



Thomsville housing crisis reaches new proportions

• See page 4



Spotlight on 1980 — the Year of the Worker

• See centre spread



Student leaders speak about the boycotts and struggles ahead

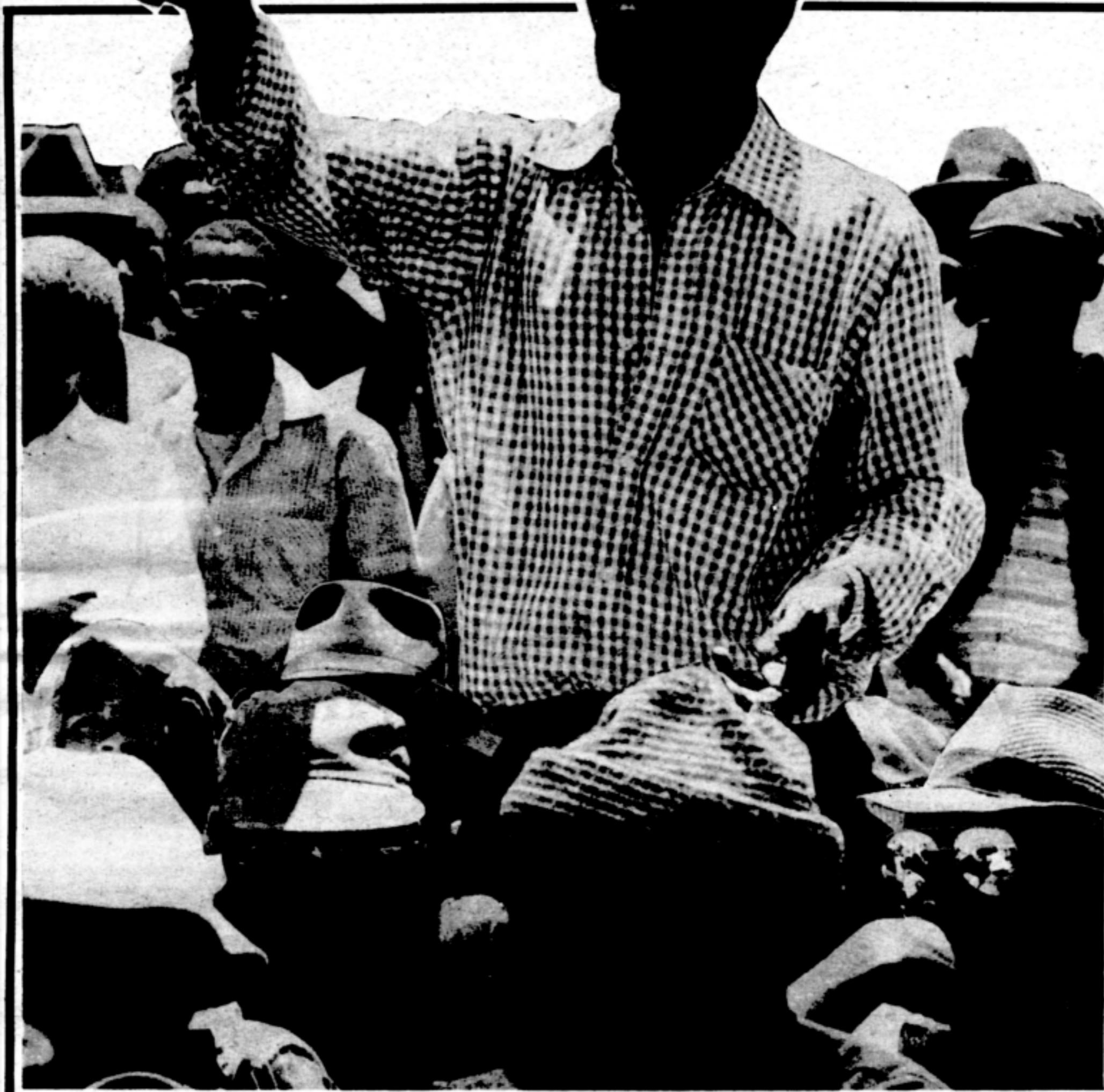
• See page 10

SASPU NATIONAL

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SASPU NATIONAL looks this week at the strike at Firestone where workers downed tools in opposition to the Government's proposed Pensions Act amendment. Victory or defeat?

• See page 4

Lecturer and student face seven Security Act charges

A RHODES University lecturer and a student are currently appearing in the Port Elizabeth Regional Court on seven charges under the Internal Security Act after being in detention for more than six months.

Accused No 1 is a lecturer in journalism, Guy Julian Eliot Gough Berger, 24, of Hill Street, Grahamstown; and Accused No 2 is Devandiren Pillay, 21, of Ward Street, North End, East London, a first year student in journalism.

Mr Mandla Gxanyana, 26, of Dangazela Street, Duncan Village, East London, appeared with them in East London courts, but since his trial was separated from Mr Berger and Mr Pillay's trial, their case was transferred to Port Elizabeth.

The trial began on February 16. They appeared several times before an East London magistrate Mr N R Oosthuizen, but were not asked to plead at that stage, and no evidence was led.

They have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Their appearance is on the instructions of the Attorney General of the Eastern Cape, Mr Edward Charles Heller, who also gave instructions that they should be kept in custody until the case had been completed, in the interest of "state security".

Police submitted dockets to the Attorney-General in October.

Guy Berger faces four counts under the Internal Security Act — with two alternative counts — and Devan Pillay three.

They both face three counts under the Publications Act of 1974.

The counts which they face together are:

- Allegedly being members of an unlawful organisation, the ANC.
- Allegedly having taken part in ANC activities, or carried on in the direct/indirect interests of ANC, activities which the ANC could have engaged in when it was outlawed in 1960.
- Allegedly furthering one or more of the aims of communism — as defined in the Act.

Mr Berger is also charged with allegedly having obtained information which could have been of use to the ANC. This information is allegedly about alleged black trade union activities in the Eastern Cape or the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu).

The charges Mr Berger and Mr Pillay are facing under the Publications Act are:

- Two charges of allegedly distributing banned literature or objects.
- One charge of allegedly possessing banned literature or objects.

The charges allege Mr Berger arranged to use a courier between himself and ANC members in Botswana, and allegedly contacted several people with the object of getting information about trade union activities which would be of use to an ANC organisation.

It is also alleged he visited ANC members in Botswana several times to allegedly "introduce" people who could be of use to the ANC or to

• To page 3

• To pg 2

SA must acknowledge "civil war" — Congress

'Give guerrillas POW status'

Nusas has called for the commutation of the death sentence imposed on three of the nine accused in the trial of ANC guerrillas that ended in Pretoria last year.

The motion, adopted by students at the 58th Congress at Wits University also called for the extension of Prisoner of War status to all those taking part in the "current low-level civil war" in South Africa. A call was also made for South Africa to become a signatory to the protocol of the Geneva Convention covering wars of national liberation.

It was noted that the ANC recently accepted the 1977 Protocol to the Convention, promising to treat captured SADF soldiers as POW's and had reaffirmed its commitment to attacking non-civilian targets only.

"Death sentences in general, and in particular where no loss of life has occurred, are considered to be

excessive by lawyers and human rights associations throughout the world", read part of the motion, which called for maximum clemency for the six remaining accused who were sentenced to a total of 90 years imprisonment for their part in a "general conspiracy" by the ANC to overthrow the South African state.

The three guerrillas sentenced to death by Justice J.P.O. de Villiers were Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi Accused No 1-28, Petros Ysebo Mashigo Accused No 2 20, and Naphtali Manana, Accused No 3 24, who were convicted on two counts of attempted murder and one charge of robbery with aggravating circumstances for their part in the attack on Soekmekaar police station on 4 January last year.

They were also found guilty, along with all the other accused, of high treason on the basis of their individual act of joining the ANC,

undergoing military training outside the country and bearing arms and ammunition inside the country.

Leave to appeal against sentence and conviction was granted to the condemned men, but was refused for Ikanyeng Moses Molebatsi, Accused No 4, Hlolile Benjamin Tau, Accused No 5 25, both of whom were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, and Phumulani Grant Shezi Accused No 6 24, who received a 15 year prison term.

Ultimately, all nine accused found not guilty on the two murder charges of attempted murder relating to the attack and siege of the Volkskas bank in Silverton earlier this year in which three guerrillas and two hostages were killed.

The court found that the attack wasn't organized by the ANC and that the accused themselves had not participated individually.

Tau was originally charged with having planned the Silverton attack, while Molebatsi was charged with having shared a base with Tau and at least one of the fighters killed in the bank siege, which took place after the two men were arrested.

The state had called for the death sentence for Tau and Molebatsi as well as for Shezi and Jeremiah Radebe Accused No 7 26, who were charged with an attempted attack on the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board. Radebe received a 15-year prison sentence.

All of the accused were charged and convicted for undergoing military training, all in Angola and some in the Soviet Union and German Democratic Republic. Col Stadler was also cross-examined on the ANC's Freedom Charter. He said that on the face of it, it was a democratic document.

SASPU should start playing a far more vigorous and visible role next year especially in the face of recent political development in South Africa.

This was said by the newly elected president of the South African Students Press Union (SASPU) at the end of its fifth congress in Johannesburg.

Manoim, a former Wits SRC president and vice-president of Nusas emphasised that, nationwide, the press is facing a "total onslaught" from the state that has not been seen for some time.

"The banning of 'Grassroots' editor Johnny Issel, five Mwasa journalists and the effective silencing of the Post and Sunday Post coupled with the Steyn Commission's bid to tighten the noose already strangling the South African press are all new evidence of this direction.

"What are the implications of this for the students press and in

New Saspu pres spells it out

particular an organisation like Saspu?" he asked.

It means that now more than ever the students press has to appreciate its social obligations as an alternative medium. We need to expose the lies and halftruths that cloud over the realities of South Africa.

"This task is not easy, for it demands of the student journalists not only perseverance and size-minded dedication, but also in this time of adverse fortune for the press not a small amount of courage."

Manoim went on to say that Saspu as an organisation had to prepare

itself adequately to meet this challenge.

"The organisation needs to consolidate its base and existing services before embarking on new projects. Our paper has broken new ground by showing that the great, but unfulfilled, journalists' dream of producing a newspaper that gives the real news nationally, regularly and accurately, is actually attainable.

"We hope this year to bring out the newspaper more often than last year, while maintaining the ambitious standards and goals we set ourselves last year.

"As far as the rest of the organisation goes, a period of



Norman Manoim

consolidation over the first three months of the year is intended. We must concentrate on running essential services for our affiliates, improving and increasing our range of training programmes as well as setting up a telex network," he said. One more ambitious project for Saspu this year is the production of a

slide and tape show on the history of the South African press.

Manoim said he was optimistic about the organisation becoming a "big achiever" this year.

"We have many people keen on working for the newspaper and a first rate bunch on the executive. Pietermaritzburg's Bruce Irvine as vice-president has been a great stalwart for both Saspu and Nusas in that part of the world; Nicky Marks from Durban has been a guiding force in the student press in banana land for some years.

"Now in Cape Town Guilletta Fafak who edits the 'new look' Varsity will head the Saspu news services. From Rhodes — that mecca of students journalists — we have Pat McCarten also a joint editor of the self-financing publication Oppidan.

"Back at Wits — the heart of big money and finance we have Eric Barlin as treasurer-secretary. Eric also doubles as editor of Wits Student".

Students react to Republic Day plans

NATAL is the honoured host province to next year's Republic Day celebrations, but resistance to the planned festivities is growing.

The majority of community organisations have already decided to have nothing to do with the celebrations. On the Natal University campus, the Durban SRC passed a motion urging the university to disassociate itself from the festivities.

After studying the motion the Principal of the university, Prof Des Clarence, said the university would take no official part in the celebrations, but that individual members of the university would be free to participate.

Informal sources reveal that opinions on the Senate decision are divided. As a result of these divisions the Pietermaritzburg SRC has voted to discuss the Senate motion further.

While the issue itself has not been discussed at UCT, it seems that at least one part of the university is eager to join in the jollification. The Sports Council has decided to make its facilities available for the South African Festival Games which conveniently coincide with Republic Day celebrations.

SRC President, Andre Bredenkamp, decided that, "support for Republic Day does not mean support for Nationalist Party policy." No final decision has been taken by the Maritzburg SRC, but it seems likely that they will call on Senate to reverse its decision.

Meanwhile preparation in Natal forges on. Thousands of rands are spent on floats and decorations for the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Although the main festivities are planned for Natal, separate functions will be held in major centres.

If the festival organisers have their way, Republic Day will be well celebrated in Cape Town and Johannesburg. The university of Cape Town, as an important link with white Cape community, is an obvious centre for celebrations.

The role that the rest of the university will play is still unclear, however the principal will be expected to participate in functions. Neither Rhodes nor Wits have yet made any decision concerning the celebrations.

For the majority of South Africans 20 years of Republic has meant the entrenchment of the denial of basic human rights.



Nusas leadership during the last congress from left to right, Sue Myrdal (secretary-general), Andrew Borraine (president), Norman Manoim (vice-president), Mandy Hobbs (media officer) and Andre Kraak (research officer)

Pay now, fly later (maybe)

RED-FACED South African Railway police have finally admitted culpability for the "disappearance of thousands of copies of two of Nusas publications — "The South African Students Handbook" and "The Union is Strength".

Both publications were compiled and printed by Nusas at considerable expense and were mailed off to all campuses towards the end of last year.

The facilities for bulk airfreight provided by SAA were used — but not a single copy of either publication reached its destination. SAA and Railway officials denied all knowledge of the publications, let alone of their whereabouts.

Nusas threatened to sue SAA, and the publications were subsequently

both declared undesirable by the Publications Directorate.

The Student Handbook was later unbanned following an appeal against the ban to the Publication Appeal Board. Soon afterwards a letter to Nusas, signed by the Commissioner of the Railway Police was received in which he admitted responsibility for the confiscation of the publication.

The letter said: "The consignment was seized by the South African Railway Police as the commission of an offence was suspected.

"After a police investigation on December 19 1980 the Attorney General declined to institute any criminal proceedings".

The letter further stated that

"copies of the handbook are available for delivery to respective consignees in the Railway Police Charge Offices at Jan Smuts, Louis Botha and H F Verwoerd airports".

But, because of the continuing ban on "The Union is Strength", the Railways Police have refused to release the booklet.

Nusas officials have raised several questions about the issue.

An angry Sue Myrdal, ex-secretary-general of Nusas, told Saspu National the Railway police "deliberately misled Nusas" when they denied all knowledge of the consignment or its whereabouts. Accusing the Railways Police of "hypocrisy" Sue said: "Either SAA was misled by the railways and/or the security police, or they were in

on the whole thing from the beginning."

The trade union booklet cost Nusas about R200 to produce, but because of the confiscation of the consignments, and the subsequent bannings, Nusas has lost the money.

Nusas officials further point out that as no other copies of either publication were in circulation, apart from those on the SAA consignments, the Railway Police and/or the SAA must have forwarded them to the Publications Directorate in the hope they would be banned before they could be distributed.

The students handbook is now freely available on all campuses, but this important Trade Union booklet remains silenced.

Rhodes two face Security charges

• From pg 1

arrange escape routes for people wishing to leave the country.

Mr Berger also allegedly inspired, organised and conducted discussion groups in Grahamstown with the aim of influencing the members to accept the principles, policies, objects and purposes of the ANC, to win sympathy from them for the ANC, and to urge them to become members, sympathisers or supporters of the ANC.

Mr Pillay is alleged to have recruited people for a discussion group with the aim of influencing them in the same way.

He also allegedly brought an ANC member into the group, and allegedly arranged secret codes for messages in and out of the country.

Both are charged with allegedly distributing and possessing banned literature with the object of furthering the aims of communism as defined in the act.

Mr Pillay was detained in late July. Mr Gxanyana was detained at Buffalo Flats by Security Police on June 15. Six Security Policemen raided Mr Berger's home at 4:10 am on August 11. He was detained after

his room and the rooms of other lecturers and students in the house had been searched.

At about the same time, seven Security Policemen raided a house called the "Fruitbasket" — where Mr Pillay had lived before his detention — and detained third-year B Sc student Mr Mike Kenyon. The house was also searched.

They then raided two men's residences, Adamson and Hospital House. About 15 Security Policemen searched each of the 50 students' rooms before detaining Mr Ashwin Desai. Later, Mr Mjijima, of Hospital House, was detained.

The following day Mr Ihron Rensburg of Graham House, and Mr Alan Zinn were detained.

Several other students were detained during the week-long crackdown, but most were released after questioning. Six in all were detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act — Berger, Kenyon, Dasai, Zinn, Rensburg and Mjijima. Desai and Rensburg were released after two weeks interrogation in Port Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, Mr Chris Watters, 24,

a final-year law student from Graham House, was detained at the East London home of family friends — Mr and Mrs D J M Nixon — shortly after his return from overseas in July.

And in late September, an ex-Rhodes student, Ms Lynn Danzig, was detained at the Johannesburg Public Library, where she works. Messrs. Watters, Kenyon and Zinn, and Ms. Danzig may appear at state witnesses.

On the second day of the trial, a National Intelligence Service (NIS) secret agent, whose identity may not be revealed "in the interests of State security", allegedly collapsed sweating in a chair after undergoing cross-examination.

The court ordered the identity of Mr A to be kept secret "in the interests of State security".

Cross-examined, Mr A told the court that when he went to a South African university in 1971, he was already operating as an agent for the Bureau of State Security.

By 1977 he was acting as a courier for the ANC, and was later formally inducted into the organisation. He read out to the court a copy of a letter he was given in Botswana for

Mr Berger by a Mrs Jeanette Schoon, whom he described as being "linked to Sactu" (the South African Congress of Trade Unions).

The letter gave instructions to find a hiding place "if things go wrong" and gave a code phrase to identify a helper.

During cross examination by Mr D Kony, for Mr Berger and Mr Pillay, Mr A appeared ill.

The magistrate, Mr J B Robinson, then adjourned the court. Mr A collapsed into a chair, sweating profusely.

He took the stand again a few minutes later.

In mid-September last year, second year journalism student Mr Ian Mjijima, 30, was charged under the Terrorism Act. He was found guilty of furthering the aims of a banned organisation — the ANC — and jailed for an effective five years, with an additional three suspended for working for the ANC and possessing literature banned in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Mr W Jurgens appeared with Mr P Crossus for the state. Mr Kony is instructed by Andrew, Lister and Tucker, of Johannesburg.

SASPU meets the political needs of today

STUDENT press-organisations in South Africa are historically short-lived. From the early South African student press Association (SASPA), to its ancestor, the South African National student press union (SANSPA), which crumbled after some affiliates objected to the fact that a delegate from Varsity was not white, our small corner of South African history is littered with the skeletons of attempts at unity, action and effectiveness as an alternative

medium.

Not so with the South African Students Press Union (SASPU), the publishers of this newspaper.

The Fourth Congress was unanimous that the Union should expand, and that the student press as a whole should look to vastly increasing its efficiency in a political climate where information other than that supportive of the status quo becomes increasingly difficult to come by. Many

suggestions were forwarded by the some two hundred delegates . . . 1980 shows the most important of these ideas to have been realised. Most important is the fact that affiliate publications — the Union's entire raison d'être — are at their best. Jargonised raves and third hand rewrites from overseas journals have become definite exceptions. Newspapers have used their resources and skills effectively in reacting to the issues of the day. Political

developments have defined our news agenda, which had been so predictable in the past as to rely in only the most superficial way on real-life events and issues.

But in literally concrete terms, Union has established itself further with the setting up of a Head Office in Johannesburg, to serve as a co-ordinating centre for the vast array of affiliate publications. And with the Head Office has come the national newspaper, a step forward in our conception

of an alternative medium. National leaves the strictly on-campus reporting to other affiliates, and sets itself the task of providing truly alternative information. It utilises the appearance and techniques of the established press, but it has radically altered the news agenda. The result is a serious publication — as it has to be to reflect South Africa today — and it attempts to give people a broader understanding of the implications of for example, an upsurge of labour militancy, of largely unpublicised bannings and repression while so-called reforms are being implemented.

But perhaps SASPU's major realisation this year has been that the Union has enormous training potential for student journalists. September saw the National-organised Multi-media mindblast at Wits University, where student press recruits from the least experienced upwards found themselves pitched into areas of newspaper production long seen as "reserved for heavies". The use of professional journalists in transferring as many skills as possible at breakneck speed, helped towards a student conference which was unprecedentedly successful.

SASPU arrived at its Fifth Congress, just completed in Johannesburg, at its healthiest ever. There have been serious flaws this year, particularly in the failure of the inter-campus news service to reach any true level of efficiency, and in the relatively low degree of person-to-person contact on the different campuses, but on the whole it has been a watershed. The Union is well and truly on the rails, and its affairs have been placed in exceptionally capable hands by Congress for next year. SASPU's ongoing commitment to change in this country, to allying itself at all times with the demands of the majority of South Africans and actually taking its lead from these, is mirrored in the attitudes expressed at the Fifth Congress. Motions expressing solidarity with striking members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa); banned and harassed community leaders; and all political detainees in the country were passed unanimously, and can be seen as the very basis for a Union which strives toward playing some part in the struggle for a nonracial, just South Africa.

Boraine: Your lead must come from majority

OPENING the 58th Nusas Congress last year. President Andrew Boraine told students that they must choose a path which falls in line with the struggle of the townships and ghettos, the resettlement camps and the migrants.

"It is from the majority of South Africans that our lead must come". Boraine told an audience of 450 in the Wits Great Hall. "We have never claimed to be in the frontline of political struggle, but democracy is built at many different levels: education, ideology, values, social interaction and more. We are all directly involved in these areas — let our voices be heard and our actions be felt."

Referring to Harold McMillan's wind of change" address back in 1960, Boraine said those winds are now blowing stronger than ever before.

"1980 has been an optimistic year, however much needs still to be done. While a few battles were won this year, South Africa is still far from being the place where 'The People Shall Govern'." Boraine said.

He said this year had shown the powers of the majority and the future lay in their hands. "But", warned Boraine, "increased signs of popular resistance does not mean change is around the corner. The state is able to adapt, to respond to challenges to its position. It has access to many different methods of control."

"Do we accept that the new reforms, pronouncements and promises offer a platform for the building of a new South Africa, or

are we witnessing one group, challenged by a vociferous majority, making changes in order to consolidate their position of power?", asked Boraine.

"Both the Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde faces of Total Strategy must be seen, he said. With promises of reform have come increased control and repression — integral parts of both old and new government policy.

"Total Strategy has to be rejected because it is undemocratic. Even in terms of parliamentary politics, we see a move away from legislation by parliament to rule by decree, ministerial proclamations and select committees.

"Taking this one step further, Total Strategy seeks out puppet leaders, puts them in the President's Council or in Community Councils and then talks to them. At the same time calls for true leaders such as Mandela and Sisulu to be released are rejected out of hand.

"Finally, Total Strategy cannot be accepted because it does not meet even one of the minimum demands of the majority of South Africans, said Boraine.

"This is not, as many people maintain, because Total Strategy does not go far enough". On the contrary, Total Strategy was never designed in relation to people's needs. One simply looks at the conflicts of 1980 to see illustrations of this.

"Until it is resolved that South Africa is a unitary state with 26 million citizens, no amount of Total Strategy tinkering will solve the escalating conflict," he warned.



Nusas president Andrew Boraine addresses congress.

'Prisoners of war' treatment call by Nusas

• From pg 1

The ex-ANC member also identified most of the accused as having been with him in military training camps in Angola, and it was on the basis of his evidence that the accused were convicted of undergoing military training.

The next batch of state witnesses dealt with the Silverton attack, and included a number of people held hostage in the ensuing siege and policemen involved in storming the bank to release the hostages.

The next sequence of witnesses dealt with the attack on the Soekmekaar police station in the northern Transvaal.

Testimony from both the state and the accused, who gave evidence in their defence, was that the attack was planned by the ANC High Command in Maputo. Soekmekaar was chosen specifically for the attack because local police had been involved in forcing resettlements in the area. In his evidence, Mashigo called the attack "armed propaganda" and a show of sympathy with

the local population.

The accused said that it was not their intention to kill anyone in the attack, although it would have been exceptionally easy for them to do so — a point admitted by police witnesses. The accused said that they had spent three weeks surveying the area to ensure that they knew their target well and so that in attacking it, it would not be necessary to kill anyone.

The trial court did not accept this and accused the three men of attempted murder of the two black constables present at the station at the time of the attack. One of these policemen was slightly injured by a piece of shrapnel from a handgrenade explosion. The account of robbery on which the accused were convicted related to the theft of a local black civilian's truck which was to be used as a getaway vehicle.

The owner of the truck said that the accused promised to return his vehicle and pay for the petrol used and this was borne out by the actions of the accused after the attack itself.

The other major section of the state

case related to individual actions of the accused.

The first six accused gave evidence in their own defence, and none of them denied that they were guerrillas. They also acknowledged a number of charges against them, for instance Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana admitted to the Soekmekaar attacks together with a fourth guerrilla who escaped. Only at issue was the motive behind the attack — whether it was a mission of armed propaganda or one to kill.

Accused four and five denied any knowledge of the Silverton attack which they were charged of being involved in at planning stages. All the accused argued that all ANC targets were political, military or economic targets and that any target not falling into these categories would not be a legitimate ANC operation. Molebatsi and Tau said their mission had been concentrated on the oil refineries at Waltloo outside Pretoria. They were told by the trial judge that the death sentence was seriously considered in their case and only the fact that they were

arrested before their planned attack were they saved.

Shezi admitted his part in the attempt attack on the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in Port Natal, but denied a charge of recruiting two people to join the ANC.

Radebe, Bogale and Mngadi did not give evidence in their defence.

The state attempted to argue that because the accused were involved in a general conspiracy with the ANC, they were liable and responsible for all acts carried out by the organisation. By this token, all the accused were guilty of the Soekmekaar attack even if only three of the accused were physically present at the time.

The defence, led by George Browde, SC, argued that conspiracy had certain limits, and that there had to be some act of participation by the individuals accused to render a conspiracy liable. This was ultimately accepted by the court.

It was shown in the trial that almost all of the accused left South Africa because of the events of June 1976 and after. Most were from Soweto

and had been students at the time.

The head of Unisa's Sociology Department, Prof Maritz, who gave evidence in mitigation of sentence for the accused, said that in view of the experience and world view of the accused, leaving the country for military training was a perfectly explicable and rational response to a situation.

The state called for the death penalty for the first seven accused and this was opposed by the Defence. The Judge, however, found that the Soekmekaar attack constituted an extreme act of treason. He found that the police were involved in the protection of a "civilized society which held civilized values". On this basis he sentenced the first three to death, saying that he owed it to the South African public to pass the ultimate penalty in this case.

Youth was not a factor preventing the death sentence being imposed on Mashigo (who was 15 when he left the country and 19 at the time of the Soekmekaar attack) because of maturity and leadership role which he played, said the Judge.

Sparks fly at Firestone strike as new Pensions Act threatens



Firestone strikers ... rejected the proposed Pension Act

ON THE night of Sunday, January 25, and the morning of the next week some 1 500 workers at the Firestone tyre factory in Port Elizabeth downed tools in a pensions dispute which brought production to a virtual standstill for a week.

The workers had objected repeatedly in previous months to the Government's proposed Pensions Act, which would provide that employees would not be able to withdraw their pension contributions until they were 65.

Many of them feared they would not live to 65, while others were under the impression their hard-earned money was going to be taken away from them by the Government.

So they downed tools and flatly refused to start work again until they were paid out their pension contributions to date.

Firestone agreed to pay out, but said the paperwork alone would take a number of weeks to complete — so strikers should return to work.

On Wednesday, after two days of negotiations between management and the strikers' negotiating committee, Firestone was assured by the government it would be granted exemption from the proposed legislation. The company's managing director, Peter Morum, wrote a letter — of which hundreds of copies were made and distributed — guaranteeing the strikers the exemption, and saying the strikers would be paid out on February 11.

He also set a final deadline for them to return to work that day, failing which they would be regarded as "having resigned".

The strikers merely handed all the letters back to their negotiating committee with instructions that they be returned to Morum. "How can we trust a white man?" asked one. "He may turn around any time on this piece of paper. We aren't going back until we have our money in our hands".

By 6 am the next day after three successive shifts had refused to go back all 1 500 men had lost their jobs.

Firestone had tried hard to explain the Government's proposed Pension Act, to the workers. It brought in an expert from Old Mutual "a black man, mind you," said Morum, who spent four days at the factory talking to the workers about the law.

"We did all we could" said Morum. "No one could have done more."

What Morum didn't realise, however is that if a man feels he's going to be cheated by the

Government, it doesn't help him much to have to expert explain to him under exactly which subsection and paragraph of the law the cheat will take place. Firestone management's were compounded because its only channel of communication with the workers was the government initiated liaison committee system, which has been thoroughly discredited in labour disputes elsewhere in South Africa. Firestone committee is ostensibly democratically elected, and Morum quotes, "polls in the region of eighty per cent" to show workers go for it in a big way.

Workers, however say anyone who wishes to stand for election may hand his name at the personnel office. On election day, they say a voting table is set up at the factory gate and workers are required to cast

their vote before they are allowed in to work.

They say the committee members are "management stooges".

The only union with any significant following at Firestone is Freddie Sauls' Numarwasa, with about 200 members for short of the 750-plus that Morum requires before he will recognise the union.

When the strike broke out, many workers were disillusioned with Numarwasa. "They took our money but we never got anything for it. Now they want to come in on the strike. They had better stay away from here," said one worker.

Freddie Sauls in fact received a death threat the day after he was quoted in local newspapers on the strike, telling him to keep clear of Firestone.

The strike died on Friday, five days

after it began, as splits developed between groups of workers and attendances at meetings dwindled. One of the coloured workers, a member of the negotiating committee, told African workers on Friday morning all the "coloured" workers were going to pick up their tools on Monday, and there would be bloodshed if anyone tried to stop them from going back into the factory.

He said they intended to resign if their pension contributions were not paid out on February 11 as promised.

Some African workers agreed with him, arguing they had rent and school fees to pay, and families to support. Others said they could not go back. "The Boere will laugh at us," said one. "They will think we are baboons!"

By Monday all the workers — with the exception of a dozen or so — were queuing up outside the factory gates to be taken on as new employees.

But the most significant development in Firestone's labour relations that weekend was probably something that didn't take place at the factory at all — but at the inaugural congress of the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa, a few miles away in New Brighton.

The Union, which was formed last year after dissident Ford workers split from the company-recognised UAW because of dissatisfaction with UAW's handling of the Ford strike, drew more than 8 000 people.

And standing at the back, with keen interest written on their faces, was a group of Firestone workers.

Jo'burg Terror Act trialists allege torture

A SOWETO man charged under the Internal Security Act was acquitted in the Johannesburg Regional Court on February 5, after he alleged he had been tortured by security policemen.

Mr Vuyisile Mdleleni, 28, a former executive member of the banned Black People's Convention and founder member of the banned Medupe Writer's Association, was acquitted because the State did not have enough evidence to convict him.

He was one of six men appearing charged with being members of either the ANC or the PAC, and furthering the aims of these banned organisations with the intention of undermining law and order in South Africa.

Police say a large number of banned documents, pamphlets, cassettes and books were found in their possession.

The accused — Mr Themba Tshongwe, 28; Mr Norman Monyepote, 39; Mr Patrick

Gaboutloefoe, 49; Mr Vuyisile Mdleleni, Mr John Matona, 24; and Mr Siphonhlapo, 18 — have pleaded not guilty before Mr A H Barlow.

The State called Mr Teddy Mphese to give evidence. He was discredited by the court, and declared an incompetent witness because he deviated from the statement made to the State under oath.

He admitted to having made an incriminating statement against the accused under torture.

He is still being held in detention. During an almost eight-day cross-examination, Warrant Officer Van Wyk of the security police at Protea police station, told the court he had never seen a document placed before the court alleging Accused No 1, Mr Tshongwe, had been assaulted and blindfolded by security policemen.

These complaints were made by Mr Tshongwe to Mr J J B Esterhuysen, a visiting magistrate, on April 16 last year.

The men were all arrested between

April and July last year. This document was sent to the Secretary for Justice, the Commissioner of Police, and the security police at Protea.

In the statement, Tshongwe alleged he was denied sleep, made to stand on cement, punched and given electric shocks.

Replying to a question from defence counsel Mr George Bizos, on why Mr Tshongwe's requests to be seen by a doctor were not met, W O Van Wyk said Tshongwe had been seen by a Sergeant Van Vuuren, a member of the security police.

Mr Bizos submitted that Accused No 2, Mr Monyepote's feet were swollen and his chest bruised as a result of continuous assault, and Sgt Van Vuuren had failed to investigate assault claims because the officer himself had participated in the ill-treatment of the detainee.

W O Van Wyk denied allegations of assault, but admitted to destroying statements made by Mr Monyepote.

Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate, Mr J A Van Dam and Mr A J Mouton — an inspector of detainees — refused to produce documents to the court concerning the alleged ill-treatment of detainees.

The presiding magistrate, Mr Barlow, rules their refusal was justified on the grounds of Sec 6, subsection 2 of the Internal Security Act, which says no person other than the minister or a person acting in his official capacity is entitled to official information relating to a detainee or obtained from a detainee.

Quoting from a number of authorities, Mr Bizos stressed this did not take away the right the accused had to have access to a statement made to a peace officer, a doctor, magistrate, or inspector of detainees.

He said the Chief Magistrate possessed statements in which Mr Monyepote complained of treatment he had received from W O Van Wyk and other security policemen.

He said the statements were important to test the credibility of both State and Defence witnesses. Failure to submit the documents to the court could only hinder the case of the Defence.

Mr Bizos also submitted that Accused No 4, Mr Mdleleni was handcuffed, put in leg irons, and then forced to stand up straight all night on the night of his arrest without being interrogated.

It was alleged Mr Mdleleni was forced to make a statement the next day, but it had been destroyed by the officer because he was not satisfied with it.

Mdleleni made a statement to police, but said it was made under duress.

The State never led his statement as evidence, and he was acquitted on February 5.

On February 27, the defence will argue for the discharge of the other accused on the grounds of lack of the evidence of the accused furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

Unity the message at Macwusa rally

THE NEEDS of black workers and the black community cannot be separated, a rally of more than 8 000 heard in Port Elizabeth.

This was the message delivered by speakers at a rally organised by the newly formed Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa (Macwusa), who stressed that unity was crucial for workers to claim their rights in the South African economy.

One speaker, Mr Government Zini, a Macwusa organiser, told the packed meeting that the union believed the worker was also a member of the community and as such the two could not be separated.

"If there is a problem in the community we will be involved" he said to cheers from the huge audience which included students and pensioners singing freedom songs.

"No one is going to give you your rights because he feels sorry for you. This is why we are here to organise ourselves in order to get those rights."

The national organiser of the South African Allied Workers Union SAAWU, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, said in his turn that it was only through unity and a commitment to a strong presence on the factory floor that the unregistered trade union movement could survive acts of state repression.

He told the meeting that progressive trade unions would refuse to register as long as racially discriminating laws existed, because registration would imply that "we are prepared to abide by these laws which are a hindrance to the black workers in South Africa."

Progressive trade unions could not remain silent on political issues, he

added. Trade unions had been outlawed in the homelands and, as such, workers could not submit to apartheid by keeping silent and allowing it to remain unchallenged.

"To be a relevant trade union it must be one formed so that it can be able to provide change in society — and to be able to work for the freedom of the workers in that society."

"Relevant trade unions believe that South Africa is faced with a future of non-racialism. If we cannot join hands with other races in our country to fight for our unity we shall not be able to face that reality," Gqweta said.

Also speaking under the theme 'Workers United in the 80's' the Macwusa chairperson, Mr Dumili Makhanda, told the audience that his union was ready to organise all

the workers in Port Elizabeth and all 'workers in training' who were now students, into a single powerful union.

"But," he said "this can only succeed through unity and workers must be wary of divisions in the leadership."

He emphasised that "we don't want a lackey as a leader, we don't want handpicked leaders, we don't want leaders who are transmitters of management's commands."

"We must not fear being hated by our bosses."

The vice-president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) Mr Charles Nqakula said that progressive trade unions, by their very nature, had to "talk politics in the South African situation."

Although much had been promised the government has produced no

significant changes, he said. It had merely changed its attitudes, not its policies.

The state was compelled to recognise that 95 percent of the South African workforce was black, but hoped to manipulate the black worker by recognising black trade unions while banning its progressive leadership.

Messages of support for Macwusa were read out from Joseph Mavi of the Black Municipal Workers Union and the secretary general of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The rally was also addressed by the chairperson of the Parents Committee, Reverend James Haya, Mr M Madlingozi from General Motors, Mr M Xatusa from Feltex, a Pebeo official, Mr Sandile Manase, a Ford Worker Mr M Cilibe, and a representative from the Western Province General Workers' Union.

Thomsville protests over Group Areas housing policies

THE current battle for rehousing being fought in Thomsville, a slum area in Lenasia, is more than a battle for improved accommodation.

For over a month the residents of the area, under the leadership of the Thomsville residents association (TRA) have been battling the Department of Community Development for recognition of their own chosen representatives and of their demands for the rehousing of all, to be met.

Thomsville has been in existence since 1963. Most of its residents are Group Areas victims who were moved out of Sophiatown, Newclare, Fordsburg and Pageview in the late 50's. Because of a shortage of accommodation they were moved into disused army barracks and then allocated a place in Thomsville as a temporary measure.

Twenty years later they are still there.

The new houses that have been

built in Lenasia since then have been handed over to more recent group areas victims — particularly the residents of Pageview who do not want to be moved at all.

The Thomsville houses are squalid and overcrowded. There are 100 four rooms units and 368 two-room units. An average of 6.5 people share the space that was initially meant for pensioners with no independents. There is no electricity or inside water or toilets. Instead outside in the dusty yard there is one toilet to every four families and one tap to every sixteen.

Thomsville was declared a slum by the Medical Officer of Health in 1968.

But this has not resulted in an improvement of conditions. The authorities have never been particularly worried about blocked toilets, the lack of adequate drainage, damp walls and piles of rubbish.

The only time an attempt was made



Disused army barracks 'temporary' accommodation — for twenty years!

Pics by Les Lawson

to do something about Thomsville was in 1978 when Marais Steyn, the then Minister of Community Development, toured the area: Some houses were sandbagged and painted, and new fences were erected. But no necessary fundamental changes necessary to make Thomsville liveable ever happened.

The knowledge that empty houses in Lenasia are waiting for Group Areas evictees to be filled galvanised the residents into action. They decided to go directly to the sources of their trouble — the Department

of Community Development. They presented a memorandum stating their grievances and demands to the Regional Director, after a march on the administration offices.

Among other demands were calls that the people of Thomsville be rehoused in suitable, adequate and decent homes immediately: That this take priority over the resettlement of people effected through the Group Areas Act — e.g. Pageview — and that the Thomsville Residents Association be recognised as the legitimate representative of the people.

The response of community Development was predictable. In a letter to the TRA they advised that any problems should be handled through the Management Committee as the official channel. They also said that preparations were underway for the planned redevelopment of Thomsville.

At the time it was announced that 100 empty houses had been handed over to Dennis Pillay — the

chairperson of the Management Committee for allocation to Thomsville residents.

But as the TRA says: "It must be remembered that the number of families that want to be rehoused is more than 100 and as such we have to continue our struggle until all families are rehoused."

The TRA also rejected this as an attempt by the Management Committee to "jump on the bandwagon" by claiming that they are responsible for obtaining the houses.

"We the people know that it is because of our efforts that these houses are now available."

The residents are adamant that they will not allow their struggle to be co-opted by the Management Committee and that they will not be divided by promises of houses for only a fraction of the people. They are determined that they will not be determine their own future and will not be fobbed off with yet more empty promises from officials.

Pretoria Seven freed on four charges under Terrorism Act

SEVEN men charged with four counts under the Terrorism Act appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court for a week at the end of January.

All seven — Arthur Phalatse, Thabo Dlovu, Jamitjie Malaya Shiloane, William Mampuru, Albert Motlana, Oupa Masuka and Joseph Masuka — are charged with having consented to undergo military training outside the Republic. All are between the ages of 18 and 24. Some are senior Cosas members.

The first count alleges that Accused number four, William Mampura, had on a number of occasions allegedly incited Gerald Sedutla to undergo military training outside the country.

Oupa Masuka, Accused number six, faces two accounts of allegedly inciting all the accused, as well as Tsepo Hlaethwa and Thabo Masuka, — to undergo military training and also to have allegedly made the necessary arrangements for them to leave the country.

They are all charged with having allegedly taken the necessary steps

to have left South Africa to undergo that training.

The State at first applied for all its witnesses to give evidence in camera, but the defence — Eric Dane instructed by Priscilla Jana — opposed the application.

The court ruled that only the 17 year old youth — who may not be named — would be allowed to give evidence in camera. But the youth's evidence failed to reveal anything about incitement for military training.

In response to the youth's evidence, the defence applied for Mampura's acquittal. The court acquitted him.

Hlaethwa — who has been in detention since the end of June 1980 — was then called as the State's second witness. The crux of his evidence centred around a meeting at the home of Oupa Masuka — Accused number six — after which all the accused allegedly decided to leave the country for military training, and all were arrested on the South African side of the Swaziland border.

Accused number one, two, and six,

have given evidence so far. They all say they were members of an organisation called the "Funeral Brigade", which was set up in some Pretoria townships to enable the youth to participate in funerals. The function of this was to bridge the generation gap in the community.

They also aimed to get more adult support for various educational campaigns and commemoration services. They admitted to being in a combi near the Swaziland border, and said they were there as a funeral brigade to participate in a funeral in that area.

The magistrate said in judgement that the state had not proved beyond reasonable doubt that the seven accused had intended to leave the country to undergo military training.

The state's case rested on an accomplice witness' evidence, which could not be corroborated. The magistrate said that the seven accused had to be given the benefit of the doubt as to the truth of their claims of the Funeral Brigade mission.



One tap to sixteen families in Thomsville

SASPU **NATIONAL**

Aggressive policies

What kind of sick society takes pride in having killed its own brothers?
 The South African Defence Force raid into Mozambique is truly a cause for grief. South Africans have to realise that the problem does not exist beyond our borders, but indeed within them.
 There is a civil war being fought between South Africans and not a war with our neighbours. South Africans were killed in Mozambique by their fellow country people.
 South Africa is a polarised society, and oppression and exploitation force people to leave the country.

Majority mourns

We have got to realise that the majority of South Africans mourn the raid on Matola — the death of those people is a source of grief and genuine sorrow to the oppressed masses.
 This has been demonstrated in the willingness of people to defy the ban on commemoration services for their brothers who died.
 Bans and the presence of the police will never stifle the feelings of the people. At the funeral of Fanie Mafoko who died in the Silverton Bank siege, 15 000 people were present — on a Wednesday afternoon.

Destabilisation

The raid into Mozambique is pretty extreme action — to enter a neighbouring country and wipe out two homes — in the light of the ANC becoming a signatory to the Geneva Convention. This role of aggression — the South African policy of destabilisation against its neighbours — has been witnessed on various occasions. The raids into Zambia, Angola and now Mozambique represent one aspect. The role of South Africa at Lancaster House and the Geneva talks comprise the other.
 SA is setting itself up as a sub-imperialist power, attempting to dominate the sub-continent. One thing is certain, so long as conflict exists within the country the future holds much sorrow and hardship.

Bureaucratic crisis

The signs of pressure are beginning to show with crises in education and the bureaucracy at large.
 Nursing crises, teacher crises, prisons crisis are dealt with by building bigger prisons and paying civil servants fatter salaries. At no stage is the system that produced these people the subject of critical examination.

Education crisis

Likewise the return of students to school must not be viewed as a submission or defeat. The long terms demands of the students, for representation and the abolition of racist and unequal education remains.
 The State's attempt to introduce compulsory education is no solution. Students want Bantu Education to be destroyed, not forced down their throats.

Eating Pee Dubs's Pie...



Letters to the Editors

Dear Sir,
 In Saspu National number four you carried an interview with Joe Mavi, President of the Black Municipal Workers Union.
 What featured most prominently in the article was, however, not the interview itself but three rather large black blocked-in areas.
 Obviously some censorship was involved, wetting my appetite to peer intently at what was hidden underneath that layer of thick black ink. I am sure that others, too, sat staring-trying to see what it was that demanded censorship.
 Despite that the article was informative—Joe Mavi being a man obviously strong in character and commitment.
 Please could you explain.
 Yours sincerely
 Walter Becker
 Wits

*The explanation is simple. At the time of the interview Joe Mavi was facing charges under the Sabotage Act. On advice from his lawyers we censored certain statements which might have prejudiced his case. They were mainly concerned with the actual events of the municipal workers strike. Those facts are generally well-known — so rest at ease.
 We are happy to note that the charges under the Sabotage Act (which carries the death penalty) were dropped. Mr Mavi instead faces charged under the Riotous Assembly Act. -Eds.*

Dear Saspu National,
 I was most impressed to read your feature on the Federation of South African Women in Saspu National no 2. What seemed to come out most clearly was the link that this organisation had to the broader liberation struggle in the 1950's and that this organisation had to be and that it too suffered the consequences of the stringent oppressive laws implemented in the early sixties in terms of the banning of leaders and general State repression of any progressive activities.

Following your subsequent stories covering the rent protests in Soweto, I see that the Federation has been revived, and actually took a leading role in the protests, once again providing the impetus and avenue of women to take an active part in community struggles.
 The activities of the Federation in 1980 are significant, and indicate a general trend of growing awareness among women that they are integral to the struggle in South Africa.

This should not be confused with the direction taken by reformist women's movements, who play directly into the hands of the State's total strategy (eg Inkatha Women's Legal Status Committee, and the various 'executive' women's groups by promoting things such as Star Woman of the Year, women in business etc.

Saspu National serves an important function. in publicising fundamental issues concerning women in South Africa today.

Wits Women's Movement.

Sir,
 While not questioning your right to criticise (free speech, press etc.) I do take strong exception, to biased reporting in your article on the U.C.T. S.R.C. Elections (Saspu 3).
 Firstly, you mention the "remarkably unfunny" Mr Kemp. I, for one, found the Silly Party hilarious — so did over 8% of the student body (an impressive total when you consider only 30% actually voted). Besides, I don't expect leftists to find the Silly Party funny when its prime intention was to annoy them.
 Secondly, you say it is obvious that I would never "make it" in a bigger election. Justin Hardcastle (group of nine leftist) got one more vote than I did (Kemp 854, Hardcastle 855) and Stephen Gordon, now an Executive member (Media Officer) got only 19 more votes than I did (S. Gordon - 873).
 Does this now mean that these two prominent leftists will also not "make it" in a bigger election. I would have polled the most votes and have been President.

Thank you.
 Arthur B. Kemp
 Emperor, U.C.T. S.R.C.
 (self proclaimed)

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A lesson for Total Strategists: You cannot fool all the people all the time.

THERE is a saying that you can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.

It's a lesson some well-known South African politicians have yet to learn. In fact, the only people that Total Strategy fools all of the time are the policy makers themselves.

They've tried hard to fool the rest of us though. The launching of Total Strategy mobilized every means available — the press, radio, TV, commerce and industry, black business, academics, legislation, the military, church, homeland leaders and even opposition politicians.

Total Strategy was able to draw on such wide support because it offered something to everyone with a stake in the system.

People who want change without change thought they'd hit the jackpot. Total Strategy promised to dismantle some of the uglier features of South African society while leaving the free enterprise system intact.

This meant that the situation would be stabilized and the system improved. While Piet Promises was declaring war on the dompas, the Riekert Commission was busy extending the controls over African workers and their families. And no-one even noticed. In fact they applauded his recommendations.

These people are so desperate for "change" and so reluctant to accept the implications of change that they convince themselves that Piet Promises and the Total Strategy travelling circus represent a genuine push for change rather than the most sophisticated attempt yet to buy time and patch up a system that's breaking up.

Let's take a look at who bought Total Strategy...

The Principled Liberal — These defenders of the civil rights road to freedom have always overlooked the reasons for the lack of civil rights.

They've seen the lack of these rights as a function of (largely) Afrikaner race prejudice. As such, the struggle becomes one of convincing Afrikaners to change.

Heaven forbid that anyone should suggest that Apartheid makes things convenient for employers to pay poverty wages, refusal to recognise trade unions and to cut corners on safety, health and conditions in the workplace.

Which is not to say that Apartheid is always good for business. It does create problems for certain employers and it is a cumbersome and rigid system. But it goes a long way towards ensuring a super-exploited workforce.

In their desire to overlook this, principled liberals attach immense importance to any sign of relaxation of controls. The slightest indication of an open mind from a policy maker becomes a major leap forward.

Because they don't acknowledge the reasons for Apartheid they don't question the reasons for change. Hence while Wiehahn and Riekert were busy cooking up tighter controls, they were hailing them as the end of 25 years of Apartheid.

These liberals end up in the contradictory position of demanding rights but accepting privileges instead. Which is what Total Strategy is all about.

It extends limited privileges to a stratum of black middle class people who are willing to accept incorporation in the current system.

This middle class is still not given rights and the rulers use the granting of these privileges to justify denying rights to the majority.

By accepting these privileges this black middle class undermines disenfranchised demands for real political rights.

The Free Enterprisers — They have always drawn the most direct benefit from Apartheid. They own mines, factories and businesses in which millions of black workers produce billions of rands of profit.



SASPU NATIONAL LOOKS AT TOTAL STRATEGY'S ATTEMPTS TO MASK THE INBUILT HORRORS OF APARTHEID

Even more than the principled liberal, the free enterpriser is determined to avoid any focus on who benefits from Apartheid.

But instead of just blaming the Afrikaners like the principled liberals do, they contrast free enterprise and Apartheid.

The former, they claim, is a social system which offers everyone an equal chance to own a factory or a farm or business and get rich. Or to be a lawyer or a doctor or an accountant for one of those owners and get rich that way.

These people, free enterprise says, deserve to be rich because they are more greedy, competitive and materialistic than anyone else. And since humans (they say) are naturally greedy and competitive and materialistic, it stands to reason that these people should get to the top.

Those who don't make it, we are told, have only themselves to blame because everyone apparently has the same chance to cheat and exploit everyone else in the cut and thrust of business.

All those people in South Africa who are black or female or illiterate or who live in home-

lands or on farms or who cannot go to school are victims of Apartheid.

If we remove Apartheid then, employers will be willing to pay living wages and accept a drop in profits. Job opportunities will mushroom in the rural areas and wipe out unemployment.

Employers will spend millions making the factories and mines safe to work in. They will recognise trade unions and refrain from victimising union members. They will happily watch a powerless and controlled workforce become powerful and dismantle the controls which made them so helpless to combat exploitation.

The total strategists joined the free enterprisers in blaming Apartheid for the nation's ills. By agreeing to dismantle Apartheid they shifted opponents of Apartheid into their camp as defenders of Capitalism.

The dividing line in South African society was no longer between pro- and anti-Apartheid groups, but between pro- and anti-Capitalist groups.

The Black Middle Class — The so-called "black buffer", this group was meant to have a stake in the system by extending

privileges to them. As such they would see their interests as lying with the current system and be willing to defend it against forces fighting for change.

This group's privileged position is held up as a model of what all black people can expect if they give the rules (both government and employers) a chance. What people forget is that the privileges granted to the few are done so at the expense of the majority.

A stable urban black middle class can only be created if all the surplus people are removed — that means anybody who is not a vital labour unit. Similarly, new people can't be allowed into the urban areas unless they are essential to employers.

Bearing in mind the fact that every day the homelands become less able to support their growing populations, this means much stricter controls over movement, housing and employment.

This tightening of controls has been accompanied by much liberal optimism in what appears to be a relaxation in official attitudes. This has become a central feature of Total Strategy. The liberal pronouncements and

trumped-up reforms create a smoke screen behind which the existing controls can be extended and tightened.

The reason so many people fail to see through the smoke is because they don't look for the reasons behind the changes. If they did, they would see that the reasons are those of the rulers.

It is their requirements that the Strategy is designed to meet. Because people don't appreciate whose interests Apartheid serves, they don't see that these changes to Apartheid are designed to make it more effective.

Although Total Strategy convinced most people at the start that it was a sincere attempt to introduce liberal reforms, it soon ran out of steam and the extension of control became more and more obvious.

The last session of Parliament saw a flood of repressive legislation rushed through. Curbs on the press, on trade unions, on black peoples residence, movement and employment were all extended. The police, security police and military establishment were granted ever greater powers.

Total Strategy's inability to alter fundamentals also became obvious. No amount of legislation of official tap dancing could obscure the fact that the most basic aspects of apartheid were still very much alive.

Migrant labour, resettlement, political repression, labour controls, inferior education and conditions in the urban and rural areas remained unchanged.

By the end of the first year liberals were already becoming a little more cautious in the way they responded to Piets Promises. His package deal, along with Fanie Botha's labour proposals ran into rough weather.

Total Strategy's paint job was wearing thin. 1980 saw a fresh upsurge in militant resistance to the web of controls which entangles black people.

The schools boycott and the strikes dominated the headlines for most of the year. Resistance broke out on other fronts as well. Rent struggles spread nationwide as community organisation blossomed. Bus boycotts expressed a refusal to accept higher transport costs.

Labour disputes spread into the communities as people rallied to the support of the workers by boycotting products and refusing to scab at striking factories.

The community council system has flopped completely and the government has been forced to abandon the South African Indian Council and the Coloured Peoples Representative Council.

Even Buthezi was exposed once and for all as he did the governments dirty work during the schools boycotts.

The Free Mandela Campaign re-emphasized that the majority of the people saw their true leaders as those whose struggles for freedom and justice had led them to being incarcerated on Robben Island and Pretoria Central.

The President's Council said the proposed constitutional changes reiterated the government's insistence that "slow thinking" blacks had not reached the same level of constitutional development.

Total Strategists may make liberal noises when things are quiet, but when the chips are down the batons come out. And they hit harder than ever.

Areas are now declared "operational", making it illegal for the press to report what is happening there, giving the police and army a free hand to control the situation by any means.

Meetings of a "political" nature were banned and hundreds herded into detention at a time when the entire country was aflame with strikes, school boycotts, busses, rents and products, not to mention attacks on police stations and plants.

If Total Strategy fooled all of the people for some of the time, it was not for long. The voice of the people soon cut through the confusion, leaving no doubt as to what they thought of Total Strategy.

THE YEAR OF THE STRIKER

Meat workers ... municipal workers ... canning workers ...
1980 was the year when labour turned tough



Every day for the first 31 days of this year 200 black workers went on strike ...

THE captains of South Africa industry will not remember 1980 for the economic boom in the country, nor for the tax cuts and gold revenue that helped it along.

They will remember it as the year that more than 100 000 workers throughout the country downed tools to demand a share of the wealth they produced.

Not since the Durban strikes of 1973 has South Africa seen such an upsurge of militant worker action. But unlike the '73 strikes, workers throughout the country, in all branches of industry, used their labour power to back their demands.

With the massive upsurge of political activity throughout the country, worker in their thousands stood up to resist the power of their employers and the state.

The political climate generated over the past 12 months, and the workers' experience in their economic struggles since 1973 is reflected in the sophistication of both their organisations and their demands.

In the Eastern and Western Cape workers demonstrated that the most important issues facing them on the factory floor were democratic non-racial organisation and representation.

The struggle of workers organised in the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU), Western Province General Workers' Union (WPGWU) and the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) showed an ever increasing awareness that their exploitation will only end with the establishment of a democratic social system which recognises the interests and demands of the majority of the people — and that it is the democratic action of the exploited masses themselves that will correct the injustices and hardships they suffer.

Implicit in this message from the factory floors, is that they were not prepared to accept the racist foundations of a society which divides workers by colour.

While struggles waged by workers in Cape Town and East London focussed on minimum demands — democratic, non-racial representation in their work places — they also recognised the need to bridge the gap between factory floor struggles and the community.

The meat workers' strike in Cape Town is the clearest example of how factory demands have led to workers recognising the need to link their struggle to the broader struggles around them.

Most strike actions last year centred, however on wages.

This by no means indicates that these struggles were isolated and economic.

Demands for huge wage increases — sometimes up to 100 percent — mirror a broad awareness that bosses are reaping huge profits at the expense of workers. This is particularly evident amongst Motor Industry workers in the Port Elizabeth and Roslyn areas, but also developed throughout the country.

From the smallest workforces to the thousands-strong in the giant corporations, workers risked their jobs in challenging the bosses' right to pay poverty level wages.

The impact of massive strikes by 10 000 Johannesburg municipal workers, the 7 000 Frame workers and the 3 000 Rex Truform workers has been considerable, resulting in wide-spread awareness amongst

workers of the power imbalance in the factories.

And equally important, it has brought home the message to the state and bosses: workers are no longer prepared to accept their subordination.

And the worker militance shows no sign of abating.

Every day for the first 31 days of this year, 200 black workers went on strike, or were involved in labour disputes which stopped production.

And the Sunday Tribune, which calculated these figures, predicts that industrial relations can face severest challenge this year as black workers now give notice of their demands.

In 1979 the State pushed through laws aimed at co-opting, regulating and containing workers' actions.

The new Industrial Conciliation Act — spawned from the Wehahn Commission proposals — was passed by parliament to limit future industrial unrest.

The growing power of workers' organisations since 1973 forced the government to include the African workers in the new law — obviously

with the intention of directing and controlling worker actions by providing strictly controlled structures through which labour disputes could be solved.

Although this was an attempt to move away from the embarrassingly high-profile armed repression of workers, it was by no means a liberalisation of the harsh labour laws.

Although the state has created structures through which black workers could theoretically redress

their grievances, they were tightly controlled, rigid structures, designed to limit genuine worker organisations and to wrest from workers their one powerful weapon — their ability to withdraw their labour as a unified group.

The registration of African trade unions was central to this process. Through registration, the state offered a number of benefits to the unions: smoothing the way offered to easier agreements and wage increases, and legitimacy — and thus protection — within the system.

But these benefits were dependant on the good behaviour of registered unions. Their registration — and thus their legality — would be dependent on a rigid conformity to the dictates and conditions laid down by the state.

Thus armed, the state and the bosses started out in 1980, confident of stifling worker militance and crushing their organisations.

By the end of the year their high hopes were shot down in flames.

The workers rejected the new law for what it was, a sham. And in almost every case, the state had to rely on force to crush the workers' militancy, and the bosses had to resort to less sugar-coated methods — victimisation of worker leaders — to break strikes.

The Frame workers' struggle, like those at Kromco, Johannesburg Dairy and the Johannesburg Municipality, were abandoned to the full force of police action. The state and the municipality "resolved" the massive, week-long strike by sealing the compounds, shunting the workers back to the bantustans and arresting Joseph



Since the Durban strikes of 1973, worker militancy has shown no sign of abating despite harsh anti-union measures by the state

Mavi and other union leaders for alleged sabotage.

The wave of labour unrest in East London was "resolved" with the arrest of a large number of worker leaders and unionists by the Ciskei authorities. In Cape Town the state

and the meat bosses joined together to starve the workers into submission.

The list of similar repression is almost endless, and demonstrated clearly that the new industrial conciliation machinery was useless in containing genuine worker grievances.

By the end of the year the government was desperately hunting for a way out.

In October, at the height of the East London struggles, both bosses and government spokesmen began sending out a stream of statements arguing the need to negotiate with "whatever leadership groups hold credibility with the workers"—previous limitations temporarily forgotten.

The Federation of Industries, Assocom and other bosses' mouthpieces urged the government to drop some of the less important legal controls to make registrations more attractive.

The government has responded by putting forward a series of proposals which tries to do just that.

All restrictions in the Act considered to be racially objectionable in racial terms are likely to be removed. Workers of any race will be allowed to join a registered union without that union requiring ministerial exemption. This would now include migrant workers.

It is also proposed that the much criticised system of provisional registration be abolished. The draft Bill would make it compulsory for employers to deduct union dues from workers' pay on behalf of

registered unions. Finally, as an added attraction, the draft proposes that sex discrimination in wage agreements be outlawed.

While the Bill attempts to enlarge the carrot being offered to the unregistered union — thus solving some of the initial criticisms — it also packs a lot more punch into the big stick to be wielded against unions refusing to participate in the system.

Foremost here is the threat to enforce compulsory registration. It is unlikely however that this will be done directly as it has indeed evoked a storm of protest from many quarters. The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) unions have threatened to withdraw from the registration process should compulsory registration go ahead.

Instead the state is likely to

introduce a number of measures tantamount to compulsory registration — they will make it almost impossible for unregistered unions to operate. These include:

- The declaration that current agreements between them and employers as having no legal standing.
- Stricter controls on fund raising — no union may receive donations without ministerial permission.

Other measures aimed at attacking the basic approach of the AFCWU, WPGWU and SAAWU include tougher controls on the political content of their activities.

The draft appears to ban all informal ties with community or political organisations.

This may be achieved through the outlawing of consumer boycotts and the raising of strike funds in the

community.

The anti-strike measures are also to be intensified.

Legal strikes may only be permitted once a strike ballot, supervised by the state, has taken place. And this only once the dispute has been unsuccessfully processed through cumbersome official channels.

Should contract workers be involved in "illegal" strikes, they may face deportation to the homelands. The minister also plans to involve the homeland governments in the enforcement of these controls.

Finally, there are indications that the government intends acting against independent worker committees. Only these would have negotiating rights.

KARRIM

TO START with, two essential points need to be made: Firstly, the whole myth that has been created about young students not being able to question the political structures of the country has been totally exposed. Secondly, the divisional tactics of the system have been proved to be unsuccessful since students of all race groups have come together.

With reference to the boycotts there are some important features. The demands — unlike those previously made by students — did not stop at pleas for more textbooks or better resources but reached a far more fundamental level. The students this time demanded a restructuring of the entire system. Students saw clearly that the educational struggle could not be won, or demands relating specifically to education could not be achieved unless the entire system was changed. In short, political demands emerged during the boycotts.

The challenge went beyond education, as the education system is but one part of the overall system to be changed.

Prior to the boycotts one could find little trace of organisation at most educational institutions.

However, during the boycotts we saw the surfacing of various forms of organisations. These included informal organisational boycott committees, representative councils and the like.

It is at this level organisations that we need to look at the state's response. It responded by closing down schools, suspending, expelling or detaining students and baton charging.

Another important lesson was the clear use of tactics. The experiences at different institutions of police action and so on effected the clear use of tactics.

The boycotts also exposed the distinct relation between education and the state. If one looks at the community — students relationship, the community in Durban for example were sympathetic to and supported the student action. The students learnt clearly that it was not the struggle on the educational front itself but rather their active participation in community action that would bring about change.

During the boycotts, then, there was an escalation in community action with students assuming increasing amounts of responsibility. At present there exists broad based discontent with the system of education all over.

There is a move towards identifying more clearly the weaknesses of the education system.

In 1981, there are four main campus issues we intend to take up. Firstly, the Due Performance system (DP) is totally against the grain of our thought. We don't agree with it and will be proposing alternatives.

The second issue is one of finance. The SRC has already set up its own commission of enquiry to investigate the use of students funds by the administration over the last 21 years.

• To page 11

ZENZILE

THE '80's boycott — appearing just when the students and parents were still licking the wounds inflicted in '76 — clearly depicted the level of consciousness and measure of organisation of South African students.

In spite of the setbacks of '76, the students rallied — coming back strongly to once more effectively oppose the gutter education they have been receiving.

But there were important differences between the '76-77 boycotts, and those of the 80's.

Firstly, it demonstrated how much the level of consciousness and degree of organisation improved.

Secondly it was extended to other groups in our community — the "Coloureds" and "Indians".

In '76 these groups played a very small part. Looking into the centre of the boycott, it can be seen how quickly it spread to the rural and remote areas as well. Nobody would expect places like De Aar, Colesburg and Oudtshoorn to have boycotted — nor the areas in the Ciskei which responded so positively.

This has clearly shown the growing consciousness of the students in terms of the situation they find themselves in in this country.

Student Leaders Speak



Alf Karrim ... President
Westville SRC



Wantu Zenzile ... Cosas President



Andrew Borraine ... Nusas president



Tom Nkoana ... Azaso President

STUDENT opinion saw some major changes in 1980. The boycotts were instrumental in creating awareness and fostering unity — while also providing areas of conflict which gave useful experience to student leaders and showed students the problems of mass action, and how these might be resolved in future confrontations. Four people — Tom Nkoana, president of Azaso, Alf Karrim, SRC president of the University of Durban-Westville, Cosas president Wantu Zenzile, and Andrew Borraine, Nusas president — spoke to SASPU NATIONAL about the 1980 boycotts, and future plans for the student movement in South Africa.

But how did the students of the 80's develop in terms of determining direction?

To a large extent — compared to '76-77 — they never viewed the boycotts as a principle. It was used as a weapon, as a strategy, more than anything else.

The demands were clear and straight forward. They were categorised into long and short term demands. They were all united, and speaking the same language.

A new factor was discipline. The way the leadership controlled the others was excellent. The boycott was confined to school premises. Some awareness programmes were introduced from one school to the other — except in some cases, where police intervened and disbanded them.

This clearly showed that the struggle was entering a new phase. As the students revolted, the parents followed up with strong support — standing with their children in the struggle.

This became evident when parents began setting up committees in support of the children.

Viewing the boycott from a positive point of view, it appears the struggle has taken vast strides forward. They achieved one of their aims — to win the support of their parents.

The students knew they could not bring about total change on their own, and needed the support of their parents in order to coordinate their activities.

With the consciousness of the students at a higher level, they became more realistic than ever. They realised they would have to challenge the stand taken by the teachers. The teachers have for a long time kept a low profile about the affairs of the community — ranging from the students up to those issues affecting them directly.

And from the State's response, it is obvious it was caught flat-footed. When the students began to push for the suspension of the boycott — realising the boycott was a

strategy and not a principle — this was a blow for the Government. It derailed the tactics of the State — as can be seen from the harassment and detention of those students pushing for the suspension of the boycott.

Again, the introduction of compulsory

• To page 11

BORRAINE

AS THE struggle for a democratic South Africa enters new stages, it is important that we learn from the lessons of the past.

The rebellion of 1976 showed once and for all the inadequacies of education in South Africa. Many short-term demands were listed.

Last year students clearly identified the link between their demands and their vision of a new South Africa — widesweeping educational changes that can only take place in a democratic society.

For some students, this meant nothing could be done until "society had changed". A clear answer is to see education as one of the sites of struggle in the fight for democracy.

But what exactly does this mean?

It does not mean education is the only area where students can play a part in the building of a democratic society. The apartheid system is too big to be attacked as a whole. Education is only one part of it.

To destroy apartheid, one must go straight for the jugular. But this needs many people. These people do not realise what they must do overnight. It is at this point we must return to the concept of "site of struggle".

There are many different sites of struggle, such as education, housing, rents, transport, health, wages, sport, working conditions, the mass media, and the cost of living.

We are all affected daily by all these things. In each community of people various areas — or "sites" — assume a greater importance. So the people in the community must be

mobilised around the areas which are important to them. This gives them experience in political struggle — which is very important — it creates a sense of unity, and also contributes to the "masses struggle" by creating crises in different areas — thus weakening the apartheid structure.

We are all primarily students, and our initial involvement should be with education. This is the area in which we all share the most common ground.

And during the 1980 boycotts, it was repeatedly stressed that students cannot take the lead in the fight for democracy.

Most students did not share the experiences of their parents and parents' friends — the majority of whom work in factories, mines, or on farms. This is still true today.

But education plays a key role in linking various areas together. An example of this was seen during the meat workers' strike last year, where students collected money to help support the strikers.

Schools are forums for discussion, planning and organisation. Students from different backgrounds come together, and bring with them their experiences of struggle and resistance.

Links can be made with other groups, such as teachers, workers and parents of students.

Ideas of democracy are formed through debate around, and formation of, student representative councils (SRC's). The enormous gap between the content of

• To page 11

NKOANA

IT WAS Bantu Education in 1976, and still Bantu Education in 1980. The students came out very strongly against this monster. This time it was not only against Bantu Education, but also the other two monsters — the so-called Indian education and Coloured education. This goes to show there is no system of education in this country which is relevant to the toiling masses. The one point that needs to be clarified here and now is the main demand of the students — the introduction of one system of national education.

At the moment we do not have national education. The so-called national education being consumed by the unfortunate white kids is not what we want — we reject it as much as we reject Bantu Education and Coloured education.

We reject it because it indoctrinates and makes people feel superior — it makes them ignorant of what is happening, and it creates a spirit of individualism, exploitation and oppression.

Bantu, Indian and Coloured education makes one inferior — it actually domesticates and prepares people to be good servants, if not slaves.

All this was recognised before the boycotts. It also became evident that while we want the government to meet our demands, we can never have a free, democratic and compulsory education system in our country unless all the people have a say in the running of the country.

So the boycotts served as a good mobilising project amongst the students. The only unfortunate thing is that some students boycotted on principle, and did not understand boycotts as a tactic. This led to great divisions among the students — with some saying it had to be suspended, and others wanting it to continue.

We also learnt that students should be well prepared for boycott, to avoid the confusion sometimes brought about by spontaneous uprisings.

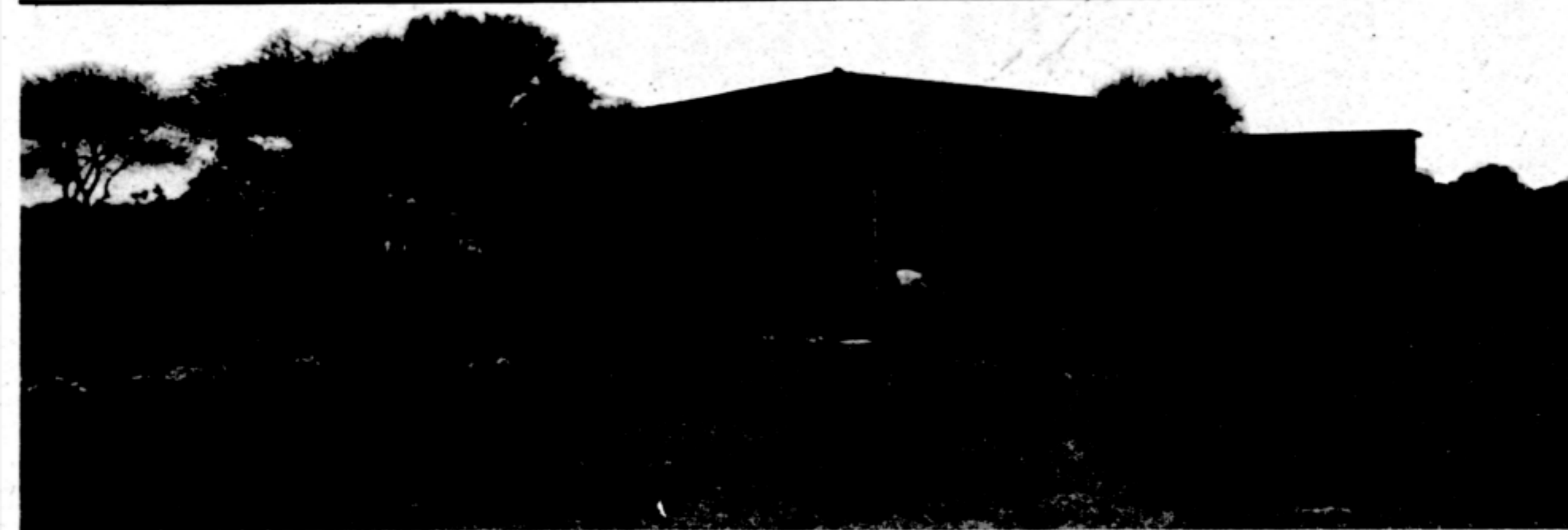
This year must be a year of mobilisation, a year of politicisation.

The students must go down to the grass-roots level, to the ordinary man in the street, and show him how he's being oppressed, exploited and dehumanised — how he's being turned into a machine, if not a robot. We must prepare students and workers for major pre-planned actions, so as to minimise spontaneous actions.

We have to dedicate ourselves fully to the struggle. We must politicise our parents, convince them that our grievances are just, and get them to rally behind us.

It is unfortunate that the year started with the banning of Mswa executive members. While we were still stunned by the bannings, refugees were killed in Maputo by the SADF. But this does not serve to discourage us — instead it encourages us.

• To page 11



Typical Valspan houses ... settled community to be uprooted.

Move or be moved — Valspan folk to live in rural ghetto.

THE people of Valspan, the location of the northern Cape town of Jan Kempdorp have been made an offer they can't refuse.

They have been told that they must move from where they are to Pampierstad, 31 km away in BophuthaTswana. The reason given is a common one — the people of Valspan are said to be foreigners in 'white' South Africa and must therefore move to their so-called 'homelands'.

The Valspan people reject this totally. Valspan itself was set up as the result of the removal of people living near Fourteen Streams when the Vaalhartz irrigation scheme was being built.

Since then people have looked on Valspan as their permanent home. They have built schools, clinics, and shops and have spent time and money improving their basic living conditions.

In July last year those people were told that they would be moved to Pampierstad, and within a week the first removals began. By now it seems as if about a third of the Valspan population has moved. This year's removals are not the first that have been experienced.

In the late 1960's there were rumours of removals when many of the houses were valued by the local

administration board. Then in the early 70's groups of people were moved twice to Pampierstad — both times it was said that they had volunteered to go.

The latest threat is the most serious to date. Since BophuthaTswana independence in 1976 there has been a concerted effort to move people out of the jurisdiction of the South African authorities.

Once in BophuthaTswana their housing, health and other needs of people no longer have to be met from the coffer of the administration boards. At the same time the lack of work and facilities in homeland areas means that people are still forced to commute to work and to shop in white areas.

The cynicism of the Valspan move is shown in the admission by the administration board that they are willing to build hostels to house men who want to stay in the town to work.

Those people who have stayed behind in Valspan have decided that they will resist the removal with whatever means they can. To this end the local advisory board submitted a memorandum to the administration board stating their dissatisfaction at the way in which their wishes and interests had been

ignored. In this memorandum they also protested about the conditions at Pampierstad.

Pampierstad has a large township and an even larger squatter settlement which surrounds the regular houses. There are many houses that are being built at Pampierstad, but most of these are for sale at about R13 000 with equally high rents. Because of the exorbitant costs many of the houses that are meant for the Valspan people are empty.

The cost of a removal, of increased travelling costs mean that people are far worse off than they were in Valspan.

The Valspan people are not the only community who are in the process of resisting their removal to Pampierstad.

The small community of Saltpan, 24 km north of Kimberly are also about to be moved to this dumping ground. The people who live here are labourers living with their families at their place of work ... There are a total of 40 families living in this area.

The area has now been declared a mine and the people have been told that the workers will have to live in compounds while their families will have to go to Pampierstad 100 km



New houses for Valspan elite ... R13 000 -

away.

There are 33 men and three women who actually work on saltworks, whilst many of the other women earn money by working on white farms in the vicinity. They claim that if they have to move to Pampierstad they will starve, because work is not so easy to find.

People stressed their reluctance to have their families split up as a major reason for not wanting to move. Other reasons that they put forward were the difficulties of having to finance two households as well as pay for transport for visits. The distance of Pampierstad from Kimberly is also a major problem. At the moment they only pay 50c each way to and from town.

Saltpan itself is by no means an ideal place. There is only one toilet and one tap. There is only one shop and no clinic. Yet Saltpan is a far better option than Pampierstad and BophuthaTswana citizenship that goes with it could ever be.

For ultimately the cleaning up process that is going on in the northern Cape, like that in many other parts of the country is designed to get rid of all those people who are not immediately useful as labour.

The rapid growth of Pampierstad — the large squatter settlement that has developed around it, and the continuous influx of people whether of their own accord, or as part of a forced removal are all a result of this.

KARRIM

• From page 10

Thirdly, there has been a traditional call to boycott the graduation ceremony since the students disagree with it. This year it will be of particular importance because various members of the SRC, including myself will be graduating.

Lastly, there is a constitutional problem. In the last prospectus the admin stated that it would suspend the SRC when it wished. After a long struggle for an SRC this is an unacceptable state of affairs.

In so far as organisational plans go we need to create clubs and societies through which people can participate in programmes and activities. The SRC was created at the end of last year so not much time was available to set them up. They are very necessary and we are beginning to work.

They are very necessary and we are beginning to work on them now.

We are planning to have greater participation in the community by students this year. For example, there is a rents boycott on at present, in which students are participating. On campus all clubs and societies are going to be active in the community. Law students for example, will provide legal aid. Elsewhere homework centres will be set up for students who are forced to work by candlelight or in crowded conditions. Many other projects of this nature will be planned.

To maintain the educative momentum of the boycotts a long-term research project

Hard talk from student leaders

has been set up to study the cause and effects of slanted ideology imposed upon students.

ZENZILE

• From page 10

education shows how the boycott frustrated the State. This was their final response to the boycott and all future ones.

The introduction of an age limit also reveals how much the 80's boycott stung those in power.

Before anything can be said about this period, it must be noted that compulsory education may well backfire. The issue has sparked anger among the people. And to thrust a rejected system down the throats of people already angry is tantamount to committing suicide.

The worker in this country is the one who is in the position to bring about change in a meaningful way. Thus it is the duty of the students to coordinate worker-student efforts in this direction. The students will have to consolidate all forces as the struggle enters a new phase.

The students are now well aware of the

gutter education they are receiving — and will stand up together to formulate the new kind of education they envisage. And in this, they will be reaching out to the workers in order to mobilise them.

BORAINE

• From page 10

"Bantu Education" and the everyday lived-experiences of the student soon becomes apparent.

If this is taken further, the illogicality of the system leads to its questioning and challenging.

A possible key word then, for 1981, is *building*. This can be divided into three areas. All schools have the urgent need to build up a form of democratic representation. The foundation of channels of communication on a permanent basis must be established — for it is useless for a school to operate in isolation from neighbouring schools, and the rest of the country.

Lastly, as many groups as possible must work on building alternative programmes in areas such as history, literature, methods of teaching, and the theory of education.

If further action is to be effective, the structures, channels of commu-

nication, and the alternative programmes must be well established.

Democracy is not a concept which everyone suddenly understands or practices. It is strongly connected to the methods of struggle — and is in fact the process of struggle itself.

This process affects what is happening in the area of education, just as democracy in education will contribute to the overall building of democracy in every site of struggle.

NKOANA

• From page 10

After the boycotts students realised they have to get involved in community projects. They have to reach the ordinary man in the street, the workers, and politicise them. They have to encourage all workers to form unions so we can speak with one voice.

But we have seen the Government is trying to divide us along racial lines. They use things such as "Coloured boycott" and "Indian boycott" and "African boycott". But the students have seen these are nothing but instruments of racial division. We regard ourselves as the exploited and oppressed masses.

The students in Natal allowed Inkatha to expose itself.

Those parents became aware of which side Inkatha was on during the boycott.

The 1980 boycott showed one cannot serve both sides. One is either on the side of the people or on the side of the oppressor.



Alexandra ... originally a freehold township

Pics by Toby Radcliffe

'Illegals' battle to stay as Alex is pulled into Total Strategy

INDUSTRIAL development in South Africa has been coupled with attempts by the state to control the influx of Africans into urban areas.

The demand for manufactured goods in the country during the Second World War boosted rapid industrialisation which in turn caused a rise in urbanisation to meet labour demands.

The Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended, defined conditions under which Africans could reside in urban areas. The aim of the Act was to regulate the number of blacks in the cities to stay in line with the labour demands of industry. Superfluous people were to be returned to the reserves, the so-called "illegal people" being those not eligible for urban rights under Section 10 of the Act.

The position Alexandra township holds in this scheme of things is interesting.

Alexandra was established in 1912 as a freehold area and as a result residents were not subjected to the same administrative control exercised over other township residents. Elsewhere, people had to qualify for urban rights in order to get housing, but freehold title in Alexandra meant that owners could sublet rooms and construct additional

dwelling on their properties.

This loophole made it easier for so-called "illegal people" to get accommodation. It is in this light that one should view the various measures adopted by the Government with respect to Alexandra.

The most blatant attempt to control this "illegal" section of the population occurred in 1962 when the Government announced that family accommodation was to cease and that Alexandra was to be replanned as a "hostel city" with eight hostels, each housing 2 500 single people.

This plan was partially fulfilled by 1979, but was shelved by the then Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Vosloo, who announced in Parliament that Alexandra had been granted a reprieve. Instead it was to be developed as an area based on high density family housing.

This "reprieve" is the latest attempt by the state to control the largest "illegal" population of Alexandra and should be seen in terms of the Government's "total strategy" as embodied in the Riekert Commission report. Here lies the foundation of current Government attempts to divide the workers of South Africa by encouraging the

growth of a black middle class.

The Commission's report was conditioned by the changing needs of industry, which is demanding more highly-skilled workers to operate the more sophisticated machinery now in use. Better trained personnel are now required to take up supervisory positions, and the budding black middle class will be geared into having a stake in the system, and consequently will have an interest in defending status quo.

Further attempts to divide workers are by granting greater privileges to people with urban rights and by increasing the penalties for those caught in urban areas without the necessary permission.

Alexandra's new plan is based on the Government's 99-year leasehold scheme which benefits only that small section of the black population in the township going to be able to stay. This viewpoint is echoed in the planning of the new model township which reflects the Government's attempts to oust "illegals". This can be seen even on the level of internal planning in the envisaged houses — people will be accommodated in individual nuclear family houses which are designed to make subletting difficult because of the design of rooms in which a minimum number of beds can be fitted.



Alex dwellers ... fodder for Total Strategy?

These homes containerise urban dwellers and fragment their community into autonomous self-sustaining family units. Such fragmentation helps maintain the status quo as it tends to frustrate collective action. Industry benefits substantially from individual home ownership as each house needs to be fully equipped in order to be self-contained.

And not only are the Government and local big business concerns behind the scheme — foreign interests are also involved. According to recent reports, for instance, the Bank of America has offered R400 million towards the redevelopment of Alexandra into a township tailored to suit the requirements of the Witwatersrand's burgeoning industries.

RESEARCH in the human sciences is set to play a major role in the state's implementation of "total strategy".

The importance of a body set up to undertake, promote and co-ordinate research in this field and to advise the Government on utilisation of research findings, is obvious.

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) is such a body, designed to carry out these functions for a Government that is not democratically elected. As such the HSRC takes on an ominous significance when viewed against the backdrop of the Government's present "total strategy".

According to a Defence White Paper (1977:5), total strategy is "the comprehensive plan to utilise all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies. (It) ... is applicable at all levels and to all functions of the state structure".

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has identified the HSRC as being central to the strategy. The Council's function is essentially to provide research and to make recommendations in fulfillment of its "national aims".

In September, on the Cabinet's instructions, the HSRC drew up a National Plan for Research (The SA Plan for Research in the Human Sciences) to:

- "create the machinery through which the human sciences research community and other interested parties (including decision takers) can identify national problems by means of a research input ..."

HSRC gives know-how to hearts and minds campaign

- "obtain the co-operation of universities, Government departments and other research bodies in putting the plan into action."

- ensure that "all bodies (that are) either partly or fully subsidized from state funds to undertake research in the human sciences must, before commencing with projects, register these with a view to co-ordination".

- ensure that "all state funds allocated ... for the support of research in the human sciences by bodies such as universities ... be channeled as far as possible through the HSRC".

As a result of this structure of research funding and co-ordination, all institutions and individuals engaged in projects funded by the HSRC are drawn into the National Plan.

The "national problem areas" which the HSRC is responsible in "identifying, stimulating and funding" involve:

- population issues;
- manpower issues;
- quality of life;
- optimal education opportunities;
- moral preparedness;
- creating an infrastructure;
- internal relations;
- balance in the economy;

- policy in respect of the different cultures in South Africa.

On the surface these areas seem innocuous enough, but a more careful look at the contents programme is revealing. Included as "priority areas" for research are subjects such as "personality of the terrorist", "persuasion programmes", "the susceptibility of the various cultural groups to ideologies", "the socio-political future of the population groups outside the independent states", "the informal sector", and the "development of entrepreneurship".

The identification of these priority areas fits perfectly into the view of the state that the country is facing a "total onslaught", and that the solution is to enhance the privilege and prosperity of a limited number of blacks in the urban areas, as well as winning the "hearts and minds" of potential opposition. The aim of total strategy, to create a buffer black middle class, is thus clearly reflected in the research priorities of the HSRC's National Plan.

When it was first drawn up, the National Plan was circulated to academics in universities for comment. Many academics, particularly from Wits, were enraged and disturbed by the

implications it held.

According to one reporter:

- academics feared that independent research would suffer as funds are channelled to contractual research seen as a priority by the Government;

- they criticised the way in which the Council had identified the problem areas;

- they expressed misgivings about the uses to which some kinds of research findings might be put by the Government;

- they protested against the fact that money for this research was to be taken from banned organisations (the HSRC eventually refused this offer, but only after concerted protests from academics).

Some cosmetic changes were made in view of these objections, but the National Plan, which also sets up a committee to vet research projects and to stimulate others, was retained. All 21 seats on this committee have now been filled. They include five Government representatives, two members from the private sector (including Anglo American), seven representatives from South African universities (Zululand, Durban-Westville, Potchefstroom, Unisa, Stellen-

bosch, RAU and Natal), two representatives from the public sector (Department of Education and Training and the Department of Co-operation and Development) and five members of the HSRC.

The implications of such extensive control over research and the funding of studies are:

- that all human sciences research now becomes oriented to "national problem areas";

- that it is difficult to receive funding for research unless it is considered a national priority area;

- that acceptance of HSRC funds (which will be almost unavoidable) means that research automatically becomes part of the National Plan irrespective of its own aims.

One of the HSRC's research aims is its Commission of Inquiry into Education, heralded by many as the indication of a new educational dispensation for the country. On Saturday, 22 November, Neusa (National Education Union of SA) was the first educational body to draw attention to the "total strategy" dimension of the Inquiry and to question its bona fides on those grounds.

The meeting of members decided not to participate in the Inquiry "given its fundamentally undemocratic aims" and called on the Government to negotiate all educational issues with the people who "enjoy the confidence of the majority of parents, teachers and students."

KOORNHOF'S Draft Bills are the most comprehensive legislation on labour matters since the Riekert Commission's recommendations.

By legislating in the areas of labour and influx control and "urban African Administration" it follows in the spirit of the Commission: a window dressing for blatant oppression.

By streamlining Urban African Administration the Bills are meant to attain more efficient urban control and attempts to co-opt the urban working class and middle class.

There are three Draft Bills:

- The Law on Co-operation and Development Bill
- The black Community Development Bill
- The local Government Bill

Working together, these Bills extend Total Strategy into the following areas:

- Influx control
- The changing functions of Administration Boards
- The development of town and village councils

The Riekert Commission's propaganda made no attempt to abolish influx control. Instead it aimed to take undesirables off the streets and into the home and work place.

Essentially the changes are proposed in the Black Community Development Bill.

This new legislation will do away with Section 10 qualifications specified in the 1945 Black Urban Areas Act.

At present, African contract workers can qualify for permanent urban residence in white urban areas through either 10 years continuous employment with one employer or 15 years continuous residence in one urban area.

It seems that one of the state's motives for doing so is to maintain — if not widen — the gap between people with urban qualifications and those without.

Another motive may be to limit the number of Africans who can live permanently in one area. This in turn would limit the number of homes, schools and jobs which the government would have to provide if it wanted to co-opt black dwellers.

The bill defines certain categories of people who will be allowed to work and/or live in "white" or prescribed urban areas:

- A contract worker who is taking up lawful regular employment and who has approved accommodation.
- The new regulations have yet to define "lawful employment".
- Anyone who qualifies for permanent urban residence in terms of Section 10 (a) or (b) of the old Black Urban Areas Act.
- A person with Section 10 (a) or (b) qualifications who moves to a different urban area and has lawful employment and approved accommodation.
- A lease of a house or the holder of a right of leasehold in a township.
- A person from another "state" who is taking up lawful employment and approved accommodation.
- Dependants of people who have the right to work and live in prescribed areas.
- Visitors, students or patients who have the right to remain in a prescribed urban area for 30 days.

Any other person who does not qualify in terms of one of these categories is not allowed to enter a prescribed area.

A person who enters such an area illegally may be fined up to R500 for the first offence and/or 3 to 6 months imprisonment and a fine of at least R250 or 3 months imprisonment for a second offence.

Anyone who assists, accommodates, or employs such an "illegal" person is liable for similar punishment. A person who assists "illegal" people to enter a prescribed area can have his/her vehicle confiscated on a second offence.

The Bill forces employers to only employ workers with urban rights or contract workers supplied by the labour bureaux and it could have the effect of driving a greater wedge

We've heard a lot about Piet Promises' improvement plans. We've seen the repression that has accompanied his reforms. But now ladies and gentlemen, in the tradition of Wiehahn and Riekert, Koornhof presents . . .



Dr Piet Koornhof at a NAFSOC meeting last year

New black faces for old white facade

between urban and contract workers in the community.

The Community Development Bill is ambiguous on the matter of pass laws. However, the implications are all too clear — pass laws are here to stay.

The Bill still demands the existence of a document "whereby the identity of a person and the right to be where he is can be established.

Furthermore, clause 51 of Chapter VI of the Bill says: "Any person who fails without reasonable cause or refuses to produce on demand to an authorized officer any authority, permit or licence certificate or other document ... is guilty of an offence."

The location of black people in relation to their work place still remains an area over which the Minister of Co-operation and Development has total control.

The Minister remains in control of the establishment and demolition of urban African townships and relocation of their committees elsewhere.

These powers are identical to the ones the Minister has in existing legislation.

It is these provisions which have in the past enabled the Department of Co-operation and Development to unsettle thousands of people, particularly those from townships around white rural towns to townships inside the homelands.

While the Bill says that compensation for demolitions must be paid and that the Minister cannot move people unless adequate facilities are available elsewhere, the recent history of this country has shown that such provisions amount to very little.

Forced removals in the Transvaal, Lowveld, Eastern Cape and Natal have shown that adequate facilities are seldom provided in resettlement townships. What little compensation is paid is far from adequate to rebuild a house.

The Bill offers no legal protection for the people who are likely to be resettled. No concessions are offered which would give people some degree of control over decisions affecting their lives.

One of the "concessions" offered by the Bill is the right for people who

do not have urban qualifications to move from one prescribed area to another. These "concessions" were already granted in terms of labour regulations which came into effect on 13 June this year.

Furthermore, it is a paltry concession: qualified people can *only* move from one urban area to another, if employment and accommodation are available to them.

With the current unemployment and housing crisis, this concession could at the most benefit the few highly skilled people who have the money to build a new house in their new town.

Since 1972, the Administration Boards have been responsible for both local policy-making and administration in black areas.

The Co-operation and Development Bill and the Local Government Bill are designed to separate the functions of policy making and control on the one hand and actual administration on the other.

These two functions will be divided between the new Development Boards and the Town and Village Councils.



Dr Piet Koornhof

The Development Boards will be responsible for planning, policy-making and control in black urban areas. These boards differ from the Administration Boards in that they are essentially committees of experts.

According to the legislation, the Board will consist of a chairman and six other members of which:

- one will have wide knowledge and experience of local government
- one will have a wide knowledge of town and regional planning
- one will have a wide knowledge of commerce, industry or financial affairs
- one will have a wide knowledge of farming or rural affairs
- one will be in the full-time employ of the state.

These changes in the Development Boards composition and functions imply a streamline of local government similar to that which has taken place in central government.

The introduction of experts will enable decision-making to be more efficient, centralised in line with the broader aims of Total Strategy.

In this case the aims are to reassert control over the black communities and to enable limited reforms in education, housing and transport to be implemented.

The areas of the development boards activities highlight this latter function in particular.

According to the Bill the Development Boards can appoint the following sub-committees:

- A regional and planning committee
 - A housing committee.
- In order to "develop" black communities, the Board has control over:
- the development, sale and purchase of land in its area of jurisdiction
 - the planning and co-ordination of community development
 - the right to raise loans.

The Board will also be given access to the traditional sources of finance of the Administration Boards, namely

- Black Services Levy Act
- Black Labour Act
- Sorgum Beer Act
- Hanging Act
- Liquor Act.

In addition, the Development Boards have access to a new source of finance, namely the Revolving Fund.

The very nature of the Revolving Fund is that it provides loans rather than handouts.

Essentially blacks will still have to finance their own oppression in the community as well as ultimately having to pay for whatever limited reforms are made available to them.

Another source of loan finance for urban reforms will be provided by the local "white" authorities who can co-operate with the development boards to provide water, sewerage disposal and electricity.

However the Bill makes it quite clear that ultimately these local authorities must redeem these loans from Development Boards.

The Bill also gives the Development Boards control over the location and licencing of commercial, manufacturing and training activities.

This gives the Boards control over pedlars and hawkers and further enables the Board to prohibit certain categories of trading.

This enables the Development Boards to encourage the development of a black middle-class and give the boards control over internal sector activity.

By doing so the Boards can effectively deprive the urban employed of their livelihood and thereby force them to leave prescribed urban areas.

The relationship between the Development Boards and the Town and Village Council is not clearly spelt out in the local government Bill. The Bill states that the Minister can decide on the functions of the Town Council through a notice in the gazette, but it seems their functions will be administrative and advisory.

The Town and Village Councils are said to be moving in the direction of full local autonomy. However there is no doubt that they are the most recent model in the Advisory Board/Urban Bantu Council/Community Council series.

While the Bill does empower the Minister to establish a municipality under the jurisdiction of a town or village council, the Minister still maintains the right to veto or change any decision taken by these councils.

The implications of this is that although urban Africans can elect representatives to these councils, the council is still answerable to the Minister. Local self government for Africans is still a facade.

It is a facade which will put black faces into the position of day to day control over black communities. They will be responsible for administration influx control, rents and rent increases, primitive measures against "illegal" Africans, minor beautification schemes, and licencing of hawkers, trader and businesses.

Ultimately their legislation and policy making functions go no further than by-laws.

One can speculate that the function of the Town Councils and Village Councils will not differ substantially from those of the Community Councils as defined in the Community Councils Act.

The source of finance of these new councils indicates both their repressive functions and their lack of independence from the Development Boards:

- Any fines received by the Council in the course of exercising its duties
 - any rates, taxes or levies which the council imposes
 - any amount received by the Board.
- Town and Village Councils have two further functions:
- to promote family life and the moral and social welfare of the persons living in the area.
 - to collect and compile information which will be useful to the Department Board in their task of urban planning, including recommendations on transport and education.

Enough spice to the season in Paradise?

"WE ARE sitting on the see-saw of history; we can't go on merely writing like this about the lack of valves, the inefficacy of writing itself. Writing should also take a stand, and give a name to the stand and standing to the name."

This is the message of Breytenbach's "A Season in Paradise", a journal about his 1972-1973 visit to South Africa.

In the form of a diary Breytenbach explores his life-history and the political past and present of South Africa (referred to as Saffrica or Shit Africa).

Remembering that Breytenbach left South Africa when he was 22 with his politicisation taking place overseas, "A Season in Paradise" examines the spiritual effects of a return to the land of his birth after 13 years.

The book begins with the major incidents in this life that moulded the adult Breytenbach. It then moves to his return, the re-entry into 'Paradise': "Paradise is the unknown, remembered. To me it was a land, a soil with the people and mountains and seas ... the end of the world ..."

Once back in the country Breytenbach is struck by the beauty in the land. Sadly much of the linguistic wizardry of his description is lost in the translation from the original Afrikaans.

Paralleled to the physical beauty is the blatant oppression racism and authoritarianism. He goes beyond mere description and spells out the causes and effects of these disfiguring features.

The 'journal' has some sections of the role of the artist, culture and class, and the relation of intellectuals to workers, most of which is not very enlightening.

This self-searching led to the address he delivered to Summer

"A view from the outside and ahead: we are few but we have a great responsibility. Afr. writer is an establishment. Whom and what do we write for? We are but one subsection of South African culture — land of the Southern Cross. Poets do not make revolutions, revolutions make poets (sometimes)."
— Breyten Breytenbach



School in Cape Town. "A View from Without", which is published in 'A Season' is a coherent and damning analysis of the writer, especially the white Afrikaans writer in South Africa.

which 'cultural imperialism' dominates South African writing, the authors being characterised by a lack of political awareness. The use 'escapist' techniques and subjects to protect themselves from their political reality.

'political' novels greeted this paper, and Breytenbach himself recognised the irony.

In examining and rejecting the 'avant-gardeism' of the Afrikaans literary scene, he critically examines his own work and the relation it bears to his political thought.

Breytenbach condemns the way

Much praise and a spate of

"Poets", he says "do not make revolutions, revolutions make poets. (Sometimes)".

Some believe that Afrikaans has little future, that it is likely to become obscure when it is no longer the official language. But, despite this, Breyten Breytenbach is a world-reknown poet and artist, and one hopes that his fame is not solely related to his political history.

Andre Brink in the introduction to the the new English edition of "A Season" describes in rather grandiose and verbose terms Breytenbach's handling of Afrikaans.

It is "a pyrotechnical performance involving the use of metaphors and figurative constructions in a new literal sense, turning idioms inside out, forming stunning neologisms, compounds, composites, agglutinations, employing children's rhymes, Biblical sayings, and folk songs in radically new situations."

Despite the loss of some of the 'pyrotechnics' — the emphasis is more on content — the translation is able and thorough.

Breyten's Season in the "South African Paradise" is similar to the Biblical creation and fall: he recreates his history, he enters into 'paradise' and becomes acquainted with both beauty and horror.

Paradise is the inter relation of heaven and hell, wealth and poverty, friendliness and persecution, natural beauty and desert-like barrenness. He recognises the hellish aspects of the 'paradise' and for that he is persecuted and eventually banished.

'A Season in Paradise' is at the same time an outspoken political treatise and a lyrical and artistic work: true 'political art'.

Breyten Breytenbach — "A Season in Paradise" is published by Jonathan Cape, London.

IRISH rugby bosses have been accused of accepting bribes to organise an Irish rugby tour of South Africa.

As a tidal wave of opposition to the tour develops in Eire (the Irish Republic) and star player after star player withdraws from the team, South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee chairperson Sam Ramsamy has said he believed the Irish Rugby Football Union administrators had been bribed to come to South Africa.

Although he said he could not prove this, he had seen sports administrators presented with gold tiepins in South Africa and "would not be suprised to learn that Krugerrands had been given out as well."

Well-founded or not, the accusation gives some explanation for the apparently inexplicable defiance by the Irish Rugby Football Union (IRFU) of increasingly angry public opinion and growing unhappiness among members about the tour.

Already 10 Irish rugby stars have declared themselves unavailable for the tour — and most of them have given as their reasons their revulsion at apartheid and at racial discrimination in rugby.

The tour, proposed by South African Rugby Board chief Danie Craven, is due to start in May and will include two tests and five other matches.

In the same way as last year's touring Lions played black teams and invitation sides with token black players, the Irish tour will include among the five non-test matches, three "multi-racial" games.

There is no suggestion that the teams will be chosen on merit, or even that the black players will be the country's best. The only criterion is that the three sides must have some black players — clearly because to the casual observer this will "prove" the alleged improvements in sports apartheid.

Irish rugby bosses accused of accepting SA bribes

Cast '81

South African Committee against "Springbok" rugby tour of New Zealand : 1981

P.O. Box 48178, Qualbert, South Africa, 4078

TO THE GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF NEW ZEALAND

PROTEST AGAINST PROPOSED "SPRINGBOK" RUGBY TOUR OF NEW ZEALAND

I, the undersigned, a citizen of the Republic of South Africa, hereby express my strong opposition to the forthcoming rugby tour of New Zealand by

Among the first people to react to news of the tour were Irish sports writers, hoodwinked last year into writing in support of the Lions tour by Chick Henderson's propaganda when he took the South African Barbarians to Britain.

Almost without exception, they came, they saw, and they went home revolted.

Having been once being taken in by Henderson's double-talk, they weren't about to be conned again.

Irish Times writer Edmund van Esbeck recently told Irish TV: "I went to South Africa with the Loins and defended the tour in the belief that there was true concept of multi-racial rugby there. There is no concept of multi-racial rugby in South Africa."

Fellow-journalist Karl Johnstone added: "It is incredible that the IRFU should ignore the findings of 97 percent of the Press party. We were told integrated rugby is continuing apace. We witnessed quite the opposite."

Besides the newsmen, opposition to the tour has the active support of all parliamentary parties, all Ireland's trade unions, both Catholic and Protestant churches, and, according to recent polls, well over half of Eire's adult population.

Trade unions at Dublin Airport have decided to black the tour — they will refuse to handle the ticket, luggage, or anything else connected with the tour.

Despite this massive opposition, IRFU has pledged to go ahead with the tour "whatever happens".

Even the withdrawal of its star players, and public opposition by some of its branches, has left president Bobby Ganly and the rest of the IRFU leadership unmoved.

It is increasingly clear that the IRFU is less concerned with fielding a national team, with the cream of Ireland's players wearing Eire's colours, than with giving credibility to the white-dominated, racist SA Rugby Board headed by Danie

Craven.

Even the fact that South Africa's biggest rugby umbrella, the non-racial South African Rugby Union — with 26 000 senior members and 250 000 members — has warned that by accepting the tour invitation the IRFU will be endorsing apartheid, has left IRFU unmoved.

SARU, with its strong anti-apartheid policies, is not recognised by the South African government, and therefore receives no financial subsidy from the nationalist government.

But although the IRFU has so far ignored all calls for sanity even the strong pro-tour (South African) Sunday Times has reported that "...the sheer volume of protest would probably force them to call off the tour."

The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement — led by South African exile Kadar Asmal — which has spear-headed the campaign against the tour, is confident of success.

Says Asmal, the son of a Durban grocer, now lecturing law in Eire: "Racialism is a contagious disease .. we who have the benefit of living in democracies must guard against it.

"At the moment we are observing a fascinating phase of this battle (against racism). It just happens to be taking place in Ireland."

Asmal, who acted as legal adviser to Swapo at the recent Geneva talks, added that he was committed to a non-racial society in South Africa, based on the Freedom Charter.

"There is no point in telling people like the Irish that rugby and apartheid must be examined separately. The truth is being exposed to an astonishing degree by the attempt to sell a lie. "Last year the majority of Irish people supported the Lions tour ... but the truth finally emerged, and recent polls show that the vast majority opposed this year's Irish tour."

Asmal added, South African democrats too have campaigned against the tour.

CAST 81 (Campaign Against Springbok Tours) formed in Natal to combat the planned tour of New Zealand, has promised backing to the Irish campaign, and is organising petitions and national anti-tour activity in South Africa.

Initiated by the non-racial, anti-apartheid Natal Council of Sport, CAST 81 has drawn support from a growing number of non-racial sports organisations.

Vocal South African opposition to the Irish tour and the Springbok tour of New Zealand will obviously aid groups working in both countries to stop the tours.

In New Zealand, opposition to the Springbok visit has been more muted than the Irish reaction, but as the mid-year tour gets closer, anti-tour activity — which already has the support of major religious and trade union groups — is likely to escalate, probably to the level reached in Eire.

Noise-induced deafness not compensatable

NOISE is the most widespread problem in industry today. Anyone who works long enough in a noisy factory without protection will have their hearing damaged.

The safe limit in factories has been determined at 85 decibels.

How bad is that?

At 85 decibels you can still talk to someone without having to raise your voice above factory noise.

Anyone working with a noise level higher than this is likely to develop some degree of deafness.

But in almost every factory there is at least one area where the noise level rises above 85 decibels.

Deafness from noise develops slowly. Like many other kinds of ill-health that develop in the work situation — such as respiratory or visual complaints — it may be years before a worker realizes something is wrong.

Probably few workers realize their poor hearing in middle-age is a result of high noise levels in the work place.

So what can be done about the noise problem — and what is being done?

An employer may find the noise problem difficult to overcome. He may need expert advice, and noise-reducing equipment may be expensive.

The most important step is to isolate noisy machines, and then try to make them quieter. But the high costs of doing this often ensure this is not done.

An easier solution is to provide ear-protectors in noisy zones. It is both

cheaper, and also relieves management of the responsibility for claims by workers of deafness.

But providing ear protectors is a way for management to evade the responsibility they have to the workers — who often do not have enough bargaining power.

Ear-protectors may be uncomfortable, and they are also a way of giving the manufacturers of noisy technology a loophole. Noisy machines are far cheaper to produce than those which have expensive noise-reducing equipments.

So workers using ear-protectors — if these are in fact available — are selling not only their capacity to work, but their health and personal comfort in the work place as well.

To protect workers' hearing, regular tests — called audiograms — should be made.

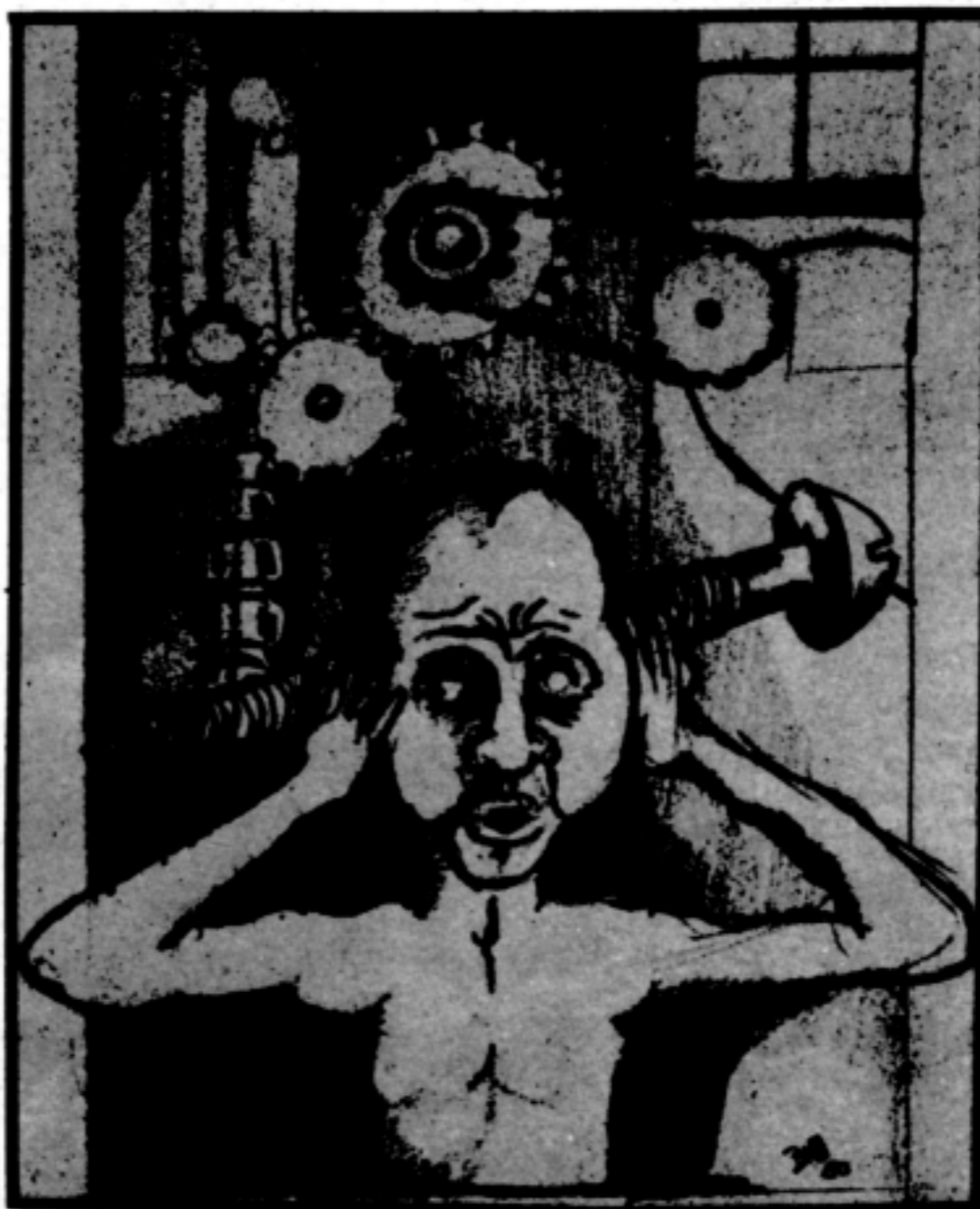
Thus loss of hearing can be discovered at an early stage — both preventing its development into a serious liability, and providing concrete proof for compensation purposes.

Audiograms can detect hearing loss before it becomes noticeable to the workers.

But few factories offer hearing tests to their workers.

So why is so little being done about such a widespread problem that is well-known by employers and factory doctors?

The answer appears to lie in the realization of profits — which will be significantly reduced if expensive noise reducing equipment is installed. Employers also do not



take responsibility for the workers health after he leaves the factory — even if ill-health may have resulted from his employment.

But it is also, in part, the unwillingness of the State to act decisively on the problem, and to force employers to protect their workers' hearing.

There are no laws requiring employers to test their workers' hearing when exposed to dangerous noise levels, and there is no State-run audiogram service as an alternative to employer-run tests.

The State has also never made the most widespread occupational hazard — noise — open to compensation. It is practically impossible to

obtain compensation for deafness caused by noise at work.

This is because the worker with noise-induced deafness is still able to work properly — unlike a worker with a severed arm or a crushed foot.

Employers are usually only willing to spend money when the ill-health of the worker affects their ability to work efficiently.

An unhealthy workforce is not productive, but deafness does not affect productivity, at least in the short term.

It is only when workers start demanding measures to protect their health, and not just their productivity, that something will be done about noise levels.

UK artist boosts Biko while LKJ attacks the fascists

Peter Gabriel's album (simply titled "Peter Gabriel") recently banned in South Africa was hailed by British music journalists as a tour-de-force and destined to become a seminal work of the 80's. The reason for the State's displeasure was a climactic track on the album, a tribute to died-in-detention, black consciousness leader, Steve Biko.

Not only the State was critical of Gabriel's creative impulse.

Although not likely to become a commercial success by virtue of its musical component alone (as the sure-fire "Games without Frontiers" was), the Biko track was taken off the album and marketed in Britain as a seven-single. Copious sleeve notes explained Gabriel's motivation.

He felt the "message" to be so important that a single should be available to those who could not afford to buy the whole album and to facilitate on the radio stations. All the proceeds, Gabriel announced, would be donated to the Steve Biko Black Consciousness Movement.

Locally, Gabriel's effort was greeted with mixed criticism. Those who actually got to hear the album either treated the Biko track with reverence or dismissed it as the efforts of a white liberal.

The comment was that Gabriel was making a statement about apartheid South Africa without understanding the historical context of the Black Consciousness Movement. His donation to the SBCCM (does it exist?) strengthened this criticism.

A tribute to someone of Steve Biko's stature is, nevertheless, not to be lightly dismissed, and once again raises the interesting consideration of rock music as a powerful conscientising medium.

Gabriel, himself, was reported as saying: "If some kids hear that, they might think, who the f-ck's he, and they may be intrigued to go and read Donald Wood's Penguin paperback ... it is a pointer ... a pointer can be powerful as a catalyst, and can either drop in a corner and fizzle out or start the reaction."

Essentially Peter Gabriel fits the role of your agonised artist struggling to express the profundity of his/her vision to the world at large. A much cooler operator is the reggae artist, Linton Kresji Johnson.

A new album by LKJ, which has been around some while now, gets to the point without fuss and with a great deal of straight talkin'. "Bass Culture", true to LKJ form, directs itself at burgeoning British fascism and the problems the black community experiences thereby.

The choice of themes, illustrated by songs such as "The Black Petty Bourgeoisie", "Reggae Fi Peach" and "Inglan is a Bitch", can be easily identified with a South African experience and are therefore extremely potent to the local ear.

LKJ also serves as a shining example of moral integrity to those major artists who became stars in the public eye. He is approachable and straightforward with all he should encounter in the streets near his home in a black London ghetto. Most importantly he spends a great deal of time working for a community action group, when he isn't reciting poetry at youth clubs..

"Bass Culture" does not come up to the standards of LKJ's two previous albums, "Dread Beat 'n Blood" and the superb "Forces of Victory". It is still an important, and possibly essential, album.

Tiny hellhole breeds disease

NINE out of every ten cases of typhoid recorded in South Africa last year were recorded in a tiny hellhole called KaNgwane.

Looked at another way, only one out of every ten South African typhoid victims last year did *not* live — or die — in the "Swazi homeland", KaNgwane.

Nestling forgotten, overcrowded and impoverished in a tiny corner of the Eastern Transvaal bordering on Swaziland and Mozambique, KaNgwane attracts disease statistics like a magnet.

- Tuberculosis is more common in Ka Ngwane than in any other part of South Africa, a recent Department of Health publication shows.

- In some areas of KaNgwane 90 percent of the people suffer from bilharzia.

- The cholera epidemic that has so far killed — according to officials of figures — more than 200 people in

the Transvaal and Free State, began in the disease ridden "homeland" last year.

Over the past 10 years the population of KaNgwane has virtually doubled, with tens of thousands of people dumped in the reserve under the government's relocation policies.

Conditions are extremely harsh, with the hundreds living in the squalter camps having to survive with totally inadequate water supplies and sewage systems.

Few have access to land to grow food, and the land that is available is too poor to farm.

TB has always been a disease of the poor and dispossessed. In South Africa last year 40 000 people were known to be suffering from the disease — the vast majority of them black.

In KaNgwane, the area worst hit by the disease, one in every 250 people had contracted it.

There is little chance that the situation will improve. Countries that have successfully combated TB have only done so by dramatically improving the housing, living standards, sanitation and working conditions of the disease's favourite targets, the poor.

Both cholera and typhoid, also rampant in KaNgwane, are due to poor water supply and inadequate sewerage removal.

Although KaNgwane has less than one percent of South Africa's population, more than 90 percent of the country's typhoid cases were recorded there last year.

And KaNgwane was the first and biggest target of the cholera epidemic that spread through the Transvaal and Free State. Its poor water supply network — and a sewerage removal system that often did little more than dump the sewerage back into the drinking water supply — gave the killer disease an ideal breeding ground.

In part of the poverty-wracked homeland, nine out of every ten people suffer from bilharzia — another preventable disease linked to poor water supply.

And hundreds of KaNgwane's residents suffer from measles, malnutrition and diarrhoea — many "resettled" there to die from these diseases of poverty.

And they die for no other reason than that they are forced to live in arid resourceless patches of land no-one else want.

Clearly, these diseases are rife in the "homelands" because of completely inadequate conditions, continually worsening as more and more people are squeezed in under South Africa's forced relocation and removal schemes.

The massive incidence of preventable disease is obviously not a medical problem, but is caused by the social, economic and political factors in this country.

The year workers laid down their tools

• From pg 9

It is clear that the state is attempting to devise a total strategy for labour. There are two prongs to this:

- To prevent trade unions from forging broad alliances outside of labour — an attempt to streamline worker resistance into the purely economic arena.

- To attack the democratic participation of workers in organisations based within the factories, thus preventing any potential worker politicisation through democratic demands.

The state now desperately needs the participation of at least part of the independent African union movement to confer legitimacy on its labour system which has been thrown into a state of crisis during

1980. At the same time, the state is happy to divide the unregistered movement on the question of participation. It is actively promoting such divisions. Yet the considerable inroads made by the working class during 1980 have been left in a stronger position than ever to resist state controls. A united unregistered trade union movement is thus better placed than before to resist registration and its emasculating effects.

At the same time, the state is happy to divide the unregistered movement on the question of participation in the registration system.

It is actively promoting these divisions.

Yet the considerable inroads by the organised worker in the last 12 months have left them in a stronger position than ever to resist state control or co-optation.



Group Areas Eviction . . . hundreds of homeless forced into shacks

After the court case comes the despair

The recent dismissal by the appeal court in Bloemfontein of an application to prevent the eviction of Group Areas tenants shattered the hopes of some 10 000 black tenants. Officials of Actstop (Action Committee to Stop Illegal Evictions of Tenants), who had painstakingly assisted the tenants in their fight, were equally saddened by the outcome.

Actstop took root nearly two years ago on a pavement in Mayfair when the Naidoo family were charged under the Group Areas Act.

With nowhere to go, the Naidoos, together with their 9-month old baby camped on the pavement outside their home.

Members of various organisations and the general public supported the Naidoos in their stand. The family was finally reinstated in the very home from which they were evicted.

Last year Ahmed Nazir Adam was fined R100 (or 50 days) by a Johannesburg magistrate for residing in an area designated for white occupation.

The appeal to the Transvaal Supreme Court was dismissed. On appeal to the Appellate Division, Jules Browde SC, assisted by C.R. Mailer and Morris Basslian, raised the defence of necessity.

The Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rumpff, with Mr Justice Jansen, Mr Justice Kotze, Mr Justice Joubert and Mr Justice van Heerden concurring, said that necessity in criminal law was regarded as a factual condition where an immediate threat arose to an interest worthy of protection.

The call upon necessity in Adam's case could be accepted as being a call on the legitimacy of his action. In other words, an otherwise unlawful deed must be regarded as lawful because of the facts of the case.

The Chief Justice went on to say that there was no evidence of an absolute housing scarcity. There was indeed evidence of highly inconvenient and unhygienic accommodation.

He concluded that in the circumstances there could be no call upon necessity.

The second appeal was that of Ivan George Werner of Johannesburg, against his conviction and sentence. He was convicted in the Witwatersrand Supreme Court by Justice Roux on August 6 last year and sentenced to a fine of R75 or 3 months imprisonment (conditional suspended).

On appeal, Professor John Dugard of the Law Faculty of Wits University argued that Proclamation



Homes reduced to rubble

83 of 1962, which defines white group areas in central Johannesburg was invalid on the ground that the Group Areas Act did not expressly permit racial inequality and injustice.

In dismissing the appeal, Chief Justice Rumpff said that from the evidence it appeared that Proclamation 83 of 1962 proclaimed certain areas in Johannesburg for occupation and ownership by members of the Coloured group.

The appropriate areas, together with a so-called "border region," were fully described in the proclamation. No-one was forced by the Group Areas Act to live in a stipulated group area. Members of a particular group were declared by the Act to be disqualified and forbidden to occupy the group area of another group.

The position was, in the view of the judge, the same as when a city was zoned by legislation into various areas, with penal sanctions against prohibited occupation of particular zones. If a person could not get accommodation in a zone for residential purposes, he would not

be entitled to occupy an unused building or an erf in a business zone, even if he had the permission of the owner.

Most tenants came up from Natal and the Cape to seek employment.

Faith Campbell, a member of the Hillbrow Tenants Action Committee said: "most of us are young unmarried people from all over the country with good jobs here. But there is no accommodation for us."

The Osmans are formerly of Durban. Mr Osman, a skilled artisan, was employed at Sasol in Secunda. The family moved to Johannesburg and Mrs Brenda Osman found employment in the city centre.

Two of their children are schooling in Durban. The only accommodation they could find was a bachelor flat in Joubert Park.

"We applied for a house in Bosmont some time ago," Mrs Osman said.

"Whenever I go down to the Department of Community Development, I am told that there is still a backlog to be cleared before

my application is considered."

Heather Davies, a tenant in the same block, had a similar experience and endorsed Mrs Osman's words.

Without doubt, freedom of movement is a qualifying characteristic of the free world.

An alarming feature of the judgement is that the Group Areas Act may be used to impose a type of informal influx control on Coloured and Indian people.

In spite of the decisions, the feeling of brotherhood amongst tenants is unbelievable.

In Troye Street, tenants in a block of flats rallied around and gave moral support to a tenant who was being victimised because he had contacted Actstop about a problem in that building.

At a concert held at Wits Great Hall to raise funds, more than a thousand tenants echoed their disapproval of the outcome of the test cases after an address by Actstop chairman, Cassim Saloojee.

Although Brigadier Tertius Wie, Divisional CID officer for the Witwatersrand, indicated that the police would not go on a 'witch



Victims of removals

hunt' on the strength of the Appeal Court decision, members of the Johannesburg Control Tenant Action Committee met to discuss emergency procedures in case of police action.

Generally, tenants are appalled at the attitude of the National Party. "The right to shelter is a basic human right," said a member of the Joubert Park Tenant Action Committee. "Whites immigrants are housed overnight while we who are born and bred in this country are hassled by hurtful discriminatory laws. All we ask for is a shelter over our heads," he said.

Housing is a national problem. In Durban, the Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC) is contending with the problem in Chartsworth, Merchand, Phoenix and Newlands.

The Cape has its share of squatting. Recent statistics from the Department of Community Development show that the number of people waiting to let houses in Lenasia is 916 and the number waiting to buy houses or land is 3293.

In the Coloured areas controlled by the Johannesburg City Council about 4 200 families are waiting for houses of their own.

To supplement the work force of the Actstop support committee, a tenant co-ordinating congress has been elected.

The committee consists of members of the various action committees. Members of the congress would, in the future, convene meetings of their respective committees.

In the event of eviction, many tenants have threatened to stay away from work. A member of the Johannesburg East Tenant Action Committee stated that it would be unreasonable for employers to expect their employees to come to work when their furniture and belongings were lying on the pavement.

On the question of future action an Actstop spokesman stated that Actstop was merely a pilot and co-ordinating body. The final decision would have to be made by the tenants.

STOP PRESS — the first of these cases has already begun. SASPU NATIONAL will keep you informed.