision to take his own life."

"The Security Police, and in particular Maj Cronwright and Lieut Whitehead, are therefore guilty of culpable homicide because of what they themselves did or what they allowed others to do to Aggett," Bizos said.

The two had given no acceptable explanation of why Aggett committed suicide and had both given false evidence about his treatment and condition shortly before his death.

But even if the court accepted their explanation of what happened to Aggett during his final 62-hour interrogation — that he was not tortured but chose to remain under questioning in order to "open up his heart" — they had not explained why he was subjected to exhaustive questioning in stretches of up to 18 hours.

They had also not explained why he had supposedly "opened up his heart" and suddenly decided to

implicate himself and his friends, Bizos said.

The only explanation, he added, was that Aggett had been pressured unlawfully until he broke. It was also probable that he feared further pressure.

Bizos' finest rhetoric was kept for Lieut Whitehead, who he described as immature, ambitious, aggressive and so obsessive that he would not accept answers that did not fit his view of what Aggett had been doing.

"Contrast this with the fact that Aggett was an intelligent, headstrong, determined, principled, idealistic person who was obviously not prepared to be driven to make concessions readily or easily or which were not in accordance with the facts, and the stage is set for a classic conflict," Bizos said.

Bizos called into question the credibility of police witnesses, accusing them of "being a closely knit group whose loyalty to one another is greater than their respect for the truth".

He also criticised the District Surgeon, Norman Jacobson, for failing to properly investigate evidence of torture.

The entire police investigation of allegations of torture was attacked. Had a proper investigation of Aggett's complaints of assault taken place, it is highly likely that he would still be alive, Bizos said.

The result of this was that Security Policemen knew they were not likely to be called to account for their actions beyond being asked to write a statement, he said.

This was why they thought it was their prerogative to deprive detainees of the few rights they had and assumed the courts would always back them.

Bizos' praise went to Premanantha Naidoo, a former detainee now serving a one-year sentence for helping political prisoners escape. Naidoo, he said, was probably the best witness the magistrate had ever seen in his career.

The evidence of Shirish Nanabhai, another former detainee serving a sentence of helping prisoners escape, was also crucial, especially since it was backed by medical evidence.

Nanabhai had said he had received electric shocks and doctors had reported finding scars on him that were "so unusual they could be explained no other way".

In one of the most exciting moments of the inquest, Bizos had also produced an electrode that fitted the scars found on Nanabhai.

If the court accepted the evidence that these two were tortured, then the policemen who had denied it were lying. If they were lying in that case, it was probable they were lying about Aggett's treatment, Bizos argued.

He gave the same argument for the evidence of Morris Smithers, the former detainee who gave an eyewitness account of an assault on Aggett.

If this evidence was accepted, the "whole house of cards of the police argument falls to the ground", Bizos concluded.

Key evidence was given by an ex-Nusas president, Auret van Heerden. Van Heerden told the court he had occupied the cell opposite Aggett's and they had communicated often.

Aggett had described his assaults to him. He had been reluctant to talk after the 62-hour interrogation session, but had said he had been broken and had been given electric shocks and kept awake and standing for two days.

Van Heerden told how he watched his fellow detainee deteriorate in condition, becoming depressed and uncommunicative, over the last few days of his life.

The change in his condition was so dramatic that Van Heerden eventually decided to warn the police that Aggett might take his own life. That night, February 5, Aggett died.

Van Heerden was forbidden to tell the court of his own alleged torture.

Mr Bizos pointed out that the detainees had all originally given their evidence while they were in detention, so there was no chance that they could have collaborated to invent a story.

Lawyers for the police presented an entirely different explanation for Aggett's death. As vehemently as Bizos had criticised the police witness, so Pieter Schabort, SC, for the Minister of Law and Order criticised the former detainees.

The only point both sides agreed on was that Aggett had killed himself, but the argument raged around what had driven him to take this action.

Schabort pointed to the telex police witnesses had alleged Aggett overheard being sent. Hearing this telex, which supposedly asked for the arrest of people named by Aggett, was enough to have driven him to suicide, he said.

He denied Aggett had been assaulted, but argued that even if he was, it had not been shown that it was this that had driven him to take his life.

The magistrate will deliver his finding on December 20. ■



Residents protest against rent rise . . . most have refused to pay increase

## Rent hikes spark riot

**SOBANTU, PIETER-MARITZBURG'S** trouble-torn township, has been the scene of further incidents of violence.

Unrest flared up again when it was announced that the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was enforcing a R3.90 rent increase.

The rent increase, which had originally been suspended after extensive rent protests, came into effect after a meeting in Pretoria between members of Sobantu's Community Council and senior department officials.

When the increases were announced to a packed community hall, all hell broke loose. The lights were put out, curtains were torn and set alight, windows and furniture were smashed and thrown out onto the streets. The bottle-store and beerhall were looted.

The angry residents also broke the windows and doors of the Sobantu Council Chamber offices and stormed the building, throwing papers on the floor and setting them alight. The township superintendent's office and beerhall was also stoned.

A few days later, Sobantu was rocked by petrol bomb blasts. The buildings attacked were the Sobantu Council Chamber, the superintendent's office and the beerhall.

In the aftermath of the blasts, the police launched large-scale operations in Sobantu. Roadblocks were set up and vehicles entering the township were thoroughly searched and details of drivers recorded. Two days later large numbers of police searched houses and arrested seventeen people on a variety of charges. It was reported that about sixty vehicles were involved in the operation, and that all branches of the police were represented.



Sneeze-machine in riot-torn Sobantu

On October 29th the police continued their action inside the township. During the day, motorised police patrols dispersed pockets of youths as they gathered. The climax of the tension came when a crowd of 150 to 200 people gathered near the main entrance of the township. At that stage the sneeze machine and other police vehicles were drawn up in a semi-circle at the entrance.

The police warned the group that the gathering was illegal and told them to disperse. After the warning had been given, police with gas masks and shields, armed with batons and sjamboks, charged the crowd. They were followed by members of the dog squad and another group of policemen armed with shotguns.

One resident claimed that the raids were an example of "pure intimidation" on the part of the police.

Despite the disturbances, indications are that the rent boycott is continuing. Sources inside Sobantu say that at present only two families have paid their rents.

Since the beginning of the protests

over 60 people have appeared in court on a variety of charges. Thirty-nine people appeared in connection with alleged breaches of a magistrate's order relating to the funeral of Graham Radebe, the 17 year old youth shot during the first protests against the increases. Eleven people were arrested in connection with the looting of the beerhall and bottle-store and a further seventeen were arrested during police raids on Sobantu. The charges included: dealing in liquor, possession of dagga, possessing a home-made firearm and malicious damage to property.

When thirteen of the seventeen people appeared in the Pietermaritzburg magistrate's court on November 1, they were split up into four different groups that appeared in four different courts. As a result, two groups were not legally represented since the lawyer who had initially declared himself willing to represent them all was unable to be in all places at the same time. The case was adjourned until December 1.



## CISKEI

# Can Sebe afford it?

Teachers refuse to pay  
for chief's children to  
study overseas.

CISKEI'S EDUCATION department is facing widespread resignations from teachers and school principals who were ordered to help pay for educating bantustan leader Lennox Sebe's children overseas.

Several principals have already said they will leave at the end of term, according to sources in the education department. Many teachers, angered by an order from the Khambashe Tribal Authority Trust Fund, have also threatened to resign their posts.

The Kambashe Fund originally intended to further education of the poor has turned into an embarrassment for the Ciskei government after it was disclosed that Kwace and Conise Sebe, children of "President" Lennox Sebe, were two of the fund's beneficiaries.

The two students were being sent to Columbia University in the United States, according to the directive, and civil servants, teachers, principals, nurses and hawkers were told to help bear the costs.

Special lists were printed for teachers and principals with teachers told to pay R2 and principals R3. According to one principal what further angered teachers was that the lists would also serve as a control on those who didn't pay to send the Sebe's to America.

"No matter how much teachers objected, they had to sign," he said. "If they didn't pay, they laid themselves open to being victimised."

Principals were briefed on the donations at various meetings addressed by education department officials. According to sources, some flatly refused even to pass the directive on to their staff — and were told they would have to pay the amount themselves if their teachers didn't pay up.

When news of the funding became public the Ciskei government tried to cover up the way teachers had been forced to pay for the "president's" children to study overseas.

"I have no comment on this. It involves the president and could be explosive," was the first reaction from the director-general of education in the Ciskei.

Later the Ciskei government denied the donation drive had ever existed. Some days later Lennox Sebe proudly declared that he and he alone would pay for his children's education and denied the Khambashe Authority's collection.

Soon after, Ciskei's "vice-president" Willie Xaba denied that the entire fund had been disbanded after publicity of the Sebe children's pending windfall.

"Who said that?" he asked one reporter before

Field Marshall Lieutenant Charles Sebe — still a military man

## Charles blows his top

SCHOOLS INSPECTOR D F Kunjuzwa will probably think twice before he next tries to tell the Ciskeian government how to run their homeland.

The middle-aged Ciskei Education Department inspector got himself locked up recently after daring to tell his employers what to do with their government.

Sources in the Ciskeian security forces say Kunjuzwa was picked up for questioning after compiling a critical assessment of Ciskei's affairs since the bantustan opted for Pretoria's version of independence on December 4 last year.

In his assessment, which was initially prompted by Ciskeian president Lennox Sebe's call for in-house comment on the youngest of the independent homelands, Kunjuzwa was fairly praiseworthy of the Ciskei leaders. His one mistake, according to the sources, was to comment on the role played by Ciskei's Field Marshall Lieutenant General Charles Sebe, Commander-in-Chief of the Ciskeian armed forces. The General isn't a man to mince words with and when Kunjuzwa suggested that perhaps it was time to get the General off the battlefield and onto the Cabinet of Ministers, Charlie's blood boiled.

"The General's a man who treasures his role as

leader of our combined forces," a junior officer told *Saspu*. He was really angry and ordered Kunjuzwa pulled in.

According to the officer and the other sources in the Ciskei Government Kunjuzwa made obnoxious personal remarks in his assesment. His suggestion for the General however, was prompted by a colleague. According to sources the General is under the impression he knows who prompted Kunjuzwa to criticise him. But he's wrong, the source adds. Even so, that won't satisfy the general.

Kunjuzwa is likely to stay in detention for questioning until he comes up with the name the General wants him to come up with even if it isn't the person responsible.

One of the main reasons cited for General Sebe wanting to remain a non-Cabinet member according to colleagues is the dictatorial powers he was recently granted as security chief.

General Sebe is now the most powerful policeman in South Africa with more security powers than even his brother, president Lennox Sebe. It is no secret in the Ciskei that he is the real power behind the throne. A cabinet appointment would deprive him of his authority and force his actions out into the open, at least at cabinet level.

stressing that R40,000 collected for the fund would still be used for "needy students" but not the Sebes.

Two versions of the Sebe funding row are doing the rounds in the bantustan at the moment. The first semi-official one is that the education department and/or other government officials wanted to present the money to Sebe as a "gift" from "the people of Ciskei". The plan backfired however when teachers rebelled and let the news out and Sebe ordered it squashed when he heard of it.

The second version is that the Ciskei National Independence Party (Cnip) the only political party in the Bantustan ordered the donations officially with Sebe's knowledge. When the plan became known the Cnip realised its mistake and pretended it was unaware of developments thus the denials from government before Sebe himself actually responded.

Whatever the background it seems unlikely that semi-state employees in the bantustan will be plagued again for "donations" such as this at least the fourth time the Ciskei Authorities have had to go to print to deny they were forcing people to make donations for dubious purposes.

The others include:

- A row over payment for Ciskei's "national shrine", Ntaba Kandoda, after civil servants were told to help bear the costs.
- Anger among state employees told to pay R2 for a Cnip T-shirt to wear at the opening of Ntaba Kandoda in Easter this year even if they didn't want the shirts.
- Embarrassment when it was disclosed that the Ciskei government had been forced to ask for donations to cover the cost of an elaborate foreign visit by the Sebe brothers and other officials to France, Italy and England. This was increased when presidential advisor Rowan Cronje was fired because of remarks he made about Ciskei while on the foreign trip.

All these incidents have left the Ciskei government looking red-faced and it seems the powers that be will have to think twice before picking the peoples pockets again. ■



Released from Robben Island, Themba Mthembu hugs his mother

## Island prisoners win appeal

TWO FORMER Robben Island prisoners, Themba Mthembu and Mandla Sibisi have won their appeal against convictions under the Terrorism Act.

The two were found guilty of attempting to leave the country to undergo military training and were sentenced to five years imprisonment in 1980.

They were convicted largely on the basis of statements made while they were in detention. At the time their defence counsel alleged the confessions had

been made as a result of assaults on the two and were therefore not admissible as evidence.

However the presiding magistrate ruled that the confessions were admissible as evidence.

On their release the two men said they were very surprised to be free as they had never expected their appeal to succeed. At the same time they said they found it difficult to be over-enthusiastic as they had already served two years of their five year sentence.

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## Manager in fisticuffs with blind workers

LONG STANDING grievances at the Port Elizabeth Mount Road factory for the blind, finally came to a head this month in a fist fight between the factory manager, Mr D W Glendining and blind factory workers.

The dispute's immediate cause arose when a worker, Mr de Vos told Glendining that he had been supplied with the wrong cane to finish a chair he was making.

When Glendining insisted that de Vos use the cane provided, a fight broke out. Glendining then told de Vos that he had been suspended for two days.

De Vos ignored the instruction and came to work. At the end of the week, de Vos was told he would not get his pay with the other workers, but would have to collect it from the welfare office.

De Vos was afraid he was being singled out for disciplining, so he asked members of the workers committee to accompany him. At the welfare office he was told to collect his money from Glendining.

When de Vos returned to Glendining to collect his money another argument started because his money was R12 short. Glendining said that this was for the two days that de Vos had been suspended the previous week. A fist fight ensued between Glendining, de Vos and other workers.

On Monday when the workers arrived at the factory, they found the gates locked. A company clerk arrived and handed out termination pay packets to the six workers who had been involved in the fight.

Workers then sent a letter to the chairman of the National Council for the Blind. He agreed to set up a committee of enquiry to investigate the dispute but said that the findings of the committee would not be made public.

Workers at the factory say that the dispute with Glendining is the culmination of a continuing dissatisfaction over working conditions at the factory.

Workers say that they have never had contracts of employment, nor were their conditions of employment ever defined for them. They say that their pay packets vary from week to week and deductions are made from their bonuses without any explanations.



Striking Defy workers confront management on pension issue

## Pension dispute rages

THE METAL industries Pension Fund, and indirectly, the Industrial Council for the Iron Steel and Metallurgical Industry and the Industrial Conciliation Agreement for the Industry, is under attack.

Workers at Defy Industries in Durban, members of a South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) affiliate, have demanded that they be allowed to withdraw from the Pension Fund.

They have also demanded that all contributions made by them so far be returned.

Originally, the Pension Fund was non-contributory, and from its implementation in 1967, only employers paid into the fund for their workforce.

The fund was converted to a compulsory contributory one in 1978, and its operation was extended to cover all workers in the industry. Before this, black workers had generally been excluded and when deductions from their pay packets became compulsory, the workers were not consulted. However, to cushion the blow and avoid difficulties, wage increases in 1978 were inflated so that initial deductions would not be noticed.

The fund is worth R420 million, and is managed by a board with members from management and ten unions, all of which are registered in terms of the Labour Relations Act and participate in the Industrial Council Agreement. R226 and a half million is invested in government, municipal and other stocks, and the balance of the fund's capital is invested in the private investment sector and fixed property.

In 1981, members of the fund had some R50 and a half million deducted from their pay slips. Benefits of R8 and a half million were paid. The yield on investments was 11.45 percent. By the 31st December 1981, contributions were being paid for 312,249 workers.

The first sign of the Defy workers' dissatisfaction with the Fund was in October 1981, when they went on strike demanding the return of their contributions. The strike lasted eleven days and they were eventually reinstated. Management, realising they had failed to consult workers in the first place about the Fund, undertook to attempt to secure some sort of acceptable compromise from the Industrial Council (IC).

When in February 1982 the workers saw that not much progress had been made, they again went on strike for eight days. Their demands remained the same: refund our contributions and stop deductions. The workers were dismissed but reinstated after negotiations.

Management intensified their efforts to get the Pension Fund and IC to liaise. In March the application for an exemption to enable Defy to start their own pension fund was refused by the IC.

Defy workers have examined four alternatives to the apparent impasse:

- Applying to Court for a ruling that the extension of the Fund's terms to cover the entire industry in 1978 was unlawful in that they and other workers were not represented on the Industrial Council.
- Demanding that management risk prosecution under the Act on the basis that extending the terms was

unlawful and if they refuse to make any further contributions, they have a valid excuse. The Labour Relations Act has severe penalties for companies which do not pay deducted contributions to the Fund. A further demand was that Defy Industries should repay contributions deducted in negotiated instalments.

- Appealing to the Minister against the Industrial Council decision not to grant Defy Industries an exemption enabling them to create their own pension fund.
- Further industrial action.

Workers have chosen the second option and are waiting for management to reply. Alternative three was rejected as implying accepting the extension of the Fund's provisions. The workers have made it clear that they have no confidence in the Fund. The first option was seen as too expensive for the union and a decision on the last one was reserved.

The Defy workers' remain unconvinced of any value in remaining members of the Fund. The level of suspicion is so high that when the Centre for Applied Social Studies, which is doing a survey on worker attitudes to pensions, wanted to interview (anonymously) individual workers, they were not able to find any willing to co-operate.

The Fund's representatives are confident that their fund is of great benefit to the workers. They have said that to grant an exemption to Defy, allowing it to set up its own scheme, would destroy the Fund. The workers have requested management to ask for reasons for the refusal and why the management board is so concerned about the Fund's continued existence if they are so confident of its benefits.

## No bail for Cosas accused

THREE MEMBERS of Cosas appeared in the Springs Regional Court on October 20 on charges under the Internal Security Act.

The three, Vulindelela Mapekulo, Andrew Makone and Mzwandile Nkosi, were not asked to plead, and their case was remanded until January 17 1983.

They were refused bail by the Attorney-General and will remain in custody until the trial.

The case flows out of the detention of a number of Springs Cosas members in mid-September this year.

Their charges relate to furthering the aims of a banned organization and being in possession of publications emanating from an unlawful organization. A detailed charge sheet is not available.

## ANC man jailed for twenty years

A YOUNG Sowetan, Suzman Nkopone Moekoena, convicted in the Pretoria Supreme Court of high treason and membership of the banned ANC, was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment in mid-October.

During the trial, the State led evidence claiming that Moekoena joined the ANC between 1976 and 1979, and received military training in various countries outside South Africa.

Moekoena was accused of taking part in planning the attack on Rosslyn Electrical Sub-station, on Watloo Petrol Plant, a railway line and a Mamelodi police station.

In passing sentence, Mr Justice van der Walt said he had taken Moekoena's age and the "many problems created by colour in this country" into consideration.

## Promised land is barren

LANDOWNERS AND tenants at Driefontein near Ermelo are being threatened with removal to a piece of "bare veld" near the Swaziland

border.

Early in November, the Development Trust took twenty landowners and several tenants to look at a deserted farm at Lochiel, 140km away from their present homes.

Three hundred landowners at Driefontein have been told by the Development Trust that they must move off their farms to make way for a dam. They have been told that the Swazi members of the community will move to Lochiel in Kangwane and the Zulu members to Babonongo in Kwazulu.

Saul Mkize, a landowner and secretary of Driefontein's Community Board said: "They took us to Lochiel and stopped in the middle of the road. They pointed at some bare, mountainous veld and said we could live on this land. There is no water and the veld is full of rocks."

Mkize said people living nearby had told them that the farm had been deserted several years ago because the land was so stony and unfertile that nothing would grow. There was also no water nearby.

Landowners are not being offered compensation for their land.

"How can we move to this place. At Driefontein we have farms. At Lochiel they will give us a plot of land in a location. There are no houses, no roads, no schools, no churches and no water," said Mkize.

Driefontein is a community of 50,000 people. There are schools, churches, roads and shops. The landowners have elected a community board to take responsibility for running the schools, and the upkeep of roads and the cemetery.

The farm was bought in 1912 by Pixley Ka Seme, one of the founding members of the ANC. In terms of the 1913 Land Act, Africans are not allowed to own land outside of the bantustan, and the area has been declared a "black spot".

The Chairperson of the Community Board is encouraging tenants to accept the land they are being offered. Mkize who is the secretary of the Board said the board was not elected to make decisions about removals. They had only been elected to make decisions about schools, roads and the upkeep of the cemetery.

Mkize has been forbidden by the local magistrate to call a meeting of landowners who are opposed to the removal.

"We want to elect an executive committee that can take up this removal issue," Mkize said.

The Development Trust managed to persuade 80 out of 300 landowners to sign an agreement to say they would go and look at land.



Tenants had nowhere to go as demolition began

## Taking stock of evictions

AN ACTION committee representing seven families threatened with eviction from Arenel House in Kerk Street, Johannesburg, has won a temporary reprieve from the owner of the building, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE).

The families formed an action committee after attempts by Actstop — an organisation formed to fight Group Areas evictions — to negotiate with the JSE had failed.

At a meeting between the tenants representative, Jakes Kalidou and three members of the JSE executive, the JSE agreed to halt demolition work and look for alternative accommodation for the tenants.

The action committee issued a pamphlet saying the tenants had nowhere else to live. They accused the JSE of going directly against a plea they had made to the government to

move away from hurtful discrimination and to alleviate the artificial housing shortage created by the Group Areas Act. They also said that the JSE's attempt to evict them "tramples on a basic human right of people — the right to housing and security".

The tenants first moved into the building in 1973. They rented accommodation from a businessman who leased the building from the JSE. At the end of October, the businessman agreed to vacate the building without consulting his tenants.

The landlord then gave his tenants one month to find alternative accommodation. The tenants looked for other accommodation without success. The Department of Community Development told the families that they would be put on the housing waiting list.

# Shop floor bargains

## Ccawusa wins in large department store disputes

MEMBERS OF the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Ccawusa) have been involved in at least five major strikes in Johannesburg this year. They have forced managements to acknowledge their demands and won recognition of their union.

In the most recent strike at CNA, over 600 workers downed tools at more than 20 stores in the Johannesburg area. The workers demanded pay increases and recognition of Ccawusa. They also protested against the sacking of three workers who management argued "dismissed themselves" by stopping work.

The strike followed a negotiation breakdown between the union and CNA management. Management was prepared to meet with union officials but refused to meet with CNA shops stewards. However after the strike, management agreed to meet the CNA shop stewards and negotiations are proceeding.

The demand for management to recognise shop stewards has been an important one for Ccawusa, and has also been an issue in other strikes.

"Workers want their shop stewards recognised because they feel their grievances will then be dealt with adequately," says Emma Mashinini, general secretary of Ccawusa. She says that managements are reluctant to recognise shop stewards because they do not want strong organisation on the shop floor.

The union has had to fight hard for access to organise workers at the workplace and then to get managements to recognise the union.

The first companies to recognise Ccawusa were Allied Publishing, OK Bazaars and the Greatermans Group. After months of wrangling at the latter two companies, Ccawusa won the right to take up worker grievances, the recognition of shop stewards, access to organise workers and stop order facilities.

The union organises mainly in the commercial sector. The majority of their 20-30 000 members are from big chain stores, although the union



Emma Mashinini, General Secretary of Ccawusa

also organises in small shops and at Allied Publishing.

Over half of Ccawusa's membership are women who complain about sexual discrimination in wages and working conditions.

According to a union official, the starting monthly wage for women at OK Bazaars is R195; and for men R205. Workers at OK say discrimination is unfair because men and women do similar jobs. Management has not met this demand.

Discriminatory wages are entrenched by the Wage Board, says Mashinini. The Wage Board argues that workers themselves are opposed to equal wages because it is contrary to "African custom".

Women are also discriminated against in company pension schemes. While men can join these schemes when they start work women must work for a full year before they are allowed to join the fund.

A union official said another common complaint by women workers is being subjected to humiliating body searches before leaving work. Although there are guidelines by which women have to be searched, the official said superintendents do not stick to these. "Women are made to strip to their underclothes and male superintendents are often employed to search them."

Many Ccawusa members are employed as cashiers. Union officials complain that workers are often not taught to use the till properly and so they make mistakes and are dismissed on the spot. In other incidents workers are accused of theft.

"It's not that we think that the workers are always right, but the machines are very complicated and often workers don't know how to use them properly," said a union official.

Another complaint is the use of undercover agents who pose as customers and "forget" to take their change or their till slip. Three or four days later management calls in the cashier to explain why the change wasn't kept in the till or returned to the customer.

The union has condemned this method of checking on workers. A cashier cannot leave her till to run after a customer with a slip or change, and it is impossible for the cashier to disprove allegations that she pocketed the customer's change.

The union points out that management can only prove these allegations if workers are spoken to on the spot.

Ccawusa has not always enjoyed the successes it is having today. In the early days management would not allow union officials access to the workers at work.

Mashinini described how she had to meet workers after hours or during lunch breaks, outside the premises. She also tried to organise liaison committee members to join the union because they had access to the workers at the workplace.

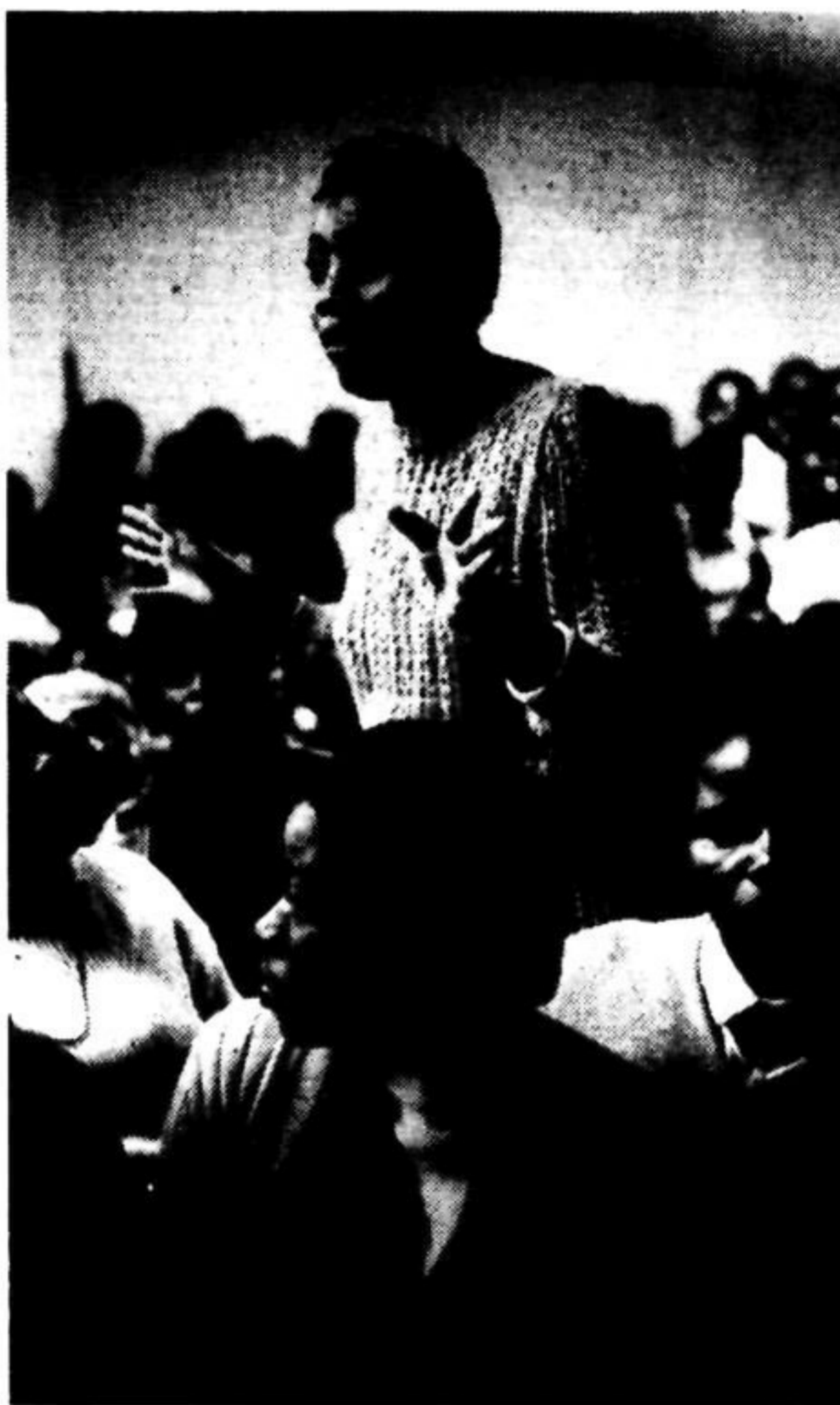
The union was officially formed in August 1975 with the help of white and coloured unions organising in the commercial and distributive industries. These were registered unions and Ccawusa became a parallel union. However Ccawusa is not affiliated to Tucsa but has remained independent.

At present Ccawusa has branches in Johannesburg, Orange Vaal, Durban and in the Western and Eastern Cape. It is planning to open offices in areas of Natal, Orange Free State, Benoni and Pretoria.

Ccawusa officials attribute the union's growth to increasing militancy on the shop floor.

"The workers are no longer prepared to accept arbitrary hiring and firing and have united against accusations of theft and till shortages by management," said Mashinini. "At the same time the rising cost of living is forcing workers to demand wage increases."

"They join the union to hold them in the fight: we provide worker education and help them to organise democratically on the factory floor." ■



OK strike . . . workers discuss grievances

## Gawu in recognition deadlock

WORKERS AT a Johannesburg printing firm, Kalamazoo, are demanding that management recognise the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu) following a recent strike over working hours.

Although during the dispute management finally agreed to meet Gawu officials to negotiate worker demands, it has refused to formally recognise the union because of a closed shop agreement with the South African Typographical Union (Satu).

Gawu claims to represent two thirds of the African workforce at the firm.

The dispute began when white and coloured workers, who are brought to work in the staff bus, wanted to start work earlier so they could knock off earlier. African workers, who depend on the train for transport, objected because it would mean leaving home when it was still dark, making them easy targets for thugs.

The work stoppage began at the end of October after an African employee, who had worked at Kalamazoo for twenty years, was dismissed after quarrelling with a female staff member. Management claimed he had violated company policy by threatening her with violence.

An elected worker committee demanded that:

- The dismissed worker be reinstated
- Working hours remain the same
- Management recognise Gawu and withdraw the stop order agreement with Satu.

Although management refused to recognise Gawu, they agreed to talk to the union's officials.

The time issue was resolved as workers were given an option on starting hours, but management refused to reinstate the worker. They said the woman involved had also been dismissed.

Management claimed they could not withdraw the Satu stop order provision because of the closed shop agreement.

According to a Gawu spokesperson, workers are unhappy with Satu because whenever they take a grievance to the Union, they are told it cannot be dealt with on the factory floor, but must be handled on a national level. "Workers feel that nothing is done about their particular problems when dealt with in this way," he said.

## No defense for detainees

A REVIEW Board to consider the further preventative detention of Moderbee detainees Modikwe Tase and David Tobela has allowed the two no legal representation and has denied their lawyers access to the evidence.

Tase and Tobela have been in preventative detention since the beginning of this year. In August their detentions were extended by the Minister of Law and Order for another year.

Tobela was detained by a South African raiding party at Matola in January 1981. Tase has been in detention since he was released from prison after serving a sentence for refusing to give evidence in a Terrorism Act trial.

Both were called before the Review Board, appointed by the Minister to make recommendations on their further detention to him, in late September and asked to give oral evidence. They appeared separately and were not allowed to have their legal representatives present. When their lawyers protested against this procedure, they were told they would be allowed to address the Board.

"This is far from satisfactory," said lawyer Graham Dison, acting for both men. "We don't know what evidence is before the Board, nor what allegations have been made against our clients. In our opinion, the Board has subjected our clients to a trial where they have already been convicted and where they are exam-

ined by qualified lawyers without being duly represented."

"Even if the Board's findings are in our clients' favour, the Minister is not obliged to abide by them," Dison said.

He also alleged that there were unidentified men, other than the judge and two assistants appointed by the Minister, present at the hearing.

A pamphlet issued by the Soweto Detainee Aid Movement in support of the two men said, "The detention of people opposed to apartheid is no solution to the problems facing South Africa. Keeping people in detention for long periods at the whim and fancies of the Minister of Law and Order is a disgusting practice."

## Developing potential of youth

Festival for young organised by Lens group

THE LENASIA Youth League will be holding an arts and sporting festival between December 15 and 19.

The League, which sees its role as helping to develop the educational, cultural and creative potential of the youth, has chosen "expression, participation and unity" as the festival's theme.

"We want people to join in a range of activities which we hope will allow them to express their hidden talents," say members of the organising group.

They hope the festival will forge a unity between youth from various communities.

"We want people from other places as well as Lens to see this as their festival and actively take part in the programme," said the group.

They have planned a wide range of activities including an arts festival, a marathon, a variety concert, roller-skating, water polo, music and film shows.

The League's president, Nazir Carrim, said youth have an important role in the community. "We must always see ourselves as being part of our community and responsible for society's general upliftment."

## Student dies under guard

AN EASTERN Cape security police detainee, Sonwabo Dlamini, died under police guard in Livingstone Hospital on September 17.

Dlamini was shot in the stomach when security police came to arrest him on June 7 this year. He was admitted to Livingstone Hospital with extensive injuries to his stomach, pancreas, bowel and liver.

He remained in hospital for three months under police guard until his death.

At present the cause of death is unknown, but medical experts believe that it is related to complications arising out of his injuries.



From the Tasc pamphlet calling for a boycott of the Sri Lankan tour

## Another wasted carrot

While the real Sri Lankan cricket team tours Zimbabwe, South Africa again backs a flop

"WE CAN dangle a bigger carrot." This seems to be the response of South African impresarios, sporting authorities and their sponsors to the cultural and sporting boycott of this country.

The success of their approach can be gauged by the Arosa Sri Lankan cricket tour presently taking place.

The 3 600 spectators who attended the four-day "test" at the Wanderers indicated public response to a "test" against a country whose official side was in Zimbabwe at the time. That the tour resulted in a R500 000 loss to the South African Cricket Board comes then as no surprise.

The tour has once again brought local and overseas attention onto the sports boycott of this country.

And in Sri Lanka, the cricketers branded by the internal press as "the disgraced fourteen" came under heavy attack for continuing the tour. The Sri Lankan Cricket Board has banned the defiant players for 25 years from all future tournaments and test matches and Foreign Minister Shabul Aameed has threatened "strong action" and pointed out possible damage the tour could cause to the "good name of Sri Lanka".

But despite government threats of stiff penalties, cricketers went ahead with their plans and arrived in South Africa after a secretive cloak and

dagger departure.

This, Sri Lankan newspapers attribute to the "carrot-dangling tactics of South Africa's cricket board and rich businessmen". Some players may receive anything up to R100 000 for just seven weeks of cricket. "This would be enough for a choice plot and money to keep them languishing in luxury for the rest of their lives", said one report.

*The Sun*, a leading Sri Lankan newspaper, said, "The lure of money has closed the eyes of the fourteen to the repercussions Sri Lanka will face", referring to the country's future participation in the Asian Games and its links with the Commonwealth Games Federation and the International Olympic Committee.

In the face of international sports isolation to protest against apartheid policies, this is not the first time South African sports bodies have offered such huge sums of money to overseas sportsmen.

Financial backing has come from big business with companies like Gillette, Datsun and SA Breweries pumping huge sponsorships to promote these tours.

This funding has been criticised by organisations in the country as encouraging "theatrical sport" played by "stars" and "professionals" instead of promoting grassroots sport among children, juniors and amateurs, building sports grounds and pro-

viding equipment on a non-racial basis.

South African opposition to the tour was expressed in a pamphlet issued jointly by the Tasc and the TCB. In making its call on the public to take a stand against the tour, the pamphlet pointed to the soccer tour earlier this year which flopped because "the people of Soweto refused to support it".

The two reasons given for the call were:

- "Support for the tour would harm the struggle for a free and just South Africa, for which thousands of brave men and women have died, been jailed, detained, exiled and banned."
- "True and non-racial sport in which all people can participate cannot exist while apartheid and white domination still exist."

The pamphlet says the rest of the world has isolated and boycotted 'South African sport because "racism permeates all aspects of our life, including sport".

The call for South Africa's sporting and cultural isolation has also been backed by the Transvaal Council of Sport (Tracos), Azaso, the Benoni Students' Movement, Azapo, Soweto Civic Association, Cosas, Media Workers Association of South Africa, Federation of Residents Association of Lenasia and other trade unions and student groups.

# A DANGER

To the commercial press, the 'alternative' media are just a giggle. But the State doesn't seem to see the joke . . .

**A** PROMINENT commercial journalist recently referred to what we know as the independent or alternative press as some people's idea of a hobby.

But, we have to ask ourselves why over the decades the state has taken *this particular hobby and its enthusiasts* a lot more seriously than they would stamp collectors.

Now, it would appear, cynical jabs such as this stem more from an ignorance of the nature and history of the alternative press than an attempt at journalistic one-upmanship.

In setting the alternative press' record straight, a pitfall to avoid is not to divorce media from politics. Many seem to make the mistake of seeing the media as an end in itself, ignoring how it integrates with other forms of political activity.

The lesson is that the media is no substitute for organisation. What good is a trade union which pamphlets a factory every single day if it has not got any members on its books, doesn't know what the workers think about that pamphlet or if they want it at all.

Looking at the South African press, it seems the earliest independent black newspaper we know of began at the end of the 19th century. It was known as *Imvo*, and was founded by a well-known black politician and a fairly controversial figure of that period, John Tengo Jabavu. In its initial stages the paper took up certain political issues and counted amongst its successes, the release of Chief Sigcau from Robben Island and a campaign against The Native Disenfranchisement Act. The paper was written in Xhosa and English and professed to giving "native opinion" . . . as they called it, to white





# DUS HOBBY



people.

It is interesting however, to see the kind of words that Jabavu used in his paper. He would refer to Coloured as the "bastardised people" and when in 1912, the South African National Congress was founded, *Imvo* was to ignore the event. Today, *Imvo* still exists and is owned by Perskor.

Whilst the philosophy of these early black newspapers was that previous responses to white power on the battlefield had failed and it was time to use a new weapon — the pen. Their weakness was to see the media as their only political expression. In other words, they spoke solely through their papers. They felt that is where we take our struggle: that is all we need to do (except perhaps the odd delegation to the great white queen).

It is also questionable how accessible the language of those newspapers was to their intended readership, particularly the flowery phrases of editors like Jabavu. As one white detractor writing in the *Bloemfontein Friend* said: "Not an article appears that does not contain certain sequidatious words, that no kaffir this side of the Tropic of Capricorn could understand or use." Basically, the implication was that the paper had been written by the white liberals who were behind it.

In 1912 the newly-born African National Congress started a very militant anti-government paper, *Abantu Batho*. Founded on money raised from the Queen Regent of Swaziland, it finally

incorporated a number of small black papers existing at the time. *Abantu Batho* was published in Zulu, Xhosa Sotho and Tswana and aimed to break down the existing tribal division and build a sense of unity. It popularised certain slogans that we all know today like "Mayibuye Africa".

A white commissioner in Basutoland reacted to the paper by saying "The native press in South Africa is always going to be with us, and it is certain to criticise the white man as freely as he criticises them. But it is not an unmixed evil: it is as well to know what they are thinking about."

Now, whatever the generous paternalism of the commissioner's attitude to the fledgling black press was, that solid and sober-minded band of citizens, The Chamber of Mines, took a more serious view and decided to bring out a paper to counter *Abantu Batho's* effect. It was called *Umteteli* and was not widely known for its criticism of the Chamber of Mines or mine policy.

The early 20th century's trade union movement, the ICU (the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union) had its own mouthpiece called *The Workers' Herald*, which seems to have been widely distributed. In fact it even went out as far as Nyasaland (Malawi) where one luckless distributor was imprisoned for three years for his pains.

During the 20's and 30's the Communist Party also brought out publications like *The South*

*African Worker*, *Umsebenzi* and *Inkululeko*. The latter was liquidated in 1950 when the state outlawed it after passing the Suppression of Communism Act.

*Abantu Batho* finally collapsed in 1931 after falling victim to the economic depression, internal dissent and poor printing.

Meanwhile, white commercial interests had slowly become more attracted to what they called "the black readership market". So came *Bantu World*, a commercial paper for black readers. This paper was the ancestor of what was later to be *The World*, the *Post* and today *The Sowetan*.

To quote some of its founders' attitudes as to why they should move into the black press, a memorandum motivating this said, "Keenessness of competition is forcing all commercial interests to seek new markets and in the opinion of advertising authorities, a large and increasing amount of advertising is likely to be carried by the native press."

Under the heading "Political", it said, "Rapidly increasing literacy brings in its train a real need for development and sane guidance of Bantu opinion as expressed in the native press, and the importance of moulding native opinion makes their control a matter of the utmost importance to South Africa's future well-being".

So, in the 1930's with conservative papers like *Bantu World* emerging, a burden fell on independent papers like *Inkululeko* to counter their effect.

There is a gap in information about new papers in the 1940's, but the post-war period saw the independent Press blossom.

*The Guardian*, a paper largely conceived by Communist Party members, emerged during this period. In 1948 Brian Bunting, who was to become a central figure, became editor. He was an indomitable man, of enormous courage and the inspiration for setting the independent press of that time going.

By 1950 the government had introduced the Suppression of Communism Act, giving it wide powers to close down publications. The paper was raided for the first time in 1950, and a year later the Minister appointed a committee of three anonymous people to investigate the merits of the organisation.

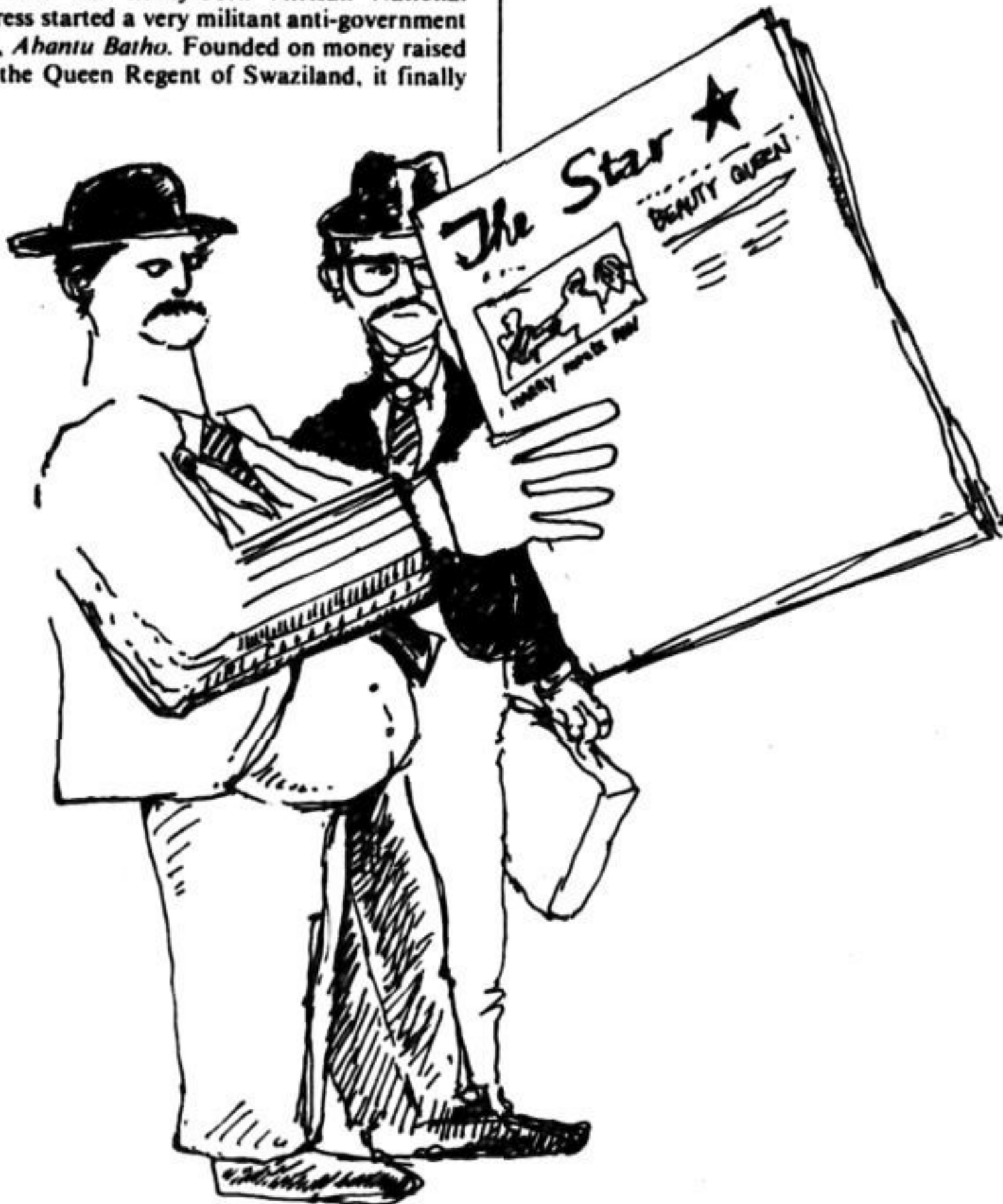
In 1952 *The Guardian* was the first newspaper to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

*The Guardian* staff then decided to bring out another newspaper called *The Clarion*, but when they tried to register it with the Department of the Interior they were told they could not use the name as there was another paper called *The Clarion*. Another name, *The People's World* was submitted but the Department again refused it on the same grounds.

Eventually this cat and mouse game between Bunting and the Department of the Interior ended when the name *Advance* was accepted. But the paper did not last long. After two weeks it was banned under the same provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act. Undeterred, Bunting brought out a new paper the next week called *New Age*.

For the next eight years *New Age* appeared regularly every week, in spite of financial difficulties, harassment, and banning of some of its staff members and contributors.

*New Age*, while it never claimed to be the





official organ of the Congress Movement, nevertheless stated that it founded its editorial on the Freedom Charter. The paper was distributed nationally and aimed at a general audience, probably of fairly politically aware people.

*New Age* eventually bit the dust in November 1962. Having come out for eight years it was actually something of a record for Bunting and his staff.

But in the classic tradition of publish and be damned, they were out the next month with a new paper called *Spark*. Its reign was short-lived, and March 1963 saw *Spark*'s last edition.

This time, however, the Minister didn't just ban the publication under the Suppression of Communism Act, but used the Act to prevent those responsible from operating as journalists again.

The rest of the decade and the next saw a dropping off in the "general" type of independent newspaper.

But specialist publications -- those that focussed on particular issues of labour, community university or religion, lived and died at various times of this period.

For instance Christian organisations started bringing out far more politically hard-hitting

papers. The best example is the Christian Institute's *Pro Veritate*, particularly for its exposés of torture in detention. This paper was finally banned in 1977, along with the Christian Institute.

Now this brings us to the student press, which until the late sixties was wishy-washy and often apolitical.

Then, as a result of the greater radicalisation of student politics in the sixties and the influence of overseas student movements, the student press began to become more political. But there was an interesting schizophrenia if one looks at these newspapers. A newspaper like *Wits Student* was very forceful on civil rights issues. But then the back page would feature a photograph of the Rag Queen. This showed exactly the development of student political consciousness. A certain civil rights consciousness was very strong in those papers, but issues that we see today as important

either didn't seem that significant, or weren't issues to them at the time.

*Wits Student* was a very interesting paper in the early seventies, not because it was much better than anybody else's, but because of the controversy it was involved in as a result of protest. The student press was seen by the public and began to see itself as a radical and protest medium.

The most well-known incident was the "toilet seat" saga in 1972. *Wits Student* editor, Mark Douglas-Home, a nephew of the former British Prime Minister, published a cover on *Wits Student* of a little baby looking down into a toilet bowl, saying, "Excuse me, are you the Prime Minister?"

Now this rather provocative, naughty little thing, that wouldn't be out of place any more,

in a publication that probably distributed to no more than 2 000 people on an English-speaking campus in Johannesburg, generated a national incident, became a subject for heated parliamentary discussion and eventually Douglas-Home was deported to Britain. This incident certainly woke up the campuses and redirected the student press.

The media was no longer a game.

But what was significant was that the student press began to see itself as more important — as having a certain amount of power and being able to influence things. But people also learnt that it wasn't good enough to be provocative. There was a certain responsibility in publishing, and there were certain consequences if you didn't toe the line. If you were going to get your fingers burned, at least make it worthwhile.

By 1974, the Publications Act was passed and bannings of student newspapers gradually accumulated. The Publications Committee has certainly seen student journalism as one of its prime customers, and not a week goes by when you don't see student newspapers banned.

Students moved beyond this to realise it wasn't such a big status symbol to be banned, and that to publish to be banned was also irresponsible. During that period a greater radicalisation and maturity developed in the student press. People realised they had newspapers they could do something with, and make decent use of.

But there are certain problems in the role the student press tries to adopt. It started the phrase — "the alternative press" which came into currency in 1977. What it meant was that the student press saw itself as an alternative to the commercial press. The student press said, "We will take up the issues the commercial press aren't publicising. We will fill that gap."

It was probably a little bit ambitious. Firstly, the student press didn't have the resources to do the research, the necessary contacts with the community to actually publish those kind of stories. Most importantly, they didn't have the readership. While they saw themselves fitting into a much broader role, ultimately they were very much bound to the campuses.

Moving beyond the student press in the seventies, the media was significantly affected by the change in resistance. As popular resistance emerged and grew, so the role of the media within the community was to grow as well.

The trade unions, for example, saw it was useful to mobilise and communicate with membership. They couldn't meet them on a day to day basis, tell them what the union was doing there and in other places and so on.

For community organisations, it provided an opportunity to identify with the community and through it, members of the community could identify with each other. It could take up important issues in the community, however trivial they seemed to the commercial press.

Central to these media was that, like the papers of the fifties, they worked hand in hand with organisation. By helping to spread and strengthen those organisations, they were taking them forward — and that is what progressive media is all about.

This revival of the alternative press was marked by community newspapers, and following the Grassroots example in the 70's, the concept spread



i. n almost domino effect.

But certain problems that have always lived with the alternative press continue.

Firstly there's the age-old bogey of state repression, which we are going to have to learn to live with and develop our counter strategies. One of these in the media is a legal tactic. For instance, the student press can go a lot further today than it could have in the past because of contradictions emerging in the Publications Appeal Board. This is not because the Board is getting more liberal, but it is trying to legitimise itself and so seems to be more tolerant of student media. Hence, publications like *Work in Progress* and *Saspu National*, banned on the one hand by the committees, were then unbanned by the Appeal Board.

The next problem facing alternative media is finance. Unlike the commercial press, community newspapers have a very small readership and propagate views not popular with the commercial sector. Because of this they have lost one normal form of revenue advertising and so have to rely on funding from their community, outside funding or selling advertising to smaller traders in the area.

Then there are the internal problems. It's not only the state and finances that have destroyed independent newspapers. Some of them have destroyed themselves, and particularly when there isn't much clarity on the newspaper's role, internal conflict has led to disintegration.

Finally, a paper is only as good as it is read. While the commercial press distributes via news vendors and shops, the alternative press has to rely on a network of volunteers. Although intentions may be good, often the paper does not get out and money from sales comes in dribs and drabs, making it hard to collect.

"Alternative" also implies a completely different attitude to journalism. The commercial press assumes a passive, ignorant audience with a journalist who knows everything acting on them. But the alternative press should operate from a different starting point, working to demystify the journalist's role to simply that of a media worker, and promote an active readership who contribute and criticise the publication. It's this kind of interaction on both levels that actually makes an alternative newspaper.

So it's not good enough to just bring out a newspaper with "the right line", but it's the interaction and communication with the audience that actually makes it a people's paper.

Although working in the alternative press may seem daunting after this history of the literal graveyards that have grown in the names of many of these publications, we should not confuse the issue. The fact that newspapers have actually died does not mean their sole aim was to survive. They were there for a specific purpose at a certain time and in many cases they fulfilled their role. No-one working in these publications supposed they would, like Peter Pan, live and remain young forever.

The death of one or the other has never spelt a death blow to the entire movement and we have yet to see, amongst the graveyards of the dead progressive publications, a tombstone inscribed "Rest in Peace, the Alternative Press". And let's hope we never will.

# Organising small towns

**Q: How did Nismawu start?**

**A:** Nismawu was formed in March 1981 at Richards Bay. It is affiliated to the National Federation of Workers (NFW), a Durban based breakaway from Bawu (Black Allied Workers Union). NFW aimed to set up a number of industrial unions. The first sectors where they began organising were Iron and Steel, Post Office workers, municipal and domestic workers.

Nismawu began organising workers in Richards Bay who were employed by Richards Bay Minerals.

**Q: Why did you start organising workers in small towns?**

**A:** There was only one other metal company at Richards Bay and that was Alusaf which is organised by Fosatu. So we decided to organise workers in the small towns and farms of Natal. The reason why we've selected these areas, for example, Mtubatuba, Empangeni, Esikhaweni and Melmouth is that there is a tendency among other major trade unions not to pay too much attention to people from small towns. These workers are actually grossly exploited.

Many other unions concentrate on major industrial areas. When you organise in small towns you have a lot of problems with transport. For example, Mtubatuba is 50km away from our office at Eshowe and we have to make use of public transport. Nevertheless you can't leave those people just because it's expensive to go and organise them.

**Q: Does this mean that Nismawu is no longer organising Iron and Steel Workers and has become a general workers union?**

**A:** When we organise workers in their towns they all join Nismawu. Although some are municipal workers, others work in supermarkets, for wholesalers and on the sugarcane farms. While we organise these various people within NISMAWU, we realise that as the union grows we will have to establish independent unions for them.

But at the moment, because these are small towns and people are not organised, it would be self-defeating to try and establish many industrial unions in such a small place.

So we're not saying that Nismawu is no longer an Iron and Steel factory union, but that the size and circumstances of the workforce in

**Saspu Focus interviews Matthew Oliphants and Vincent Mkonza, two organisers of the National Iron, Steel, Metal and Allied Workers Union (Nismawu).**



**Nismawu organisers Matthews Oliphants and Vincent Mkonza**

these towns means that we must first organise their workers into a general union.

**Q: What is the main grievance of workers in the area?**

**A:** During the year we conducted some research around the town of Mtubatuba. We found that the workers there were badly exploited. Many of them were earning R55 to R65 per month after three or four years service. In this area there is no proper transport. People used privately-owned buses and so were paying an average of 90 cents a day on transport. That's two-thirds of their income on transport.

In July we started organising in Mtubatuba. We worked with these workers on a minimum wage which they could demand. We decided on

R180 a month. It's still low but it's better than R60 a month. We worked it out on the basis of a family of eight. The workers actively participated in working it out. We took into account people's staple foods, their transport costs and their rent.

**Q: What response did you have from employers to this demand?**

**A:** In late July we started communicating this minimum wage demand to a number of employers. The response we got from the employers was as we expected. They said their relationship with their workers was a domestic affair and they didn't want to talk to the union.

But this isn't such a problem because in companies where we have members, the members elect workers' committees. As most of these are

small places, there are usually about five members of the workers' committee. So even if the employer doesn't want to talk to the officials of the union, he is forced to talk to these representatives of the workers.

Only three employers have shown a positive response. One employer, N F Holmes Stores, has given 25%, but that is from R60 per month. The local Health Committee has increased the wage from R60 to R80. And another employer, a wholesaler which is a subsidiary of Premier Milling, has given workers a 10% increase as from the end of last month, and has promised a further increase as soon as we hold a secret ballot to show that we represent the majority of their forty five workers.

With the farmers we wrote a letter to one of them and we received a reply from the Umfolozi Farmers Association inviting us to a meeting.

**Q: How important is worker participation in the union?**

**A:** We want as much direct worker participation in the union as possible. So we put a lot of energy into shop floor leadership. No matter how small the company, we encourage workers to elect a workers' committee from among themselves and then the union helps them to conduct educational classes for the shop stewards.

At present, the union has only two full-time organisers so the workers actually recruit members at their places of work.

As far as decision-making for the union as a whole is concerned, we try to get the delegates who represent the workers, either shop stewards or members of the workers' committee, and they are the people who make the decisions. At this stage, because our membership is still small, we try to involve the workers themselves, whether or not they are shop stewards. Our union is still small so it's easy to get many of them to come to meetings.

Our members are all African workers. We have a non-racial constitution, and we would like Coloured and Indian members, but it's difficult to organise these people because they are mainly supervisors and clerks.

**Q: What relationship does your union have with the community in the areas where you organise?**

**A:** We believe that we cannot divorce community matters because these members of the union are also

members of different communities. Although we have not yet devised a system of working with the community, we try to get involved in community matters.

Recently we tried to form a sub-committee at Mtubatuba to cater for the interests of some unemployed people who are forced to sell vegetables and fruit at the bus rank. They continually face police harassment. We have been helping them by taking them to the magistrate and the local police commander to try and negotiate for them to be left in peace.

Another problem which workers face, particularly at Empangeni, is rising transport costs. To travel 23km to town from Esikhoweni you have to pay 60 cents on a bus. Employers are actually dividing the workers from the rest of the community because they buy them bus tickets while members of the community have to pay the full fares.

During the strike at Richards Bay Minerals last year, the housing situation caused us a lot of problems. Workers at Richards Bay Minerals live in three-roomed houses built by the company. This gives the company a hold over the workers. When 800 workers went on strike last year demanding recognition of the union, management gave them eviction notices from their houses.

**Q: How has the recent wave of State action against some unions affected your union?**

**A:** Earlier this year the president of the union, Keith Mkuku, the national organiser, Magwaza Maphalala, and three organisers, Vincent Mkhonza, Matthews Oliphants and Philseaus Msomi, were detained. Matthews Oliphants for two months, and the others for a few days. The police took all the union's records and typewriters. This did intimidate some of our members.

**Q: What is the attitude of the Kwazulu government towards your union?**

**A:** The Kwazulu Department of Works has also tried to intimidate our members. At Esikhoweni, municipal workers made representation to the Kwazulu government for a minimum wage of R200 per month. The Kwazulu government said that municipal workers are not allowed to belong to trade unions and refused to speak of the Nismawu.

There were a number of incidents in September this year that were clear victimisation. A senior foreman took almost all the 250 workers from a site to the local police station where he told the station commander that he wants all the workers who are "members of Oliphant", not even members of the trade union, to stand to one side and all those who work for

the Department to stand on the other side.

The station commander told the workers that as far as he knew, workers could join trade unions.

However, this was not the end of the story because the same foreman told the workers to return their union cards to the offices. The workers didn't do this. Then the next day the Security Police arrested one of our organisers and questioned him for a day before releasing him. The following day there was an instruction from Ulundi to fine the worker.

The Kwazulu government does try to control progressive trade unions but in a very much more refined way than the Ciskei government in its dealings with Saawu.

Recently, the Kwazulu Minister of the Interior, Dr Mdlalose, made a press statement to the effect that some unions are actually misleading Kwazulu employees. He stressed that the Kwazulu government is in favour of trade unions. That's why Chief Buthelezi has been awarded that award by AFLCIO (the American Federation of Trade Unions), because of his involvement in the workers. But the employees of the Kwazulu government are not allowed to join trade unions. They have to belong to staff associations.

**Q: What do you think about the American trade union delegation which came to South Africa recently.**

**A:** The American type of trade unionism doesn't appeal to us and it doesn't apply to us. In America workers have the vote, in South Africa this is not the case. So while trade unions in America can be concerned with bread and butter issues only, in our country this is not so. We have to be concerned with bread and butter issues and also with the fact that we don't have the vote. If the American trade unionists are trying to make our trade unions follow the same pattern as their own, then they are diverting us from the real issues.

**Q: How do you think retrenchments are affecting the trade union movement?**

**A:** Employers are using retrenchments as a weapon. They use the large reserve of unemployed people to cripple worker militancy.

So when workers go on strike they can be easily replaced by experienced workers. This makes workers afraid to risk their jobs by strike action. This is an issue around which the labour movement needs to organise so that there are proper retrenchment procedures.

This will stop management from retrenching people they see as trouble makers. ■



## Whose independence?

TWENTY YEARS of political reforms have done little to alter the results of centuries of traditional patriarchy, nor has the new colonialism of multi-nationals done anything to place women in useful roles in the emergent African states.

This was the view of most delegates to a week-long conference on women in Africa today held in Dakar, Senegal recently.

"We women are no longer willing to play a passive role in our countries," said a declaration issued after six days of discussion during which women from most African states spoke of their frustration at being excluded from making the decisions which affect them.

The first thing which came under fire from delegates was the patriarchal nature of traditional society. It was clear, they said, that only allowing males to play useful roles in development and production was both archaic and a luxury the developing countries couldn't afford.

The new colonialism of multi-nationals and government elites was also blamed for the lack of progress in this area. Reforms carried out under this system large ignored women as they were instituted by a Western-educated intellectual elite guided by the demands of Western capitalism. This did not leave room for the proper integration of women into

decision-making. Rural women working for agricultural companies were still given lower wages than men, for example, despite lip-service being paid to equality.

The export of Western consumer society to independent Africa has also had a bad effect on female advancement. Through advertising, glamorous images of the ideal woman have been spread by radio, television and magazines. None of these images portray women as independent people, but rather as attachments to men.

What to do and where to start doing it was the second part of the conference. "We must begin at a local and household level, rejecting a sexual division of labour." On another level, delegates demanded that their voices be heard and that women's contribution to society be recognised. "We condemn equally discrimination and injustices based on race as that based on gender. We believe our hope lies in joining with those who are trying to forge a future human society free of discrimination."

The Dakar Declaration, as it has already become known, is an important stage in freeing African women from the bonds of both traditional as well as Western culture. African women have begun finding their own identity and preparing to make their contribution to development.

## FEATURE

# Stop or they'll shoot

## Shootings by police — the facts

A POLICEMAN may legally shoot at "and justifiably kill" a person suspected of having committed certain specified offences.

He may shoot if he feels that there is no other way of stopping a fleeing man he is trying to arrest.

This emerged from a comment by police in Pretoria after readers had said they were concerned about the number of recent police shootings.

A few examples reported by police in the Cape Town area are:

- Two "suspected" car thieves were shot dead by police in Guguletu on October 31 as they fled on foot from a car which had been identified as stolen, and which they had crashed into a street lamp after a short chase.

Their bodies have still not been identified.

- On November 1 in Elsie's River, two 17-year-old youths, part of a fleeing group of eight men, were both hit when police fired 14 shots at them.

The shooting took place after they were surprised breaking into a shop late at night.

One was hit in the stomach and the other in a shoulder, and their condition was later described as satisfactory.

- On November 3 a man caught breaking into a parked car in the Gardens was hit in the back of the head by one of four shots fired by a policeman.

He was running away after being surprised.

He has not been named and is in hospital

- Early on Monday morning, a 16-year-old youth — one of two accused of robbing a man of R14 — was shot in the shoulder when he fled from a policeman.

Statistics released in response to parliamentary questions earlier this year show that police shot and killed 150 adults in 1980 and 151 in 1981, and 52 and 24 juveniles in 1980 and 1981 respectively.

In 1980, 98 adults attempting to evade arrest were shot dead by police.

In 1981, this increased to 109. The figures for juveniles are 13 and 12.

Adults wounded while attempting to evade arrest increased from 283 in 1980 to 316 in 1981.

The figures for juveniles were 43 and 54.

Nobody denies that the police have a dangerous job to do at times, but aren't they becoming over-hasty in drawing their guns?" asked one reader who preferred to remain anonymous.

"Those two 'suspected car thieves' shot dead in Guguletu might have just bought the car or borrowed it, unaware that it was stolen, and then taken fright and tried to get away when suddenly confronted by the police.

A police spokesman at the division of public relations in Pretoria said the question of whether a policeman was justified in using his firearm was often asked.

"It is not a question that can be answered briefly, and has resulted in acrimony and lengthy legal argument in the past," he said.

He referred to the relevant sections of the

Criminal Procedure Act.

In layman's terms, Section 49 of the act, which deals with the use of force in arresting a person, states that such force "as may in the circumstances be reasonably necessary" may be used to overcome resistance or to stop a person fleeing.

It also states that the killing of a person who cannot be arrested or stopped in flight by other means than by killing, shall be "deemed to be justifiable homicide".

The catch is that the policeman must be sure or at least must "reasonably suspect" that the man he is about to shoot and possibly kill has committed an offence referred to in Schedule 1 of the Act.

This is a list of 20 specified offences.

They include treason, sedition, murder, culpable homicide, indecent assault, robbery, arson, assault when a dangerous wound is inflicted, breaking into premises, fraud.

Other offences listed are: Knowingly receiving stolen property, *escape from lawful custody*, and finally, any "conspiracy, incitement or attempt to commit" any offence referred to in the schedule.

The police spokesman declined to confirm that a policeman shooting at a fleeing suspect does not aim for the legs to bring the man down but at the thickest part of the body, the torso, to ensure a hit.

A senior WP pistol-shooter and City gun expert commented that not even the best marksman could aim at the legs of a fleeing figure and be sure of hitting.

"In those conditions you cannot do anything but aim at the whole figure, and the chances are good that a vital spot in the trunk will be hit because it presents the biggest target," he said.

The police spokesman emphasized that when a policeman used his firearm, a full investigation was carried out.

"The scene in question is inspected by an officer, who compiles a complete report.

The District Commandant and the Divisional Commissioner concerned then decide whether or not the circumstances justified the use of a firearm," he said.

"In the event of irregularity, a case docket is registered, fully investigated and forwarded to the Attorney-General for his decision.

"Apart from this, the usual court case against the offender who was fired upon follows in virtually all cases.

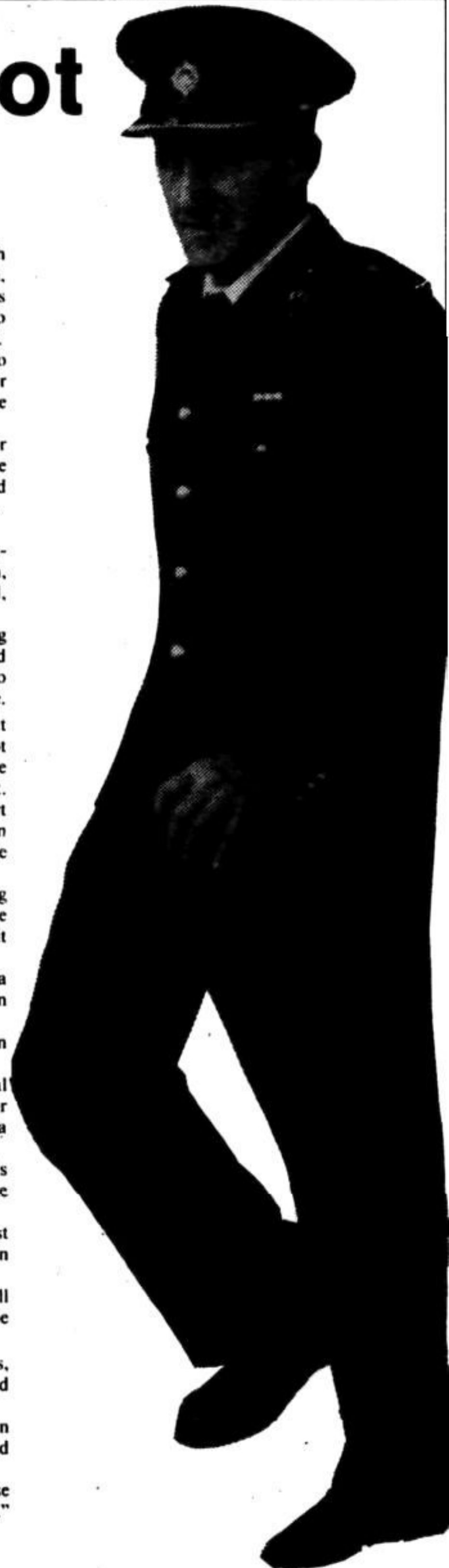
"At these proceedings, the presiding officer will automatically instruct that the necessary steps be taken if there has been any irregularity.

In the case of a death under such circumstances, an inquest is held and the magistrate concerned has to make a finding," he said.

He also said that training of South African policemen in the use of firearms was intensive and legal aspects were emphasized.

"Hours are spent to acquaint students in the use of different firearms before a single shot is fired."

Reprinted from the *Cape Times*





Kavango youth . . . hearts and minds won?

## Another two communities go to print

TWO NEW community newspapers *Speak* in Johannesburg and *Umthonyama* in Port Elizabeth, have been established in recent months.

This brings to five the number of community newspapers in South Africa. The others are *Grassroots* in Cape Town, *Ukusa* in Durban and *The Eye* in Pretoria.

*Umthonyama* appeared in September after a series of preparatory meetings.

"A newspaper is a mirror that reflects the community's problems and the mood of society," said a spokesperson for the newspaper.

"It is also an organiser of the people against major issues such as high rents and rising transport fares."

The first edition covered the GWU-Sats dock dispute, a history of Pebco and had a centre spread on the disappearance of Port Elizabeth student leader, Siphiso Mtinkulu.

There have been two editions of *Speak* distributed to the townships in and around Johannesburg.

It has focussed on protests and campaigns against rent hikes which have hit most Johannesburg communities. It has also covered a variety of community activities such as non-racial amateur soccer, youth and cultural activities. The second edition included an advice section.

"The response to *Speak* has been enthusiastic," said the editorial in the second edition. "Many people feel it is necessary to have a community newspaper to talk about their lems and how to overcome them."

But, the editorial said, *Speak* can only be successful if it has the support and participation of the people.

"Unlike commercial newspapers, we do not rely on journalists for our news," said a *Speak* organiser. "Most of our news comes directly from community, student and worker organisations and is written by the people involved in the activities of these organisations."

In their first edition they outlined the need for a different paper and pointed to the differences.

"*Speak* writes about the experiences of direct concern to our people" said an editorial outlining the need for a different paper.

"*Speak* also hopes to promote the development of organisation, and to encourage "the exchange of ideas between different communities" and for "organisations to work together."

# WHAM WHAM, you're dead

## Youth movements in Namibia

THE PHRASE "Winning Hearts and Minds" (Wham) is such a giveaway it's almost a Freudian slip. The very fact that hearts and minds have to be won at all is fair indication that neither hearts nor minds have a natural affinity with those who seek to win them.

Wham was a strategy developed by United States forces in Vietnam. There the US bolstered a regime whose challengers stood to enjoy wide support from the local population. Part of US military strategy was to undermine support for the Vietcong by convincing the locals that the US and the Saigon regime were, after all, more deserving of their support. WHAM's ultimate failure in Vietnam did not deter either the Rhodesian government employing it during their war against ZANLA and ZIPRA, or the South Africans in Namibia.

In the northern war zones of Namibia, the need to gain the support of the local population has always been particularly pressing. Civic action programmes run by the SADF and the SWA Territorial Force have, however, been largely unsuccessful. Now the prospect of Namibian independence has brought a new sense of urgency to the attempts.

A prime target for the WHAM offensive is youth and an increasingly popular idea among second tier government in the area is the youth movement.

Modelled along similar lines to Boy Scouts and Voortrekkers, movements such as Ekongoro in the Kavango are financed and controlled by the regional governments.

Ekongoro has a membership of 30 000 school pupils of all ages. Membership is compulsory. A yearly

curriculum is presented in weekly lectures and regular camps.

The movement was established in 1975 "to encourage the development of a Kavango nationalism". At the time, the South African Government was still committed to the Odendaal plan, which envisaged a Namibia divided into independent homelands according to the South African model. The failure of this plan has since been recognised and the concept of a single Namibian nation acknowledged.

Ekongoro, however, has remained cheerfully committed to its ideal of Kavango nationalism. Whilst the movement's leaders acknowledge that it ought to be placed within the context of a broader Namibian nationalism, this has yet to be implemented. In fact, the emphasis is still directed towards building an allegiance to the five Kavango tribes.

The five traditional chiefs have been enthusiastic supporters of the movement since its inception. Camps have been built on land donated by the chiefs, one for each tribal area. In addition, there is the main camp at Rundu, the administrative centre of the Kavango.

The movement's headquarters "Maria Mwenere", after the chieftainess who donated the land, reflects the emphasis on traditional culture. The huts used to accommodate pupils on camp are made entirely of traditional materials and there is an exhibition of pottery where the fine but vital distinction between Kwangali and Mouna pottery is explained.

The site also boasts a parade ground where drill is practised and the Kavango flag is hoisted and lowered daily during camps, as well as an amphitheatre for the perform-

ance of traditional song and dance.

A Traditional Sports Day is an annual event, participants competing in dugout and sleigh races, spear throwing and tree felling. Future projects include the construction of an open-air museum featuring traditional Kavango and Bushmen kraals.

The traditional culture emphasis does not prevent the movement from claiming Christian Nationalism as its base, according to an information brochure issued by Ekongoro. The brochure lists the movement's aims as transmitting Kavango culture to the youth, developing a Kavango nationalism and moulding the young into better citizens.

At the same time, however, the movement appears firmly rooted in Verwoerdian philosophy. The ultimate aim is given as "to give the youth an interest in agriculture by means of agricultural projects and in this way to make a contribution to the development of an agricultural economy."

Where Ekongoro fits into the Hearts and Minds strategy is that it aims to make the youth of Kavango satisfied with the poverty of a "traditional" rural life.

The pinnacle of Kavango success, according to Ekongoro, would be a small herd of cattle and a piece of land to plough. All other aspirations ought to be stifled as anti-traditional, thus ensuring a docile work-force whose sole desire is to return to their homeland after fulfilling the labour requirements of the white areas.

Although Ekongoro is a pioneer in its field, other ethnic authorities are beginning to follow its example and the Caprivi government has already set up a youth movement modelled on Ekongoro. Their success remains to be seen.



# Mental institutions in South Africa . . .

Out of  
sight,  
out of  
mind

"Less than a hundred years ago, patients in a mental hospital were bound and jailed like criminals. In a hundred years time, people will possibly be as shocked at our treatment of the mentally ill as we are at that of our ancestors."

"The problem with mental illness is that we are treating conditions we hardly understand at all. Realising this, we ought to be cautious and compassionate in our approach."

INFORMATION ON mental health in South Africa is difficult to obtain. The Government has imposed restrictions on what may be published about mental institutions and their patients. This is an unhappy state of affairs, but what is even less pleasant is to consider why. What is there to hide?

The 1976 amendment to the Mental Health Act outlaws the publication "in any manner whatsoever" of false information concerning the detention, treatment, behaviour or experience in any institution of patients, or concerning the administration of any institution."

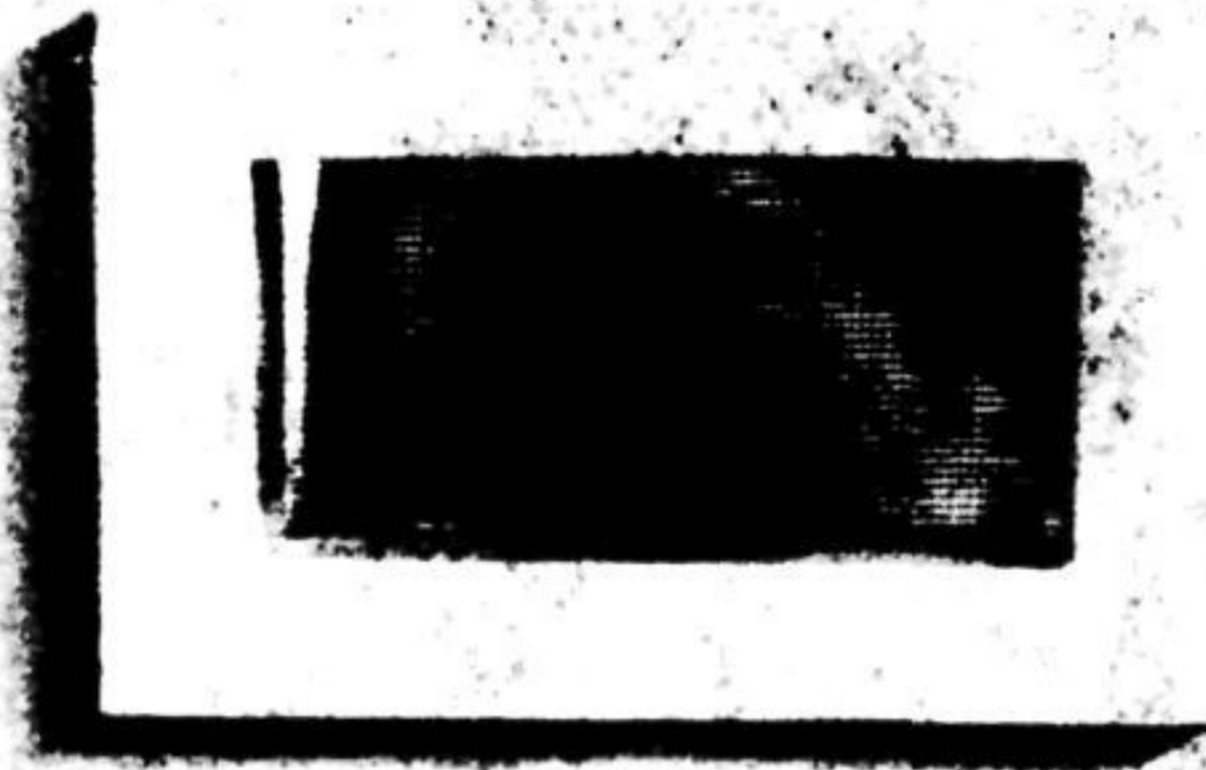
Establishing whether information is true or false involves having it verified by the Department of Health. Photographs or sketches of any mental institution and of mental patients are prohibited except by members of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa, or those authorised by the Secretary of Health.

The amendment came after Press criticism of mental health conditions.

The role of the Department of Health, which supplies the companies with funds was also highlighted in the Press. By 1978, maintenance for black patients ranged from R1,695 to R2,11 per day whilst that for white patients ranged from R5,33 to R6,375 per day.

As a Superintendent explained, however,





"patients are expected to feed and look after themselves."

The staff, described by a delegation from the American Psychiatric Association which visited the institutions under the aegis of the Department of Health, as "woefully inadequate", are also State provided.

The Department of Health responded to the reports by dismissing "the international African mental health services" as "unadulterated nonsense".

Nor were allegations that mental health conditions were unacceptable, it would seem, confined to the Press. Professor J H Robertse, head of Clinical Psychology at the University of Pretoria and President of the South African Council for Mental Health, deplored "the growing malignancy in mental health in South Africa".

The Department of Health responded to the reports by dismissing "the international campaign against South African mental health services" as "unadulterated nonsense and propaganda". It extended an "open invitation to the Director General of the World Health Organisation to visit any institution in the Republic to acquaint himself with the prevailing conditions." Prior to the issue of this invitation, however, Parliament amended the Mental Health Act of 1973, regulating information on mental health conditions. Whilst the Minister claimed the amendment served to protect patients' interests, critics have suggested precisely the opposite.

The Act incriminates people who divulge false information without taking reasonable steps to

verify it, yet denies them access to proving the truth of their claims should their information be shown to be false by prohibiting photographs of institutions. Whilst patients' privacy is maintained, this is done at the cost of obscuring deficient mental health practices.

This defensive stance becomes clearer in the light of the findings on mental health in South Africa publicised by the American Psychiatric Association (APA). The commission supported and expanded on certain Press allegations.

After the passing of the 1976 amendment, WHO declined the Government's official invitation, but the APA accepted. Their visit was subject to certain restrictions. They were only allowed to visit institutions set up by private enterprise and then only under supervision.

A summary of their findings on allegations were as follows:

- an unduly high death-rate — True
- Substandard care — True
- Abusive practices — True
- Grossly inadequate professional staff — True

● Exploitation of patient labour — Equivocal. Regarding allegations that patient labour was exploited, the APA conceded that, whilst it is common for patients to work in public mental hospitals, they are usually paid. Any work done in a profit-making institution reduces costs and increases profit and where patients are paid, it is usually a fraction of what a worker normally received.

Government officials attributed conditions to the "primitive references of African patients". Of

the overcrowding and shortage of beds, the Department of Health said that "like so many Africans, they prefer to sleep that way."

Regarding the lack of shoes, the Department said that patients would "sell their shoes", "prefer to go without them" and "would kick their fellow patients." The APA commission noted, however, that no walking white patient was seen without shoes. Finally, the Department explained what the APA found to be inadequate food on the grounds of cultural preference.

The APA commission found that South Africa's political, social and economic situation had a destructive impact on families, social institutions and the mental health of Africans. A recent edition of *Critical Health* pointed out that "research has shown that, just as T.B. is related to poverty and inadequate social services and hear attacks occur almost totally among the affluent, so "mental illness" is a response to the social conditions under which we are forced to live."

The Department of Health claims to be moving away from the system of private companies providing custody for the mentally ill at a profit, but there remains large numbers of black patients in the care of these companies. The annual report of the Department of Health for 1981 argued that both financial and staff shortages caused the hospitals to be overcrowded. "The nursing staff shortage during the past number of years has reached a critical point," it said.

In as much as the APA findings indicate that all is not well for mental health in South Africa, so the veil of secrecy surrounding it is hardly likely to facilitate an improvement.

## PROFILE



Beyers (seated left) as a young dominee with his family.



Beyers at the Christian Institute

# The great Afrikaner rebel

## From a conservative upbringing to head of the Christian Institute

BEYERS NAUDÉ has been described as "the most significant Afrikaner rebel of our time."

At the end of October, he was served with a banning order restricting him to the magisterial district of Johannesburg for a further three years.

Naudé was first banned, along with his Christian Institute, in 1977, the culmination of what amounted to a campaign of state harassment against him and the CI.

But just 20 years before, Naudé was one of the up-and-coming ministers of the Ned Geref Kerk, tipped to go right to the top of his church.

A new book traces the transformation from NGK dominee to CI director, a man dedicated to a non-racial, egalitarian society. "Not Without Honour" (Ravan Press), edited by Peter Randall, is a series of four complementary essays which together present a thorough human and political portrait of Naudé, the CI, and ultimately the changing forces of the church in South Africa.

Naudé's background could hardly be more Afrikaner establishment. His father was a dominee of deeply religious and conservative Voortrekker stock, one of the six Boer generals who refused to sign the Vereeniging peace treaty after the Boer war; his mother an equally conservative and religious woman.

In the opening essay, Randall sketches the

doubts that crept into Naudé's mind about his parents', and his own, political beliefs.

After university in Stellenbosch and induction into the Broederbond, Naudé advanced steadily up the NGK ladder and was very much in demand as a dominee. By the beginning of the sixties, however, Naudé's views changed dramatically. Randall shows how in the mid-fifties, Naudé had begun to have second thoughts about apartheid.

Sharpeville, in particular, appears to have been a turning point in the process which included an awareness of the Freedom Charter and the massive Treason trial which followed. In the book's third essay, Archbishop Denis Hurley speaks of the event as the culmination of what he terms Naudé's conversion: "Out of the tragedy, God spoke to Beyers Naudé."

The Sharpeville incident was the background to another crucial event that year, the Cottesloe Consultation in December. This was a gathering of churches to consider the racial situation in South Africa. The document that came out of it, was a very moderate questioning of apartheid with what Peter Walshe, in the book's second essay, describes as paternalistic overtones.

Walshe says the document was a "cautiously worded plea to the white power structure to move away from the existing practice of apartheid."

Nevertheless it proved too extreme for the NGK. Though NGK delegates at Cottesloe had endorsed it, the synods rejected it out of hand, a process topped with an attack on the document by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd.

Naudé remained strongly in favour of the document — eventually the only NGK delegate to Cottesloe who continued to support it. Along with other like-minded Afrikaner clergy, he formed a journal, *Pro Veritate*, to continue what still had the status of an ecumenical debate.

The paper caused immediate controversy, to the extent that Naudé's election in 1963 as moderator of the Southern Trans-vaal Synod of the NGK, was seen as a possible attempt to woo him back into the establishment fold.

But when his own synod, and those all over the country, failed to make any significant pronouncements about the increasing racial tensions in South Africa, the foundations of the CI were laid.

For some time, Naudé had been involved in running non-racial and interdenominational bible study groups, and out of these came the idea of an organisation to, as 'Not Without Honour' puts it, 'meet together to try and work out the implications of the Kingdom of God for the peoples of the country'. The result was a meeting of about 250 clergy in August 1963, at which the

Christian Institute was formed with Naudé as its director.

Accepting this post meant he was stripped of his position as moderator and eventually as dominee, and the beginning of a campaign against him and the Institute. The reason, says Walshe, was that Naudé's stand against apartheid and the establishment 'threatened the very foundations of Afrikaner civil religion'.

The Institute's formation came at a critical time — the government was cracking down on political opposition in the build-up to the Rivonia trials of the next year. This meant, says Walshe, a vacuum in black political leadership which was partially filled by non-racial Christian bodies, with the Christian Institute in the vanguard.

Initially Naudé and his colleagues saw their work as a continued attempt to convince whites especially Afrikaners — of the injustices of apartheid, but increasingly the CI moved to a far broader viewpoint.

In the late 60's, the CI-commissioned Spro-cas reports into alternative South African governments were under-way, the World Council of Churches had come out in support of South African liberation movements, and black consciousness began to emerge. In this context the CI moved to a much closer contact with black organisations. Its biblical interpretation became more and more of a contrast with the NGK and with the English-speaking churches, which former CI staffer Charles Villa-Vicencio, in the book's final essay, says had positively no intention of truly resisting the government.

The CI began working for the "empowerment of the powerless" (Walshe) and forged links with BC organisations. It changed its views dramatically in a way illustrated by the final Spro-cas report which suggested looking at a socialist society as an alternative to the status quo.

Naudé and his staff refused to testify before the Schlegel Commission, seeing it, correctly in the event, as a facade for an eventual crackdown on the organisations under investigation, among them the CI, SASO and Nusas. The Commission's findings declared the CI an affected organisation, meaning it could not gather funds overseas.

Walshe sees the CI's crucial project in these years as its work with leading personalities and organisations in the BC movement, among them the Black Community Programme, itself banned in 1977.

In all this change Naudé was described as the charismatic centre point of the CI without which it would collapse. But as Villa-Vicencio points out, the rest of the CI's staff had more than a small role to play.

The change in Naudé's personal views is illustrated by Peter Randall: "Towards the end, Naudé was prepared to consider equal salaries for all CI staff, from cleaners to himself."

The new black theology, emerging from black consciousness, became the background to the CI's views, heightened by the Soweto revolt of 1976, of rejecting not only apartheid but also the existing economic system — a result of its identification with the poor.

This transformation led inevitably to the CI's banning in 1977, along with 17 other organisations and its major personalities, including director Beyers Naudé and Theo Kotze.

The CI was the only predominantly white organisation of the 17 banned, and the only one led by a former dominee and broeder-bonder. ■

## Moving education forward to keep society back

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New booklet rejects proposed educational reforms

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THE DE LANGE report is trying to sell an essentially unequal system of education under the guise of a differentiated education system based on merit rather than race.

This is the message of a new booklet on the Committee's report into education in South Africa called "De Lange . . . marching to the same order".

Produced by the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa), the booklet shows how the de Lange recommendations do not substantially change the content or form of the present education system.

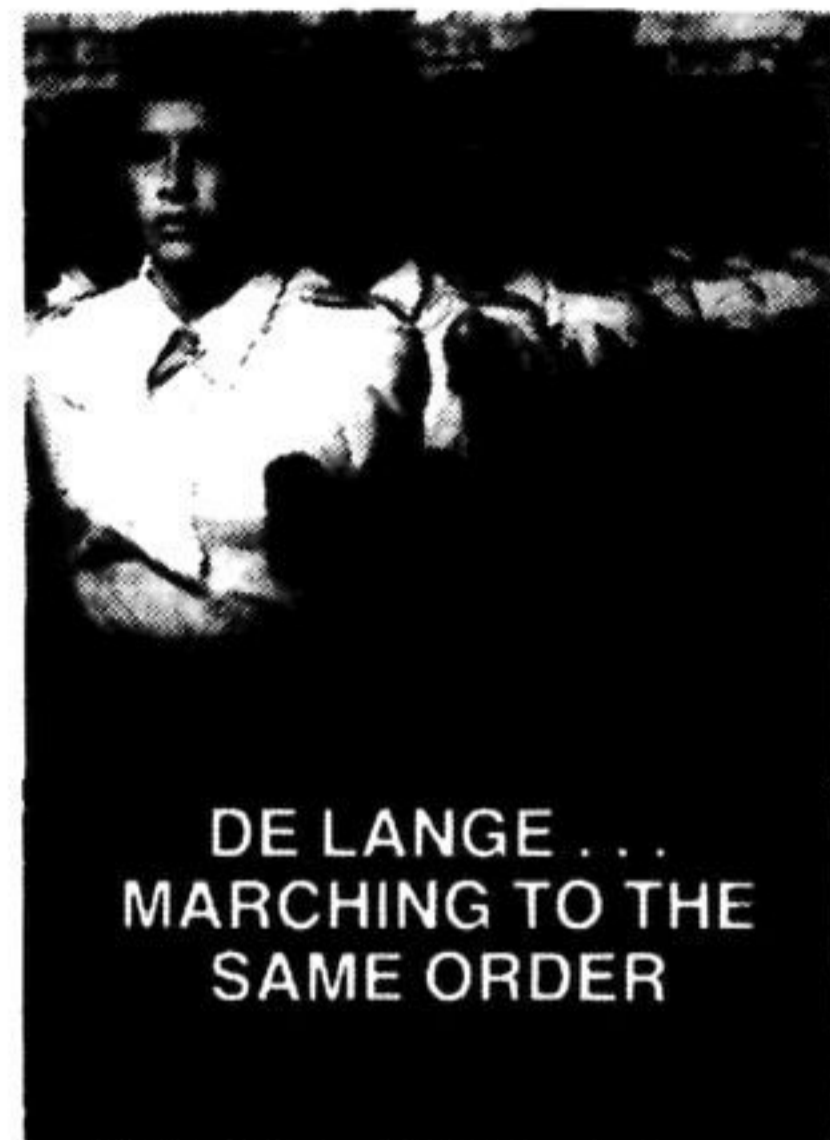
In a chapter titled "Education of equal quality is not equal education", the authors examine the way the report suggests the schooling system should be changed. They argue that the plan to stream students into either formal or non-formal education at an early age will continue educational discrimination against students from black working class backgrounds.

The report defines formal education as either academic or technical schooling. Non-formal education is any type of training outside the school situation, for example job training.

The booklet says the implication of this type of streaming is that pupils from white middle class backgrounds will be channeled into academic schools, universities and in time into managerial and professional jobs.

"Black children will be forced to make do with technical education or will be pushed out of school onto the job market after an initial literacy and numeracy training."

The booklet argues that the likelihood of this happening is increased because the state is going to take less financial responsibility for providing education. Financing education will come more and more from the private sector and "the community", with the private sector providing the kind of education that they need a future workforce to have. Many communities are in no position to pay for the education of their youth as they can hardly afford rents, food and transport costs.



DE LANGE . . .  
MARCHING TO THE  
SAME ORDER

Neusa's booklet on De Lange

Apart from disguising an unequal system of education. Financing education will come more and more from the private sector and "the of skilled labour which commerce and industry have been complaining about for a long time, and to offer limited opportunities for certain sections of the so-called black middle class. It would also attempt to control pupils ideologically by giving them technical training without also teaching them to think critically or to participate actively in shaping their own lives.

The book's final section, "Recognising the Real Issues", is perhaps the most interesting and stimulating. Many writers who criticise existing educational provisions, stop short of the critical questions of what should be done.

Neusa's ideas in this section are challenging and practical — and should be recommended reading for all teachers.

The chapter begins with a discussion of some of the demands put out by the Committee of 81 during the 1980 school boycotts which include better facilities, free textbooks and equal salaries for teachers. They also look at demands for establishing one education department and equal state expenditure on all students, as well as free education.

The authors say these demands are long term ones and the question now facing most teachers is how they can inject a little progressive content into their classroom teaching. The booklet offers some useful suggestions to the question "But what am I going to teach on Monday morning?"

A strength of the Neusa publication is that it makes the Report's findings and the issues it raises, accessible to the people most affected by them — the teachers and student themselves. Its weakness is that it concentrates on the De Lange report and does not look in any great depth at the ways the recommendations are actually being implemented in the country. For example, what is industry doing about non-formal education, is the content of syllabuses actually changing, and how does the content of what is being taught change when schools become "technical high schools?"

# MOLO SONGOLOLO

A magazine for all children 10cents

## Straighten the trees while they're young



Molo fans make a songololo

WHO SAYS children should be seen but not heard?

Well, one thing's for sure — it's not the organisers of the Cape Town children's magazine Molo Shongololo.

"Children are often seen as people without any contribution to make," says one of the Molo organisers. "They are seen as ignorant and in effect are treated as non-people, often being sent out of the room because they're not old enough to hear certain things and so on."

"All of us at Molo see children differently — as functioning human beings who can make decisions."

Molo Shongololo, the centipede with legs representing the children whose ideas keep it worming ahead, was started in April 1980. A magazine by and for children had its seeds in Crossroads when a group was asked to write about their experiences as a way to record history.

A way of sharing each other's experiences through reading and writing was the initial boost to get Molo off the ground. But since then the aims of the magazine have become more defined. Firstly it is the only magazine of its kind for young children. It tries to break down prejudices found in most reading material for children. "There is a wealth of children's reading material, but most have sexist and racist content — of the 'Janet and John: girls are weak and boys are strong' or 'Dr Doolittle: the great white doctor organising the natives' type," says one of the Molo group.

"Although the magazine is for all kids, such a vehicle is particularly needed in black communities where at school, children are constantly taught not to take any initiative;

A MESSAGE FOR MOLO?

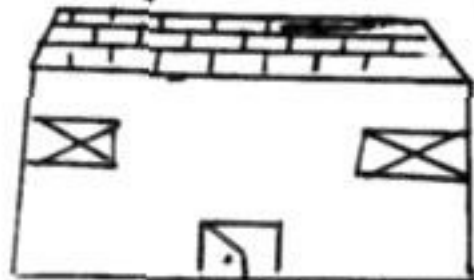
Hallo Molo,  
I am 10 years old and my name is -  
Sulfa Solie. I live at 36 Tullbragh Way  
Portlands Mitchells Plain. And I am  
in standard 3. Guess what Molo?  
I attended 4 schools in Mitchells Plain. Molo,  
don't you think it's terrible? Molo, I think the  
government is to be blamed. Molo, at the  
white areas there are thousands of schools.

HOW ABOUT DRAWING A PICTURE OF YOUR HOME?

But there are only a few schools in  
the black areas. Molo, don't you think  
that the government should build more  
schools in Mitchells Plain. Thank you  
for your magazine. I learn a lot from  
it. Good bye Molo Shongololo

YOU NEED MORE GLUE HERE!

THIS SIDE NEEDS GLUE TOO!



Molo shows them they are important and allows them to express their thoughts."

The idea that children can't understand their environment or take decisions is rejected by the Molo group. "We are sometimes criticised

for being too political because we see children as part of a community and believe the magazine should play a role in moulding them to see themselves as part of that community."

"The kids, as they express time and

again in their letters and writing or drawing forms, feel and know the kickback of community problems. Denying them access to understanding those issues is negative." Because of this, each edition of the monthly magazine has as its theme a local community issue such as transport, rent, bread and so on. The main article is written around this theme either in a story of comic form using Xhosa, English and Afrikaans to help children learn the languages. In short, the Molo group believe society underestimates children's ability to relate to things supposedly "out of their reach". Molo Shongololo provides an alternative to this whole idea and allows children to speak for themselves. In general, then, its broad aims are to:

- Look at issues not normally considered appropriate for children
- Break down the blocks schools create in making children feel unable to do things
- Stimulate originality and creativity often stifled by formal education.

The magazine is specifically linked to what is happening in the Western Cape. Are there any plans to extend its readership to other parts of the country?

No. Molo can't function without the community and to broaden it would lose much of its close to home appeal to which children relate. "Obviously we hope that other centres will initiate similar projects there," says the group.

Rather the Molo group see starting a library to make progressive books available for kids, teachers and co-ordinators of children's groups as a way to extend Molo's role in providing alternative reading for the little people.



# To function or to learn

Reading between the lines of industry's move to literacy training

"UNABLE TO read or write, he was employed as a cleaner by Roche. One year after starting Literacy Training Philemon is reading his own mail and, still at Roche, is now employed as a petrol pump attendant... Here is a typical "success story" of how literacy training can add a limitless dimension to a man's life, in addition to making him a happier a more productive employee."

This is an extract from *Litra News* the newsletter of the Bureau of Literacy and Literature, which is currently training 20 000 miners in literacy skills. It is one of a number of literacy organisations geared to industry whose businesses are booming.

But why the sudden rush to get people to read and write? Between 1980 and 1981, the number of adult illiterates increased from nearly five to six million. Has this prompted employers into action, or are there other motives?

Industrial literacy began in the sixties, when the Bureau started a

campaign to increase literacy on the mines. The mining houses felt lack of communication was a cause of labour unrest, and a literacy programme would help solve the problem.

By the 1970's, increased worker militancy and the acute shortage of skilled workers led to the passing of the Bantu Employee's In-Service Training Act which offered tax incentives to employers setting up training programmes at the workplace.

Some employers who have started courses are quite honest about their aims: literate workers will function better at the workplace and therefore increase productivity. Others claim good management worker relations are the aim of these courses: "We want to look after the social needs of workers to make sure that social stability is maintained. It's not just a question of increasing productivity."

The education director of the Bureau of Literacy says the course isn't planning to make anyone a better

worker, but "if a person is independent and self-reliant, he is a more contented person."

"Maintaining social stability" has always been important in industrial literacy programmes. It is important that the "right" kind of ideological content is included, to help ensure a "stable workforce."

The State has seen to it that it controls education. Schools like the International Socialist League's night school of the 30's and 40's, and the Mayibuye schools of the 50's taught people to read and write, but also gave them a critical awareness of the society they lived in.

These schools came under attack from the State. Finally the 1953 Bantu Education Act saw to it that all education had to be registered after meeting certain conditions.

The State has also set up "Adult Education Centres" in all high density industrial centres. A private literacy organisation called "Opera-

tion Upgrade" helps train literacy teachers at these centres. Operation Upgrade, however, is a firm government ally.

The teaching methods vary from one company to another, but there are common characteristics: constant repetition of words together with walks, games, rhymes, tours of the factory area, stories and plays.

Second language educationists criticise this method because chanting and doing exercises doesn't require much concentration. "Whilst students may learn the chant, this doesn't mean they understand what they're being taught, or that they'll be able to apply what they learn in this situation to any other."

"Literacy should not merely give skills to make people more productive said one critic. "It should be a tool to help people become aware of their living conditions, develop their sense of self-worth and start them on the road to making decisions about their lives."

# Education for a National Culture

Author Ngugi wa Thiong'o spoke at an Education conference in Zimbabwe recently. Here is an edited version of his paper.

EDUCATION SHOULD teach people about the world in which they live: how the world shapes them and how they shape the world.

It should show that in the same way they can act on the natural world and change it, so they should be able to act on their social world and change the relationships which exist between people. We used to fear nature until we were able to understand it and use it to our own advantage.

Today the social relationships between people control our lives. When we understand how these relationships work and how they control us, we will be part of the way towards changing our social conditions.

Education then, should give people the confidence that they can create a new way of life.

Unfortunately at present it doesn't fulfill any of these aims. This is because the picture we get of how our society works depends on who controls the education system.

Let's look at a simple example: A is sitting on B. A is carried, fed and clothed by B. What kind of education will A want B to have? A will want B to have an education which will hide from B the fact that B is feeding, clothing and carrying A. A will want to teach B a religion that says it is God's wish that B shall feed, clothe and carry A. A will want B to have a culture that tells B he is inferior and stupid.

B on the other hand wants an education that teaches him that everything changes. He will want a religion that teaches that the system of some people sitting on others is against God's law.

He will want to look at his history where he will find out that he was not always a slave feeding and carrying A.

B will want a culture that gives him pride and

self-confidence. In short, he will want an education which not only helps him to understand his position but also encourages him to change it.

Let's take colonial education as an example. What does the coloniser who controls the education system want the pupils to believe? He wants them to think they are ultimately inferior, so he places a greater value on his own culture than on that of the people he has colonised. European culture is taught as being advanced. It is right that the European is in charge because his culture is superior to that of the colonised.

For example, a Professor of History at Oxford University wrote: "Before colonialism there was only darkness in Africa."

In countries such as Egypt and Ethiopia where there were advanced civilisations, colonial historians found evidence to show that these people are not Africans. In countries such as Zimbabwe and East Africa where there is evidence of very advanced ancient architecture, the same historians will argue that these civilisations began because of visiting whites or Arabs. Often there are no facts to back up these arguments but this is what school children are taught and they have no reason to believe otherwise.

The next way the colonisers assert their culture through education is by language. The children of the colonised are ridiculed when they speak their own language and rewarded when they do well in



## EDUCATION

the language of Europe.

So the colonised child learns to aspire to the values of the European language. Language after all is a way of describing things and giving things meaning, and different languages have different value systems.

Just look at the value the English language attaches to blackness — black market, black sheep of the family, black magic, a black day, he is on my black list, and so on. Then the child learns that he is black and what does he think of his national origin.

And then there's the religion the colonisers brought with them. Missionaries taught a version of Christianity which said Africans were pagan and superstitious. The African converted to Christianity learns that there is only one God and he is white and his angels are white. The devil is black and his angels are black and when the sinful go to hell they will be burnt charcoal black.

Many Africans who converted to Christianity also changed their African name for a Christian one.

A name is a symbol of identity and many people who changed their names to Smith, Robert, Elizabeth, Mary or James, did not realise that this practice had its roots in slavery. Slave masters gave their own name to slaves to show that the slaves belonged to them.

The same values we find taught in history and religion are also present in literature, art, music and drama. The "Good African" in European stories is the one who accepts colonialism — the bad native is the one who rejects colonialism and wants to assert himself and get back stolen wealth.

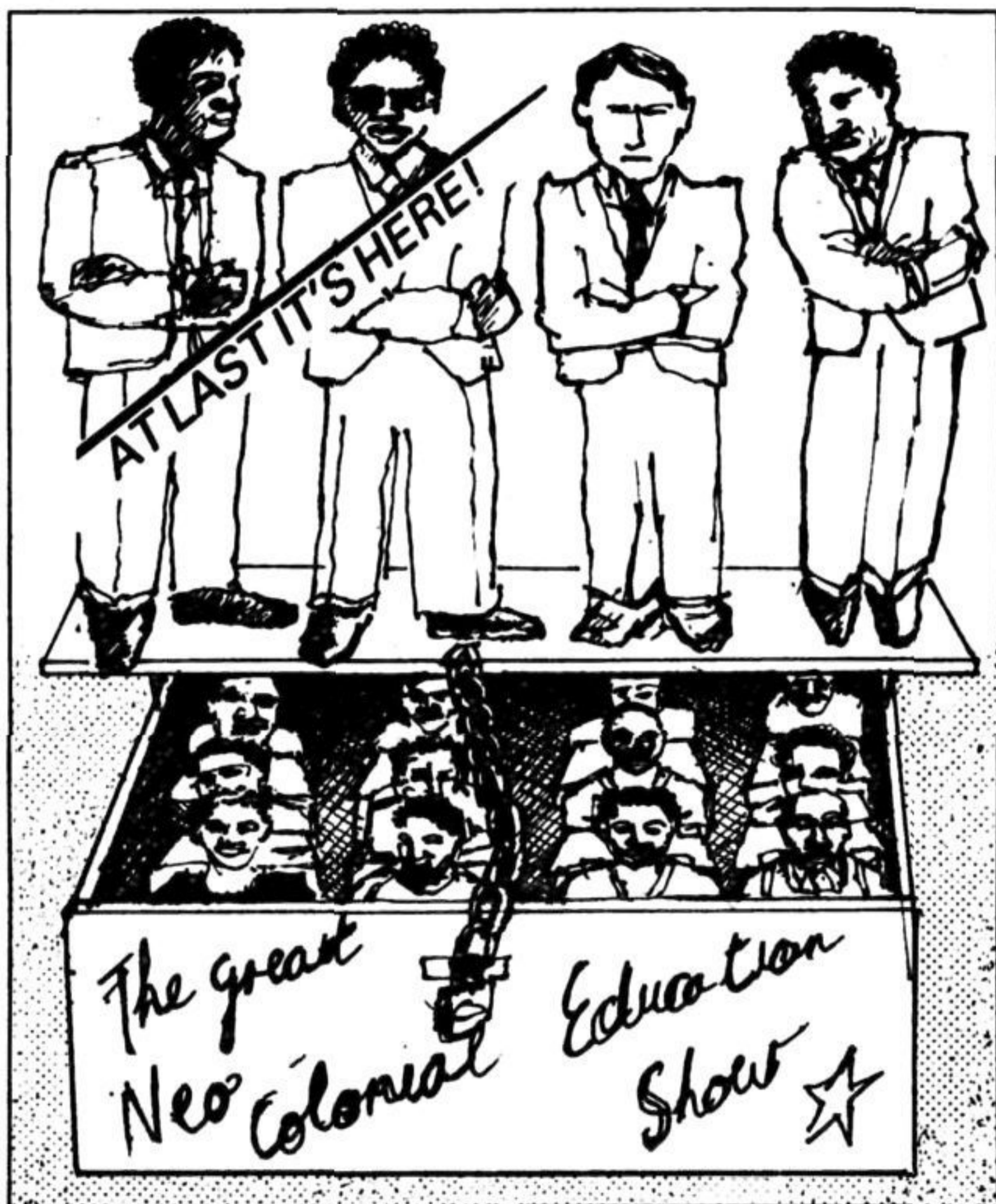
One such example is to be found in "King Solomon's Mines" by Rider Haggard, a book which is often prescribed reading in primary schools. The blacks like Gagool who want to stop foreigners from taking away the country's wealth such as gold and diamonds are described as witch-like, nasty, evil.

The sum total of this education is to give the African youth an outlook which will bind him to what is really going on. It will teach him to be a good servant, working hard for his master and believing that colonialism is right.

But there was also another aim — to produce a native elite which had absorbed the culture of imperialism. This is colonial education's more dangerous result because it is this elite who often take over after independence. While they beat the independence drum, they often continue the practices of their former colonial masters. They have learned how to make themselves powerful and reap the benefits of the system known as neo-colonialism. The people remain exploited but the masters are different.

Because the new elite grew up accepting the world-view of the colonialists, they will drive the youth as vigorously to accepting the same view. More churches will be built and more religious programmes appear on radio and television so the new elite can prove to its mentors that they are civilised, cultured and will not bring chaos to the country. As soon as they accept colonial ideas about what is progress and stability, the old colonisers can move in with new ways of colonising — with large companies instead of colonial armies. In this way, the new elite has taken over the power function.

People who want total liberation must see imperialism, whether British, American, Japanese



or whatever, as the real enemy. They must see that it has two phases: colonialism and neo-colonialism; but only one object: economic control. The battle is not won with a flag and a national anthem.

As long as the land's wealth does not go back to feed, clothe and shelter those whose labour produced it, those people cannot consider themselves free.

Part of a liberated education, then, is realising that the country's economy must be freed from the influence of local and international parasites. Its aim then, is to achieve a world-outlook, free of the values of the colonisers and neo-colonisers described above.

A liberated education must give people a sense of dignity of their own culture and values. While the colonisers tried to produce a partly-developed person who only vaguely understood the forces at work in society, education for liberation aims to produce people who understand and are able to develop their potential to the full as human beings.

This can only be achieved by education which can develop a person's intellectual and physical

potential. Such an education must have three aims:

- To provide mental education to develop intellectual capacities. People should be taught their own history, art, literature and customs before being taught those of others. They should also have a political education which would aim for conformity but nonetheless teach people to think critically and creatively.
- Education should aim at producing healthy, strong individuals so that some form of physical education would be necessary.
- Every child should also be taught some technical skill which would enable him or her to engage in direct productive labour. It is necessary for every able person to be involved in some form of productive labour so that the nation eventually becomes an association of producers who are masters of their social and natural environments.

Education must aim to develop people who realise that they must control both their natural and social environments. Education and culture should not only explain the world but must prepare people to change it. ■