



Thirty years later, the Freedom Charter is alive.

● See poster inside



In their own words, stories from the lives of working women.

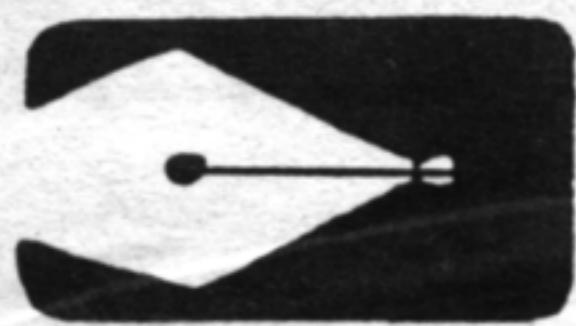
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There is a battle going on for hearts and minds.

● See centrespread

SASPU



NATIONAL

Ban suspended

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Death and destruction: the aftermath of the Botswana raid

World anger at Gaberone raid

THOUSANDS gathered in Gaberone last weekend to mourn those killed in the SADF raid into Botswana.

Twelve people were killed in the attack.

Quett Masire, Botswana President, called the raid "a blood curdling act of murder of defenceless citizens", and said Botswana would continue receiving refugees "until there are no more."

The raid has been condemned throughout the world, and even

Botha's strongest ally, the Reagan administration, protested.

In South Africa, widespread outrage was voiced at June 16 meetings throughout the country. At Turfloop, 2000 students marched on the university administration in protest.

The UDF and its affiliates have issued strongly-worded statements of condemnation.

"South Africa has failed to address itself to the problems created by apartheid", said the Release Man-

dela Campaign. "It then seeks to find the causes of unrest beyond the borders of South Africa".

It was the third attack on Gaberone this year, and the fourth major raid into a neighbouring state since 1981.

By violating Botswana's territorial sovereignty, the raid was an explicit threat to Botswana, the last neighbouring state to hold out against South Africa's pressure tactics.

In London, the Anti-Apartheid movement said, "The tragedy is

that South Africa feels confident to carry out such acts of aggression — because of the constructive engagement policies of Britain and the US."

The raid, apparently aimed at "militant ANC terrorists", was described by the army as a "success".

But in the face of international outrage, Pretoria's justification for the raid has shifted from "an attack on ANC bases" to "an intelligence gathering mission".

The government now claims it found "a treasure trove" of intelligence information, which included financial records, membership books and telephone receipts.

Responding to a statement by Foreign Affairs and Acting Defence Minister Pik Botha, Quett Masire said, "It is amazing that it has taken the South African authorities almost a week to put on display the documents and items of military equipment alleged to have been seized during the SADF attack — when, immediately after the raid,

they displayed only one AK47 rifle. "This raises serious doubts about their claims."

At a June 16 meeting in Natal, Nusas president Brendan Barry said the Gaberone raid should not be separated from what is happening within South Africa.

"The government concedes in the Treason Trial indictment that South Africa's townships have become ungovernable.

"Its bloodlust for a scapegoat beyond South Africa's borders must be seen in this context. Botswana refugees provided a soft target, and a way for South Africa to flex its muscles as a regional power."

● The sensational reporting of the raid in commercial newspapers has been widely condemned. A friend of one of the victims spoke bitterly of "the glee with which the blood of the refugees was spread across the newspapers". "It is sickening testimony to the violence white South Africa accepts as inevitable in the maintenance of apartheid", she said.

Saspu National ban suspended

THE BAN on all future editions of SASPU NATIONAL has been suspended until the hearing of the Publications Appeal Board.

So we'll only know in a month if SASPU NATIONAL will be allowed to stay alive.

The distribution ban on volume 6.1 has also been suspended until

the hearing.

And the May 1985 "Uitenhage" edition of STATE OF THE NATION, another SASPU publication, has also been banned for distribution.

In the initial hearing of the Appeal, SASPU's lawyer, Gilbert Marcus, accused the publications

directorates of having a special behind the scenes "political committee" that decides whether to ban political publications.

The publications directorate is supposed to be made up of a range of respected members of the community, reflecting the attitudes of the community as a whole, and without a particular political bias.

The Freedom Charter



30
YEARS

FREEDOM CHARTER

Treason trialists are revolutionary says prosecution



Supporters outside the Pretoria Court, hoping for a glimpse of the 22 accused.

ANOTHER UDF Treason Trial is on the cards.

In Pretoria, 22 people have been charged with treason, for allegedly causing the unrest in the Vaal last year.

The state argues this was UDF policy, which it claims furthers the aims of its allies, the African National Congress (ANC), and the SA Communist Party (SACP). Together, it claims, they aim to bring about violent revolution in South Africa.

The accused allegedly devised strategies and co-ordinated activities for the UDF intended to politicise and organise the masses, to unite them in action aimed at

making SA ungovernable, and to cause violent revolution.

The state bases its case on reports from UDF National Executive Committee meetings, Transvaal General Councils, UDF mass meetings and workshops.

It claims UDF meetings glorified the ANC. ANC members were praised as heroes and held up as examples to the masses, while at UDF meetings, there were ANC freedom songs, slogans and flags.

UDF propaganda attacks allegedly portray government structures as "illegal, unchristian and oppressive".

The state also lists most UDF cam-

paigns as evidence of an ANC-UDF conspiracy, and blames the campaign against black local authorities for the "ungovernable" situation in many townships.

Referring to the Vaal Triangle, the state alleges the UDF was involved in: murdering 5 people, including councillors; attacks on homes and shops; the November stayaway; school boycotts; the Fosatu "Black Christmas" campaign; rent protests in the Vaal; threatening councillors and their supporters; and promoting the idea that America's "constructive engagement" is anti-black.

These are all said to be evidence of an ANC-UDF conspiracy.

The accused, including Terror Lekota, UDF Publicity Secretary, Popo Molefe, UDF Secretary, and Moss Chikane, ex-UDF Transvaal secretary, face alternate charges of terrorism, subversion, and murder.

Also charged are Tom Manthatha of the South African Council of Churches, Thabiso Ratsomo, chair of the Rhodes Black Student Movement, and leaders of Cosas and the Vaal Civic Association — some of whom have been in detention for 9 months.

In the Durban treason trial, the state claims the accused conspired with the "Revolutionary Alliance" — the ANC, SACP and SACTU. This Alliance allegedly believes the Freedom Charter can only be put into practise through violence.

But the state claims the Alliance also encourages non-violent forms of struggle to create a climate favourable to its aims.

These include strikes, mass mobilisation and politicisation, boycotts, calls for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and popularisation of the Freedom Charter.

While these trials rock the UDF, several other Treason trials are taking place. Charges hinge around armed attacks. The "Soweto 14" trial has now been split into separate trials.

In one of these, the three accused, Jabu Ngobese, Meriman Mordecai Nduna and Zanemvula Mapela, pleaded guilty.

Ngobese admitted he had received military training, and had established six arms caches whose contents were used by other ANC members.

Nduna, an organiser for the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union provided him with accommodation, and helped hide the arms. Mapela, a Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union organiser, stored AK 47's for Ngobese.

Ngobese was sentenced to 15 years, and the others to five.

Insurrection is on ANC agenda

THE AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) ended an eleven-day national consultative conference "somewhere in Southern Africa" on June 26, the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

Before the conference, the ANC issued a four page statement in which it says the struggle has entered a new era — which favours the development of insurrectionary forces and tactics.

UDF leaders woken at dawn

EDGAR NGOYE, UDF Eastern Cape President, is being charged with the murder of a policeman.

Henry Fazi, Eastern Cape vice president, who was detained with Ngyo, has been released.

"We view this charge as a conscious attempt to criminalise, vilify and discredit our political leadership," says Derek Swarz, UDF Eastern Cape Secretary.

In Cape Town, on the night of June 20, police raided Guguletu. They detained Western Cape UDF Publicity Secretary, Zo Kota, UDF Secretary, Miranda Quanashe, and others.

UDF executive member, Trevor Manuel, says most people were interrogated about a hand-grenade attack on security policemen in Guguletu, in which three people were injured.

Kota, Quanashe, and a Cape Youth Congress member, Thabo Ngcokoto, are still being detained, but police have not said under what section.

The pamphlet was apparently drawn up after much discussion among ANC External Mission leaders, during which the nature and potential of current unrest was analysed.

The pamphlet calls on black people to make apartheid unworkable and "ungovernable" by attacking "weak points" of State Power such as Black Local Authorities.

It expects the destruction of these and the eviction of many black policemen from the townships to allow the townships to be turned into "no-go zones". This would mean only heavily armoured security forces could enter, allowing ANC underground leaders to establish "mass revolutionary bases."

The ANC appears to believe that after a long struggle in which the State is brought to a point of crisis, insurrection provides the means for a final seizure of State power.

Expected issues for the conference agenda were:

- practical ways of extending the ANC's underground machinery inside the country.
- developing 'people's war'
- developing insurrectionary forces and tactics inside the country
- improving external and internal structures to ensure correct co-ordination between different ANC machineries.

Before the conference, ANC sources said they expected the organisation to assert a more clear-cut leadership role for the working class.

The ANC was also expected to formally open all levels of the organisation to all races.



Cradora's Matthew Goniwe salutes a Grahamstown funeral crowd. With meetings in demands.

Eastern Cape puts consumer power to work

EASTERN CAPE residents are using boycotts to challenge township conditions.

In Adelaide, township consumer power is threatening some shopowners with bankruptcy.

People are boycotting shops in protest against the participation of local white businessmen in the SADF reserve forces, which were recently called into the townships during a school boycott.

Now the local Chamber of Commerce wants to meet with community leaders.

In Grahamstown, the Burial Action Committee called for a consumer boycott until certain demands were met:

- resignation of Rhini town councillors;
- withdrawal of the SADF and the council's bodyguards;
- 3000 houses must be built;
- reduced service charges, an end to the bucket system, electricity in all houses, and tarred roads;
- New school buildings, post-offices, public telephones, creches, libraries, parks and old age homes must be built.

The Chamber of Commerce met with the Burial Action Committee, and agreed to take up these demands with the authorities.

The boycott, which was initially called for one week, has been suspended. But, say the organisers, it will begin again if there is no progress.

In Port Elizabeth, township traders started a bread boycott. A spokesperson said the bread delivered to the townships was stale.

They suspected it was unsold bread from supermarkets. They also believed the bread was made and delivered in unhygienic conditions, and wanted guarantees about this.

UDF and the PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) supported the boycott, which ended when the Master Bakers' Association met with traders and promised to address these issues.

In Port Alfred, a consumer boycott was launched late in May, calling for 19 residents found guilty of public violence to be released on bail until their appeal.



The People Shall Govern

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
 All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
 The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex;
 All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;
 All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;
 All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
 The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
 All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The People Shall Share In The Country's Wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
 The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
 All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
 All shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall Be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;
 The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
 Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;
 All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;
 People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall Be Equal Before The Law!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial;
 No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;
 The courts shall be representative of all the people;
 Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;
 The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
 All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

FREEDOM CHARTER

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

All Shall Enjoy Human Rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;
 The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;
 All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.
 Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There Shall Be Work And Security!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;
 The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;
 Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;
 There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;
 Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
 Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors Of Learning And Culture Shall Be Opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;
 All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;
 The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;
 Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;
 Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;
 Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;
 Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;
 The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall Be Houses, Security And Comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;
 Unused housing space to be made available to the people;
 Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;
 A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;
 Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;
 Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;
 The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;
 Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;
 Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall Be Peace And Friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;
 South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war;
 Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;
 The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
 The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:
THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR...

'Meet our demands or we won't eat meat'

MEAT MANUFACTURERS and police are trying to force an end to a meat boycott called by South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) abattoir workers in East London.

A few weeks after the boycott call, police set up a road block, then surrounded, teargassed and invaded Saawu's East London offices.

Everyone in the office was baton charged and then arrested. Three Saawu officials were charged with obstructing police and 19 abattoir workers were charged with intimidation.

Saawu has strongly condemned the police action "which is designed to weaken the workers' militancy."

Workers called the boycott after the entire workforce was dismissed following a strike at the East London abattoirs.

Saawu started organising there in late 1983, and by January 1984 they had majority membership. Management refused to deal with the union on the grounds that they were unregistered.

At the end of April workers received an increase of 7,8 per cent. The basic minimum wage at the abattoir is only R166 a month.

They were dissatisfied, but management told worker representatives the matter was closed and anyone who was unhappy was free to resign.

Workers resolved not to work until management came with a favourable response. They ignored management's return-to-work ultimatum and were ordered to leave the premises, locked out and fired.

The abattoir bosses refused to meet Saawu. The dismissed workers then decided to call for a consumer boycott of red meat.

The East London abattoir workers' demands are:

- re-instatement of all dismissed workers;
- recognition of their union, Saawu;
- wages of R3.50 an hour, and
- protective clothing for working in cold storage conditions.

They have appealed to "all workers and the community at large" to boycott red meat until their demands are met. They hope to get support from organisations throughout the country

Fort Beaufort councillors leave town

ALL BUT four of Fort Beaufort's community councillors have moved out and some are sleeping more than 40 kms out of town. The rest have armed guards protecting their property 24 hours a day.

Fort Beaufort has seen a lot of conflict, starting with school boycotts last year.

Lula Ama Kama, 14, was killed during a demonstration. On the way back from Lula's funeral, another resident, Mr Madakana was allegedly killed by police.

Soon afterwards more than 200 people were arrested and charged with public violence, intimidation and incitement. Thirty people have been tried so far and only one convicted.

In April, the mayor's house was attacked. Soon afterwards, Tiny Ngengo, 30, was killed when tear-gas canisters were fired into her house, causing her to suffocate.

Nine hundred SADF, SAR and SAP then carried out a house-to-house search, arresting 30 people for pass offences.



Mawu shop stewards on the way to Johannesburg City Hall, where wage talks are being held. 39 are arrested.

Metal workers won't bend

METAL WORKERS' are determined to get better wages and working conditions, and 10 000 workers are meeting at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre to decide on a plan of action.

The Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) has made demands for higher wages, a 40-hour working week, an end to overtime and a holiday on May Day at the Metal Industrial Council talks.

These demands have not been met.

For the first time ever, Mawu is holding a National General Meeting to decide on what action to take against metal industry employers

and their organisation, Seifsa.

In the past, each branch — Transvaal, Northern Natal, Southern Natal and Eastern Cape — has held separate annual general meetings. But the deadlock in the wage talks led to the call for a national gathering.

"Workers feel a need to fight this dispute to the end", says one Mawu official

"They are sick and tired of working long hours. They want to spend time with their families. They want hours to be cut to decrease unemployment. They don't want to kill themselves working overtime. They want a living wage."

Thousands of workers are expected at Jabulani, some with their families. Workers in the Transvaal have hired 60 buses and 4 000 members are expected from Natal.

The wage talks reached deadlock in May. Mawu wanted an increase of 50 cents an hour, but Seifsa offered only 17 cents — and refused to negotiate on other demands for better work conditions.

The Transvaal branch of Mawu decided that workers should continue pushing demands inside their own factories.

At the Dorbyl company, 2 200 workers have declared a dispute because their demands for higher

wages, severance pay and long service benefits have been ignored by management there.

Dorbyl says severance pay should only be negotiated when retrenchments are about to take place, but Mawu wants to avoid these kind of "panic negotiations".

Mawu also rejects Dorbyl's refusal to negotiate wages at factory level. The company will only negotiate through Seifsa at the Industrial Council.

"Workers can't just accept that employers dictate where and how we negotiate", said Moses Mayekiso, Mawu Transvaal branch secretary.

Tears and anger

OVER 30 000 workers attended the funeral of Andries Raditsela, Fosatu regional vice-president, who died of head injuries shortly after being released from police custody.

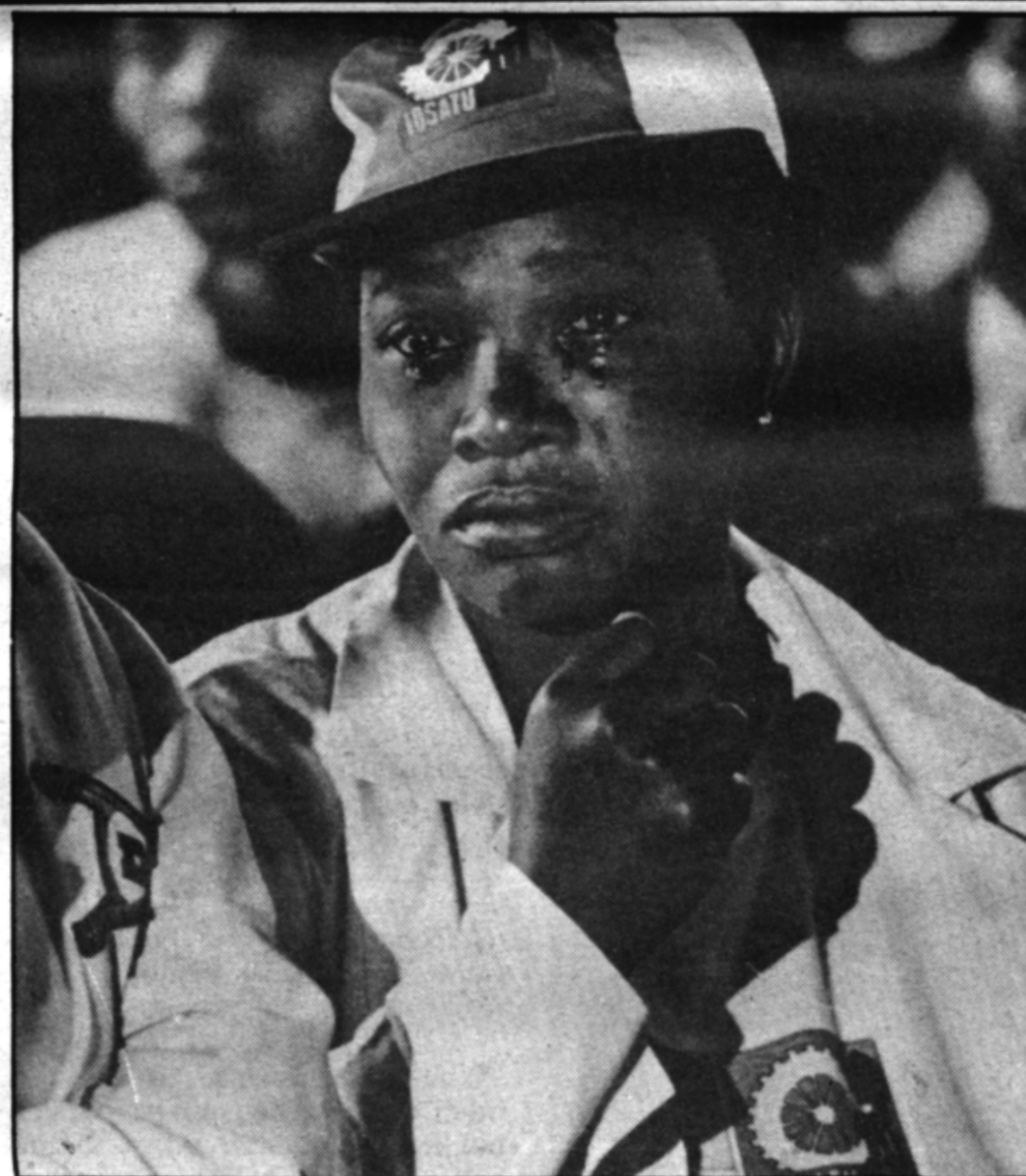
An estimated 100 000 workers in many parts of the country stopped work to protest Raditsela's death and to salute his memory. Many factories on the East Rand closed as workers stayed away to attend the funeral.

The withdrawal of buses and trains from Tsakane was not enough to keep thousands of workers, students and community members away from the funeral. Some walked 20kms to get there.

All who mourned laid the blame firmly at the door of the government, and criticised employers for staying quiet.

Commercial newspapers ignored the national stoppage and claimed that only 5 000 attended the funeral.

Raditsela was a member of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), a Fosatu affiliate. He worked at Dunlop, where he was a shop steward, and led many battles for higher wages and against sexual harassment of women workers.



Raditsela funeral. A fellow worker mourns.

Bad news for bad paper

FOR YEARS people in the Border region have had to put up with a "daily disgrace" — the newspaper, the Daily Despatch. Now they are boycotting it.

The boycott call was made at a UDF Border regional general council in East London in May, attended by student, youth, union and civic organisations from all over the region.

Organisations' grievances about the Daily Despatch include:

- continual attacks on people's organisations and leaders without giving them the opportunity to reply;

- good work done by past editor Donald Woods in championing the cause of the poor, oppressed and destitute has been substituted by a policy of popularising undemocratic government action;

- blatant attempts to show the SADF and SAP in a good light while not giving unprovoked attacks on people the same coverage;

- no coverage of political events, people's organisations and non-racial sport.

In March the paper described jailed ANC Robben Islanders as

"criminals". A letter of protest to the editor was sent, but never published.

Organisations have distributed pamphlets throughout the region, calling on people to boycott the paper and explaining why. So far the boycott has been successful in places like Fort Beaufort, Alice, Adelaide, Mdantsane, Cookhouse, Somerset East and Cradock. Many shops have stopped selling the Daily Despatch.

There is even support for the boycott in the Transkei, from Unitra students, despite the fact that the UDF is banned there.

Independent trade unions hold big unity talks

TWO HUNDRED delegates from 42 unions met in Soweto recently for two days of unity talks.

Issues on the agenda included working principles, a proposed draft constitution for a new trade union federation and possible dates for a congress to launch it.

This was the largest number of unions participating in unity talks since they began in 1981.

Some unions were taking part for the first time, while others were rejoining the talks.

The SA Allied Workers Union (Saawu), General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu) and the Municipal and General Workers' Union (Mgwusa) had participated until May last year, when they were given observer status only. They rejected this.

This left the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu), the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa), the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa), the General Workers Union, Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU) and the Cape Town Municipal Workers Association (CTMWA) still in the talks.

But at the Soweto meeting, Saawu, Gawu and Mgwusa were once again participants.

The Soweto meeting was also significant for the number of delegates present. In the past unions, sent a small number of representatives, but this time each union was invited to send a full National Executive Committee (NEC).

Participants were not able to reach agreement on all points, but it is understood that efforts are being made to overcome this. No press statements have been made.

Workers without work join hands

A NON-RACIAL unemployed workers' union is to be formed in Cape Town.

This was decided at a May Day Rally held by the Unemployed Workers' Advice Office.

A mass meeting will be held on July 27 at the St. Francis Hall in Langa to discuss how the union should be organised.

Other resolutions were to link up with employed workers through the trade unions and to fight for a better UIF that will include all domestic and farm workers and unemployed school leavers.

The Unemployed Workers' Advice Office spoke to SASPU NATIONAL:

"When we looked at the issue of unemployment we realized that it is futile to look at the effect without addressing ourselves to the causes, which are nothing else but the economic and political system of South Africa".

Self-help projects are also being started. At the moment a sewing group is off the ground. But the workers say that the projects alone are not a solution.

"They are only relieving the frustration. We must organise each other until we become strong and

fight for a better society where there shall be work for all", said one worker.

The Advice Office started by educating unemployed workers in the area. They say this was not at all easy.

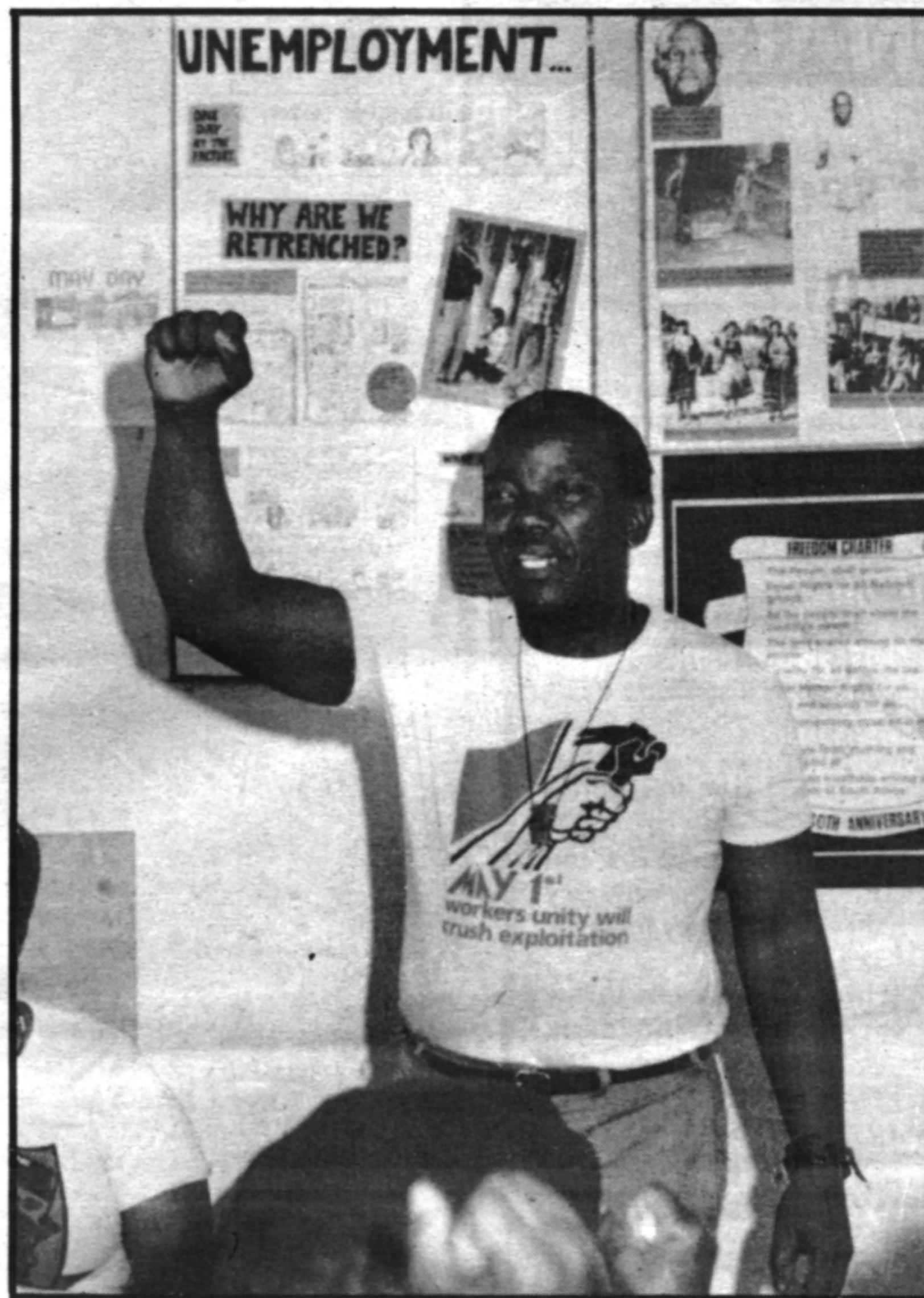
"Unemployment affects the women, youth and fathers. The fathers feels their dignity has been ripped off, since they are unable to maintain their families".

"The youth think of themselves as complete failures. They are the future but cannot prepare for the future. They search for work to help their families but cannot find any".

The mothers suffer the most pain. When the children are hungry or sick they cry for mother".

"Although the unemployed are disillusioned, they know that education has been a great help. They now know who the enemy is. They strongly feel they should pull their socks up and start organising each other".

"The May Day celebration was quite a success", said an advice office worker. "They say that despite their frustrations and inability to find jobs, they are still workers and have a right to celebrate the most important day in the workers' calendar".



May Day in Cape Town — Christmas Tinto salutes the unemployed.

Democracy starts in the streets

DEMOCRACY BEGINS at street level in Langa township, Uitenhage.

"Organisations in Uitenhage feel that with the community council gone, we need street-level democracy in the township to deal with our problems," says Weza Made.

"So through mass meetings, house meetings, and sending letters to residents, we tried to popularise this idea. Then volunteers from the Langa Youth Congress set up street meetings."

Each street committee elects two people to an Area Committee. Each Area Committee elects 10 people for the Zone Committee, and each of the five zones elects a co-ordinator.

Squatter shacks in the Kabah area of Langa are threatened with removal, but through the street committees, the residents are preparing to fight back. People are to be moved to Kwanobuhle.

"But people will not be able to afford the high rents in Kwanobuhle. Most of the squatters are unemployed or on short time.

"Most are dependant on pensions or money from lodgers. When people were moved to Kwanobuhle before, they came back to squat because they could not pay the rent.

"Conditions are terrible here. But we are calling for the township to be upgraded, rather than be forced to move," says Made.

"75% of people in Langa live in mud houses. There is no sewerage, and no drains. People throw dirty water in the street, causing sickness. Yet there is no clinic for more than 50 000 people. And no school. And only four shops. People are discussing how to tackle these issues in the street committees."

People believe that the R100 million the government has given for uplifting Eastern Cape townships must be democratically allocated, otherwise it will be used to serve the interests of certain sectors in the townships only.

They are also calling on business and commerce in Uitenhage to recognise the legitimacy of democratically elected township representatives.

Lenz buses look empty

TRANSPORTATION BOARD inspectors are allegedly harassing combi owners who provide alternative transport to boycotting Lenasia commuters.

Commuters in Lenasia voted to continue their boycott of the Lenasia Bus Service following a deadlock in negotiations over a fare increase.

The boycott began on June 1 when fares went up by 20 percent. This meant a 40 percent increase in fares since January.

Despite police harassment and offers of temporary free transport by the company, 95 percent of Lenz commuters supported the boycott call that week. By Thursday 6, the company was ready to talk.

At a meeting that weekend, commuters rejected the company's compromise offer of a 10 percent increase. When the company agreed to suspend the increase for a week, commuters called off the boycott pending further talks.

But a week later when the company still would not budge, residents voted to boycott the buses again.

The Federation of Residents' Association (FRA) is optimistic about the success of the second boycott. "Either we break them, or they break us", said Faizel Mamdoof of FRA. "We've set no time limits."

Mankweng gets moving

THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL has given birth to one of the first progressive civic associations to operate in a bantustan, and already some victories have been won.

The Mankweng Civic Association (Maca), representing people from Mankweng township and surrounding villages in Lebowa, was launched at a mass meeting in May.

It aims to unite all residents — rural and semi-urban — and oppose the bantustan divide and rule policy. And unlike urban township civics, Maca faces bantustan chiefs and officials.

Maca grew out of a successful anti-community council campaign run by the Mankweng Youth Congress (Mayco), the local Congress of South African Students (Cosas)

branch, the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) and other residents.

Residents clearly rejected the town council — the election poll was only 3%.

High unemployment, poverty and hunger, inadequate housing, health facilities and community amenities, schools too small for the growing number of students and bad roads were some of the problems residents faced.

The council did nothing but stand by and watch, says Maca publicity secretary Peter Mokaba. "There was little consultation with people — they operated on directives from the Lebowa government and the central government".

"Residents called on councillors to leave unrepresentative and undemocratic government created structures and join popular and democratic mass based structures like Maca".

Three councillors responded. They resigned saying the council system was a total failure, and called on all Mankweng residents to unite in mass based organisations. One, Willie Letswalo, was later elected Maca vice-chairperson.

After victories in Mayco-led campaigns against rent and electricity increases people began to see the need for an organisation to unite all residents.

So a committee was set up to investigate a residents' organisation.

Leaflets were distributed and residents were consulted in three house to house campaigns.

Eventually Maca was launched and democratic leaders were elected. Mass meetings held every two weeks are well attended.

"Consultation, accountability, collectivism and broad participation are our most important working principles", says Mokaba.

Some small victories have already been won. Street vendors, harassed and shut down by police, approached the civic. By the next day they were selling again.

Individual residents take their problems such as pensions, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation to the civic. Transport and the schools crisis are also being taken up.

An umbrella structure has been proposed for the civic, with a executive committee and departments such as labour, housing, education and culture, religion, youth, students, and women. Other organisations in the area will be represented in these departments.

People from the rural villages are already participating but Maca hopes to deepen its structures by setting up affiliated village committees. They are seen as being important in conquering tribalism and regionalism.

And Maca will also try to win local intellectuals, for example lecturers and staff from Turfloop university, onto the side of the people.

Soon after the launch, police were on the tracks of the executive committee. Two members allegedly received threats.

Maca hopes to educate residents in the "politics of the struggle generally", says Mokaba, "in order to play a meaningful role as a bastion against the bantustans."

"We will always seek to expose the link between local and national issues. The people's cry for lower rents, better education and social amenities is their demand for a unitary non-racial and democratic South Africa based on the will of the people.

"Through trial and failure our people will learn that freedom lies in their hands. We are confident we will emerge victorious."



Speakers with a positive message at the United Women's Organisation AGM

Cape women on their feet

WITH ONE voice 200 women said: 'Elise Botha and her husband cannot speak for us. Our demands are in the Freedom Charter'.

They were speaking at the annual general meeting of the United Women's Organisation in Cape Town last month.

Speakers from Uitenhage Women's Organisation, Mgwali, Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation and the Democratic Women of East London were enthusiastically saluted.

"As women we will protect ourselves, our menfolk and our children

from the SADF and the Apartheid government", said one.

"The SADF claims to bring peace and order but they are shooting our people. How can you keep peace with guns and caspurs used against unarmed people?"

The UWO looked back critically at the past year and decided to leave behind the problems and mistakes.

"The medicine for the ills in our country lies in our organisations — women's organisations, trade unions, civics, youth and student organisations. We have our umbrella the UDF".

"We demand that our places as women, mothers and political equals are recognised. We will work in women's organisations but also take our rightful place in the community organisations and in the United Democratic Front".

The UWO saluted the struggles of the youth against Bantu Education. They demanded jobs for all and an end to conscription.

And the UWO determined to continue the fight against the Tricameral Parliament, the Community Councils, Black Forums and Bantustans.

No peace and security while Apartheid lives

The SADF ripped through a calm Botswana night, leaving 14 dead. In South Africa, thousands of South Africans prepared to remember those who died in 1976.

Gaborone is far away, but for most South Africans it felt very close. For some, it meant the death of a loved one.

For thousands of others, it meant that more people had been killed so apartheid could live.

The SADF claimed that these people were involved in violence against South Africa. But they never proved this.

Opposition to apartheid within the country is also being dealt with harshly.

Peaceful protest is treated as treason. Hundreds are charged with public violence, often after they themselves have been attacked.

But nobody who is powerless and rightless in South Africa can expect security and comfort. Workers in the metal industry and the mines say they will only get living wages if they fight for them.

Saawu meat workers know well that bosses can simply throw workers into the streets, where unemployment can mean demoralisation and starvation.

But in the face of all these things, South Africa's people still find the courage to carry on. And they do not have to find that courage alone.

Thousands of workers, students and others came to Tsakane to bury Andries Raditsela. And while this happened, 100 000 workers around the country stopped work in solidarity.

When Siphon Mutsi died in police custody, he was laid to rest by members of Cosas, which he had helped to build in Odendaalsrus.

And victims of the harsh economic system that goes hand in hand with apartheid are also not standing alone.

Membership of the National Union of Mineworkers grew by 60 000 last year. Spar workers stood together and won back their jobs.

Duduza and Langa residents are organising street committees in the places where people live.

Thirty years after it was drawn up, many South Africans still stand together around the Freedom Charter. It is a living memory.

And Gaborone Langa, Sharpeville and Soweto are living wounds.

They will begin to heal when the people govern, when the wealth of the country is shared.

"Dedicated leader Siphon Mutsi was beaten before death"

AN ODENDALSRSUS student has made serious allegations about police assaults on himself and Cosas organiser, Siphon Mutsi who died in detention in May.

A post-mortem on Mutsi found that the cause of death was head injuries with bleeding below the skull. The lawyers for Mutsi's family say no date has been set for the inquest into his death.

In a statement for the inquest, Leon Dithube says he was kicked in the head while his hands were handcuffed behind his back. "Mr Sedi then put a cooler bag over my head and then wet it with a litre coke bottle and I suffocated."

"They did this 5 - 6 times. Punching me while the bag was on the head causing blood in my eyes".

Two days later Dithube was taken to the CID offices where he saw Mutsi lying down with his hands handcuffed behind his back.

"He was wet on his front and water was on the floor. Next to him was a litre coke and water and cooler bag which was wet". A Mr Sithole who was present during Dithube's alleged assault said "he is Siphon the friend of yours who I have been looking for".

According to Dithube water was poured onto Mutsi's face to revive him. A white policeman then asked him what he wanted in SA and Mutsi answered "nothing". The policeman then kicked his face. "After he was kicked he lay still."

"There was a cut on Siphon's chin when I saw him", says Dithube, "There were also sjambok marks on his chest".

Dithube: "if you and Siphon are killed, everything will be quiet in the township".

Cosas members from Odendaalsrus speak of Siphon Mutsi as a dedicated organiser. "Last year there was no Cosas here. Then Siphon made contact with Cosas in Welkom."

He was always prepared to organise — he spoke to students, explaining Cosas, organising venues, reading material, T-shirts, everything. And so Cosas started to grow here," they say.

"He was also organising the parents committee, to assist the detainees. He was organising material for the youth steering committee too."

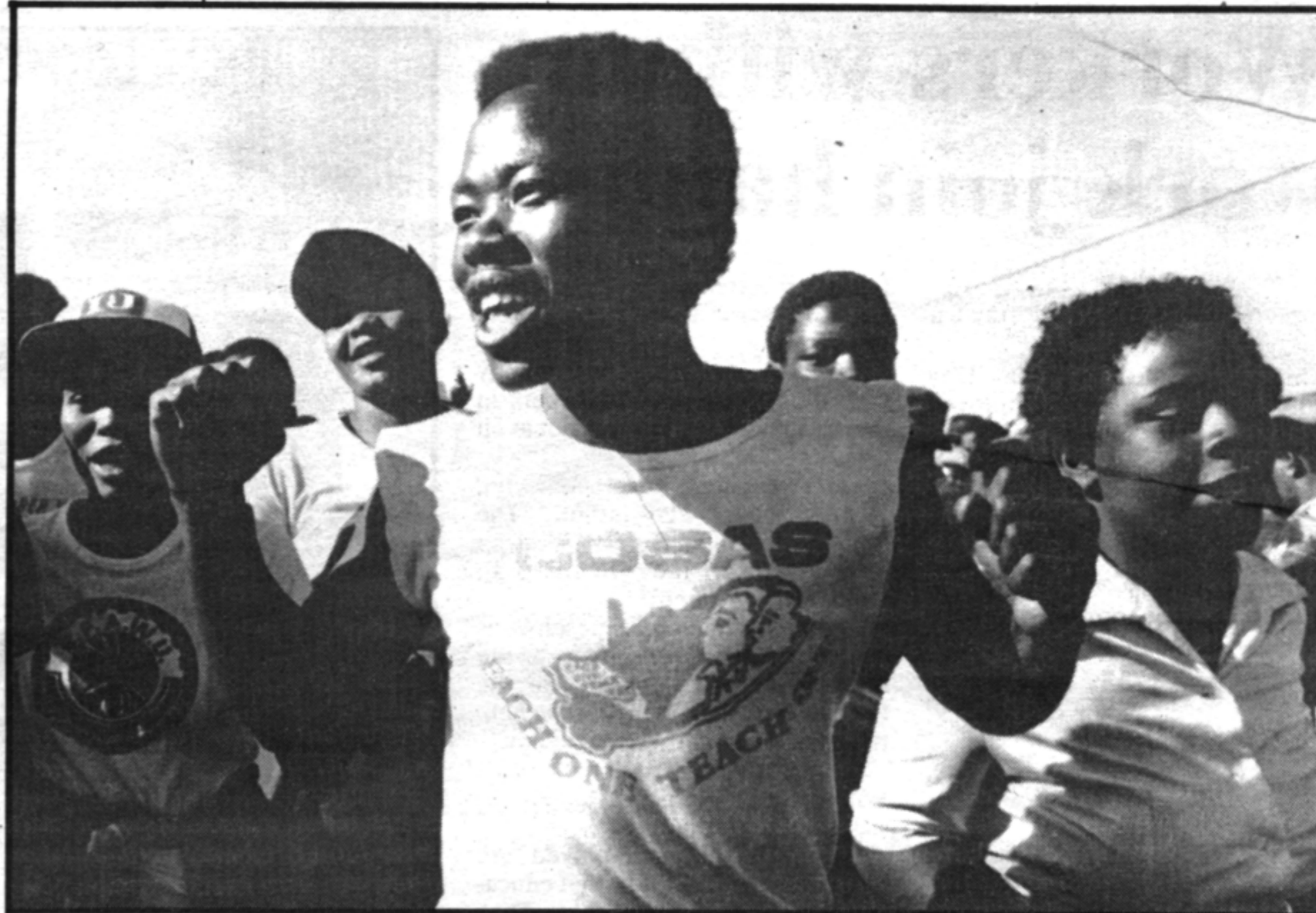
"As a person he was bold. He was not easily swayed. He was detained before, but he never retreated."

"On the day he was detained, he was on his way to Alanridge to visit the parents of detainees, to give them support. His younger brother heard he'd been picked up. He went to the police station, where he saw Siphon on the other side of the counter, fastened to a chair. He came home crying."

Thousands of people attended Mutsi's funeral, where speakers paid tribute to Mutsi's courage and dedication as an organiser.

The casket was wrapped in a Cosas banner before it was buried, to honour him.

But Mutsi was not allowed to rest in peace. The day after the funeral, people found the Cosas banner lying outside the grave, and the mound of earth over his grave had gone.



Doors of learning - demanding the key

WHAT IS a democratic education?

This is the question being asked all over South Africa by Cosas, Nusas, Neusa and Azaso.

The answers they get will be drawn up into the Education Charter.

Last month a National Education Charter Workshop assessed the campaign and decided on priorities for the next few months. Delegates from the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape, Natal, and the Transvaal attended.

Area committees should be set up to co-ordinate the campaign locally, delegates said. They should try to include representatives from student, women, civic and youth organisations, as well as trade unions.

The committees should:

- co-ordinate the campaign in each area;
- organise activities to popularise the campaign, such as rallies;
- liaise with the regional and national committees.

The Education Charter is the first big joint campaign of the non-racial student movement. It is spearheaded by Cosas and Azaso — whose members suffer most under gutter education — with Nusas and Neusa (the National Education Union of South Africa) at their side.

The campaign must be used to strengthen organisation.

"The mass mobilisation of students and the militant rejection of Bantu Education and other structures, make it all the more necessary for students and youth to be channelled into longterm progressive organisation," said Transvaal delegates.

In many areas Nusas, Cosas and Azaso structures still need much work. Activists reported that a lack of organisational skills, resources and finances are major problems in the campaign.

A National Co-ordinating Committee is being set up to make sure the campaign runs smoothly and to assist the weaker areas.

The SADF and the SAP have tried to crush student organisation by occupying the townships, breaking up meetings and detaining hundreds of students.

And students constantly fear assassination as vigilantes and thugs have murdered and petrol bombed many who demand a better education.

So one of the objectives of the campaign is to actively resist and take initiatives against oppression in all spheres of education.

"Students in the white schools and universities get a much better edu-

Education Charter Campaign objectives

To collect the demands of the people regarding education, through a process of widespread consultation.

To draw a guideline for a future education system in a democratic South Africa, that will satisfy the needs of all the people.

To actively resist and take action against oppression in all spheres of education.

To provide a concrete channel for the student grievances which are caused by inferior education.

To guide student struggles in years to come.

To clarify the role of education in apartheid South

Africa, and of the role of a progressive education system.

To build student unity and strengthen the non-racial student alliance.

To build and strengthen the organisations involved in the campaign.

To reach and mobilize as many sectors of the community as possible around the issue of education (bearing in mind that education affects all sectors of society).

To build unity between students and parents, workers, teachers and members of the community.



cation — but it is far from democratic," said Karen Lazar, who is on the University of the Witwatersrand SRC.

"Through Nusas, white students are challenged to demand that education caters for all of South Africa's people."

To be democratic the Education Charter has to reach everybody, delegates said.

"Our parents, brothers and sisters in trade unions, civics, women's and youth organisations must be involved in collecting demands."

The rural areas must also be consulted as this is where education facilities are often the worst and where organisation is most needed.

"Education is not only the right and concern of those who are presently students but the concern of the whole society," said the Transvaal Education Charter committee report.

The Charter should be able to guide student struggles in years to come.

The struggle for non-racial and

democratic education is part of the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa, delegates said.

So the Education Charter must link immediate demands, like the demand for SRCs, to long term demands for a democratic education in a non-racial, democratic society.

"Our demands have been around since Van Riebeeck and the missionaries. Since then any education given to African people has been simply for the benefit of the white bosses," said one delegate to the workshop.

"People rejected Bantu Education on the day it was born, in 1954, and again in 1976, 1980 and now throughout South Africa."

"It was after the 1976 struggles that Cosas and Azaso were formed to co-ordinate black students' activity, with a non-racial direction."

The Charter is the student movement's contribution to the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, and to the IYY campaign.



Organisation is going on, left right and centre

A WELL known spy said on television recently that uprisings in South Africa followed telephone calls from an office in Gaborone.

That claim took the agitator theory to its furthest extreme.

South Africa's rulers blame current unrest on the UDF and the ANC. They refuse to admit that there are real grievances, and that the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few leaves the majority with no option but to use whatever avenues are open to them.

Trade unions have carried on growing and consolidating despite the recession and co-ordinated attempts by business to co-opt, neutralise, or destroy them.

Students have challenged the domination of Bantu Education.

Entire townships have rejected control by the community councils and administration boards.

In many areas, people clash nearly every day with the police and army, community councillors and exploitative business.

Township

But all this "unrest" has not stopped organisation spreading.

Cradock residents have set up street committees which meet weekly to discuss the grievances of people in that particular street. From there, programmes of action can be developed.

Organisation like this is growing in other areas as well.

Most civics are still trying to consolidate and expand their membership. And they are trying to force administration boards to recognise their right to organise residents and to negotiate.

Trade unions took years to win these rights in the factories, and civics can expect a long struggle - unless the obvious failure of local authorities gives them an early breakthrough.

But conditions in the townships often make it difficult to consolidate democratic organisation. Detentions and arrests remove leadership.

Meetings are difficult because civics are often denied venues and pamphlets get confiscated. Lack of

resources frustrates the development of organisation.

Frequent spontaneous mass action can make it hard to maintain programmes of action and operate strategically and tactically.

But the high level of confrontation at the moment demands more organisation, education and training, and not less. The greatest gains are usually made from well thought-out programmes of action and creative tactics.

Umbrella structures

Often issues and action quickly outgrow the scope of any one organisation. So on many areas, umbrella bodies linking youth, student, civic, women, and trade union organisations are being developed in a township or a region.

These bodies unite all constituencies and provide a platform for overall political demands. They have encouraged people to get involved in organisations other than just their local structure.

They draw people into broader issues, but at the same time they allow individual organisations to continue with their own constituency-based programme of action.

With the growth of community-wide unity, township organisations are finding new ways of asserting their demands.

Residents are using consumer boycotts, rent boycotts, stayaways and mass demonstrations to make sure their demands directed at local authorities, exploitative businesses and admin boards are heard.

The success of these tactics depends on community unity, and so many tactics are used to try and create division.

When this succeeds, people's energy is diverted and pressure is taken off local government or business. Disunity makes it much more difficult to carry out a programme of action.

SA's rulers are not taking challenges to their power lightly, and so they are not just relying on short-term solutions like creating division.

Both big business and the government have tried hard to come up with overall plans for control.

Big business has to deal with increased worker militance and an overall challenge to their political domination. And at the same time it has to try and protect profits.

Township unrest worries them. Bad publicity overseas makes it hard to get international contracts and bank loans.

Business

Business needs to restore previously high rates of profit. They don't want workers who fight their attempts to cut wages, retrench people, introduce new machinery, push up prices, move factories and merge companies.

And so they are stepping more and more into national politics.

Some of them believe class barriers could do a better job than apartheid laws. In other words: scrap racist apartheid laws, and leave it up to individuals to provide

their own health, housing, transport and to conduct their own industrial relations.

Although little would improve, business could defend it by saying that people are free to compete for the houses and health-care they can afford, with no racial discrimination.

Federation

By calling for the pass laws to be scrapped, sectors of business hope to defuse an explosive issue - at no risk to profits.

More people in the towns would mean more competition for jobs. Capital might even be able to pay lower wages than at present.

Many businessmen would like to see social, political and economic questions being decided at a regional level.

The government has slotted into this "federalism" idea by making plans for regional services councils to control areas of "general" interest in a particular region.

These councils will have representatives from each ethnic local authority with equal representation, but not equal votes.

Voting strength will depend on the amount spent on services by each ethnic group, and the amount of tax they pay.

So the community using the most electricity, transport and water and with the most business and industry will get the most votes.

Regional councils in areas with little industry or commerce will get less, no matter how many people

live there.

So it is unlikely that the regional councils will be able to improve township conditions and stem the tide of resistance.

And the government is running so short of money, thanks to massive expenditure on repression and on apartheid's structural controls like the pass laws, that it can't pay for any real improvements.

And nor can it control inflation, which continues to fuel popular discontent.

So it seems these plans are doomed, like so many of the government's plans before. And in the midst of this failure, the government is still its own worst enemy.

They shot Saul Mkhize dead when international attention was focused on the removal of his community.

They invaded a Catholic church and arrested guests at a braai in Namibia the evening before PW Botha met the Pope.

They were caught trying to blow up an American Oil installation in Angola just as the American Congress was debating harsher measures against South Africa.

When the Security Council convened to condemn that action, they invaded Botswana in a wild attempt to hit at the ANC.

They sent the SADF into the townships as they were trying to sell their "reforms" to the outside world.

And trade unionist Andries Raditsela was killed at a time when big business was trying to justify foreign investment in SA.

Crisis

This combination of brutal oppression and fundamental contradictions has undermined big business and government attempts to reassert their control, at a time when organisation, mobilisation and politicisation has reached one of its highest points ever.

This is probably the most severe economic and political crisis this country has ever faced.

But it will only give rise to a non-racial democratic solution in which the clauses of the Freedom Charter are realised if the people of South Africa join hands and work together to build that future.

Miner power digs deep roots

JULY on the mines is always hot. This is the time when the mine owners, the Chamber of Mines decide what wages and working conditions for South Africa's 500 000 black miners will be. And every year, tension heats up.

This year black miners are not sitting quietly by while the Chamber offers them another year of low wages and dangerous working conditions. They spend ten hours underground each day, for just R54 a week — they want this to stop.

In April, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which has 130 000 members made demands for higher wages, shorter working hours and an end to job reservation.

These demands came with a warning — if the Chamber failed to negotiate "in good faith" by July 1, workers would strike.

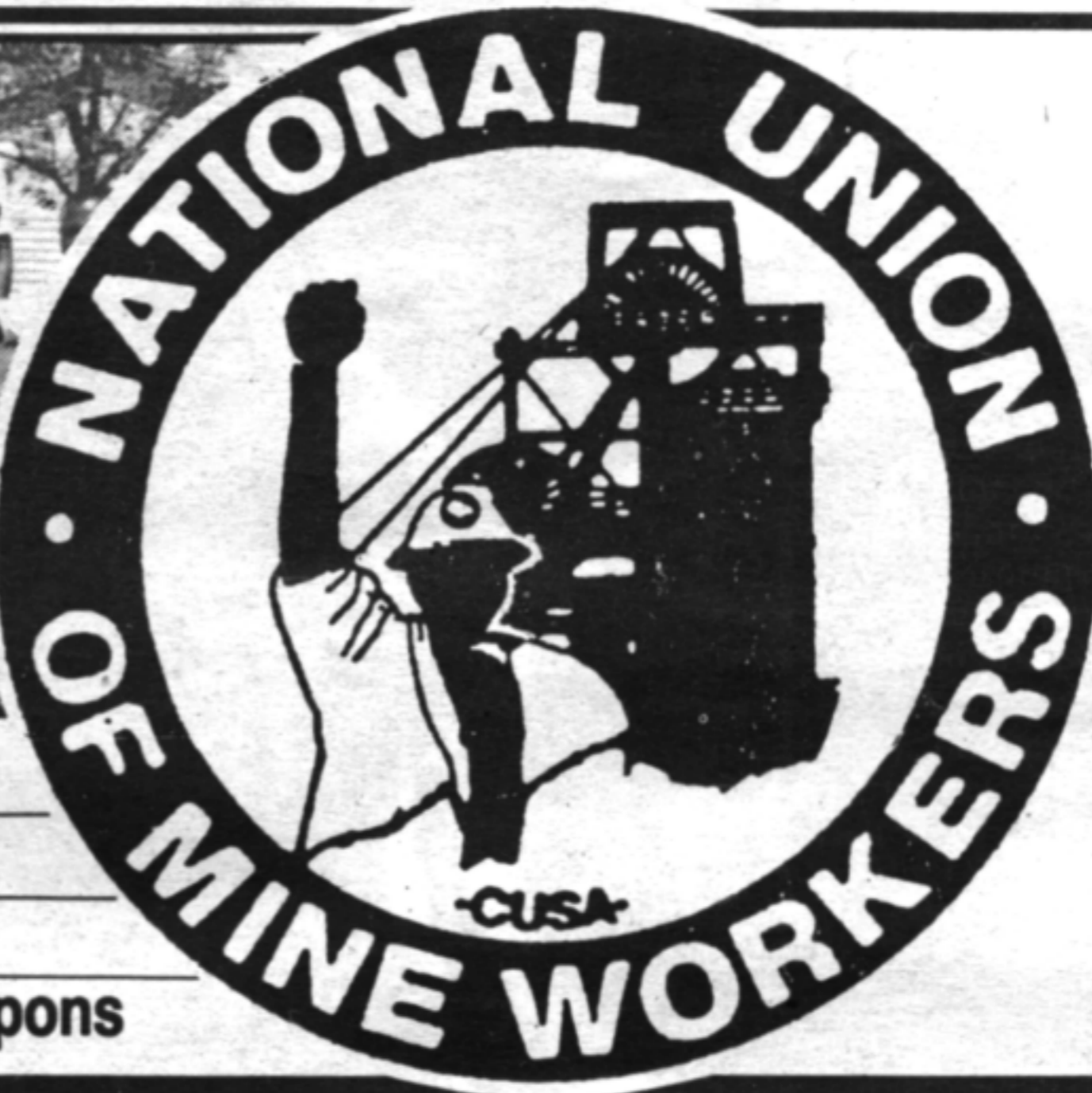
Challenging the mine owners has always been dangerous. In 1946, a strike of 100 000 black miners ended with 11 workers dead and the rest driven underground at gunpoint. Last year, wage disputes with the Chamber left 19 workers dead.

And two months ago, Anglo American fired 14 000 workers at Vaal Reefs, while Anglo-Vaal fired 3 000 at Hartebeesfontein.

Last year, the NUM did all it could to settle the wage dispute without conflict. The Chamber simply stopped talking and forced its own wage increase on the workers.

NUM members know that while talking is not getting them very far, strikes can be costly. "Workers are developing weapons other than strikes," says NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

"We are spreading our wings", says Elijah Barayi, vice-president of the NUM. "We take up the small issues, and the mine owners begin



Mines are tough places.

The NUM is prepared to fight but it's picking its battles and workers are choosing their weapons

to realise that with big issues, bigger things will come".

One way mineworkers are challenging exploitation is by boycotting concession stores, liquor outlets and taxis.

They link their exploitation by shopowners to their exploitation at work. "Must workers use up their low wages on high prices at the concession store?" asks a Free State worker.

Black miners are also challenging practices on the mines which are meant to intimidate and demoralise them.

At Hartebeesfontein, black work-

ers who complained of assault by white miners always got the same response: "we will look into the matter" or "we have given the man a warning".

"But if a black miner assaulted a white miner, the police would grab him the moment he left the shaft", says union official Jeffrey Magida.

Workers at a general meeting decided that if anyone was assaulted, he should defend himself. "And if the white proves too tough, others must help defend the worker", they said. Assaults on black miners came to an end that day.

Job reservation is another major grievance. At present, certain jobs, particularly blasting, may only be performed by whites.

Employers can make exceptions to the rules. "Our men are doing these jobs, but are not getting paid for it", says Ramaphosa.

This is being resisted. At Vaal Reefs, black miners refused to do any charging-up work. This is the responsibility of white miners they said, and they would not do it until they were given blasting certificates.

80 000 black miners have already gone on strike this year. In every

case they felt management left them with no other choice.

"It was clear that management was ignoring us and preferred to continue with their abusive practices", said an East Driefontein shaft steward, one of 11 300 who went on strike in February.

In all the strikes, workers showed a high degree of unity and organisation. At Vaal Reefs, workers wanted to strike over a wage dispute, but shaft stewards felt the time was not right. Instead workers decided to cut shifts from eight hours to four.

"We went to work as usual. But this time we did not stay underground", said one worker. "After four hours we stopped work and made our way to the cage. All the white miners were shocked but there was nothing they could do. The workers were united and knew what they wanted." They continued doing this for four days.

The NUM sees all these struggles as important groundwork for wage negotiations. Magida explains: "When going into wage negotiations, you need to test your strength. If workers are asleep the whole year and then have to wake up for wage negotiations, the union will never be strong."

The demands made to the Chamber include a 27 per cent wage increase, removal of job reservation and reduction of working hours from 102 hours a fortnight to 80.

Workers have taken active part in drawing them up. Shaft stewards committees on each mine form a branch. Branches collect their

WINNING HEART



members' demands and submit them to regional committees.

Each of the NUM's nine regions sends delegates to the Central Committee, where they hammer out the demands to the Chamber. These are then taken back to the workers.

"Sometimes the workers make demands for 250 per cent increases", says Free State regional organiser, Kori Maloka. "We say, hold on, you can't make such a big jump. They say no. We are suffering now."

"Workers would like a big slice of bread, because for so long they have not been represented", says Magida. "We are still a new union. We are learning and our members are learning".

But the feeling in the NUM, which is only three years old, is that the union is stronger than last year. It has 60 000 more members, and 29 mines with recognition agreements. These mines can take legal strike action.

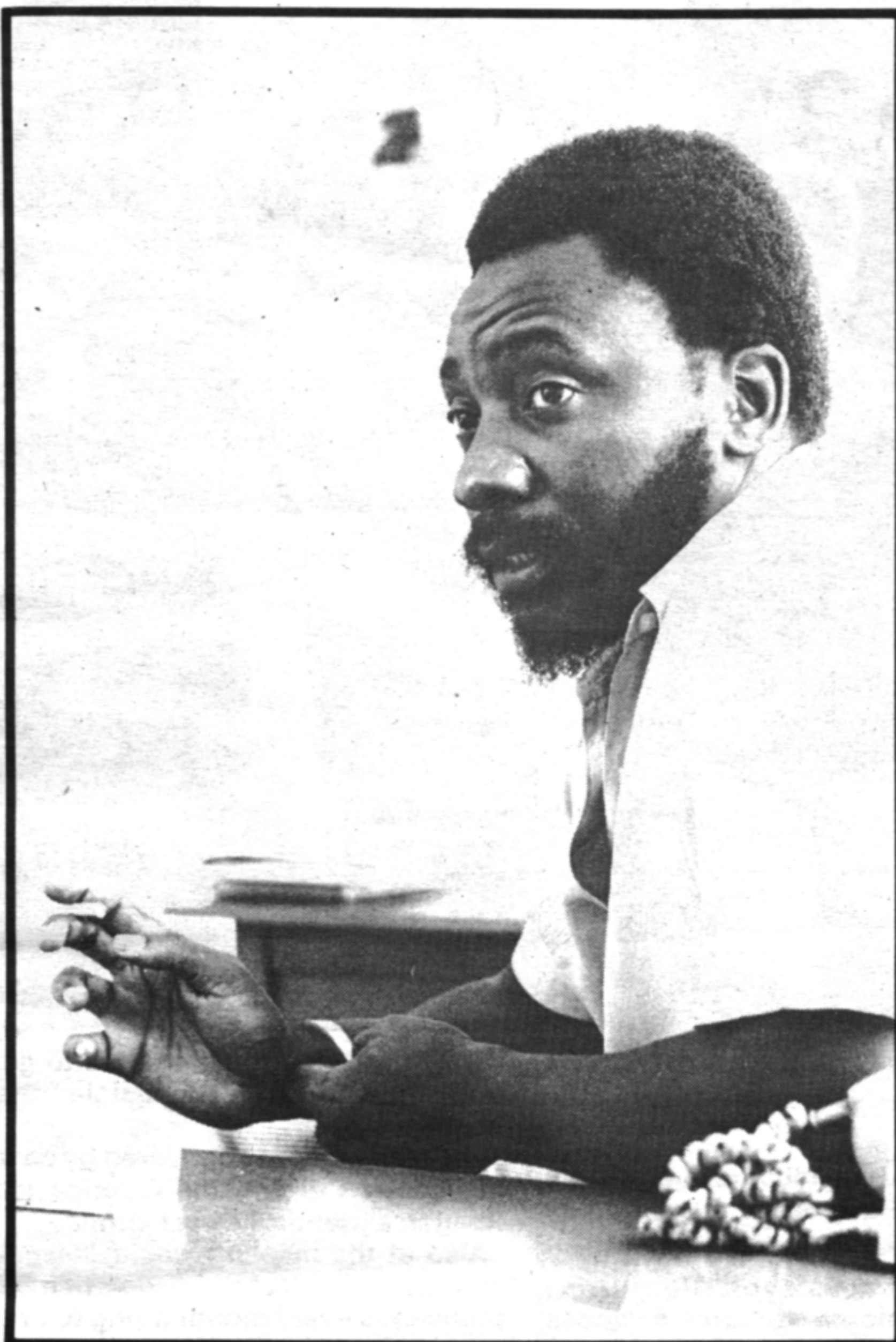
The concrete gains workers have made in boycotts and other campaigns has given them confidence in their own power.

They face a tough battle.

Black miners have already been victims of police action this year, as an East Driefontein worker describes: "They threatened to shoot us if we did not disperse. We all sat still. Then they opened fire ... Chaos broke out. Workers were running in all directions. It was like a war".

Legal strikes don't protect workers from this, or from dismissal.

But there is a strong feeling that neither police nor mass dismissals can destroy the NUM. "They slow down the pace of the union", says Magida. "But if workers are conscientised, the union cannot be destroyed".



NUM General Secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa

Closing down stores building up a union

Shop and taxi owners operating on the mines are learning about mineworker power the hard way. Boycotts of concession stores, mine bottle stores and taxis, have devastated these businesses.

Workers at Saaiplaas, East Driefontein, President Brand, Hartebeesfontein and many other mines have grown tired of rip-off prices, rotten food and arrogant, insulting treatment from shopowners and taxidrivers.

"Shopowners would sell workers any food, even if it had been there for weeks or months. They would cheat as well. A worker who paid with R1 would be charged R1, but if he came with R2, the price would be R1,20", said one organiser.

At Saaiplaas mine, concession store owners refused to reduce prices when approached by worker representatives.

"We gave them 14 days to drop prices", says regional committee member Abiel Ntoyi. "When they failed to do so, we marched to the shop and said we were no longer prepared to buy from them".

The Saaiplaas boycott lasted for three months and one week. In the end the store-owners agreed to reduce prices and not to raise them before the union had been consulted.

They also agreed to let union officials use the shop telephone whenever they wanted, free of charge. "We had them in a tight corner", says Ntoyi.

Workers at Hartebeesfontein could not understand why they paid R1 for a taxi to Stilfontein, and township residents paid only 50 cents. The mine was in fact closer to the town.

The Stilfontein Taxi Association, who had exclusive rights to operate on the mine, said fares were higher because mine roads had lots of traffic circles and this was wearing out their tyres.

Faced with this arrogance, shaft stewards made a deal with STA's rivals, the Buffels Taxi Association (BTA) to reduce their fares to 50c, and to allow worker representation on their committees.

A boycott of STA taxis then got under way. A boycott committee was elected which stood at the taxi ranks and guided workers to the BTA taxis.

When police arrested some shaft stewards and an organiser at the taxi rank, STA officials offered to make "means for them to be released" if they called the boycott off.

"We told them this was the workers' decision", says Jeffrey Magida, organiser at Hartebeesfontein and one of those arrested. "They will decide when the boycott ends".

Hartebeesfontein workers decided to end the boycott after management undertook to allow the BTA to continue operating.

"The boycott proved that if workers are involved in action, they will be very strong in the union. Those who had not taken part in the union started to take part. And the consciousness of the whole workforce was raised", says Magida.

After the taxi boycott, Hartebeesfontein workers tackled the concession stores and the mine bars.

They also used the boycotts to make other demands. "Workers told management they would boycott the bars until all those who were dismissed in last year's wage strikes were given their jobs back", says Magida.

"They then handed management a list with all the names. It was not just a matter of correcting what was wrong with the bar".

At Saaiplaas, the union is still concerned about the concession store. "The store owners are only interested in profits", says Ntoyi. "Some miners buy there for 15 years. For this kind of investment they should get something back".

Union officials think the stores should be taken over by Teba (The Employment Bureau of Africa), which recruits workers for the mines. They say profits should be used to provide food and shelter for workers waiting at Teba depots for transport to the mines.

And they say it should also be used for medical care. "A mineworker arrives in the industry as a fresh young man, and can be sent home ten years later with TB. He gets no medical aid in the homelands where he lives".

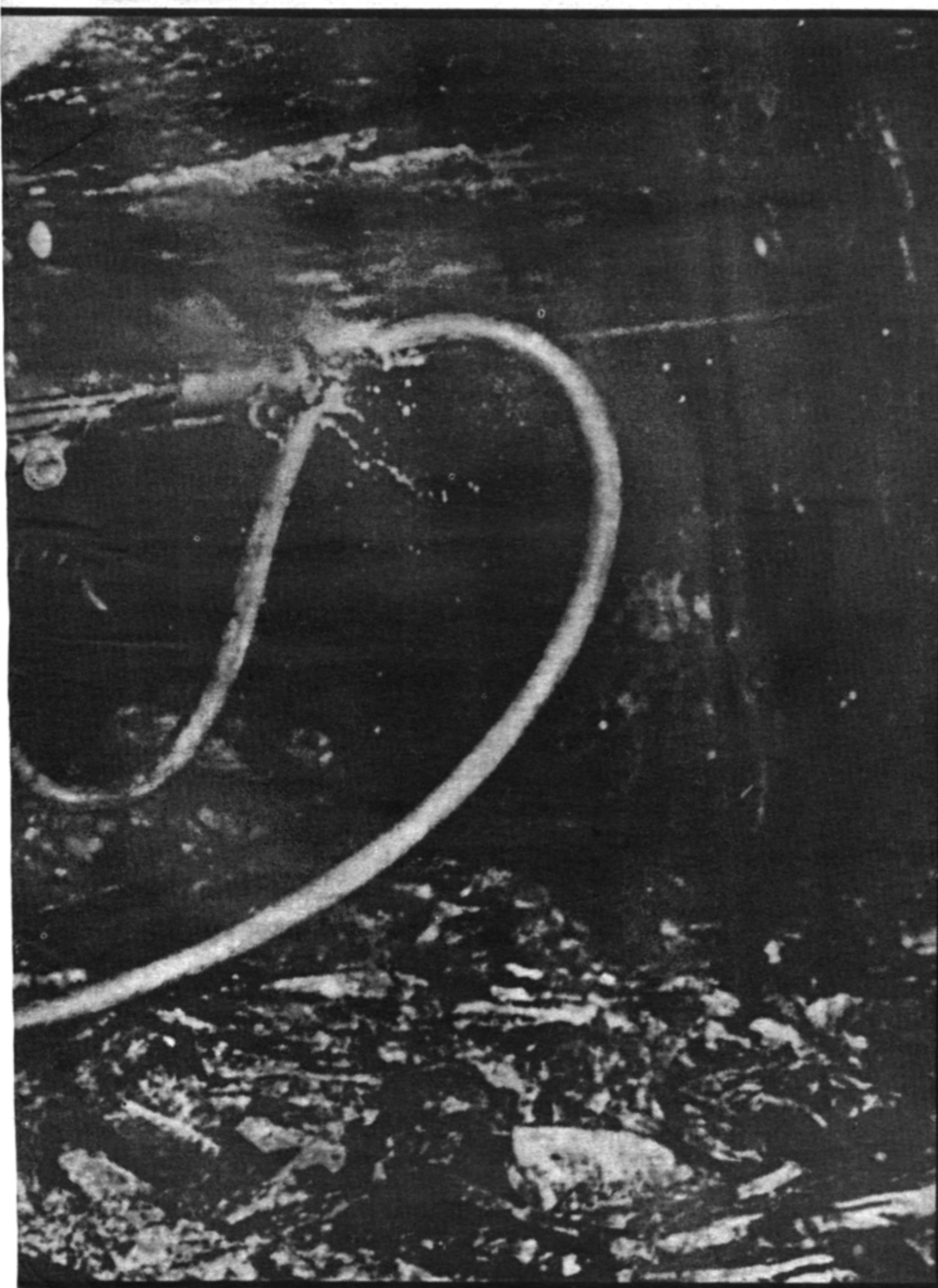
Magida also believes the boycotts have helped to draw black miners into the broader struggle.

"For years mineworkers have been looked at as inferior and stupid. But they hold the economy of the country in their hands and they should be proud of that. Miners used to take their wrist bands off before they went to town, but now they wear them proudly".

They are also ready to support the struggles of other workers. When Hartebeesfontein workers heard about the Spar boycott, they wanted to know if Spar was in any way related to OK or Checkers, the two biggest supermarkets in Stilfontein.

"They said we've had no problem closing down the concession stores here. If it would help the Spar workers, we could boycott Checkers and OK as well".

S AND MINES



"Pap — either very stiff or very watery. Dirty vegetables — a spoonful. Beans, full of small stones and wood particles. Meat — a piece the size of a match box. You are forced to eat everything".

That is how one worker describes food on the mines. That is why workers buy at the concession stores, and high prices lead to boycotts.

Underground there is no food. Workers are supposed to do shifts of eight hours, but they sometimes wait at the cage for up to two hours before being taken above ground.

"I spend ten hours underground each day", said one Free State worker. "I go down before the sun rises. It should be natural for humans to see the sun rise each day".

The work is exhausting. "Working with a drill you sit with your hands behind you, your head up against the roof of the tunnel, and you push the drill forward with your feet", said one worker.

"There is water running over you, and there is deafening noise. Sometimes you just have to urinate in your pants because you can't stop work".

"Some workers who have stopped to rest have been charged with not wanting to work", says NUM vice-president, Elijah Barayi.

The work is dangerous. Sometimes workers go up in the cages at the same time as the rock is lifted, and some have been injured by falling rock. At Saaiplaas mine, management refused to change this, in spite of the accidents. "Imagine people being killed by what they produce", said one worker.

After work, the miners return to the hostels. Most of them live 20 to a room, crowded on top of each other in steel bunks. There is no space for their belongings and no privacy.

Despite working under these conditions, miners pay is terribly low. At East Driefontein, a rockface worker can earn as little as R53 a week, while a team leader only earns R78 a week.

These are the reasons why South Africa's black miners are demanding big changes. And why they want them now.

Foreigners invest for profit-UDF

CLAIMS THAT the majority of South African black people oppose disinvestment are hollow, says UDF.

This is UDF's response to a survey by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, which said that only 25 percent of black South African workers support disinvestment.

The UDF's claim is based on a study by academics at Natal University which has disproved Schlemmer's survey. These academics have criticized Schlemmer's methods and found his statistics and conclusions inaccurate.

Both the South African and US governments used Schlemmer's survey to argue that the American disinvestment campaign has no mandate from black workers.

The UDF has pointed out that to argue for disinvestment is treason. "We demand the right to free discussion on the topic."

The UDF said the disinvestment campaign 'has been successful in introducing legislation to cut trade or economic interaction with South Africa, and in bringing into focus South Africa and its racist policies.' It had also exposed the hollowness of America's 'constructive engagement' policies.

But, disinvestment alone cannot usher in fundamental change in South Africa, says UDF.

"Only the united action of our people in challenging Apartheid and exploitation, supported by all anti-apartheid forces, will usher in a government based on the will of the people".

UDF also rejects the claims of foreign investors that they want to help Blacks by gradually encouraging change.

"Their first and primary goal is nothing but the expansion of profits."

Those opposed to disinvestment argue that black unemployment would rise dramatically if American money was withdrawn.

But:
● America is not the biggest foreign investor in South Africa. Britain is.

● less than half the American money directly controls jobs. Most of it goes into loans, or small shares in South African companies.

● American companies employ only 2 percent of South Africa's black workers.

● if they left, South African or other foreign companies would take over — and few jobs would be lost.

Since 1980, 30 American companies have left. Only eleven new ones have moved in.

Profit has always been the aim, through the exploitation of South Africa's labour and mineral resources.

But as organisation strengthens, and wage levels rise under pressure from the trade unions, business in South Africa isn't as good or as safe as it used to be.

Unemployment won't end if American money stays inside the country. Unemployment is high because of an economic crisis caused largely by the government's apartheid policies.

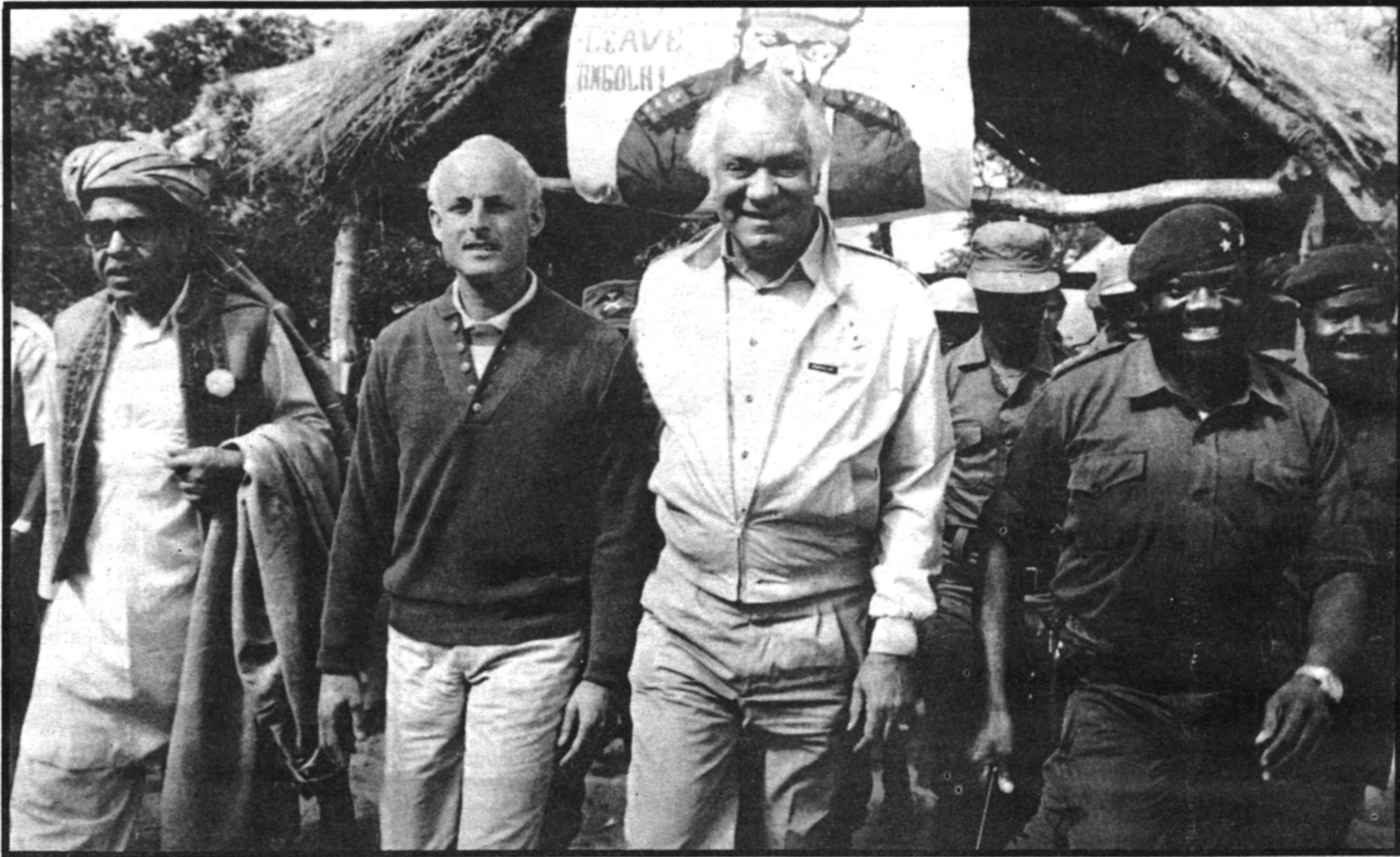
Instead of using taxes to create jobs, the government:

● pays the police and SADF to control local black protest

● spends R5 billion each year to run the bantustans and the tricameral parliament

● spends R3 million a day occupying Namibia

● has supported right-wing groupings like Unita and Renamo.



WHAT DOES Ronald Reagan think is "one of the most hopeful signs of the present time"?
The Democratic International.

He thinks it's great because all four member groupings are doing their best to undermine and overthrow revolutionary leftwing governments.

Rightwing guerilla forces from Nicaragua, Laos, Afghanistan and Angola met at Jamba last month to form a "loose alliance".

They promised to co-operate to get more money and guns from the USA and to "liberate" their nations from "Soviet imperialists".

The meeting was sponsored by an ultra-conservative grouping called Citizens for America (CFA), headed by one of Reagan's friends, Lewis Lehrman.

Also at the meeting was a delegation from the right wing National Students' Federation (NSF), which spends thousands every month trying to undermine progressive student activity on Nusas campuses in South Africa.

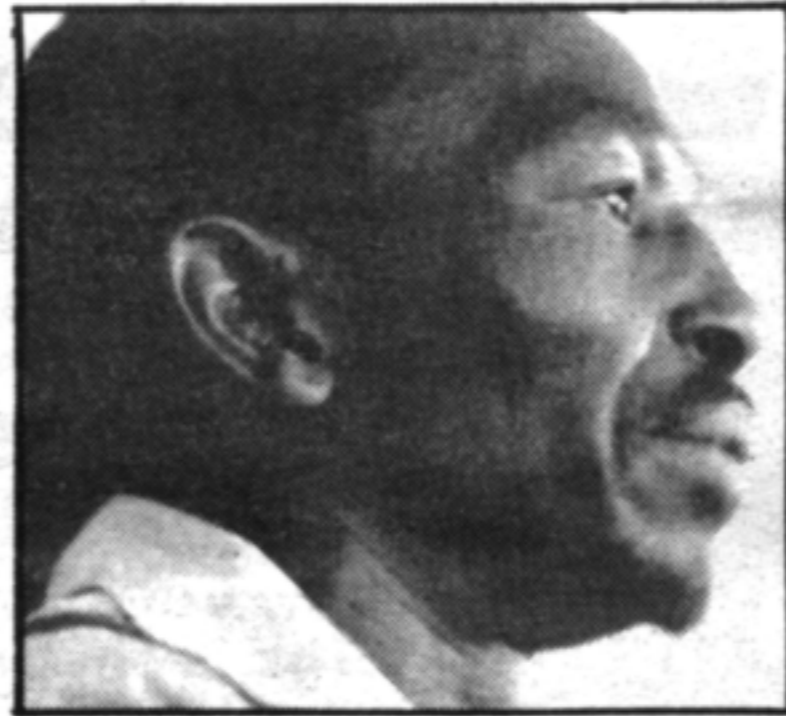
Taking steps down unity road

WORKERS IN the food and transport industries are taking active steps to unite their strength.

The Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU), and the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU) have made a "full commitment to unity" and are working towards forming a single union at a later date.

"The only way we can deal with giant corporations in the food industry is through the organised power of one national industrial union", says SFAWU general secretary, Jay Naidoo.

"Employers meet all the time to plan wages, working conditions and strategies for dealing with unions", says FCWU general secretary Jan Theron. "We have to take them on with the full strength at our disposal".



SFAWU's Chris Dlamini

The food industry is dominated by a few giant corporations, notably Premier, Tiger, Tongaat, and Fed-food, which are owned by powerful mining and finance groups like Anglo Vaal, Anglo-American, Sanlam and Old Mutual.

Between them, SFAWU and

FCWU have 45 000 members in 230 factories. Many are already linked together by the way production in the food industry is organised.

So struggles around wages, work conditions and retrenchments are often against the same employers. United organisation would in turn unite the strength of food workers.

In a separate development General Workers Union (GWU) and Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), a Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) affiliate, met recently to discuss uniting their efforts and members.

The full National Executive Committee of shop stewards of both unions attended. Although without an absolute mandate to merge the two unions, both were "enthusiastic" about it, said a TGWU spokesperson. "We want unity as soon as

possible".

GWU and TGWU organise workers in the transport and building materials industries, on the docks, in building and cleaning services and in the municipalities.

"Merging would create a genuinely national union in the transport industry," says TGWU general secretary, Jane Barrett.

It would also unite Gwu's strong Cape Town base, TGWU's large Transvaal membership, and members in Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Co-operation is already underway. Both organise at a motor ferry company which will not recognise either of them.

And TGWU is helping to organise Gwu members at Everite, a building materials company in Johannesburg. Gwu has recruited Everite workers in Cape Town.

Saving jobs at Spar, less wages at Pages

THE BOYCOTT of Spar stores in Natal and the Transvaal has ended in victory for Spar workers and their union, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA (CCAWUSA).

Browns Retail has agreed to re-engage all dismissed workers, and to recognize their union.

CCAWUSA has also won stop-order facilities, and recognition in every Spar store where it has majority membership.

The five month dispute began in December when 137 workers were dismissed after striking for union recognition, a wage increase, and the re-instatement of two dismissed workers.

A union spokesperson said the victory was won by the "sheer determination of the workers". He said they decided that nobody would sign-off

or look for another job.

But now the union has another dispute on its hands.

Pages claims it is overstaffed and has put certain workers on part-time work from July 1. The workers, members of CCAWUSA, reject this and have declared a dispute.

Those who go part-time stand to lose R119 per month, their pensions, UIF and leave, and other rights as well.

Workers demand that all of them should do short-time — 40 hours a week instead of 45. "If there is hardship, we want to share it equally", said one.

In this way they would all lose R40 a month, instead of 230 workers losing R119.

Ccawusa believes that management is making the workers pay for lost



profits during the recession. And fewer workers will have to do the same amount of work.

"When business increases again, workers will be forced to work harder. We want a short-term solution to the short-term problem. Working short-time is that solution", said Kaiser Thabedi, a CCAWUSA official.

The union has applied for a conciliation board hearing, and a court order to stop management going ahead.

"If this fails the union may have to consider industrial action," said Joe Mokoena, a union official.

The Pages decision could also affect other workers. Pages is owned by the Foschini group, which also owns Markhams and American Swiss.

Doctors prescribe unity for sick SA

A CAMPAIGN against the World Medical Association's Conference that was to be held in South Africa has scored a double victory.

The conference was cancelled and a The National Committee of Health Workers, NCOHO, has been formed.

"The visit of the WMA would have legitimised the apartheid health system. The national committee co-ordinated opposition and protest to the conference", said Cliff Pinter of the Transvaal COHO.

Because of local and international pressure the WMA were forced to hold their conference elsewhere.

The National Committee has decided to continue to exist to unite health workers, medical students and academics working for a healthy and democratic society.

LOOKING ROUND a shop, it seems like there is a big choice of food to buy.

But did you know that Iwisa, Nyala and Impala mealie-meal is all made by the same company? That Ace Super and Induna Special are really just the same thing, made by the same company?

And did you know that even though Super Meal costs more, it is less healthy than plain meal?

The people who pay for food don't have much say in what goes into it — or how much it costs.

Most South Africans eat mealie-meal, bread and very little else. But with recent price rises, even these basics are becoming luxuries for many.

The government gives a subsidy of money to the maize industry to help keep the price of mealie-meal down. Last year the subsidy was R166 million. This year it has been cut to R100 million.

But high prices are not only caused by a drop in the subsidy. Every year, farmers demand an increased price for their goods.

Power over what we eat

Usually they get it. Lately farm owners have been suffering from the drought and their costs have gone up. But even when things were going well, food prices never dropped.

In 1981, maize farms produced more than double the amount of maize needed in the country, but farmers pushed their prices up to a record high.

And white farmers have been given nearly R10 billion of the country's money in loans.

In the past, they gave the government vital political support, but nowadays PW Botha seems to think big industrialists are more valuable allies.

This year the Minister of Agriculture refused to give the farmers any increase at all, but mealie-meal prices are still going up.

The government says the drought has forced them to buy maize from other countries, which is very expensive.

But why should people who are battling to stay alive have to pay for this? Even if farm owners are not getting their own way, what about the milling companies?

These companies can charge whatever they want for mealie-meal, samp and other maize products.

Competition is supposed to keep prices down, and give people a choice in what they buy. But Pre-



Mealie-meal goes through many hands. Each takes a slice and up goes the price.

mier Holdings and Tiger Oats between them control half of the maize product market.

Each of them does two billion rand worth of business each year.

And they are not just in the maize business. Premier makes three brands of mealie-meal, Snowflake flour, Quinns bread, Epol dogfood, Farmer Brown chickens, Blossom margarine, Epic cooking-oil, Castle Lager ... the list is long.

Tiger is owned by CG Smith, which is owned by Barlow Rand. Premier is controlled by Anglo-American, who also own Tongaat-Hulett, another food giant.

Together with Anglo-Vaal and Sanlam, these corporations control the South African food industry.

This means that what people eat and how much they pay for it is not only affected by the profit needs of food companies, but also by the selfish interests of the country's biggest corporations.

Food company profits mainly come from refining and packaging food — the more the mealies have been milled, the more they cost. And Super Maize meal is not even healthy — the refining has taken care of that.

Advertising also makes food more expensive. Food companies spend money on this to persuade people that one product is better than another, yet all maize products are basically the same.

They have to be because the Maize Board has rules about what each type of mealie-meal should contain.

In their hunt for profits, food companies keep on advertising. And the majority of people, who have to buy food from somewhere, end up paying for it.

Organisation comes first in Duduza

The Council is gone, police are careful. Now Duduza wants everyone involved.

IN DUDUZA, the community council is either underground or it doesn't exist anymore.

And the SAF and the SADF only come into the township in helicopters or hippos. Most black policemen have left.

Residents and police have been clashing for months. Houses of policemen and councillors have been attacked. At least seven residents have been killed, including Sonto Thobela and her sister who died after their house was petrol bombed.

Mass attendance at funerals and meetings shows the high level of community mobilisation. When the civic calls a meeting, the hall cannot hold all the people who want to attend.

People wear gas masks to funerals, and police use of teargas, rubber bullets and buckshot is common.

The call throughout the township is for everyone to join people's organisations — the Duduza Civic Association (Duca), the Duduza Youth Congress, Cosas and the parents committee.

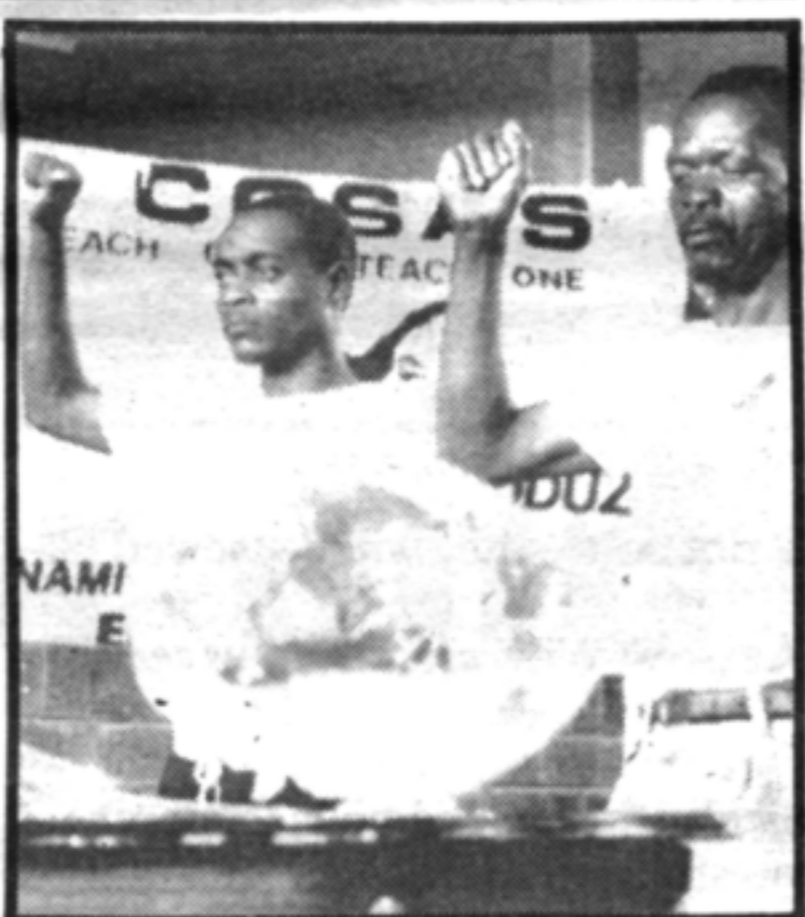
A women's organisation is being planned and an unemployed workers committee has been set up — looking into what workers can do after losing their jobs and how they can make a living.

Workers are encouraged to join trade unions, and as residents they join the civic. Union and community leaders share platforms, and meetings are attended by members of Fosatu and UDF affiliates alike.

"One voice, one action" is the Duca slogan. "In Duduza we are one," says a Duca executive member. "Even the hostel inmates have joined us now. The whole township is on our side."

Duca has set up six area committees — one for each main road. Each committee elects representatives to coordinate with the Duca executive between general meetings, on the basis of mandates from the people.

"We are developing democratic participation. The area committees are open to all. We are trying to eradicate fear from the people. Now they are starting to talk more freely. They say they want their



Thobela funeral — a show of unity money to be used in this way or that way", said a Duca leader.

At present the civic is collecting money from each household to rebuild Thobela's house, which was destroyed by a petrol bomb. The decision to do this was taken by the residents.

Through action and education residents see that their day-to-day problems exist because of the system as a whole. "People learn in the struggle by getting involved", said one activist.

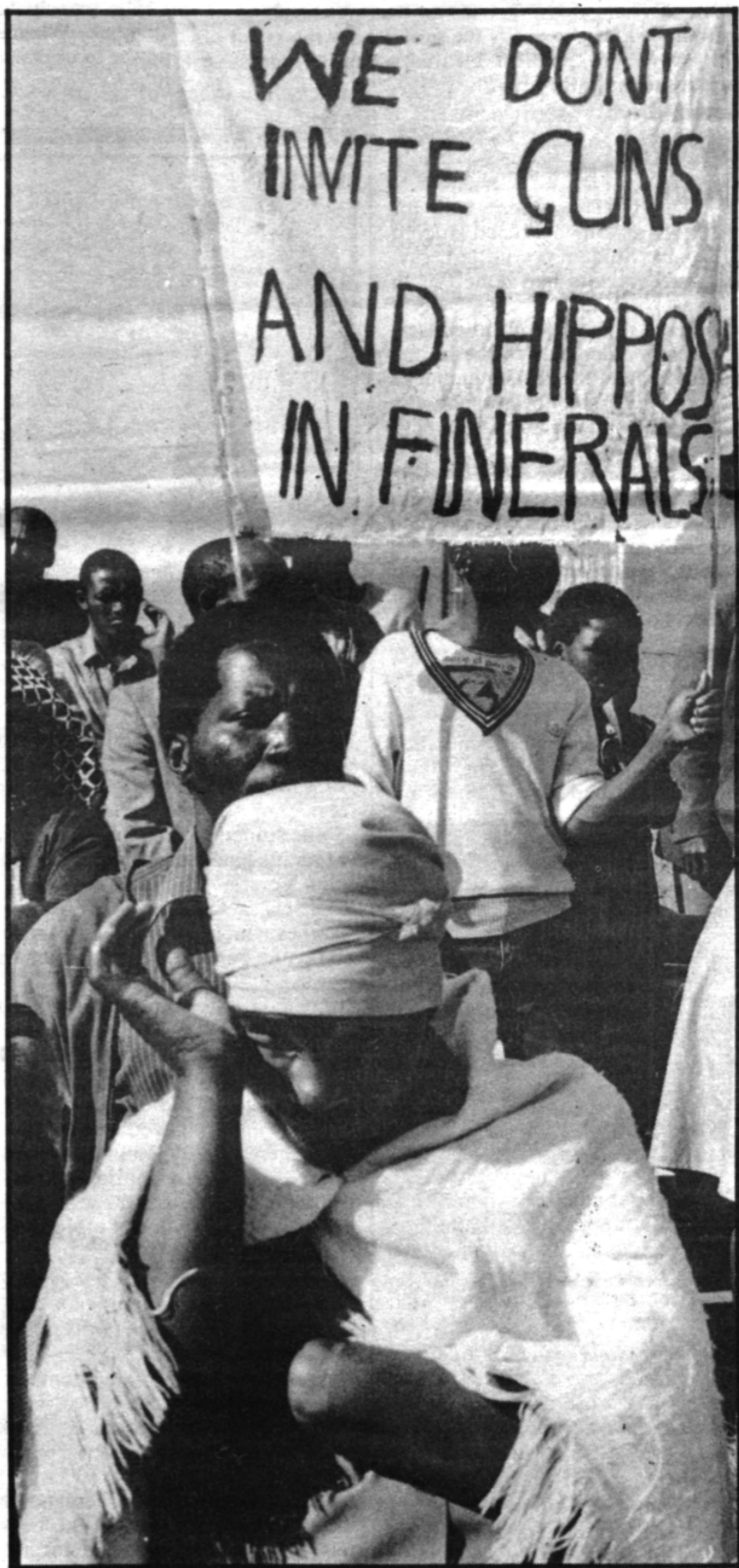
"Unlike with unionised workers in the factory it is difficult to implement tactical decisions in the community. We must develop mass-based organisations in the communities," said a local unionist.

"The community has certain weapons it can use to win demands — mass protests, rent boycotts and so on. Leadership in the community is created through events. So even with spontaneous action, people emerge as leaders and structures are created".

Cosas leaders say the main causes of tension in the township are the conditions people face — no electricity, no sewerage system, no tarred roads, high unemployment and retrenchments.

"These things added to peoples anger and infuriated them to act as they have been".

"People can't just grin and bear it, they want to reveal their views about the future rather than sit on



Residents at Thobela funeral — mourning but defiant

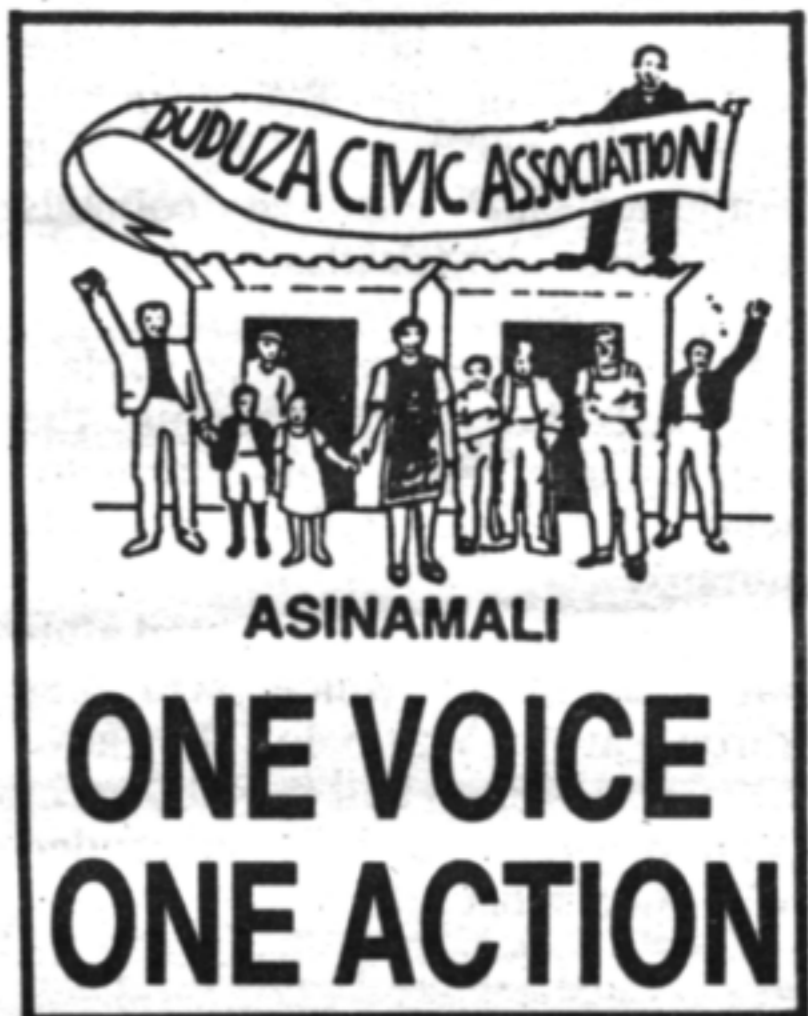
them forever". "When Inkatha came to Duduza people stopped the Inkatha meeting — this was spontaneous", said a civic member.

"At a meeting to protest against the bucket system, residents decided to go and dump the buckets at the administration board. Then people were fired on, they were very angry and some buildings were burnt down." "Spontaneous action must be

transformed into something concrete. For now the priority is to consolidate the civic area committees and from there develop new leadership".

Civic leaders say they can't just take decisions on their own. Mandates must come from the people, otherwise the civic would be defeating its aims.

But the government and management are making things very difficult for Duduza residents.



Four members of the Duca executive were detained in a seal-and-search raid by the SADF and SAP.

"It started in the early hours of the morning. They decided to raid peoples homes. Helicopters were flying over the township. They even checked in the school buildings. They took all boys from 10 to 20 years, or anyone who could throw a stone. The township was under siege", said Cosas leaders.

Residents allege that a helicopter landed and set a whole pack of dogs on them. Some were badly bitten and savaged by the dogs, and 23 were arrested.

Local Cosas leaders said they had been singled out for special attack. "We as Cosas want to condemn this victimisation of us, blaming Cosas for everything. What is to blame is the situation people are living under, this is what is causing them to fight".

After the raid at least four people were killed. One man was shot in his yard. He was then allegedly wrapped in a blanket and taken away in a hippo.

"Many people disappeared. We don't even know if they are arrested or detained. If they have fled or they are in hiding or what. Lawyers are looking into the situation. Some people were charged with public violence when they were released from detention," said civic members.

After the detained Duca members were released, one of them, Alex Montoedi, was fired from work by John Deere, a multinational company in Nigel. Workers went on strike demanding his reinstatement. Two others, Duca chairperson Nanton Matsega and Vusi Mashabane were given warning letters.

They were all members of the United Metal, Mining and Allied Workers' Union of SA (Umwawosa). The union is demanding that management take a stand against detention.

Raids on people's houses are still continuing in Duduza. But so is the growth of people's organisation.

VENDA

STUDENTS AT the University of Venda have demanded the expulsion of a lecturer who they say has called them 'baboons'.

They have also demanded that a professor be taken off the timetable committee because he opposed the inclusion of students on the committee.

Changes to the time-table were also demanded, and these have now been won.

TURFLOOP

TURFLOOP STUDENTS have told Minister Louis le Grange to keep his police off their campus.

'Your department should appreciate our honest and sincere loathing for your police and that they will no longer be tolerated by us,' the SRC told him in a telex.

There is a logical link between the education crisis, which has reached explosive proportions at Turfloop, and Pretoria's police department, they said.

The students also demand the withdrawal of the Bill currently before parliament that will empower black university councils to expell students without a preliminary hearing.

4000 Turf students boycotted classes last month, demanding the expulsion of Prof. van Warmelo, who they say failed students unfairly.

Three students were arrested after an incident in which acid was thrown at van Warmelo. They have been released on bail of R500 each. Van Warmelo has been suspended without a substitute.

FORT HARE

CISKEIAN security police occupied the University of Fort Hare last month, sjambokking and teargassing boycotting students.

Many students were injured and treated in hospital. One student was shot in the stomach and another lost an eye.

Students say the attacks followed a peaceful demonstration. 'We held our hands high to show we were unarmed but security fired anyway'. A 7pm to 6am curfew was declared.

Students demanded the release of eight members of their Interim Committee who were detained after students refused to allow President Sebe to attend graduation.

Another grievance was that a woman student who had failed still received her degree because of her connections with the administration. Students say the admin didn't respond when presented with demands for an investigation.

After an ultimatum from the rector, students registered but refused to attend classes. The boycott is continuing.

MEDUNSA

FOR SIX YEARS Professor Le Roux, head of Anatomy at Medunsa, has been failing people unfairly, say students.

'We have tried everything. The SRC has spoken to the administration, we have been through all the formal channels, students in his department have boycotted, but none of this was successful,' a spokesperson for the students told Saspu National.

'So after the Raditsela memorial service the whole student body decided to go on boycott until he left'.

After two weeks students suspended the boycott when the administration agreed to suspend le Roux pending a full enquiry.

Students say they will reassess the boycott once the one person commission of enquiry has completed its work.



Students act nationwide

MORE THAN 10 000 boarders and day scholars in rural villages and townships in the Northern Transvaal Lebowa bantustan have staged boycotts and demonstrations in support of local and national student demands.

Students in the area say the protests are the result of the growth of political awareness and progressive organisations in the area.

'The demands of students in other parts of the country are also our demands. We have the same grievances, the same problems, and in the Northern Transvaal these are rife'.

'The principal is like a policeman, he rules by the sjambok. When students become aware they have the power to organise to improve their conditions, they do it'.

RANTI

A STUDENT was expelled for allegedly making a woman student pregnant. Students protested, saying teachers who had done this in the past were never expelled.

Students refused to go to classes, and sent a delegation to the principal to demand the reinstatement of the expelled student, democratic SRC's and other national student demands.

After the principal refused to listen, students took to the streets. The school administration office was stoned and windows broken. About 30 students were arrested from their homes and charged with public violence.

MAFOLOFOLO

STUDENTS demanded democratic SRC's and proper use of sport fees, saying they had paid them, but there were still no sports activities.

Demonstrators were dispersed by police and some students were detained. About 60 students marched more than 10 km to Mankweng police station where their fellow students were being held and demanded their immediate release.

The detained students were released and taken back to Solomondale in police vans.

TSHEBELA

Two school administration offices were burnt and destroyed after students demands for a democratic SRC, abolition of corporal punishment and better food in the hostel, were not met.

Boarders were ordered to leave and chased by Lebowa police. About nine were detained. Three were charged with public violence. Seven students were later charged with arson.

Day scholars boycotted in solidarity. Students said cannot return to school to write exams while their fellow students are charged.

MAROBATHOTA

THE BOARDING master was attacked by angry students demanding proper food in the boarding school. He was critically injured and taken to hospital.

Early the next morning, about 80 Zion Christian Church (ZCC) men, nicknamed the Moria Defence Force, occupied the school. Male boarders said they had to "run for



Wits students in solidarity with occupied campuses

'IF CAMPUS SECURITY behave like riot police they will be viewed like riot police.'

This message came from members of Azaso at Wits, after campus security set dogs on students during a march.

Some students and a campus security guard were injured.

Students had just clashed with riot police as they left campus to march on John Vorster Square. They were protesting at the deaths of Andries Raditsela and Siphon Mutisi.

Earlier, more than 2000 Azaso and Nusas students, workers and academics gathered at a commemoration coinciding with Raditsela's funeral.

In response to students demands, the university has held an inquiry into the incident, but has not yet given a report.

their dear lives" and escaped into the surrounding mountains.

Day scholars arrived to find the men there "to maintain law and order". They were putting up security fences and students were told not to stand in groups of more than two people.

TZANEEN

IN THE Tzaneen area students at five schools, Seboye, Bokgaga, Ramoba, Phangasasa and Malabosane have boycotted classes.

At Bokgaga, boarders demanded that teachers move out of the hostels to their own living quarters. Students also demanded proper toilets and that the matron be removed.

Day scholars gave their support and a class boycott began. Students retreated into the surrounding mountains after clashes with police. They later went on the attack and the police retreated. One policeman was caught, stabbed and critically injured. Police captured one student.

At Seboya High School in Lenyenye, students won their demands for a democratic SRC after a class boycott.

MAMABUDUSHA

ON MAY DAY, more than 500 students marched to Mankweng where they were joined by hundreds of Hwiti High School and Turfloop university students.

They all marched through the streets singing freedom songs and chanting slogans.

The next day a teacher at Mamabudusha, Peter Makhado, member of the Northern Transvaal UDF Interim Coordinating committee and a patron of the Mankweng Youth Congress (Mayco), was told he had been transferred from the school.

He was reinstated after students boycotted classes in protest. But soon after exams started, Makhado was told that he would still be transferred.

LENNOX SEBE

TWENTY students have been expelled from the Lennox Sebe College in Zwelitsha, the capital of the Ciskei.

The Ciskeian army and police invaded the campus after students demanded an SRC.

MIDDLEBURG

MIDDLEBURG students are boycotting classes in solidarity with people charged with public violence following a May Day march.

On the day, about 1000 people marched through the streets singing freedom songs commemorating International Workers Day.

Middelburg Youth Congress (Myco) publicity secretary Percival Feni said police used teargas, rubber bullets and buckshot to disperse the crowd and confiscated a banner.

Myco members and students were detained, charged with public violence and later released on bail.

The Middelburg Cosas branch and the coloured high school boycotted classes in solidarity with Myco. And St. Boniface Secondary students resolved not to write mid-year exams until those charged are acquitted.

MBUMBULU

MBUMBULU college of education has been closed down after students boycotted, demanding an SRC.

When they approached the administration, students were told the rector was studying overseas so there was no-one to talk to.

Students went on boycott and the Kwazulu minister of education closed the college.

NATAL

'IF INKATHA is taught as a subject in our schools then we must have lessons about Cosas too,' say students at Umgaga Secondary School on the Natal South Coast. They see no reason why they should be taught the political viewpoint of Inkatha alone.

When Uhlange School students told the principal they wanted to start a Cosas branch, they were reminded that Cosas was banned in Kwazulu. Richard Sibusiso, Natal Cosas organiser, says students who question what they are taught about Inkatha, or who are not members, are victimised and accused of being "ANC people".

But despite harassment, Cosas is growing in Natal. A new branch has been launched in Pietermaritzburg to cater for Imbali, Sobantu, Edendale and Ashtown. After a boycott earlier this year four Imbali schools won their demand for SRC's.

LAMONTVILLE

COMING late to school in Lamontville no longer results in automatic corporal punishment.

Not since students won the right to a democratic SRC, after a boycott earlier this year. Now, the SRC's Disciplinary sub-committee looks into why you are late, and what can be done to help you get to school on time.

'The Disciplinary sub-committee believes it is often the conditions we live under that cause students to be late, or not to finish their homework. If we keep punishing them, they will just lose interest in school' says Richard Sibusiso, Natal Cosas organiser.

'Discipline should not be to punish, but to get the person to see why what they are doing is wrong.'

The SRC has also organised that pupils in each class do a news analysis each day.

Building democracy in the school is difficult, says Sibusiso. "Winning an SRC is only the start. Unless students give it direction, it can end up as the same prefect system with a new name."

'We are learning democracy in action. Future bantustan bureaucrats and community councillors are no longer being trained through the prefect system. Instead, we are building people who don't just talk democracy, but are practising it.'

"ON JUNE 16, 1976, Hector Peterson was the first to die in the hail of bullets. This year the SA government commemorated that day with more bullets in Botswana.

"But we in the non-racial movement must commemorate the deaths of all victims of apartheid violence by doubling our efforts to bring about a free South Africa."

Brendan Barry, president of the National Union of South African Students, Nusas, said this at a June 16 meeting in Imbali, Natal.

Nusas is making its contribution to the non-racial movement by building strong organisation on white campuses.

"To ensure that the struggle is non-racial in practise as well as in principle, mobilisation in the white community is crucial", said Barry.

"But this means more than just mobilising opposition to racism. That task is important, but if that's all we wanted to do, we could do it in the PFP," says Barry.

"Racial oppression in South Africa has allowed wealth and resources to be monopolised by a minority. South Africa must be restructured so that the wealth and resources can be shared by the people."

To counter the support Nusas has won for the UDF and the Freedom Charter, Nationalist Party businessmen give huge donations to the right-wing National Students Federation (NSF) — encouraged by letters of support to NSF from PW Botha and Pik Botha. The NSF spends a fortune attacking the SRC's, Nusas, and the UDF.

NUSAS builds non-racial future by organising support for Freedom Charter



UCT students at mass meeting.

But progressive students are still winning majority support in campus elections. Because the SRC's make Nusas policy, Nusas depends on this majority to maintain its progressive direction.

To keep student support, Nusas needs a high level of organisation on the campuses. But organising white students is not an easy task.

"Apartheid gives white students privileges and security. Nusas calls

on white students to struggle for a society in which they have to give these up," says Barry.

"Also, as township unrest intensifies, a growing fear of the future is gripping some in the white community.

"This leads some to look for new solutions, but others believe PW's reforms are the only 'safe' way of bringing change. We have to work hard to counter this."

Behind the scenes of mass meetings, Nusas strengthens many levels of campus organisation

Nusas organises through a range of structures.

The SRC Projects Committees are the political heart-beat on campus.

They recruit anti-apartheid students, and mobilise and politicise students through pamphlets, mass meetings, posters, seminars and other activities. At the same time, their members learn skills and educate themselves politically.

The use of troops in the townships, Cabinda and Botswana, is causing many white students to support the call to end conscription. Nusas is part of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and is setting up Conscription Advice Bureaux, where students can get legal advice.

While giving political direction, SRC's must also represent student

interests. They allocate funds to societies, fight to keep food prices down, and take up day to day education issues.

"The Nusas Faculty Council Conference looked at classroom democracy, bad lecturers, and problems in courses. Nusas links these issues to the lack of democracy in South Africa, and the role of education," says Garth Klein, Nusas Projects Officer.

"We expose white students to the problems black students face and show what interests white education serves.

"We encourage students to make a positive contribution by using their education to build democracy instead," says Klein.

Education Charter posters at Wits asks students whether their courses teach them to build a better SA.

The poster for science students asks, 'Does your education equip you to kill people?; combat industrial pollution and health hazards?; save the ecology?; research food production for SA's people?; find a progressive role for technology in society? WHICH WAY IS YOUR EDUCATION TAKING YOU?'

The Nusas Women's Directive takes up issues like anorexia, sexual harassment, and the oppression black women face. Other Nusas organisations focus on labour, community struggles, health issues, the law and more.



Festival to call for end to SA war.

End Conscription Campaign

As the SADF enters the townships the call to end conscription grows — and ECC wins more support

As the SADF's role in the townships and across South Africa's borders becomes clearer, more and more white South African men are refusing to be part of the SADF.

7589 conscripts did not report for duty in January this year. Last year the figure was 1596.

They face a possible six year prison term for refusing to serve in the SA Defence Force.

The use of troops against the people of South Africa is often the reason for their decision. They are not prepared to take up arms in what they see is a 'defence of Apartheid'.

Military bases have been set up inside several townships in South Africa. Areas in the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Transvaal are under virtual military control.

Deputy Minister of Defence, Adriaan Vlok, claims that the SADF is involved in these areas purely in a "supportive capacity", serving as a back-up to the police.

But township residents say that the SADF is playing a very different role. House to house searches at 3 am, pass raids, influx control blitzes, road-blocks, patrols and the use of tear-gas all take place far from any sign of the police.

Destabilization of neighbouring states continues. An SADF soldier captured in Angola recently admitted his mission had been to blow up the Cabinda oil refinery. This was nearly a month after the SADF claimed to have withdrawn all troops from Angola.

And when Foreign Affairs Minister, Pik Botha, admitted that the SADF had given support to the right-wing Mozambican Resistance Movement (MNR), he was merely confirming what everyone already knew.



Young white men face a future in army uniform. Many say that is not the future they want.

Events like these make it difficult for even the government's strongest defenders — such as the Reagan Administration — to turn a blind eye. And within South Africa they have fuelled opposition to the SADF, and the call-up facing every white male.

Organising for peace in South Africa has been given a powerful boost by the End Conscription Campaign (ECC). Formed in 1983, the ECC now has structures in five regions — Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and the Eastern Cape — and over 40 affiliates.

The ECC's main campaigns are for an end to conscription, and for the withdrawal of troops from the townships and from Namibia.

ECC has organised a National Festival for Peace, to take place in Johannesburg from June 28 — 30.

Drama, discussions, workshops and public meetings will focus attention on the nature of the conflict in South Africa, and possibilities for a just peace will be explored.

International Peace Movement figures who will address the Festival on its opening night include Cardinal Arns from Brazil — head of the largest Catholic archdiocese in the world and a key figure in the progressive movement in South America. Also present will be a representative from the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and a delegation from Namibia.

"The ECC is committed to working for peace because of its belief that it is possible for all our people to enjoy full lives, as equals, and at peace with one another in a democratic society", said Laurie Nathan, National Organiser for ECC. "The Festival is a statement of this determination and hope."

JACOBINA IS a small gold-mine in Brazil. Working conditions are dangerous, transport is bad and food is poor.

Workers get no danger pay or unemployment insurance and wages are low — for a ten hour shift, with overtime, about R110 per month.

It sounds like a South African mine, and in a way it is. Jacobina is owned by Anglo American.

Morro Velho is another Anglo mine, where the work is especially dangerous. It's so hot underground miners work in

shorts and sandals, with scarves over their faces to keep out the dangerous silicosis dust.

One in three workers at Morro Velho has silicosis, a lung disease that has killed many miners.

While calls for disinvestment from South Africa get louder, South African companies are investing millions in other countries. These are the people who say American and European money must stay here so that "blacks don't lose jobs".

That isn't surprising. Capital goes where

there is money to be made, and Brazil is a good place for profit — two thirds of the workers earn less than R110 a month and the government does everything it can to keep workers quiet and working.

Anglo has also invested in the Brazilian arms industry. Working through a Brazilian company, it produces hand grenades, smoke gas grenades for riot control, rockets for bazooka-type launchers, aircraft rockets, and M1 submachine guns.

Who buys these weapons? The company won't say.

The struggles of working people in Brazil are important because they deal with some of the companies workers face here, like Volkswagen, Anglo American, Barlow Rand and AECI.

But they are also important because Brazilian workers face the same situation as South African workers — exploitative employers, a tough anti-worker government and foreign interference. They too are building up organisation to change this.

Trade unions have existed in Brazil for almost a hundred years.

At first workers could join any trade union, but in 1943, the government drew up a Labour Code which brought unions under strict government control. These laws still exist today.

Workers have to join the official unions and neither industrial nor general unions are allowed. A food workers' union in one city can only negotiate for the food workers in that city. In this way, Brazilian workers are divided into more than 5 000 small and divided trade unions.

Workers have no shop stewards or factory committees, and no right to negotiate with management, except in a Labour Court, where only trade union officials and employers can speak.

Brazilian workers are bitter because very few of their trade union officials actually represent them. "Before 1964, we trusted our leaders", said one worker. "But when the army came to power, they put their own supporters in charge of the unions".

Workers call these puppet union leaders "pelegos", the Portuguese word for the sheepskin saddle cowboys put on their horses. This saddle makes riding the horse more comfortable.

In the same way, these puppet union leaders make it easier for the government and the bosses to control the workers.

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's, workers defied the law and staged strikes, and peasants demanded land for all. The government was unable to suppress these struggles.

But then the army stepped in and took over the country, with the help of the American government and big business.

What's behind the bullies from Brazil?

Foreign investors, cheap labour and a growing workers' struggle

Detentions, torture and murder followed and many worker leaders were forced into exile. The "pelegos" moved in to take their place.

The Brazilian worker movement was not dead, but it was badly wounded. Workers had to organise patiently and quietly.

A metal worker from Sao Paulo in southern Brazil remembers: "Inside the factories, workers started small groups known as the trade union opposition. I joined this opposition".

"We set up the group in 1965. But many members were arrested or



beaten up very badly by the police. Sometimes it was too risky to say we were in the trade union opposition".

The opposition concentrated on big factories, where workers formed small groups to discuss problems and look for answers.

Activists were soon faced with victimisation. "I went from job to

job", said one. "Sometimes the employers found out about me even before I could warm my seat on their production line".

But democratic organisation in the factories continued to grow, and the bosses and the "pelegos" began to feel it.

In the Sao Paulo area, there are many huge car and truck factories — Volkswagen has 40 000 workers, all in one factory.

One day in 1978, truck workers arrived at the factory as usual. But when the siren hooted for them to begin work, they folded their arms and refused to switch on their machines.

This was the "Folded Arms" strike. Workers knew if they went outside and tried to picket at the factory gate, they would have to face soldiers and police. They were not yet ready for that.

But the strike was still a historic event. After years and years of silence, Brazil's workers were making themselves heard again. This was the song they sang about their struggle:

"Working class and all oppressed people! Let's go forward, switch off the machines, And in the silence you will hear the shout of the workers".

Soon half a million men and women in the motor, metal and engineering industry were on strike, protesting against low wages and rising prices, and demanding shorter working hours, the right to strike, and direct wage negotiations with the bosses.

The strike lasted several weeks, and some employers agreed to increase wages.

The following year, 185 000 workers struck again. This time they took the strike into the streets with posters, pamphlets and huge meetings in the football stadium of up to 90 000 workers.

The motor industry bosses called in riot police and soldiers and Volkswagen let the soldiers use their factory as a hostel.

The strike continued for 15 days. Then key union leaders were detained, and workers decided to go back to work — but for 45 days only. If employers still refused to negotiate, they would strike again.

Back at work, they refused to do overtime, so employers would have no stocks of goods to sell if the strike restarted. When 150 000 workers joined in a massive May Day march soon afterwards, employers started negotiating and wage increases were big.

But the next year there were more strikes after the government told bosses to ignore workers demands for higher wages and recognition of shop stewards, 16 worker leaders were arrested and the army threatened to put them on trial.

But a committee of 400 workers took over the leadership and massive protests forced the army to drop this idea.

The growing strength of Brazil's workers forced other "reforms". Popular leaders were unbanned, and exiles were allowed to return to Brazil. In 1982, elections were held, the first since 1964.

Many workers believed their struggle was not just for better wages and working conditions. It was also a political struggle against a government whose laws prevented workers organising for a better life.

Many worker leaders felt they should form a workers' political party to stand in the election. They did not expect to win, but hoped to use the election campaign to spread their ideas.

And so the Partido Trabalhadores, the Workers' Party was formed. It was not just a party of workers, but of students, community groups, progressive church people and squatters as well. It won representation in some city councils, state assemblies, and in the national parliament.

Brazilian workers are gaining strength, despite the murder of key leaders and the "pelegos" who still divide them.



Words from working women

ON A SUNNY Sunday afternoon in a white South African suburb many African women sit on the pavements. They sit in groups, or alone, talking and resting, making the most of the few hours they have for themselves. These women are domestic workers.

Eldah Mthuludi, a domestic worker in Johannesburg, says: "I work very hard. I start work at seven o'clock in the morning and only finish at 8.30 pm after they have finished eating supper and I have washed the dishes.

"Every Friday I have to work until 10 pm because my madam has people for supper. On Saturday nights I have to look after the children because the madam and master go out. I don't get paid any extra money for doing it."

Many domestic workers are migrants from the rural areas. Often they are "illegals" under the pass laws. Accommodation is one reason why they seek domestic work — despite the bad pay.

But as the influx laws tighten and the recession squeezes white households, live-in domestic jobs are becoming harder to find.

"Once you are a domestic worker, you are no longer a human being. Or a wife. Or a mother", says Margaret Nhlapo of the South African Domestic Workers' Association (SADWA).

Domestic work is excluded from the laws which set out hours of work, sick leave and holidays. Domestic workers have no legal rights to paid holidays or fixed working hours. Nor are they covered by the Unemployment Insurance Fund which gives unemployment, sickness and maternity benefits.

These women are at the mercy of their employers' goodwill.

Their average wage is R100 per month. More than one third of black women workers in South Africa are service workers in jobs like domestic and laundry work and factory cleaning. Few men choose these jobs because of the low pay and poor working conditions, and because employers know they can pay women less than men. So it remains "womens' work".

Nomvula works as an office cleaner. "I start work at 6pm and work till half past three. When we knock off, the streets are dangerous. There's no transport. And then it's hard to sleep.

"This job makes me sick. You get sore eyes and headaches all the time because you don't sleep full hours."

And we've got sore feet from standing all night, and bachache from scrubbing.

"Sometimes we just feel like leaving. But we've got no choice. We must pay rent, we must feed our children. That's why we do night shift.

"My children stay at my mother's. I miss them, but I've got no choice, because they can't sleep alone there at night. You see, my husband is also working at night. He's a security guard.

Why are womens' wages so low? Why do so many women work a double shift — in the home and at work? Why don't more women participate in organisations? Why are there so few women activists?

Two important new books on working women in South Africa explore these questions. **WORKING WOMEN** and **VUKANI MAKHOSIKAZI** are essential reading for anyone wanting to understand the position of women in organisation and in South Africa today.

The books talk for, and about, women in their struggle to make ends meet in the face of rising rents and the soaring cost of food. They

South African women speak out about their lives in two books just published. SASPU NATIONAL looks at some of the issues they raise.



Women work two shifts — one at home and one in the workplace.

"He doesn't help at home. When he's at home he rests, and I must cook for him. He just sits there with the paper."

Women who work in factories usually have a better deal than most service workers. They are covered by minimum wages and working conditions which, although low, do give some protection. Most of them are stuck in low paid semi-skilled jobs, in particular industries — food, clothing, textile and leather — known for their low wages.

tell of their fight for adequate housing, for child care facilities, through groups and organisations — struggling for a free and just society, free not only from class exploitation and racial oppression, but also free from sexual expression.

Through interviews and powerful photographs, the women of South Africa speak out.

"**WORKING WOMEN** is not a book for academics — but for the people", said Leslie Lawson, who produced the book to serve as a tool in organising women. Through raising questions and presenting information about

the position of women, others may learn from their struggles.

Jane Barrett, co-worker on **VUKANI MAKHOSIKAZI**, said information about the problems of women must be made available to all. "In our book, we have tried to popularise the information we collected in academic research."

"One Tuesday we were doing tennis dresses. That dress was R59, and I was earning less than that. Oh I was cross. I just put down my scissors and my tape in a drawer and I went out."

The books are available through trade unions or bookshops.

● **WORKING WOMEN**, ed. Helene Perold, Ravan Press

● **VUKANI MAKHOSIKAZI: South African Women Speak**, ed. Ingrid Obery, CIRR

Sexual harassment, or "love abuse", faces many women at work.

"Say you are a woman and you are looking for a job", said Nomvula. "When you reach a factory you ask the induna. The induna will say you must sleep with him to get that job. And you've got no choice. You want work and your children are starving."

At a Dunlop factory organised by the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), workers exposed a training officer who was selling jobs for sex. He was fired immediately. At Dunlop, women now sell their labour and not their bodies.

There is no law protecting pregnant women from losing their jobs, nor does the factory have to give a woman her job back after her baby is born. So for women workers pregnancy very often means retrenchment.

Unions are fighting for maternity rights. As Adrienne Bird of Fosatu says, "Most people see child bearing as normal, indeed essential. But the bosses don't think so.

"Perhaps they think if they send forms in triplicate to a bureaucratic God somewhere, he will send the workers they need by air freight to the factory gates. But they don't want to pay women to bring up the children who will be the future workers."

But women workers in the rural areas suffer most. Trapped there by influx control laws, they have no rights to work in the towns.

Gugu is one of the highest paid workers at a textile factory at Isithebe in Kwazulu. She earns R38 a week. She stays there because she doesn't have the legal right to work elsewhere.

Desperation forces many women to risk arrest and look for work in the towns without passes. In 1982 alone, more than 45 000 women were arrested under the pass laws.

Mildred Mjekula comes from the Transkei, but has been working in Johannesburg since 1969.

"In 1969 it was easier to work without a pass stamp", she says. "I have been trying since 1975 to register my pass. But they say if you are from the homelands you can't make an application.

"My child stays with my mother in the Transkei. She does not remember that I am her mother. This is difficult for me."

Alice is a retired farm worker in the Piet Retief district. "We earn R20 a month here. We survive because we are helped by our children in the location. Without them, I don't know.

"And now we are old, what will we get? Those boers who used us — what will they do for us now that we are old. Nothing. Niks."

The solution to these problems women face is through organisation: joining together and fighting for a better deal. But organising women is not easy.

Two thirds of black women workers are service and agricultural workers, working on their own or in small groups for a single employer. They have little bargaining power.

But despite these problems organisation is growing. One example is the Domestic Workers Association of South Africa (SADWA).

"We do not offer many services, because domestic workers are not covered by any laws", says Margaret Nhlapo of SADWA. "But we are teaching domestic workers to speak for themselves. We are trying to show them — and their madams — what their labour is worth."

Nor is organisation easy in the factories, where management justifies low wages by claiming these jobs need little training. Which means women are easily replaced.

But the biggest problem is that women have very little time for organisation after working all day and then doing the housework.

In the words of a woman trade unionist, "We need to act now, so that we don't wake up in years to come and find that women have been left behind in the struggle.

"We need to break down all divisions between men and women by tackling the problems. One thing is for sure — if we don't, the bosses will play the women off against the men."

CABINDA

GABERONE

NAMIBIA

WITH THREE swift strokes in as many weeks, the South African government has probably done its international relations more damage than at any other time in its history.

The mission to Cabinda, the raid on Gaborone and the installation of a puppet government in Namibia show Pretoria's contempt for world opinion.

'Die Beeld', mouthpiece of the Botha government, expressed this clearly in its comment on the Gaborone raid: "Well, now they know, if they still need demonstrations: South Africa will not let itself be intimidated, not by the United Nations' Security Council, the world's agitation over the Cabinda incident or the threat of sanctions from the United States."

And after the sanctions vote in the US Congress, 'Beeld' wrote, "We can either crumble before the onslaught or we can show that we are a regional power and that to tangle with us is to bring the whole region into turmoil."

The economic dependence of the frontline states is no longer enough. South Africa now seems satisfied with nothing less than the total removal of the ANC from the frontline states.

Faced with widespread unrest inside South Africa, the government seems intent on crushing the ANC - which it blames for the unrest.

Unable to track down the ANC inside South Africa, Pretoria has taken aim at the ANC in neighbouring states.

The aim of the Gaborone raid, said Pik Botha, was the destruction of ANC bases and guerrillas. It failed. At least eight of the victims were not linked to the ANC.

POLICING

THE ANC

Another aim, not admitted so openly, was to pressure the Botswana government into policing the ANC there, and limit its presence to a token one. The Nkomati Accord achieved this in Mozambique: before Nkomati, the Frelimo government allowed the ANC unrestricted refuge. The ANC presence now is ten diplomats.

But the Botswana government has given repeated assurances to South Africa that the ANC is not allowed to use the territory to launch attacks on South Africa.

And Botswana has refused to be forced into Nkomati-type pacts. Quett Masire, President of Botswana, has spoken out against Pik Botha's pressuring of Botswana. And he has warned the international community that without extensive economic and diplomatic aid, Botswana may be forced to give in.

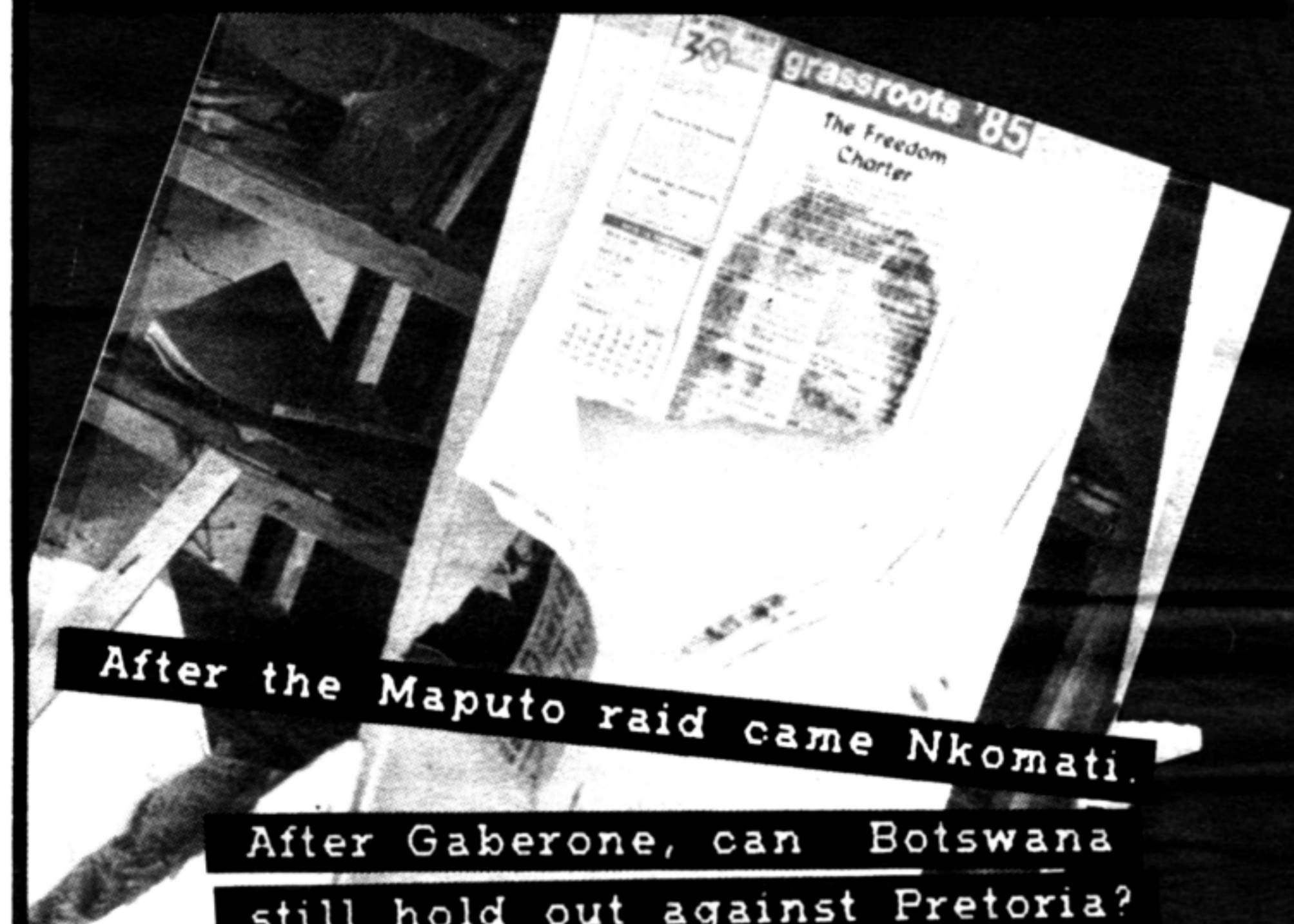
"If we do not continue to analyse and criticise the causes of the South African conflict, and the problems there continue, what purpose will be served by signing a military pact?" Masire asked.

But Pretoria seems to see the issue differently. It is intent on waging a strategic war on the supply lines and bases of the ANC.

More than that, South Africa is out to prove its power in the sub-continent, and demoralise neighbouring states into believing that their only future lies in co-operation with Pretoria.



ON THE FRONTLINE



After the Maputo raid came Nkomati.

After Gaborone, can Botswana still hold out against Pretoria?



The strategies it uses are both economic and military. It aims to deny the ANC access to South Africa via the frontline states, and to force these states to police the ANC's activities there.

Zimbabwe faces economic strangulation if it allows the ANC more than a diplomatic presence. South Africa proved this very simply last year when it temporarily withdrew all its railway trucks from Zimbabwe, crippling their supply of food, fuel and goods.

Mozambique was forced by MNR's violence to sign the Nkomati Accord. In return, South Africa promised to stop supporting for MNR. But MNR activity has since increased - destabilising not only Mozambique, but states dependent on its transport links.

Angola and Botswana pay a high price for their refusal to bow down

to Pretoria's demands. They realise that until there is fundamental change in South Africa, there will be no peace in the sub-continent.

With South Africa's help, Savimbi's Unita has devastated much of Angola.

REGIONAL
SUPERPOWER

And with the Gaborone raid, it seems there is no limit to the price the government will pay to secure its position as regional superpower.

The raid followed South Africa's abortive Cabinda raid, a month after the government said it had finally withdrawn all SADF troops from the territory.

The SA government claims the SADF mission was an intelligence operation aimed at gathering information on ANC bases there.

But at a recent press conference on ANC activity in Angola, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi displayed maps showing all ANC bases in Angola. There are none near Cabinda.

Angola rejects South Africa's claim, and says the mission was intercepted while preparing to blow up a section of the vast Cabinda oil complex. Captain Wynand du Toit, the captured commando leader, confirmed this.

Had the mission been successful, some believe Unita would have claimed responsibility. It would have been a major victory for this ally of South Africa, which is intent on bringing the MPLA government to its knees.

HEARTS
AND MINDS
CAMPAIGN

The South African Defence Force claims it is winning its hearts and minds campaign, and its war, against Swapo in Namibia.

With a little more pressure from Angola, South Africa seems to believe Swapo may abandon guerrilla struggle, and opt for a political campaign to win Namibian independence instead.

Pressure on Swapo from Angola could have been a possibility if the Cabinda raid had worked. With Angola's oil-based economy severely dented, the MPLA would have been weaker - and Savimbi's claim to a powerful seat in a new non-socialist and anti-Swapo government would have been that much stronger.

And with the installation of the new puppet Multi Party Conference (MPC) government in Windhoek last month, South Africa may have been planning the political structure into which a crippled Swapo might be forced.

Recognition of Swapo, a key issue under UN Resolution 435, would no longer be a problem for South Africa if Swapo joined the internal settlement.

But South Africa's strategy has suffered a temporary setback.

The Cabinda raid came days before the longest diplomatic attack on any country ever in the United Nations, when the General Assembly spent a week discussing South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia - with debates fuelled by international outrage over the Gaborone raid.

The government claims the Gaborone raid was a reprisal for the attacks on two members of the tri-cameral parliament. But even if the ANC was responsible - which it denies - how does one explain the timing of the Gaborone raid - * days before June 16 commemorations around the country; * days before the ANC's second ever conference in exile; * during the UN debate on Namibia; * while the Reagan administration is trying to prop up its crumbling 'constructive engagement' policy; * and while the Foreign Affairs department is trying to convince Frelimo of its peaceful intentions in the region?

One can only conclude that the costs of the raid had been assessed. It was a show of force in the face of attack.

The government has shown it will stop at nothing to achieve its goals. Time alone will tell whether it succeeds.