



**Zinzi Mandela speaks about the struggle for Democracy**



**Municipal Workers Union back in action**

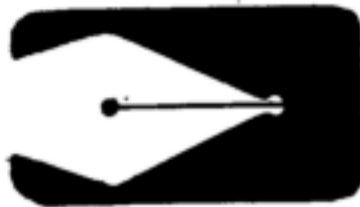
• See page 4



**Oscar Mpetha: a working class hero on trial**

• See page 5

**SASPU**



# NATIONAL

A SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS PRESS UNION PUBLICATION

VOL.2 NO.2 MARCH 1981

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Oscar Mpetha, 71-year old Cape Town community and trade union leader, is appearing together with 17 younger men on charges of terrorism and attempted murder. The events in which they were allegedly involved took place during the unrest surrounding the boycotts of buses and schools in Cape Town last year. A large crowd gathered in the foyer of the Supreme Court an

hour before the trial opened on the first day. The accused could be heard singing and drumming on the sides of the van in which they were brought to the court. As the court doors opened, the crowd surged forward and packed the gallery, with many people forced to stay outside for lack of room.

As the accused were led into the dock the crowd greeted them with clenched fists and cries of "Amandla". Oscar Mpetha, looking very much the part of a leader who has waged a tireless fight for a democratic South Africa, turned to greet the crowd with a salute. The gallery spontaneously broke into singing which only stopped when the judge, Mr Justice Williamson, and the two assessors entered the court.

As the judge opened the case, an elderly man in the gallery screamed out a slogan. He was then brought before the judge and, after apologising, ejected from the court. Mr Ian Farlam, appearing for Mpetha, told the court that the charge sheet was "totally defective" and "calculated to embarrass him".

He said that the allegations made against Mpetha did not provide the necessary particulars. Mr T.L. Skweyiya, appearing with Mr N. Willis and Mr J. Whitehead for the 17 other accused, said that their clients also lacked adequate case details. They called for the details to be given or the charges to be squashed.

Despite the large crowd gathered

outside the court on the first day no incidents occurred. The police made their presence felt by parking dog-filled police vans amongst the crowd. When the court adjourned the people who had squashed inside joined those outside in singing the national anthem Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

About 200 people then marched down Adderly Street singing. They entered the Golden Acre shopping centre shouting slogans like "release Mandela" and "we want to be free".

The police called in reinforcements as the crowd peacefully marched to the station.

The opening of the trial was also marked by demonstrations outside the South African embassy in

London. A strong contingent of British trade union leaders and four labour MPs joined a protest with members of the African National Congress, the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

A 19th person was brought before the court when it reconvened on March. The 17-year old youth, who cannot be named, claimed that he had been assaulted and was referred to the district surgeon for a report.

The judge commented that the scar on his face did not appear recent.

An application by the state to amend the charge sheet to extend the period of the "conspiracy" to cover the whole period of January to August 1980 was accepted by the court. At the same time, the state prosecutor agreed to supply the defence counsel with further detail regarding the charges themselves. None of the accused was asked to plead.

At the end of the second day people poured out to the court building a once again joined those waiting outside in singing the national anthem. A column of 400 people marched from the courts, displaying placards like "Botha is terrorist" and "release Mpetha and Mandela, our leaders and our brothers".

Police moved in to disperse the crowd with dogs and arrested several people, who were later released on bail. The column eventually regrouped and marched peacefully to the station.

The trial of Oscar Mpetha and 17 others has begun on a dramatic note. It promises to be a clear demonstration of the support which leaders like Oscar Mpetha enjoy.

## Berger, Pillay found guilty

GUY Berger and Devan Pillay — the Rhodes lecturer and student on trial — were found guilty on charges under the Internal Security Act and Publications Act on Monday.

Sentence had not yet been passed at the time of going to press. Both were found guilty of being members of the ANC and furthering its aims, and of possessing and distributing undesirable and banned publications — but were acquitted on a count of furthering the aims of communism and on a count under the Publications Act.

Berger was also acquitted on a charge of having gathered information about trade unions which could have been of use to the ANC.

Students filled the gallery as judgement was passed in full court on the two men.

Passing judgement, the magistrate, Mr J B Robinson, said the evidence of Professor C J Van Der Merwe of Rand Afrikaans University on the history and background of the ANC had been "convincing and impressive".

Mr Robinson said Mr A, the mystery witness and agent of the National Intelligence Service who had told the court he had acted as an ANC courier while a student, had been "truthful and honest". He said Captain Craig Williamson's evidence had been "credible in all respects". He had undoubtedly penetrated the heart of the ANC.

Mr Robinson said the ANC and the SACP were very similar. They both desired to destroy the present government, by armed revolution.

He said that it could be concluded that the South African Congress of

Trade Unions (Sactu) served as a base for recruiting ANC members as there was no provision in the ANC constitution for a military wing, and that the overall aims of Sactu were those of the ANC.

He said the court was fully satisfied that Berger had been fully aware he had been taking part in ANC activities, and he had admitted possessing and distributing undesirable literature.

Pillay had admitted to taking part in ANC activities as well as possessing and distributing undesirable literature.

Professors Terence Beard and Les Switzer, of the Politics and Journalism Departments respectively gave evidence in mitigation. Ms Nancy Charton, a senior lecturer in Political Studies at Rhodes also gave evidence.

Professor Beard described Berger

as "warm-hearted, generous and compassionate almost to a fault. If anyone was in trouble he would help them by going fully into their circumstances," he said. Ms Nancy Charton said he was "very intelligent and conscientious. He was and still is, a most promising academic," she said. "He matured in the most marvellous way and would listen to all points of view," she said.

Prof Les Switzer said Berger gave a "variety of points of view" in his lectures.

"He was extremely generous, helping Africans to get their matric."

Giving evidence in mitigation on Tuesday, Berger told the court it was his interest in those "who were deprived but did not sit back and accept their fate" which led to his interest in resistance organisations.

• to page 3

• see page 5





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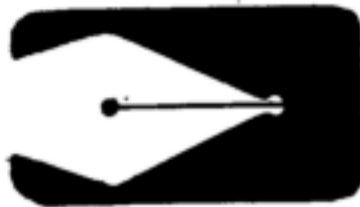
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• to page 3

• see page 5



# Durban activist Mkhize hit by yet another banning order

FLORENCE MKHIZE, a well known campaigner of human rights has been handed her third banning order.

Ms Mkhize has a long political background as a member of the now banned African National Congress.

She was also the Natal Provincial secretary of the South African Women's Federation and a founder member of the Natal-based Release Mandela Committee.

Ms Mkhize was born in Umlazi, Durban on November 6, 1936 and joined the ANC as a teenager in 1955. She took part in the first demonstration against Bantu Education when in 1955 thousands of people marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria demanding to speak to Dr Hendrick Verwoerd, who refused to speak to the deputation as there were Indians and whites amongst them.

In 1956 she was the leader of the Natal delegation and the Organiser of the Womens League of the ANC

in Natal in the mass demonstration of over 20 000 women against the extension of passes to African women. In 1957 she was one of the 262 women arrested for protesting against passes outside the Native Commissioner's office in Harrismith.

In 1962 she was handed her first 5 year banning order. She was arrested in 1967 for organising the Albert Luthuli memorial service and served 90 days in prison. In 1968 she received her second five year banning order.

Ms Mkhize's third banning order follows the stringent pattern of recent bannings. She is under house arrest and cannot leave her home in Lamontville from 6 pm to 6 am, and is restricted to her home over weekends.

Ms Mkhize, who has worked for the last 21 years as a seamstress, is the sole breadwinner for her family of four school-going children. Her husband has been unable to work for years due to high blood pressure.



FLORENCE MKHIZE — Durban community leader and political activist has been at the forefront of the struggle for Democracy for over 25 years. The state has now banned her for the THIRD time.

## Banned academic flees the country

A WELL known banned Durban academic, Govin Reddy, fled South Africa this week for fear that his five year banning order which was to expire this year would be renewed.

Govin Reddy who was banned in December 1976 under Section 9 (1) of the Internal Security Act worked for the Institute of Race Relations as a research officer from 1974 to 1976.

He was detained in August 1976 for five months at Modderbee Prison after giving a speech at Durban-Westville University where students

were boycotting in sympathy with Soweto students.

Govin Reddy was the former secretary of the Institute for Black Research, the chairperson of the Human Rights Committee and an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress.

His banning order forced him to leave his post with the Institute of Race Relations.

He subsequently opened an Africana bookshop in Durban but was forced to close it down when customs authorities embargoed his overseas books.

While he was banned the Minister of Justice refused to grant him permission to take up a number of job offers. Last year he was appointed co-ordinator of an African Studies course offered by SACHED in Johannesburg.

Despite representations on his behalf by Ray Swart, Minister Schibusch refused Mr Reddy permission to accept the SACHED post.

At the time he left the country he was the Durban representative for Ravan Press.



Govin Reddy

THE RECENT SADF raid into Mozambique, and the subsequent expulsion of US diplomats from that country, has raised speculation on the extent of CIA activities in the sub-continent.

"Noticias", the Maputo newspaper, giving details of CIA intelligence operations, alleged that a captain in the Mozambique defence force supplied the CIA with information only days before the raid occurred. It was reported that he was recruited by the CIA in 1979 and received bribes in exchange for secret documents.

The report accused the CIA of operating under diplomatic cover in Mozambique for several years, during which it recruited agents to

## Exit, stage right — Ron Reagan's roving goon-squad

supply information on military installations and economic co-operation with socialist countries. In the past the intelligence service informed the Smith regime and SA intelligence on Zimbabwean refugee camps in Mozambique, the report added. It also stated that the CIA was in a position to provide information about sensitive areas and locations to all those who are connected to it.

The American State Department taken by surprise at the expulsion of their diplomats from Mozambique, attributed the exposure of the CIA link solely to the presence of two US journalists and Cuban intelligence men in Mozambique.

The report stated that the Mozambique security force was in fact instrumental in exposing the CIA's activities.

The two American journalists, Louis Wolf and Bill Sharpe, have

done extensive research into CIA activities.

In an interview with Radio Maputo they alleged that US strategy to get rid of an "unfriendly" state is to embark on a destabilisation programme in that country.

Such programmes often aim at crippling the country's economy by creating shortages of goods, usually essential foodstuffs, or paying

## Nusas, Saspu in solidarity with brave Mkhize

NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) and Saspu (South African Students Press Union) released a statement in Johannesburg after the Durban community leader Florence Mkhize was banned.

The statement was an expression of solidarity with Ms Mkhize and all those who have been banned for opposing the unjust system in South Africa.

"We would like to express our solidarity with Florence Mkhize, someone who has since the 1950's fought for a just and democratic South Africa.

"Her continued struggle in the face of state repression is an example and an inspiration to the student movement.

"As an ex-leader of the African National Congress Womens League her actions were guided by the belief that the liberation of women could not be separated from the liberation of all people.

"By banning Florence Mkhize for the third time the state is once again trying to silence the true leaders of South Africa," the statement concluded.

## Democratic SRC for black college

RECENT ATTEMPTS by students at the M.L. Sultan Technikon in Durban to establish an autonomous SRC, represents the first such move at any black technical college.

"The Leader", a Natal based newspaper has reported that students at the college formed a constitutional committee to draft a constitution.

The report stated that students had rejected the administration-controlled SRC on the basis that it "had failed in its primary duty of safeguarding the rights and interests of the students".

A speaker at the meeting said that "to adequately voice the rights and aspirations of the student body, we need a democratically elected SRC. A body elected by students for students. The present SRC is totally controlled by the administration and thus should rightly be called the administrative representative council."

Thanks to 'The Leader' 6-3-81.

## Triumphant Cape pupils go back to school

A VICTORY over education officials was celebrated by hundreds of pupils from Esselen High School in Worcester earlier this month with parties and chanted victory slogans throughout the night.

They had just won a battle for the unconditional reinstatement of themselves and a student who had been refused permission to re-register at the school for allegedly political reasons.

Juan Karriem — who was detained for a while by the Security Police — was refused permission to attend

classes after failing the matric exams at the end of last year. A student deputation, demanding Juan's readmission and the right to a democratically elected SRC then visited the principal, Mr NG Tobias to present their demands.

Three members of the deputation were suspended — and 177 students walked out of classes in solidarity.

When the 177 were suspended by Mr Tobias for their action another 230 students walked out of class. All were expelled.

The situation became explosive

when about 500 students walked out of another Worcester high school in solidarity with the Esselen students, according to an Esselen SRC member.

Parents and students stood together and refused to sign the forms applying for readmission to the school that Mr Tobias demanded they sign in order to be readmitted.

Several days later, after Mr Tobias and education inspectors had

refused to meet SRC members and the Parents Committee, parents agreed to a meeting with the school committee and Mr Tobias.

After pressure from parents, it was agreed that pupils would be reinstated without having to sign the forms.

Juan's mother, Mrs Karriem, told the press: "For months I have been fighting to get my son back at school so that he could complete his education. At times the going was slow, but now we have come out tops."

people in strategic positions to strike as was the case with truck drivers in Chile during Allende's government.

Propoganda is another weapon used extensively. Media under CIA control is used to shape public opinion. Bias is often implemented by giving certain "facts" and events undue prominence.

A pertinent example in Southern Africa was the coverage given Unita over other liberation movements, with activities being distorted to create the impression that it was the most powerful force in Angola.

Other CIA activities are more direct. The journalists allege that it has co-operated closely with South Africa.

In the 60's it helped the country to improve its intelligence service, and James Jesus Angelton — who was in charge of the CIA's counter intelligence, was instrumental in helping to establish BOSS.

In Angola, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique, it allegedly aided recruitment of mercenaries to fight the liberation movements.

The CIA's main involvement, they said, is to support the leaders they would like to see in power. For example, President Tolbert of Liberia came to power with CIA backing.



• from page 1

He said he had initiated the Delta society at Rhodes to provide self-help projects for underprivileged communities.

There had been a society project on the Thornhill community, and he and others taught black children about nature, and that "there was more to life than discotheques".

From his own salary he had helped a number of black pupils through their schooling, and had agreed to sponsor a young student through Rhodes. He said he had never used his position as tutor, teacher and supervisor to indoctrinate others.

His goal as a teacher was to present a range of ideas.

"Every individual needs to make a critical and individual decision," he said.

Berger said his interest in the ANC had started with resistance. He had been very concerned with the social,

# Rhodes men guilty under Internal Security

political and economic position of others, "especially in Grahamstown which has a high rate of unemployment and is poverty-stricken."

"I became interested in the various ways they tried to oppose or overcome their position. This led me to the subject of resistance."

In his third year, he began to look at the ANC. "There was an increase in its topicality which made me wonder what this organisation was all about."

He had initiated two discussion groups at Rhodes, one in 1979, and one in 1980. In these the history of resistance organisations was discussed.

He said he decided to sever relations with the former Rhodes student living in Botswana — after a visit in June 1979.

He had supplied this man with information on trade unions, and had also given him a list of names which he assumed was for research work.

He severed contact after a friend who had accompanied him on the visit was detained.

He said people he knew fairly well were being banned and detained without charges being brought against them, and he regarded it as necessary to keep a low profile.

In 1978, a Rhodes student who had been approached by the National Intelligence Service — then Bureau of State Security — told him NIS suspected him of being involved in ANC activities.

Later that year a farm where he was staying was raided by police. At that stage, he said, he did not consider himself to be seriously enough

involved in anything to want to run away.

Giving evidence in mitigation of Pillay's sentence, his mother, Mrs Daynithee Pillay, brought laughter when she described to the court her son's love of music.

"He used to play loud and raucous music which got on my nerves. Then one day I heard sweet and melodious sounds. The music had changed."

She said after his father's death, her son had become remote and quiet. He had been headboy of his school in East London and enrolled at Rhodes after studying science subjects through UNISA.

She said her son had been an enthusiastic writer of letters to newspapers. A section of one of his letters was read to the court by Mr A Kuny for the defence.

Also giving evidence in mitigation, Mrs Valerie Viljoen, the regional secretary for the South African Institute of Race Relations in East London, said Pillay — who had been an assistant organiser of their youth programme — had an inventive mind, and handled the job extremely well.

He invited speakers to the meetings and would always try to present both sides in a controversial discussion.

Mr W F Jurgens and Mr P Crouse appeared for the State. Mr D A Kuny instructed by Andrew, Lister and Tucker appeared for Berger and Pillay.

At the time of going to press, the hearing was still in progress, but SASPU NATIONAL will keep you informed of developments.

# 'Unity now' is the call from Zinzi

ZINZI Mandela is not a bitter person, although one would expect it in a person whose mother is banned and whose father is incarcerated on Robben Island for opposing a system of injustice.

Instead she displays those features for which her family is respected, admired and persecuted — steadfastness, commitment and courage in the face of harsh repression.

In her own words "I still have a lot of hope ...it has always been my family motto to survive."

Zinzi Mandela has no fears for the future, only a single-minded dedication to work for a society governed according to the rights laid down in the Freedom Charter.

After a speech on "Democracy in South Africa" to a packed meeting at Wits University recently, Ms Mandela spoke to SASPU NATIONAL about students and the struggle for Democracy.



Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the jailed leader, speaking at a mass rally held at Wits last week

**Q: Do you think student opinion has changed since 1976?**

**A:** Obviously 1976 was a hostile situation. It was significant because it opened the eyes of white students. Some had previously been aware of the situation but the reality dawned on them. Some merely thought that it was out of control. For blacks 1976 hardly achieved anything, but I'm not saying that nothing should have happened.

**Q: How much community support has there been for the students?**

**A:** Community support seems to vary in different provinces. Last year the Eastern Cape, the Free State and Cape Town itself were more active than the Transvaal. Of course there is much more political awareness in those areas which have been more active. The more violent the situation becomes, the more community support will increase, and the more anti-government activities there will be.

**Q: Do you see the struggle as non-racial?**

**A:** Obviously there is racialism on both sides. It is a fact. There are few sections of the black population who are racists, but the majority must realise that we need each other and therefore we cannot be racists.

**Q: Do you feel it is necessary to create broad unity among diverse political organisations?**

**A:** I feel that we have had a lot of opportunists who have entered the struggle — people who see politics as a platform for their own advancement, people whose vanity drives them on. It is a question of 'united we stand, divided we fall'. The worst part of it is that our fighting is done through the press. We should be more diplomatic and dignified — the others do not need to know the details of internal conflict. We should solve these problems amongst ourselves and not in front of the whole world.

**Q: Why has this situation arisen?**

**A:** For a few reasons. After 1976, the situation had become competitive and unmanageable. So many kids emerged who had never expected to become leaders. They sprang up from anywhere because they were desperately needed at the time. People tend to think that after four hours of interrogation they are to be considered leaders. This feeling of importance is very wrong since it is a question of the quality of leadership that is important.

**Q: Since 1976 many organisations have sprung up, some not so democratic as they may appear. Could you comment on this?**

**A:** In time the undemocratic organisations which do exist will wither and die, for the reason that there is only one organisation that embraces the masses. These other organisations might at their inception have some support. But this is because people are always hungry for new ideas and methods. In time people will see that these ideas are not as effective as they may at first appear. In the long run it is the people's organisation that will ensure victory anyway.

What we were talking about today — total unity between progressives means that all people must start to work within one organisation. Democratic methods of working within this organisation become imperative.

It is thus significant that a representative of Azaso (Azanian Students Organisation) and myself were speaking on the same platform to a white university audience. It shows that some of the petty differences that existed in the past are being done away with.

**Q: What are your views on discipline, sacrifice and commitment?**

**A:** Our struggle involves a lot of sacrifice on the part of both individuals and the masses, but it is

from sacrifice that success will come. You benefit in the long-term from what you achieve in the short-term. Let me give an example — some people talk of sanctions saying that they would cause starvation and hardship. But with all the wealth of South Africa the blacks are still suffering. We suffer anyway and are therefore prepared to endure necessary hardships to gain our long-term goals.

**Q: What role do you see for women in political activity?**

**A:** It gives me pride to see that our women are standing up again — they have been silent for too long. They have had two struggles to overcome — one, to fight oppression in general, and the other to gain respect and be recognised as individuals, as women equal to men. It is a pleasure to see them coming out so strongly becoming so independent.

**Q: Could you comment on the trial of Oscar Mpetsha?**

**A:** Trials like this show that we are seeing the last kicks of a dying horse. Although obviously the kicks are still powerful, rousing the hostility of everyone. We are speaking to those in power and they are not listening to us. In this way, the

situation has not changed.

**Q: What do you see as being the significance of the Freedom Charter?**

**A:** The Freedom Charter is significant because it outlines democracy for the people and the future of South Africa. It is suitable to the specific needs of the country and is accepted as being so by the masses.

No alternative solution has been reached which shows that the Charter still has meaning today. If the Charter were adopted it would be the best solution.

**Q: How do you think the situation will change in 1981?**

**A:** I still have a lot of hope. It has always been my family motto to survive. Black and white students are moving together. The threat to the government would be more forceful and they would have to give in to more demands if there was unity among students. Fellow white students would have to educate each other and work on each other politically.

# Dramatic Src reshuffle on Dbn campus

IN A DRAMATIC SRC reshuffle at Durban University, former projects officer Julian Baskin became the new SRC president.

This happened after 6 members of the SRC had expressed dissatisfaction in the leadership of president Chris Swart, who has held the position since June 1979.

Chris Swart, who initially refused to resign, later changed his mind in the interest of the SRC unity.

The 6 dissatisfied SRC members has stated that they had had no intention of introducing a motion of no confidence in Swart's leadership, but had raised criticism at two consecutive meetings.

In a statement to Durban campus Chris Swart said that he felt that his critics "arguments were immature, contradictory and had ulterior motives".

He went to say that had he continued to be president he would "have been unable to be a healing influence in the situation — the calling of any christian".

He also stated that his resignation was voluntary and under no compulsion.

Swart who now holds the position of SRC Secretary, expressed his full support for Julian Baskin as the new president. He called on campus to do the same.

In a similar statement to the campus, Julian Baskin made it perfectly clear that the change of presidency was by no means an indictment on Chris Swart.

He went on to commend Chris Swart for his service in student politics over the last few years.

Baskin said that "the Nusas theme for 1981 is students for democratic future — with this in mind I hope that we, the SRC will move in a democratic fashion".

# Samora rations for Mozambique

A new rationing system designed to ensure an equitable distribution of certain foodstuffs now operates in Mozambique. It has taken a year to draw up the plan which allocates households to specific shops. The scheme affects 550 shops and 850 000 people and is designed to prevent people from hoarding or consuming more than necessary.

The distribution of rationing cards has begun in Maputo, and will later be spread to other parts of the country. The cards cover 11 items which are in short supply and includes cereals, oil, sugar and cleaning products.



# Three municipal unionists win Jo'burg garbage strike case.

THREE officials of the Black Municipal Workers Union, Joseph Mavi, Phillip Dlamini and Gatsby Mazwi, were acquitted last week on charges of inciting and participating in an unlawful strike.

The acquittal was heralded as a victory for black workers who demanded a fair deal in SA's labour relations.

Mr Mavi, interviewed after his acquittal, said that his immediate task was now to concentrate on his union's activities.

He said his executive would consult lawyers on the legality of the dismissal of hundreds of his union's members, during last year's work stoppage.

The appearance of the union officials in court was a sequel to a work stoppage by 10 000 municipal workers during July last year.

Joseph Mavi was arrested in the corridors of the Rand Supreme Court on 31 July when he attempted to bring an urgent application against the Johannesburg City Council and the Minister of Police. Union allegations were that the Council was deporting workers to their "homelands" under armed guard.

Gatsby Mazwi and Phillip Dlamini were detained in August last year and later appeared with Joe Mavi on charges under the Sabotage Act.

The charges were subsequently dropped and the three BMWU executive members instead faced charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act. They were charged with instigating, inciting and participating in an unlawful strike in the Johannesburg Transport Department between 25 and 28 July 1980.

In giving judgement Mr J.J. Luther said that the state had not proved that the action by the employees constituted an unlawful strike as defined by Section 18 of the Black

Labour Regulations Act of 1953.

The state's case rested on three meetings which were alleged to have taken place between 25 and 28 July which allegedly led to the instigation of a strike.

The state called six witnesses to prove its case. Transport Department manager Mr L W Petty; Mr Pretorius, a Department superintendent; two bus drivers, Mr David Nxumalo and Mr Majority Gonceka; an executive member of the BMWU, Mr Hope Mamabolo; and a cleaner from the Transport Department, Mr Jan Matsoya.

Mr Petty told the court that on Monday 28 July, he was called to the Transport Department where he found that bus drivers were refusing to work and were attending a meeting in the gymnasium. Mr Petty said he addressed the meeting and told the workers that the Council could not negotiate with them while there was a work stoppage.

He said he asked them to consider their responsibility to their own people and the inconvenience they would cause these people if the buses did not operate.

Mr Petty said he then left the meeting and returned to the scene later in the morning with an official of the council, a police lieutenant, and members of the riot police.

Mr Mavi was addressing the meeting said Mr Petty, and when he asked the accused why the drivers were not operating the buses Mr Mavi replied that it was because the Johannesburg City Council had refused to recognise their union.

Under cross examination by Mr E Wentzel SC, for Mr Mavi and Mr Mazwi, Mr Petty admitted that he preferred the Johannesburg Municipal Workers Union JMWU rather than the BMWU.

Mr Petty said that when the JMWU was formed in January 1980 the Transport Department had provid-



Joe Mavi ... Black Municipal Worker Union head was acquitted on charges of inciting a strike.

ed workers with free transport to attend the meeting and that he had organised for workers to have time off to attend this meeting.

He also said that the City Council allowed the JMWU to use the hall free of charge. At the time of the strike this union had only 40 paid members.

The BMWU, said Mr Petty, was only allowed to organise workers in the transport department while the JMWU was allowed to organise all workers. He added that the Council did not recognise the BMWU because it was not registered in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. He admitted that the JMWU had only been granted provisional registration by the 28 July.

Mr Petty agreed with Mr Wentzel that he had given permission for meetings to the one union and had refused permission to the other.

Two other state witnesses were called to give evidence of meetings where it was alleged that the BMWU executive had planned to call a strike in sympathy with workers dismissed at the Orlando Power Station.

Mr Hope Mamabolo, a member of the executive committee of the BMWU told the court that on Friday 25 July the strike at Orlando had been discussed and Mr Dlamini had said that workers would come out on strike in their support.

Under cross examination Mr Mamabolo said he had been

detained by the security police in July 1980. He admitted in court to having made three statements while in detention and that he had signed the third one.

He said that during his eight days in John Voster Square he had been assaulted. The police had used their fists and had banged his head against the wall.

"I only signed the last statement in which I said Mr Dlamini had said at a meeting on Friday, July 25 that there would be a strike by municipal workers," he said.

He said that this had not been in his first two statements where he said that the executive meeting on Friday had discussed administrative matters and had ended after the report had come through that workers at Orlando had come out on strike. The meeting then ended in agreement that nothing could be done to stop the strike.

The police could detain him indefinitely and "it was only when I mentioned Mr Dlamini in my third statement that the police were pleased. They released me eight days later without charging."

A bus driver, Mr Majority Gonceka said on Sunday 22 July he attended a meeting at the corner of Bree and Sauer streets where he found Mr Dlamini telling drivers that they would not go to work on Monday.

When Mr Gonceka was asked whether he could identify anyone else at the meeting he said he could not.

Mr Wentzel submitted that this was unlikely as Mr Gonceka was himself a bus driver and must have known many of his colleagues.

In finding the three executive members not guilty, the magistrate said the state had failed to prove that the work stoppage was a strike in terms of the Black Labour Regulations Act. Evidence led by the state pointed to the fact that the stoppage was a result of the council not recognising the BMWU.

The magistrated decided there was no state evidence to prove that the three men incited others to go on strike.

Mr H J Coetzer appeared for the state, Mr E Wentzel and Mr B Ansa instructed by Priscilla Jana for Mr Mavi and Mr Mazwi, and Mr R Mokgoatleng appeared for Mr Dlamini.

THE recent increases in teacher's salaries have not alleviated the worsening education crisis, according to educationalists.

Instead the salary issue has obscured the root of the education crisis which manifests itself overwhelmingly in the rejection by black students of the entire unequal education system.

While salary scales for black teachers are significantly lower than that of the whites, and the overcrowding in black classrooms masks a severe teacher "shortage", the fundamental problem is the same — the lack of control teachers have in the education process.

This has been distorted by the sectional demands of white teachers, most notably the Transvaal Teachers' Association (TTA), headed by Peter Mundell, a group whose escalating demands have centred around white teachers' salaries, the shortage of teachers in white schools and the "lowering of standards" that this is precipitating.

By posing the problem in this way, the TTA has served to divide teachers further along racial lines.

While the increases may have satisfied certain white teachers they not only maintain the racially and sexually discriminatory wage structure but also entrench the hierarchical nature of the education system.

The higher up the ladder one is, the greater the gain — teachers in

## Pay rises hide the real problems in SA's education crisis

category D, which includes those with the highest qualifications (four years training) received a 20% salary increase — equal for both black and white teachers and men and women.

The teachers who benefit least are those with less qualifications (A, AA

and B categories). These teachers are concentrated mainly in black primary schools. In terms of the 16 February announcement they only received a 12% wage increase, compared to the 20% raises for the teachers on higher scales, mainly

headmasters and heads of departments — although they all do the same work.

Essentially then, equal pay for equal work is not a principle embodied in the increases.

In addition to the discriminatory structure of the wage increases, lesser-qualified teachers are likely to be penalised further by the across the board 10% tax increases expected later this year.

Thus the increases have seen an entrenchment of the racially-divided salary structure within the educational hierarchy itself.



SOUTH AFRICAN ALGEBRA

## Two Cape Students held for solidarity protest at school

TWO student leaders from Fezeka High School, Guguletu, are being held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

Oupa 'Pule' Lehulere and Kent Mkalipe had only been out of detention for several weeks when they were taken from their homes late in February.

Both were acquitted earlier this year on charges under the Sabotage Act after having been held in detention since October last year.

Hundreds of Fezeka students demonstrated in the school grounds to protest against the detentions of their leaders and in solidarity with the 19 people, including veteran trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha, who are currently on trial in the Cape Town Supreme Court on charges of "terrorism" and murder stemming from the unrest in the

Cape Peninsula last year. The students say the detentions of Pule and Kent are in contravention of the conditions they laid down for the suspension of the school boycott.



NEWSPAPER bosses are planning an all-out strike-breaking operation in preparation for wage negotiations with black newspaper sellers later this month.

Negotiations between Allied Publishers (distributors of most major English-language newspapers in South Africa and jointly-owned by Argus and SAAN newspaper groups) and the newspaper sellers' union, CCAWUSA, are due to begin in about two weeks.

And already the newspaper bosses have asked journalists at SAAN and Argus in Johannesburg to "volunteer" as strike-breakers in case the negotiations break down.

Journalists at the Sunday Times, Sunday Express, Rand Daily Mail and The Star were asked this week to hold themselves ready to do

# Press-ganged by press bosses

emergency distribution "some time soon".

CCAWUSA general secretary Emma Mashinini said management's preparations were aimed at forcing the union out on strike. News of the preparations had come as a complete surprise, she said.

"We must discuss wages and union recognition first with management, and then report back to the workers. Only then will further action be decided".

"At the moment we are just looking forward to the meeting with management, but it seems

management is not preparing to agree with anything we will propose at the meeting," she added.

"They are just pushing their finger into us and forcing us to go out on strike."

The management move is clearly planned to weaken the sellers' bargaining power in the negotiations — with an emergency team of journalist and clerical-worker distributors, management can undercut any strike threat by the union, and can thus happily ignore demands for union recognition and increased wages.

The press barons have already had a taste of the seller's power, and they didn't like it.

In December, in protest over the firing of three colleagues and the alleged assault on them by the supervisor, the sellers went out on strike for three days, crippling Allied's entire Reef network. With Argus management at the time losing R65 000 a week because of the closure of Post by striking black media workers, the sellers' strike — and the resultant loss of profits — would have been a bitter pill to swallow.

Obviously the newspaper bosses have decided that, whatever their newspapers may preach in favour of union recognition, they don't like union, and will do whatever they can to smash them.

Besides asking for "volunteer" distributors, they have also initiated longer-term strategies to weaken the union.

The Rand Daily Mail has organised the "Rand Daily Mail Club" of white school-children to distribute its daily editions in white areas, and is offering substantial "pocket money" to their parents to use their homes as drop-off centres.

With this as a back-stop, the union's power to stop distribution would be substantially weakened.

# Mpetha's past inspires many to action

EVEN in a country like South Africa where political trials are a part of every day life, it is unusual that a man aged 71 faces a prolonged prison sentence.

But Oscar Mpetha is an unusual man.

He is one of the few true leaders of South Africa who has spent almost his entire life representing the demands and desires of both his community and the broader South African population.

Oscar Mpetha has not escaped persecution for his belief that the present social system in South Africa is fundamentally undemocratic. He has a long history of banning orders and detentions.

Mpetha was born at Mount Fletcher in the Transkei in 1909. At an early age he went to Cape Town to find work. He worked as a waiter and later became a dockworker, a hospital orderly, a road worker and eventually a factory worker.

While working as a fish worker in Laaiplek, he became involved in establishing the Food and Canning Workers Union. During the 1940's and 1950's the Union was part of the Trades and Labour Council. Within this white-dominated trade union co-ordinating body progressive leaders like Mpetha fought for non-

racial worker solidarity and organisation.

The Nationalist Government of 1948 introduced laws which drove a wedge between black and white workers enabling right-wing trade unionists to take full control of the Trades and Labour Council. They eventually dissolved the council and formed the South African Trade Union Council, which specifically excluded African trade unions.

Nineteen Trades and Labour Council unions opposed this new body with its Colour Bar constitution. Fourteen of these, including the Food and Canning Workers Union, released a statement in which they claimed that the interests of Coloured, European, Indian and African workers were the same.

They said: "...we the undersigned delegates are determined to carry on a struggle against the policy of racial discrimination and work to the achievement of a single trade union organisation embracing all sections of the working class".

In this year, 1954, Oscar Mpetha received his first banning order.

In 1955 the Food and Canning



Hundreds of people have shown their support for Oscar Mpetha and his colleagues. Members of the Mpetha family outside the Cape Town Supreme Court

Workers Union joined with other trade unions to form the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). Sactu was the first truly non-racial co-ordinating body for trade unions. It strongly recognised the necessity for its activities to be connected to broader political activities and therefore joined the Congress of Democrats, the African National Congress, the South

African Indian Congress and the Coloured People's organisation in forming the Congress Alliance. Sactu organised the famous pound-a-day campaign which ran from 1957 to 1962, and assisted in the anti-pass struggles of 1959 which culminated in the incidents at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960 where approximately 70 people were killed.

Oscar Mpetha remained active throughout this period. In 1959 he became the president of the Cape Town branch of the African National Congress.

However he was severely limited by a second banning order in 1959 and his detention during the "state of emergency" which followed the events at Sharpeville and Langa.

The years 1960 to 1964 were difficult ones for the trade union movement. Hundreds of trade union officials and political leaders were banned and detained, forcing Sactu to become an underground organisation. Individual Sactu unions, like the Food and Canning Union survived and continued to function as legal organisations.

In 1976 and 1977 apartheid was once again in crisis with thousands of students and workers participating in riots and stay-aways.

During this period Oscar Mpetha was a founding member and chairperson of the Nyanga Residents' Association. In this capacity he gave evidence to the Cillie Commission of Enquiry in 1977, in which he claimed that police had shot at Nyanga residents and actually attacked them inside their homes.

In 1978 Mpetha rejoined the Food and Canning Workers' Union as an organiser. He contributed to the victory of the union in the Fattis and Monis strike of 1979 in which people throughout the country boycotted Fattis and Monis products.

Oscar Mpetha has four children and four grandchildren.

"I am a woman and if I live I fight and if I fight I contribute to the liberation of all women and so victory is born even in the darkest hours."

International Womens Day is the day women worldwide express solidarity in their struggle against oppression and exploitation. Commemorating this, a meeting was held at Wits University on that day, 8th March, forming part of a campaign to make women more aware of their situation in society.

At present women's organisations are fragmented and need to be brought together to assess activities and direction. International Womens Day is an appropriate opportunity for this.

Discussions at the meeting centred on women in the South African context. A slide and tape show on relationships between black domestic workers and their white middle-class counterparts, exposed a pertinent distinction in the form of oppression affecting each group.

Despite their own oppression as women, white women are in a position to exploit domestic workers, who experience sex, colour and class discrimination. The vulnerable position of domestic

# 'I am a woman and if I live I fight...'

workers is accentuated by the isolation of their jobs which makes it difficult to organise collective action. Also, with restrictions imposed on their movement into urban areas, those many "unregistered" workers are forced to accept badly paid jobs and unattractive working conditions.

A recent survey of domestic workers in the Eastern Cape revealed that the average monthly salary for a working week of between 40 and 76 hours is R22.47.

Employers rationalise this by citing free food and accomodation, suggesting that the pay is merely pocket-money. However, the survey indicated that food is rationed and, for more than 50% of the respondents, meat is not included in this supply.

Living conditions are usually squalid and working conditions undesirable. Over 80% of those interviewed work during public



holidays, with no overtime pay, and few gain the security of a pension.

The absurdity of the "pocket money" rationale becomes even clearer when one considers the dependence of the worker's family on her wage earnings.

Ironically, some organisations which purport to represent domestic workers are involved in giving lessons which are designed to improve domestic skills such as cooking sewing and baking. This "how to become better servants" logic is obviously more in the interests of the employers than the workers.

The meeting ended with those present reaffirming their commitment to fighting for the rights of all women in the country.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY**

**MARCH 8th**

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY!**

Since 1910, International Women's Day has commemorated the struggles of women in the workplace, in the home and in society the world over.



SASPU NATIONAL

# Chicken or Egg?

THE Steyn Commission of Enquiry into the media opens that old who-came-first debate — the chicken or the egg.

Do the newspapers create negative publicity or simply report on negative situations?

Is it a case of journalists deliberately manipulating news in order to undermine the regime or is the regime scared of reality? Certainly the South African reality is pretty scary. But it did not get that way through biased reporting.

# Harsh realities?

The pure facts of the South African situation are damaging enough in themselves. They don't have to be manipulated to make an impact. Just take the total population and see how many have the vote. Then see how much land they have and how much they've left to the rest. Then see how much wealth is concentrated in the hands of this minority that has the right to vote and own property.

Look at the infant mortality figures. Take a peek at the figures for housing, health and education. Link those to who votes and owns land. The answer need not be spelt out. These figures speak for themselves.

# Evolutionary change?

Now you may ask whether a newspaper *should* report such damaging figures.

Will it not hinder the process of evolutionary change by creating a climate of tension.

We doubt it for two reasons:

Firstly, power-holders do not give up their power willingly. The advantages of being in power in South Africa are enormous, and if that means that the majority of the people have to be oppressed and exploited, you can bet that exploitation and oppression will continue. The only change these power-holders will consider are those that will keep them in power.

# Biased reporting?

Pressure therefore is essential to any process of change. Hiding from the truth would only increase the complacency of those in power. Secondly, focussing on the harsh realities of South Africa is important so that pressure for change can be built up.

But what sort of change?

For people to decide where to go and how they should get there, they need to know:

- what is wrong with the present system
- what can be done about it
- what sort of system we are fighting for.

This awareness and understanding can only come about if information about the South African situation is made available to the people. It is essential that aware people accept the responsibility of promoting awareness in others.

All of us are going to have to make difficult political decisions about our futures in this country. Let's at least make those on the basis of knowledge and understanding.

Silence is the response of the coward.  
Ignorance is the response of the fool.  
Let us shout the truth as one.

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# Neusa reacts to education crisis

IN reaction to the ongoing education crisis, the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) was formed to work towards a single non-racial education system.

Born out of a concern for their role and responsibility in the education arena, a group of teachers and academics met in May 1980 and elected an interim committee to recruit members for a non-racial union of teachers, academics, pupils and parents.

The National Union was formally established in June last year at a public meeting attended by more than 600 people. Principle aims were to focus professional attention on the country's education crisis, to form a non-racial South African Teachers Council and work towards a single, appropriate and equal education system. The danger of centralised control was another area of concern to the union.

A government body of 60 members was elected with Ralph Thomas as Chairman, Don Lowry as Secretary

and Ian McNeill as Treasurer to act as an umbrella body developing branches country-wide and co-ordinating and facilitating contact between them.

The South Transvaal branch of NEUSA is the first fully operative branch, with a programme to consolidate and actively involve members.

Drawing its members of 500 from the Witwatersrand area, the branch's policy is to develop a consistent critique of the present education system, and to participate in formulating an alternative democratic education system for a democratic South Africa.

A number of meetings held since the branch's formation in September 1980 culminated in the 'Weekend Workshop' during February, where ways of introducing progressive content into existing syllabi was discussed. Members decided that continuing workshops in the five subjects (Art, English, Geography, History and Science) would be conducive to developing in-depth

ideas on alternative syllabi

Forming the basis of this initial workshop was a paper on the 'The Hidden Curriculum', examining the insidious form of control, the structures, the assumptions and the social expectations which inform and reinforce the ideological content of syllabi in all South African schools. Discussions centred on the 'hidden curriculum' in the various subjects and the possibility of countering some of the structures of control.

Future workshops will promote inter-disciplinary work to exchange ideas and resources such as slide and tape shows, books, projects and themes. It was decided to introduce a newsletter to keep members an interested people informed on developments.

Through their projects, NEUSA aims to provide resources and suggestions for injecting progressive content into existing syllabi and working towards democratic organisational structures in education.

# Southern African Shorts

## Policy change in wage system

THE Mozambican government has raised minimum wages by half, but it has simultaneously lowered salaries for school leavers, a category encompassing all persons moving from studies to employment.

The policy change — a sharp disappointment to many students — is an attempt to reduce the difference between urban and rural wages and between manual, working class and white-collar salaries.

The largest group to benefit will be farm workers whose minimum salary has been raised from \$1.30 to \$1.90 per day. This is still not adequate for supporting a family, and the family or farm worker will

still have to maintain a garden to provide food. Nevertheless, the pay rise will make it much easier for farm workers to buy cloth and other necessities.

Most farm workers earn the absolute minimum figure laid down by law. On the giant state-run Boro-coconut plantation in Zambezia province, for example 5 000 of the 6 000 workers earn only the minimum wage.

Industrial workers will now have a minimum wage of 40c per hour, double the old minimum. The government estimates that 170 000 workers will benefit from the new pay scale.

## Massive loan for Kenneth

IN what promises to be a politically controversial move, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has agreed to new austerity measures in order to clear the way for an International Monetary Fund (IMF) credit.

Zambia has pledged to tighten restrictions on foreign exchange, raise taxes and reduce consumer subsidies — including those on staple food items — in the hopes of finalizing negotiations for a \$637 million IMF credit this month.

Anxiety about discontent over the situation, caused the government to recently suspend 17 labour leaders

from the ruling UNIP party, following criticism of the nation's economic policies by the trade union congress.

Zambia's economic plight continues to worsen, as the worldwide recession cuts into sales of copper and cobalt, its chief money earners.

## Charter for people's rights

AFRICAN justice ministers last week drafted a 'charter' for the 'rights of man and peoples' following a 12 day meeting in the Gambian capital of Banjul. The charter, comprised of some 68 articles, will now be submitted to OAU heads of state for final ratification. The justice ministers

## Calls for food follow famine

THE group of nations that straddle the southern rim of the Sahara Desert, an area known as the 'Sahel' held a summit meeting recently to discuss the threat of another famine.

Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Upper Volta, Mali and Chad are all calling for emergency food aid, after last year's drought provoked a collective shortfall in those nations of a million tons of grain.

The summit, jointly chaired by Aristides Pereira of Cape Verde and Seyni Kountche of Niger, laid plans for regional distribution centres to facilitate movement of aid away from ports to rural areas where it is often most needed.

The Sahel nations have been frustrated in the past with delays on the part of aid donors who tend to send supplies only after the need is acute and lives are being lost and who then complain about transport and logistics.

envisage the establishment of an 11-member commission to adjudicate any accusations made against an African state for human rights violations. Approval by a simple majority will effect adoption of the charter.

thanks to 'Africa News'





• Pic by Omar Badsha

1980 heralded the birth of a new phase of resistance. SASPU NATIONAL looks at the issues involved.

OPEN most South African newspapers on any day and you are likely to see some alarming facts.

Probably some six or seven strikes are in progress. Two or three communities in each major centre are resisting increases in rent, protesting the shortage of houses, opposing a decision by the local community council, demanding the release of certain detainees, or boycotting buses.

Add to this the picture of largely spontaneous resistance the fact that things are getting worse for the majority of the population, both economically and politically:

- Inflation is running high;
- The cost of living index has gone through the roof;
- The courts and prisons, schools and hospitals are hopelessly overcrowded;
- Soweto alone has a housing shortage of over 30 000; and
- The state response has been to detain and ban many of the people, who have taken up these issues.

### ‘New decade exploded with bus boycotts and strikes raging...’

Many point to 1980 as being a watershed year in South African politics.

The new decade exploded with bus boycotts and strikes raging in Natal and the Eastern Cape respectively.

As the new year goes on the tempo of resistance increases.

Factory workers — possibly inspired by the Port Elizabeth strikes — have become more militant.

There is not an urban area in the country which has not been involved in struggles against rent or transport increases.

Witness the lengthy bus boycott in Seshago, Northern Transvaal.

The boycott of schools involved even the smallest of towns on a fairly organised basis — such as Grahamstown, where resistance to state coercion against boycotters led to widespread violence and even death.

# Mass action mounts as repression rises

The free Mandela campaign took instant root as hundreds of individuals and organisations joined the chorus of demands for the release of all political prisoners and a move towards the democratic principle of the Freedom Charter.

Working class organisations increased. Civic and residents' associations spring up every day, while students and women's organisations are beginning to play more active roles in the community.

Factory organisations have also been on the upswing, and the more militant unions have won

management recognition, despite official attempts to squeeze them out.

What made 1980 a year of increasing resistance and expanding organisation.

Inflation is nudging 18 percent, and the cost of living has rocketed. Food prices have jumped 30 percent in 12 months — leaving the buying power of the workers' wages far behind.

And more people are leaving the rural areas in search of jobs which do not exist.

### ‘Food prices have jumped 30 percent in 12 months...’

Every wage earner has even more mouths to feed out of a wage buying a third less than it did at this time last year. And this after rent and transport increases have taken even bigger chunks out of the workers'

wages.

Still, history teaches that hunger and unemployment do not automatically lead people to resist.

The hungry are usually too busy trying to feed themselves and their families.

The unemployed are trying to find jobs. It would certainly be wrong to suggest popular resistance is based on the emptiness of people's stomachs alone, although that definitely plays a part in creating the climate for resistance.

People in South Africa have been hungry for decades. But levels of resistance have seldom reached current tempos.

Adherents to the “agitator thesis” must explain why detention cannot solve the problem. The school boycott did not end when many pupils were detained. Nor did the meat strike end when the organisers were detained.

Those who believe resistance increases in inverse proportion to level of oppression must explain why mineworkers or farm labourers don't revolt. It appears other factors are involved.

The seventies saw the re-emergence of legal black political organisations after ten years of relative silence. But they never really involved large numbers of people,

and especially never built up a large work support base.

But they did generate a layer of aware and active people who have played leading roles in political organisations since then.

The increase in political awareness was punctuated by the Durban strikes of 73 and 74, and by the uprising in 76 and 77.

Then came the bannings of October 77 — which cut dead most legal black organisations in which activism existed.

### ‘Awareness makes people resist, not empty bellies’

The Black Consciousness organisations had never advanced any systematic programme of action people could use to guide their political strategy.

The strategy of protests and polemic came under fire as leaders started stressing the need for organisations with strong grassroots support.

The focus now became the mobilisation and education of people. A clearer analysis of the situation was needed, so black people could aim their resistance at the key points of their oppression.

The workers and their exploitation were given more emphasis. The second-class status of black people was linked to the need for cheap labour, and people started talking about the leading role of the workers in political change.

Then came the Fattis and Monis strike and boycott. For the first time in years, worker issues spread beyond the workplace, and were taken up by the whole community.

It was an issue facing not just workers in one factory, but all workers and all oppressed people.

People identified with the strike and boycott politically. Pebco accomplished the same thing,

linking the community with the workplace, but took it one step further by organising in the factory on the basis of the awareness which had been created in the community.

The community organisation was the trade union, and while opinion is divided on the desirability of such a situation, it had the important effect of politicising worker action in the factories and the communities.

It also broke out of the pattern of elitist organisation. Pebco was not a paper organisation — it was down among the ordinary people, in their homes and factories.

Pebco also made it clear the civic aspirations of people in Port Elizabeth — which they were representing — were also political

issues. But they realised the political aspirations of the oppressed as a whole were represented by other organisations whose leaders are on Robben Island.

The school boycott the following year took a similar line. They took up short term issues, but linked these demands to the long-term goals of the oppressed communities.

The students realised these long-term goals could only be achieved through a total mobilisation of the people — in opposition not only to apartheid, but to capitalism as well. The boycotts — like Pebco — laid heavy emphasis on democratic organisation. This new strategy signalled the end of the protests and the pleas of the seventies.

The courageous but futile confrontation between children and armour-clad soldiers had gone. Instead were demands advanced by strong grassroots organisations with long-term programmes which centred around analysis of the key forms of oppression facing the people.

No matter what the state does to suppress the new mobilisations, the awareness will outlast any government crackdown.

It is awareness which makes people resist, not empty bellies.



# Transkei: The cruel truth behind the smiling faces ...



THE Transkei region — one of the most impoverished in the world — has been the subject of much recent speculation following press reports about an attempted coup, the death in detention of a cabinet minister and the neutralisation of a powerful opposition leader, King Sabata Dalindyebo.

As the first bantustan to gain so-called independence in 1976 under the National Party's bantustan strategy, Transkei is an important indication of what this independence means, in rural terms, for the forced citizens of this and other bantustans.

'Here, ladies and gentlemen, we have an independent national state.

Note the Bunga (Sorry House of Parliament). Note the democratic elections, the schools, hospitals, farming colleges. See the happy migrant worker returning from the mines with gifts for his family. And here we have the state president, Kaizer Matanzima — an educated native leading his people to the fruits of real independence.

But what is the reality behind this impoverished region's so-called independence.

Why did he choose to opt for 'independence' that year?

Firstly, it had become politically expedient for South Africans to persuade homeland leaders to opt for independence. Such a move would deflect the responsibility for controlling the unemployed and economically redundant workers kicked out of South Africa to a new frontline.

In this regard, the Transkei army and security police have been used extensively by the Matanzima regime since 1976 in the suppression of dissent.

Secondly, it was hoped that the approximately 1½ million

## To broaden his power base 'KD' must smash the tribal hierarchies

Transkeians living and working in South Africa 'proper' could have their political aspirations channelled into Transkeian politics. But since independence, and in the elections prior to October 1976, these alleged Transkeians have shown little or no interest in participating in the region's political intrigues.

The past four years have seen Matanzima and his cabinet involve themselves in often absurd contortion in their efforts to achieve the prerequisites of 'real' independence. If it wasn't for the fact that thousands of Transkeians are starving, and that the infant mortality rate in the region is 30% before the age of two, these antics would be laughable.

"KD," as Matanzima is known in Umtata, has justified his decisions regarding independence and co-operation with Pretoria by waxing lyrical on his version of nationalism — one that changes with the breeze.

He claims to be a Xhosa nationalist, with a dream of uniting

the Ciskei, the 'white corridor' encompassing East London and Queenstown, and Transkei into a single 'greater Xhosaland'. He saw a means of achieving enough political clout to be able to force Pretoria and the Ciskei into helping him realise this vision. A naive hope.

Independence, Pretoria-style, hit Umtata in a flag-waving, speech-making Uhuru celebration on the night of October 26, 1976. The same night Xhosa-speaking students in CapeTown marked the occasion with the most violent outbreak of unrest since June that year.

Since then, Matanzima, his multiple roving ambassadors and the cabinet have been waging an unrelenting battle for international recognition.

Transkei's attempts to gain international recognition for its independence after October 1976 rapidly degenerated into a farce. Initially, the public relations exercise was handled at a cost of

millions by the notorious information department. Since then Umtata has relied on PAC renegades, international crooks and its own inept department of Foreign Affairs to gain the recognition it so desperately craves.

As each individual involved in this campaign has failed to achieve the desired results, they have been sacked, detained and beaten. Most notorious amongst these is the case of one Humphrey Berkley — a former British MP — who, despite many promises and a substantial salary, failed in his task, fell out of favour with the Matanzimas and claims to have been beaten up by security police, locked in a car boot and dumped on the South African side of the Transkei border.

Another fiasco was the Ecuador affair in 1977. The National Assembly was interrupted in session by a group of 'honoured guests' from Ecuador. Announcing their visit as an 'historic occasion', KD told the House that: 'On this day, in the full glare of all humanity, the free and sovereign people of Ecuador and Transkei have found each other.' Leader of the Ecuador

delegation, one vice-admiral Mino, extended his President's greetings and praised Transkei's crusade for conquest of your sovereignty.

## Matanzima and the security police took immediate repressive action

However, the Ecuador Foreign Minister later emphatically denied that their government had accredited any delegation to Transkei and remained firmly in support of the UN resolution forbidding the recognition of bantustan independence.

That, more or less, summed up the position of the rest of the world ...

Transkei has also engaged itself in a fight for economic independence from the rest of South Africa — more on the level of public relations than anything else, however. This fight has been hampered by many factors, on top of which is the fact that Transkei has only two significant revenue-earning exports — dagga and migrant labour. Almost everything else, including food, is imported from South Africa. Per capita income in 1976 was only R175 per annum, and per capita domestic products only R70 per annum.

While figures are not available for 1980, indications are that they are unlikely to have risen much and may even have dropped in real terms. This can be inferred from the amount of money collected in taxes by the South African government from the Transkeian government in 1980 is only R5.7 million per annum.

This drop was occasioned by the diminishing number of jobs for potential migrant labourers inside South Africa.

South Africa has to date subsidized Umtata to the tune of R231 million for 1980/81 — almost double the 1976 amount — and this without considering additional income

expected to derive from the customs revenue pool, monetary agreement and the agreement regarding the development of certain areas.

Thus Transkei has come increasingly to rely on South Africa for its budgetary needs.

From 1976 to 1980 Pretoria has given, visibly, about R1 024.4 million to Umtata. This massive subsidization is evidence that Transkei does not have an economy of its own, but is an integral part of the South African economy (when taken in conjunction with figures relating to employment of Transkeians in migrant and contract work inside South Africa).

A new trend in this regard may become evident in the near future as the South African government intensifies its efforts to create a privileged middle-class in the region in line with the 'constellation' of states and 'total' strategies.

If independence has been such a farce, who has benefitted? Firstly, Pretoria, for independence has facilitated the smooth control of the working class from the region. The South African business sector has benefitted too, for independence has meant that wages have been kept down and trade unionism stifled. In Transkei itself, Matanzima and his fellow-travellers in the TNIP have reaped ample material reward as well as virtually unlimited control over the destinies of 'their people'. Independence has seen, too, the growth of a new elite inside the region. In addition to the existing elite of chiefs and headmen, a new class has emerged — one that South Africa wishes to stimulate still to cater for the interests of the new trading class

## Transkei's two main exports are dagga and migrant labour

The TNIP, has been pressed to cater to the interests of the new trading class because of mismanagement of the Transkei

Development Corporation and allegations of corrupt practices in the granting of trading licences. The Matanzima power base rests, primarily, on a perverted system of tribal authority whereby 50 percent of the legislature consists of chiefs, whose appointment is dependent on the signature of the state president.

Consequently, the vast majority of chiefs — who because of an undemocratic election process are

## Matanzima and his multitude of diplomats battle for recognition

TNIP members — actively monitor 'security' in their region and are empowered to strip dissidents of their right to live in an area, confiscate all their property and raze their dwellings to the ground.

In order for the Matanzimas to broaden their power base to accommodate the emergent elite in the region, they will have to restructure the system of tribal hierarchies and land tenure. Such a process will, inevitably, lead to a new form of conflict emerging between the traditional and modern elites.

Political parties: The TNIP is the majority party and the only one allowed to organize without harassment from the security police. Its majority was achieved, with the active collusion of the South African government, through the use of irregular electoral practices, as well as the use of detention, banishment and other repressive measures in terms of the old security law, proclamation R400 and its post-independence successor, the Public Safety Act. Even in times between elections, these measures are used with increasing frequency and stringency. For example, during February this year, almost the entire executive of the DPP and its Youth League were held without trial for over a month. Because the TNIP's power base depends on the chiefs, the party is in turn dependent on the land tenure system that is the basis of the chiefs' power.





**A parliament, democratic elections, schools, hospitals and contented people. That's the official view. Reality tends to differ**

arena within the exile movement. Matanzima had driven his arch-enemy into the arms of the organisation he fears the most -- the ANC.

While the Sabata saga illustrates vividly the political level on which the Brothers Matanzima operate any drive through this bantustan will show the effect of the bantustan strategy on the lives of the people of the region. The effect has been brutal with high infant mortality rates; the absence of men from the rural areas (they have been forced into migrancy because of the unrelenting pressure on the land) and the consequent and immeasurable hardships women have to bear as child-raisers, farmers and labourers; the malnutrition, disease and starvation; the rape of the soil because of overcrowding and the inadequate system of land tenure, and the ever-longer queues of men at the labour bureaux.

What is the future for these people?

While the Matanzima's and their

## Transkei has immeasurable hardships for rural people

fellows-travellers in the new Transkei elite continue their bizarre games of repression and power-mongering, the lives of the people of Transkei can only worsen.

But there is evidence of a growing grassroots resistance in certain areas

of the region. In Eastern Pondoland -- site of the 1960 Pondo revolt against the South African army in protest against the Bantu Authorities system -- reports of armed clashes between local tribespeople and the police and certain chiefs and headmen are reaching Umtata with increasing frequency. Similar reports have emanated from Gcalekaland and the Herschel District this year.

While South Africa frantically tries to introduce the constellation philosophy and infrastructure in Transkei, and in the midst of increasing grassroots resistance, the brothers Matanzima continue their political farce.

About two months ago senior, and loyal cabinet minister in the Matanzima government Saul Ndzumo, died in detention after being held following his disclosure of an alleged plot to overthrow the Transkei government. No official inquiry is to be held into the cause of Ndzumo's death, for, in the words of George Matanzima, 'the post-mortem showed quite clearly he died of natural causes'.

The coup attempt was allegedly masterminded by security police loyal to the former Chief of Security Police, Brigadier Elliot Cwele (now in detention). The coup was supposedly abandoned after the dissidents failed to enlist the support of the Transkei army.

Clearly, dissent and active resistance is on the upswing in Transkei, and the shaky edifice of South Africa's first bantustan is crumbling on the economic, political and diplomatic fronts.

It remains to be seen whether Matanzima and his government will be forced to even further repressive and bizarre activities before South Africa finally comes to the aid of apartheid's first still-born child with the all-solving constellation of states.

The DPP is an amalgamation of three other parties, and is split into several factions; namely political opportunists like Stella Sigcau, who regularly defects between the DPP and TNIP; radical nationalists influenced by black consciousness thinking; and dissident tribal leaders such as King Sabata and some members of the Pondo royal families who have not been co-opted into TNIP ranks but retain affinity with exile political movements.

The source of the DPP's undeniable mass support base -- never reflected in elections returns because of practises described earlier -- is its unification of the two largest tribes, the Mpondos and Thembus under the leadership of Chief Sabata. This cuts across the ethnic wedges Matanzima has used to divide the opposition. It is unclear at this stage what effect Sabata's exile will have on the strength of the DPP.

It is worthwhile here to examine the Sabata saga in order to gain an insight into the political process of the region.

In October 1978 Sabata's Great Palace at Bumbane was raided by Transkei security police. Sabata said after the raid: 'I confronted the police and asked them whether such behaviour would be tolerated at Matanzima's Great Palace. They did not reply. I want to tell the people of Transkei and South Africa that for years now I have been the target of provocative government actions'.

'Since the early '60's my close associates have been subjected to arbitrary action by the government

## 'Coup plot' ends with death of minister in KD's prison

to make me a lone voice in Transkei politics. I want the world to know that I have been persecuted for my political convictions since 1963 and

have been ridiculed and humiliated even by junior chiefs who were government supporters. When I was installed as Paramount Chief, I became King of the Thembus from Lady Frere to Elliotdale -- seven districts. But because of my uncompromising stand against apartheid, I have ended up with only three districts and all of my faithful councillors have been in and out of prison. All along I have kept quite but now I cannot take any more.'

It was against this background that many DPP members were detained, banished and hounded by the Transkei security police. But by 1979 KD had, evidently, become tired of waiting to see Sabata's political influence removed from the Transkei scene.

He was accused of saying at a political rally that:

- he was Paramount Chief of Matanzima, having been born his senior and would remain forever so,

- Matanzima visited Pretoria at the insistence of the white boers and accepted independence on terms dictated by them,

- his house was taken away from him and given to a concubine of Matanzima's,

- Matanzima had an abundance of luxuries, while the people of Transkei have to eat shit in order to survive and

- That the Transkei is a pigsty.

The trial was postponed several times, and when it was finally held earlier this year, Transkei security police mounted massive surveillance around the access roads to Port St Johns -- the scene of the trial -- in anticipation of Sabata supporters demonstrating outside the court.

Thousands of pamphlets supporting Sabata and questioning the legitimacy of the bantustan were distributed in Transkei and South Africa at the time, many of which threatened violent retribution against Matanzima supporters for the way in which Sabata had been treated.

It was at this time, too, that almost the entire leadership of the DPP and its Youth League were detained by security police and held until the

outcome of the trial. Sabata was found guilty and sentenced to a R700 fine, or 18 months imprisonment.

The Transkei cabinet then ordered the Dalindyebo Regional Authority to discipline their King for his 'misconduct'. The Authority was

## A popular leader flees KD Matanzima's eagle eye

forced, unwillingly to fine Sabata R100. But the cabinet rejected this sentence and ordered the Authority to come up with a harsher penalty.

Faced with this pressure, the Dalindyebo Authority ordered Sabata's suspension from tribal office for a two-year period.

But the cabinet again rejected their decision, and on August 7 this year George Matanzima announced in a press statement that the cabinet had recommended to his brother that Sabata should be permanently stripped from the right to the Paramount of the Thembu nation.

In a press statement justifying this decision, George Matanzima cited

what he alleged were some incidents in Sabata's past which made him unfit to hold the leadership of the Thembus. Among these were Sabata's methods in 'getting himself circumcised'. Matanzima alleged that 'in 1948, very much contrary to customary practice, Chief Sabata got himself circumcised without consulting his guardian, Chief Dabulamanzi, and the Thembus, an act which infuriated Chief Dabulamanzi and the Thembus, but Chief Dabulamanzi was prevailed on to take no punitive steps against Chief Sabata'.

Matanzima also alleged that in 1961 Chief Sabata supported a motion on self-rule but soon turned round and supported the ANC in its opposition to self-rule. 'From that time Chief Sabata adopted a hostile attitude towards Paramount Chief K D Matanzima and started a campaign of insulting him at all the meetings he addressed'.

But Sabata rejected these and other allegations as a 'pack of lies'. He told how the circumcision issue had been used as a tool to keep him from assuming duties as King of Thembus. Sabata said in his reply that many Thembus had celebrated his circumcision.

'Three other Chiefs agreed to it when Chief Dabulamanzi ignored my requests to be circumcised. When Chief Dabulamanzi took the matter to court, he lost the case.' However, after yet another security police raid on his Great Place on August 10, Sabata decided to leave Transkei to fight on in the political



# Warning for power—elite — Duncan

WE HAVE never experienced a year than this one. It is useless to go on and on warning white South Africans of what they are doing.

So said Black Sash Advice Officer, Sheena Duncan, in her report to the organisation's annual conference.

Seven and a half thousand people who queued at the Sash's advice office last year, had to be turned away because nothing could be done to help them.

This is twice the number of those who had to be turned away in 1978. The reason is the increasing restrictiveness of the 'post-Riekert' pass-law system.

These cold statistics are the measure of the tragedy of black existence in SA at the present time, said Duncan.

Ironically, one out of every five people who are turned away from

the labour bureau to get registered are not allowed to work in them.

"Nearly all of them are landless, and have no other means of survival", the report continues.

"All of them come from places where there are no employment opportunities. They find a job, go to the Labour Bureau to get registered and are endorsed out. Labour bureaux in the Bantustans are being closed down and recruitment is being centralised at bureaux on the Bantustan borders. This makes it impossible for those who live far inside the Bantustans, who have to travel miles to the labour bureaux and who have nowhere to stay while they wait and hope for a job offer, they wait and hope for a job offer."

"Black people who have grown up on white farms are not allowed to work in town. They are categorised as farm labour, and whether they are employed on a farm or not, they will



"The most important point of crisis is escalating resistance"

not be registered in any job they find in town."

"Migrant workers who are caught up in the annual contract system are placed in categories of labour from which they may not change. Domestic workers must always be domestic workers. And cleaners must remain cleaners".

"We can only watch the anger and the bitterness growing as promise after promise turns out to be hollow, as economic boom brings no hope to the majority, as people are deprived of land and of all the right to participate in either the political or the economic structure of their country," Ms Duncan said.

## Here are the real facts

### FOREIGNERS

• There were 100 000 fewer foreign black people registered in employment in 1979 than there were in 1970, and 46 712 less in 1980 than in 1979. (Hansard 26-2-81)

### HOUSING

• The officially acknowledged waiting list in Soweto is now for 34 000 family housing units. The real need is very much greater. During 1980 the West Rand Board built no houses in Soweto. By year 2 000 an additional 115 000 units will be required. At present only 733 hectares remain for future development.

### THE JUNE 13 AMENDMENTS

• On June 13, 1980, amendments to the Black Labour Regulations were published which allow those people who have Section 10 (i) (a), or (b) or (c) qualifications to work in the Administration Board area where

they qualify without being registered. They can also register in another Administration Board Area provided they have a job and accommodation to go to. The so-called "freedom of movement" conferred does not help the family man who has no hope of finding family accommodation.

### THE RELUCTANCE OF THE AUTHORITIES TO RECOGNISE SECTION 10(i) RIGHTS

• The West Rand Board's bureaucratic obstruction as detailed in our last annual report continues unchanged in spite of representations to the Chairman of the Board and to the Director of Labour.

### THE KOMANI JUDGEMENT

• In practise the administration is frustrating the judgement. Every case has to be fought through all the administrative procedures, ends up being referred to an attorney and is

only won when Supreme Court action is threatened.

### CITIZENSHIP

• Since 1976 over six and three quarter million black South Africans have ceased to be South African citizens through the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda and a further one million will in all likelihood be deprived of their citizenship when Ciskei becomes independent on December 4, this year.

### ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN SOWETO

• The cost of most goods sold in Soweto is higher than in Johannesburg. For a substantial portion of the population living below subsistence level, this is a critical factor. The range of goods provided is also poor and means that most goods are bought outside Soweto.

## "Working class united in attack" — Sash

THE working class in South Africa has been prepared to attack all points of control and exploitation in 1980 as a result of their increased organisational strength.

This was the strongly worded message in the Transvaal Regional report to the 26th annual Black Sash conference.

"Students, parents and workers have united nation-wide to attack institutions which are designed to maintain them in their inferior position" the report continued. "In the first 31 days of the year 200 workers a day went out on strike. Students are still struggling for SRC's and an equal education system, while the state is blundering about trying to find ways to crush this mass revolt."

The report warns that the crisis is by no means over, and that many of the demands which the workers and students raised last year have not been met.

It goes on to say that both Wiehahn and Riekert have failed. "Riekert created a situation of 'pressure' on the rural areas and tension in the urban areas."

"Wiehahn is facing disaster with collapse of the Industrial Court, unrest from the labour force and resistance from trade unions."

"The most important point of crisis is the escalating resistance of the majority". Education, rents, transport, housing, resettlement, squatters, strikes and armed resistance are some of the examples of this listed in the report.

The report continues "In themselves this list is impressive, but not significant. It does not show the vast growth in organisational strength, and the marked increase in the awareness of the exploited majority."

The rents issue, the report feels was handled in the wrong way. Instead of taking the matter to court it was rather a case for the whole community to resist on the grounds that the rentals were above their means.

The schools boycotts on the other hand were an example of sound organisation. The students made sure they had the support of their parents and teachers which made for "more unified action".

## Paternoster fishermen struggle against company

AT FIRST sight Paternoster looks exactly like any idyllic Cape village — one of the most peaceful places on earth.

The villagers in this Western Cape coastal hamlet have lived in their seashell and clay cottages for more than a hundred years — a quaint sight to delight any tourist.

But behind this picturesque facade the people of Paternoster are waging a generations-old struggle that is only now approaching a climax.

The lives of the Paternoster fishermen and their families reflect none of the beauty with which they are surrounded. They live a life of low pay, inadequate company housing and a lack of bargaining power that traps them in a never-ending vicious circle of misery and dependance on the fishing companies.

They are tied in the fishing companies' nets in exactly the same way as the fish they catch are trapped in theirs.

Because their only skills and experience are those of the sea and fishing, they can only earn a living by working for the fishing

companies — it is no longer viable to live as their fathers and grandfathers did running small, independent fishing operations.

The fishing companies control the entire industry and are able to force the fishermen to accept their pitiful wages, knowing they have only fishing as a livelihood.

The fishing season is a short one — at best it lasts from November to March — and it is only during this season that the fishermen are guaranteed an income. For the other seven months of the year the people of Paternoster must scrounge as best they can to stay alive.

They can catch Hottentot fish — which will earn them between R2 and R10 a week.

They can beg for a shore job with the fishing companies — which pay little better because of the great demand among the fishermen and the shortage of jobs in this fishing-dominated community.

Or they can borrow money from the fishing companies — money which will have to be repaid from the meagre in-season salaries. This system of credit effectively ties the

fishermen to the fishing companies.

Even in season the workers in Paternoster get no pension or workmen's compensation.

They do get rent-free housing from the company — the land and picturesque cottages in which they live are owned by the fishing bosses.

If a fisherman loses his job — particularly if he loses it for complaining about his conditions of work — he loses his cottage.

And with no other accommodation left in what is effectively a company-owned and run village, most prefer to suffer in silence.

The fishing company owns the houses, but does little to ensure their maintenance. The houses have no electricity, no inside taps and inadequate sewerage facilities.

An additional problem is that with the housing shortage in Paternoster Bay, more and more workers and their families are forced to live at Vredenburg more than twenty kilometers away — and to pay from their meagre wages, for transport to and from the fishing centre.

Two years ago people decided they had had enough.

They saw housing as their most important grievance and decided to approach the Saldhana municipality to provide a housing scheme for the fishermen and their families to rent or buy their own homes.

Saldhana municipality agreed, but struck a bargain with the fishing community that worked out little better than their existing situation. In return for a Community Development housing scheme, the people of the area's two central villages would have to agree to be moved out of the area, which would then be reclaimed white under the Group Areas Act.

The declaration of Kliprug — Paternoster's central village — as a white area would turn the entire stretch of Western Cape coast, from Paternoster to Saldhana, into an exclusively white area.

To lose Kliprug would be a blow. It is more than a century old, and apart from people's traditional ties to it, their church, school and other community facilities are situated there. It also has the best access to the sea and protection from the

strong Atlantic winds in the area.

The option split the community. Another problem was the cost of this new housing. With the low fishing company wages, the people of Paternoster would struggle to pay for these new homes.

Saldhana municipality offered them a choice: either all of you move or all of you stay where you are. But with an imminent Group Areas proclamation of Paternoster nobody seemed to have much choice.

There is another possibility — raised ironically, in a report drawn up for the Group Areas Board hearing on the area. The people could stay in their villages and rent or buy their own homes.

The report recommends that the ownership of the land on which Kliprug stands should be ceded to the Department of Community Development at low cost. The company owning the land says that it has little value.

This would mean secure tenure could be offered to the residents, including the possibility of renting or buying their homes.





Part of the crowd of over 900 people who attended a memorial service for the Matola dead.

# Mass meeting mourns the victims of the South African raid

A PROMINENT Durban lawyer and ex-Robben Islander, Mr Griffith Mxenge told an audience of over 900 people in Durban recently that despite the refusal of the government to allow the families of the 12 men killed in the SADF raid on Matola to bring the bodies back to South Africa for burial, and it's ban on memorial services, people would still mourn the deaths of their

We are here today to tell the government that we are prepared to mourn our dead. They are not terrorists. They are our heroes", Mr Mxenge said.

The memorial service was first planned for three weeks ago but had to be called off at the last minute due to the ban that the government placed on all memorial meetings.

The Release Mandela Committee and the Natal Indian Congress

called the services for the twelve men that died during the SADF attack on three houses near Maputo.

"The greatest enemies of South Africa are not the people on the borders. It is Apartheid. It is the greatest problem in South Africa. The South African Government has no respect for people like you and me", he said.

Mr Mxenge pointed to an empty chair on the platform which was for Ms Florence Mkhize had she not been banned earlier in the week.

"The things that she (Ms Mkhize) stood for cannot be destroyed by the government" Mr Mxenge said.

Mr M J Naidoo, the vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress said he wanted to join the families and the South Africans who had lost some of their brave young men.

"I did not know them personally. But we all know them. They were

black people who were denied their rights. They are our people, sons of our soil, our sons who we are proud of", he said.

Mr Naidoo criticised the way in which the press reported the raid by the SADF. He said that the people were sleeping in houses which were not military bases and the press should let the people know what is really happening.

"It is a crime to force me to starve to death rather than steal a loaf of bread, it is a crime not to allow me to live where I want to live, to educate my children how I wish, to be paid starvation wages and it is criminal to kill our children", Mr Naidoo said.

"We have an enemy which is criminal, who will have to pay for it. The major criminal in South Africa is the South African government and we have no fear that the



Griffiths Mxenge, Durban lawyer and ex Robben Islander, speaks at the memorial service.

criminal will brought to book", he said.

Mr T Khumalo, a Durban Trade Unionist, said that it is important that people of different races stand together and become one.

"The spirits of our brothers and sisters, both alive and dead, must come together. If this shall be done, we shall succeed", he said.

Other speakers were Rev Wesley Mabuza, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Paddy Kearney and two students, one of whom had gone to Mozambique to attend the funeral.

MORE and more people in Mitchells Plain, a huge new housing scheme South of Cape Town, are joining a campaign to have the due date for electricity accounts changed.

Six thousand people so far have signed a petition circulated by the electricity petition committee (EPC) calling on the Cape Town City Council to change the due date to the 7th of every month. At present the due date is at the month end when money is scarce. Accounts are often paid late as a result and this means a penalty of an extra 10 percent.

A survey in 1979 found that 16 percent of the residents of the area pay this penalty. It is estimated that the City Council makes R2.5 million a year just from late paying Mitchells Plain residents.

"This racketeering must stop. The Council is making a profit out of people who are suffering hardships already" said one community leader.

Mitchells Plain has not been the successful, prestige project that it was intended to be. Small wonder: Is is a home ownership area while most people in need of housing in the Cape Peninsula are very poor and cannot afford to own houses. People are forced to move to Mitchells Plain because of the severity of the housing crisis. Low deposits are an attraction but people soon find that they cannot afford the high instalments when they have to pay transport costs and rates as well. A steady stream of evictions is the result — just after New Year 5 000 families were evicted.

## Residents blow a fuse over electricity profits in Mitchells Plain



### DUE DATE MUST CHANGE

The due date simply adds to this hardship, residents say. Payments itself is also awkward as there are only three offices where accounts are paid in Mitchells Plain, and they are open only during weekdays. By the time residents return home from work, the offices are closed.

The campaign to have the due date changed was taken up by the combined Mitchells Plain ratepayers Association (COMPRA) after a mass meeting at the end of 1979. For a whole year the City Council stalled — the matter was receiving attention they said. Finally the answer came: Mitchells Plain could not expect special treatment. Besides their computer could not handle accounts

earlier on in the month, councillors claimed.

At this point three of the five affected Ratepayers Associations, together with individuals from all the areas left the umbrella body. They were disappointed with COMPRA's handling of the issue, and set up the EPC. COMPRA, they said was 'not taking up the real issues affecting the people of Mitchells Plain'.

Since then, the EPC has collected signatures, held meetings, surveyed the area and published newsletters. Community mobilization has been extensive involving, youth groups, cinemas and religious leaders. A mass meeting is to be held soon, further steps will be decided.

### DUE DATE MUST CHANGE



THE ELECTRICITY WENT UP LAST MONTH — NOW THE EXTRA MONEY WE PAY AFTER THE DUE DATE WILL ALSO BE MORE.

WHAT IS THE COUNCIL DOING WITH ALL THE EXTRAS? THEY BUILD THINGS OUR PEOPLE DON'T ENJOY — THE GOOD HOPE CENTRE — NOW 7 WHITE BEACHES ARE GETTING FLOODLINES

HOW MANY HAVE SIGNED?  
4574 PEOPLE SO FAR HAVE SIGNED THE PETITION.

PEOPLE FROM ALL AREAS ARE VERY WILLING TO SIGN THE PETITION.



BURY DON'T THEY CHANGE THE DATE? THE COUNCIL SAYS THEY CAN'T GIVE SPECIAL TREATMENT TO MITCHELLS PLAIN.

WE SAY: WE PAY THE COUNCIL TO SERVE US IN A WAY WHICH MUST SUIT US.

THIS DATE IS ANNOYING WE DEMAND IT MUST BE CHANGED



ISSUED BY: ELECTRICITY PETITION COMMITTEE

Pamphlet circulated by the Electricity Petition Committee, a Mitchells Plain action group.



A LEADING MAGAZINE PORTRAYS OUR ANGRY ERA

# Sin in the sun with Zub Zub and the Coppers

THERE'S no more justice in life for lone individuals who wish to preserve what little sanctity that is left in our sabbaths.

Take the case of the poor policeman in Cape Town who tried to save the souls of 800 people at an open-air rock concert at UCT.

"Don't you know it's a Sunday?" he asked the heretic organisers. "Sure," came the answer.

With rising impatience and his halo fairly bristling, but his spirit ever strong, he shouted that not only was it a Sunday; not only did they not have permission from the City Council; not only had he received complaints from nearby, and not-so-nearby residents, and as if these transgressions were not enough, he had seen people dancing.

Undaunted, the sinners replied that not only had they the permission of their principal and that the University was private property, but they were having a gas.

## Debauchery

The spirit of even a saint can be snapped in such circumstances and the lone crusader threatened the full wrath of the police force if the debauchery did not cease forthwith.

Meanwhile, as the crisis was about to reach a climax, reason and sanity arrived in the form of Vice Chancellor Dr Saunders.

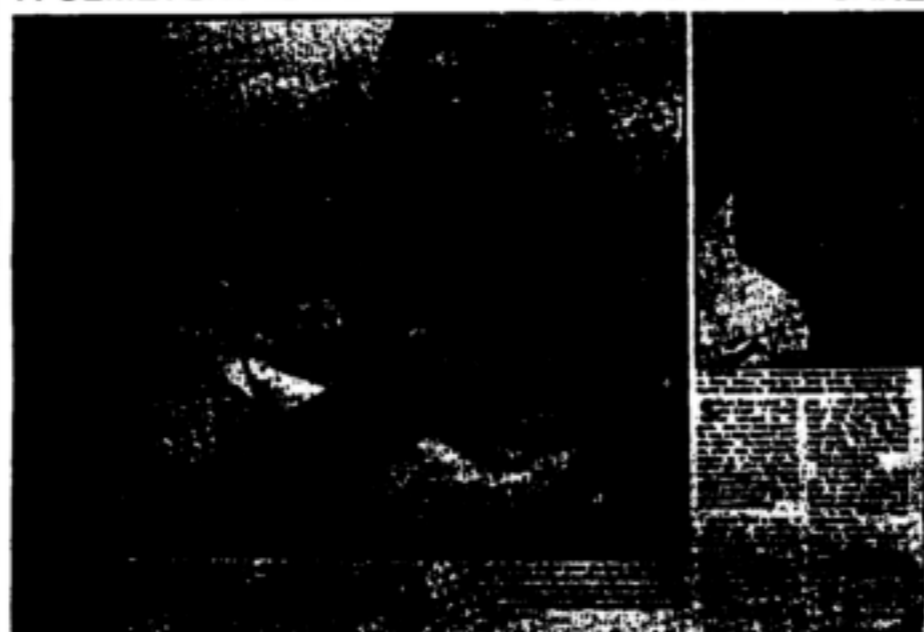
The good doctor suggested an alternate venue — the bottom rugby field. (can no shrine be left untouched?) and before long the philistine hordes descended below and began their music.

They danced away the night to the devilish sounds of Roger Lucey and the Zub Zub Marauders, the Riot Squad, the Spasmodics, Private File and even the treasonous tunes of the Red Army.

By 9.30 all was over and the sabbath was spared any further desecration.



A CEMETERY IS DUG UP — FOR PROGRESS SAKE



MOURNERS PAY LAST RESPECTS TO STEVE BIKO

# Five, sad, bad

To mark Drum magazine's 30th anniversary, a selection of photographs depicting contemporary history were exhibited at the Market Photo Gallery.

Receiving more media coverage than any other photographic display held at the Gallery, The exhibition is to be held overseas shortly. Photographers were Alf Kumalo, Peter Magubane, Mike Mzileni and the late Ralph Ndawo. The photographs, presented in a news context on the original Drum pages, covered a wide range of subjects. These are some of them.

THE RESIDENTS of Extension 11 in Lenasia have formed a residents' association to fight for their basic needs which are denied to them at present.

Residents, many of whom are from Pageview, are angry at being moved from their homes to a potential slum area in Lenasia.

Transport costs have shot up over 300 percent for most residents who work in Johannesburg over 30km away. Extension 11 has no basic amenities — there are only houses that have been shakily built.

At a mass meeting on February 21, residents attacked the government and its Group Areas policy.

Many felt that since nothing but houses were provided, it clearly indicated that the government was more interested in moving people from Pageview to implement its apartheid policy, rather than work in the interests of the people. Amongst their complaints were the following:

- Children are forced to walk over 4km to school — the bus service is totally inadequate.

# The mud-waders of Extension 11 say: Get it fixed

- There are no paved roads in the area. The roads become huge mudbaths after rains and many residents have had to pull their cars out of the mud. For those without cars it is even more difficult: Residents complain that they need gumboots to be able to wade through knee-deep mud.

Residents also expressed their anger at the fact that the school bus-drivers refused to drive on some of the roads, and their kids were often soaked when they got home.

- All the houses have serious structural defects. Although they are new, huge cracks have appeared on

the walls.

People feel that common sense was not used in the design of the houses. For example, they say the doors open outwards and can be easily broken open with a kick; electric plugs haven't been installed in the kitchens and the electricity supply switches off if the fridge, stove and any other electrical appliances are used simultaneously.

It is clear to most of the people that the government cannot meet the housing problems created by its Group Areas policy and that it has instead built houses of a poor quality.



A poster clearly shows the issues involved.

A resident commented: "Our so-called slum houses in Pageview were still solid structures after 60 years, but our new houses in Lenasia have serious leaks and cracks after only a few months."

At the mass meeting where the Extension 11 Residents' Association was formed, posters attacking the South African Indian Council (SAIC), the Lenasia Management Committee (LMC), and Mr Dennis Pillay, its chairperson, clearly indicated the residents were tired of promises given by those who toe the government line.

The chairperson of the Thomsville Residents' Association also spoke at the meeting. He told how his people had been promised better housing for more than 20 years, and how the LMC had done nothing about their slum conditions in all that time.

A member of the audience stood up to say it was not surprising that Mr Pillay was now a member of the SAIC — he had accepted nomination by the government whose interests he served.

It is clear that the residents of Extension 11 feel that their problems can only be solved if they are represented by their own democratic organisations and not the LMC.





LIKE A PUPPET ON A CHAIN ... POSTER FROM THE DRUM EXHIBITION



A KNIFEMAN STABS HIS VICTIM AT A SOCCER MATCH

# mad, glad years



A RITUAL MURDERER IS HUNG — BUT THE SLAYING CONTINUES

ART is a mirror of society — and as such is a political statement on the artist's social environment.

Opposing ideologies emerge in the artist's presentation of the work, as well as in the treatment of the subject matter.

The difference between art of a "purer", more abstract nature and that of a harsh social realism is often a reflection of the artist's class consciousness. While the former leans towards "aesthetic individualism", the latter embraces broader comments on social values.

## Simplistic

However, it is simplistic to limit art exclusively to these distinctions.

Rather, these viewpoints are the opposite ends of an artistic slide-rule. Somewhere in between is the niche of British artist Conrad Atkinson.

Atkinson, born in the mining community of Cumberland,

classifies himself as a "socialist artist". However, he has successfully married the styles of "high" and

"propagandistic" art, exhibiting his work both in art galleries and union halls.

Like other artists on the "left", Atkinson's work is a means of social criticism and the issues he picks are highly controversial.

His subjects range from the particular to the universal — from a factory strike in his home town of Cleaton Moor, to the impact of western capitalism on the food supply of the Third World.

Familiar elements of popular culture, for instance, newspaper clippings, find their way easily into his work.

## Technique

In a piece commissioned by the Irish Council of Trade Unions and

the Northern Irish Arts Council in 1975, Atkinson involved himself with the people closest to the core of the country's conflict. The work consists of a series of traditional photographs of smoking buildings and the graffiti of resistance that features in the violence of everyday life.

## Pure profit

Accompanying the photographs are printed articles and documents from Catholic, Protestant, and British factions, the information graphically indexed according to the orange, green and white colours of the Irish Republic flag.

The same technique is used in another work in which information on the Biko affair appears on a black panel.

His "Asbestos" (1978) focuses on the case of a British worker who died from asbestos poisoning. Again the printed word is incorporated —

Government reports and testimonies and articles as well as dangerous asbestos products sealed in plastic bags. The red, pink, gray and black colours are arranged in the form of a pair of human lungs. He presents a case against the pure profit motive by going into its effects on the lives of ordinary working people.

## Crises

Atkinson does not merely relate the crises of British working class life. Instead he collects and re-organises information into a coherent whole, so that the force of

facts is directed against frustrating everyday injustices.

## Voyeur

While his innovative techniques and sophisticated approach make his work still acceptable as fine art, it nonetheless sparks off an immediate reaction in the onlooker. As a result, Atkinson's work is written about more in the daily press than in art journals.

Conrad Atkinson's radical methods enable him to escape the trap so many artists today face — the role of the voyeur who interprets the world without seeing the possibility of changing it. For him, art is a weapon to expose the lack of control ordinary people have over their own lives.

# Art — a political statement that should be used to expose flaws in society



# Bantustans the target for spreading killer germ

CHOLERA struck South Africa last year, and the Department of Health has now identified a number of "receptive areas" in which the disease is likely to spread this year — the homelands.

The first documented case was disclosed at the end of September last year, and since then more than 1 800 cases have been proved and more than 30 people have died.

Cholera is important — not only because it is a killer. It is a clear indicator of poor sanitary and living conditions.

It usually occurs in areas which have become impoverished, and has rightly been called a disease of under-development.

Other diseases of underdevelopment — such as tuberculosis, typhoid fever and malnutrition — usually occur in areas where traditional subsistence economies have been partially or totally destroyed. In South Africa, for example, by the migrant labour system.

The industrial development of South Africa has demanded that people not immediately useful to the economy should be kept out of the way in the rural homelands. This has made it possible for the economy to develop at a much more rapid rate than if industry had taken responsibility for the families of the migrant workers.

The overall result has been the massive overcrowding of people on land that is too impoverished to support them all. This has led to the underdevelopment of the rural areas — a state of affairs made worse because the homelands have become a dumping ground for those who are no longer of use to the economy.



Young cholera cases .... victims of an uncaring system.

Conditions have deteriorated so much in the homelands that it is not surprising that homelands have become a breeding ground for disease.

The crowding of people onto small pieces of unproductive land has not been accompanied by increase in the provision of services such as a pure water supply and proper sewerage disposal.

Many people are forced to live in squatter communities and to get water from rivers which may have been polluted by cholera germs.

KaNgwane's Chief Minister, C J Mabuza said: "Some resettlement areas have no amenities, no running water, no sewerage system, no schools and no clinics. Many of the people have no jobs. Some people have to drink dirty water."

But the disease has not been limited to KaNgwane.

The epidemic spread first to the Witwatersrand — mainly to areas where living conditions are very bad.



Cholera-infested areas and the homelands — the boundaries coincide almost exactly.

Cases were also reported from Gazankulu, a homeland in the Eastern Transvaal near to where the outbreak originally occurred.

From there it spread to Lebowa — another homeland in the Eastern Transvaal, and then also to the

Orange Free State and Natal.

Since then cases have been reported from KwaZulu, Soweto, Eikenhof and other areas. In Lebowa, eight primary and secondary schools were closed because of the threat of the disease spreading further.

But the "receptive areas" designated by the Department of Health stretch from the original focus of the disease — KaNgwane — down the Eastern seaboard almost to Port Elizabeth.

Of the 1 800 cases proved so far, almost half were admitted to hospital. It has also been established that for every severe case there are 50-100 infected persons — which brings the pool of infected persons to a conservative estimate of between 80 000 persons.

The Department of Health further acknowledges that in order to contain the epidemic a massive onslaught will have to be launched

on the present infrastructure — especially in the provision of water supplies.

But until the causes of underdevelopment are attacked, the disease of underdevelopment will remain. And it is clear that any containment strategy will fail until radical changes are made in the homelands to eradicate overcrowding, poverty and poor living and sanitary conditions

**Correction**  
In the last edition of SASPU NATIONAL the story on typhoid in KaNgwane contained an incorrect statistic. It read: "nine out of every ten cases of typhoid recorded in South Africa last year were recorded in a tiny hellhole called KaNgwane."  
It should have read: one out of every five cases of typhoid recorded in South Africa were recorded in KaNgwane. KaNgwane has less than one percent of the total population of South Africa. Thirty people have died from typhoid in the past year.

LET'S face it, even if Danie Craven himself asked the Irish Rugby Football Union to cancel its forthcoming tour of South Africa it probably wouldn't listen.

The Irish rugby bosses are ignoring the massive — and growing — international outcry against the tour.

Their feeble excuse that the tour will help break down sports apartheid has been ripped to shreds by the Craven Week fiasco and the closure to black soccer players of stadiums in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban (remember last year's touring Lions said their tour would break down sports apartheid?) They don't seem to care.

Even the fact that the touring team will be — at best — a "B" side, following the decision by their star players not to take part, has left the Irish rugby bosses unmoved.

## Scrumdown over Irish tour

They are coming because they want to — and they don't care about apartheid in sport.

And they are attempting to defy world opinion because they believe they can get away with it.

Unlike most other sports, rugby is played almost exclusively in western Europe, the tin-pot dictatorships of South America and in the former British colonies of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Any international boycott would leave this tight little "club" relatively unaffected.

So the tour is almost certain to go ahead.

Equally certain is that the South African system's supporters will

cheer the tour as a defeat in the battle to isolate South Africa's racist sporting institutions.

But this attempt to win South Africa back its place in international sport has backfired badly.

It has sparked the most powerful international united front ever seen against apartheid and this country's sports policies.

• In Ireland itself more than half the population has expressed its active opposition to the tour.

• The Supreme Council of Sport in Africa has recommended that the non-racial, anti-government South African Council of Sport (Sacos) be

recognised as this country's official representative on the International Olympic Committee.

• The Council has also initiated at the United Nations an international blacklist of all sportspeople with links with South Africa's racist sporting organisations

• The world soccer organisation, Fifa, is taking steps to close the loopholes in its constitution which enable South African players to play overseas.

• Constitutional lawyers in New Zealand have complained to that country's Human Rights Commission that the planned Springbok

tour to New Zealand is in defiance of the International Declaration of Human Rights.

• A British cricketer with strong links to South Africa was booted out of Guyana in the Caribbean during a British cricket tour, and banned from playing.

• Three British tennis stars were arrested in Nigeria and deported after being held in jail overnight because their names appeared on the UN sports blacklist.

• Australia's Prime Minister Malcom Frazer has announced that the Springboks travelling to New Zealand will not be allowed to land in Australia. Frazer's government, due to host this year's Commonwealth heads of government meeting, and next year's Commonwealth games, is clearly worried by a possible international boycott of these events.

New Zealand Premier Robert Muldoon, while personally opposing the planned tour, has stopped short of banning the tour.

But many democrats and anti-apartheid activists are confident he can be pressured into doing so.

Decision makers in both sport and government in South Africa are not about to change their racist tune overnight. But the massive display of solidarity throughout the world will greatly help this country's non-racial, democratic sportsmen and women in their battle for normal sport and a normal society.

HETEROSEXUAL South African MP's find homosexuality considerably less palatable than they do lesbianism.

This would be the only explanation for the rather startling piece of legislation which makes sexual acts between males an offence but remains silent on sexual acts between females. The relevant piece of legislation is Section 520 (a) of the Immorality Act which should be expressed in full so as not to rob it of its thunder.

• 20 (a) (ii) "a male person who commits with another male person at a party any act which is calculated

## No way male gay

to stimulate sexual passion or to give sexual gratification shall be guilty of an offence."

The answer to that sacrilegious thought is "Nee!" The word "party" is defined in the Act as being any occasion where more than two persons are present.

But South Africa is not the only place in the world where heterosexual sovereignty so blatantly rules.

In England homosexuality was a criminal offence until 1967.

There is still a Catch 22 to the UK's Sexual Offences Act. Homosexuality is okay provided it is between "consenting male adults in private" — we can't see you we can imagine it is not happening, attitude.

In the USA — where the gay rights movement is at its strongest — it was only in the early 1970's that such an illustrious body as the American Psychological Association decided that homosexuality should no longer be classified as a mental

disorder.

A leading American medical journal retorted tongue in cheek, that "through one great medical breakthrough some 12 million fairly sick citizens have become well."

Attitudes to gays in today's nuclear age are still largely influenced by homosexuality as a threat to the reproduction of the human species

In successive stages homosexuals have moved from being totally unacceptable, to tolerable but sick, to a deviant group to be left to their own devices.



# Goodbye to the people's power

HAVING christened itself the "Council of the Revolution", the military clique that has seized power in West Africa's Guinea-Bissau is in the process of dismantling the country's revolutionary achievements of the past five years.

Although the "Council of the Revolution" is spewing socialist rhetoric and has given as its motivation for the coup the alleged increasing domination of Cape Verdians in Guinea-Bissau — Cape Verde islanders and mainland Guinea-Bissau jointly fought the Portuguese to defeat in 1975 — the take over appears to have been motivated by the same seedy, elitist self-interest of most Third World military take-overs.

Ironically, in view of Bissau's new rulers' claims to the mantle of revolution, they have in fact chosen as the main leg of their motivation

the self-same argument as the Portuguese used — unsuccessfully — to split the revolutionary PAIGC party.

The PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independencia da Guinea e Gabo Verde) formed in 1959 by Amilcar Cabral, led the people of the islands and the mainland throughout their struggle against the Portuguese colonialists until, with more than 75 percent of the country under their control, they forced Portugal to grant their independence in 1975.

Although the people of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau fought the Portuguese under the leadership of one party the PAIGC, and won independence together, they are still formerly separate. But throughout their struggle and since independence they have been committed to eventual unity.

Until the coup in November,

which overthrew Cabral's brother, Luis Cabral as Bissau's president, the PAIGC was the ruling party in both Cape Verde and Bissau.

Shortly before the coup, the people's assembly in Bissau approved a new constitutional dispensation which would have paved the way for formal unification.

The new dispensation would also have stripped Bissau's Prime Minister, Joao "Nino" Vieira, former leader of PAIGC's armed forces, of much of his power.

And it was Vieira who led the coup against the democratic and popularly-elected president and party of Guinea-Bissau — a coup which has been condemned by the PAIGC on Cape Verde as well as the other ex-Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Principe.

Already Vieira and his so-called Council of the Revolution have, behind a smoke screen of revolutionary jargon, begun to dismantle the progressive economic and political policies of their former comrades, and are easing into a private enterprise economy aimed at attracting substantial — and probably American or European — foreign investment.

But there are more complex reasons than some European-trained general at odds with his civilian masters' socialist leanings. Vieira was a leading fighter throughout the 16-year anti-imperialist struggle, and worked side-by-side with Cabral and others for a socialist Guinea-Bissau.

He seems still to see himself and his council as socialist (and will probably continue to do so until Reagan's boys get their hands on him); although the recent peoples assembly decision on increased economic and political democracy probably forced Vieira and his fellow-coup makers to seize power precisely when they did.

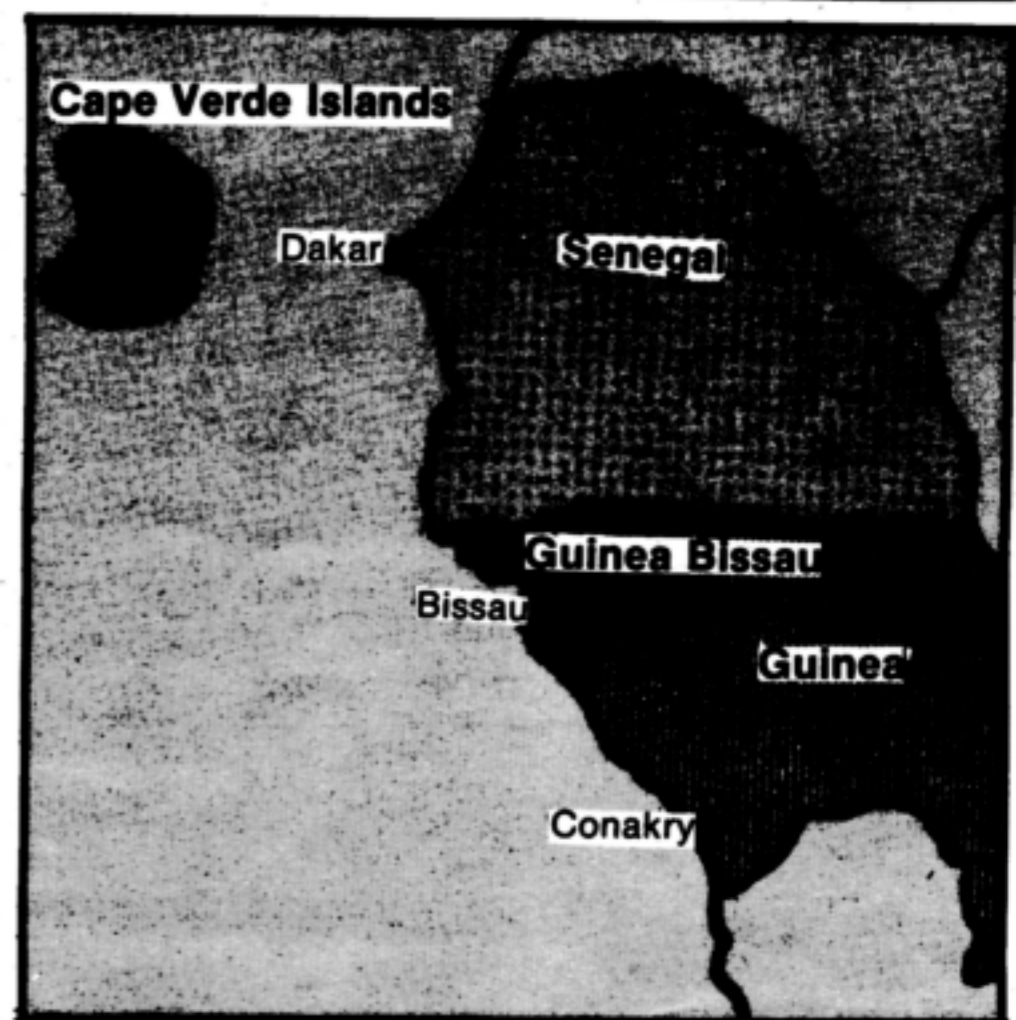
Since the coup, Vieira has said much about the massive food shortages facing Guinea-Bissau — both Bissau and Cape Verde have suffered almost continuous droughts since seven years before liberation, drastically limiting food production, although it has been substantially higher than during colonial era.

But it is precisely the areas of Bissau's greatest economic success that have laid the groundwork for the coup.

Since liberation, Bissau has for the first time begun to make use of the vast fishing resources off its coast. An area never exploited by the colonialists, the sea has yielded 70 000 tons of fish and 2 000 tons of shellfish every year since 1975, and seafood has accounted for almost 20% of the country's exports.

But the establishment of a fishing industry, with Soviet and French help, has led to conflict with Bissau's neighbours, Senegal to the north and Guinea-Conakry to the south. Conakry, led by President Sekou Toure, was a staunch supporter of the PAIGC-led revolution, and at one stage had to repel a Portuguese sponsored invasion for his pains. Senegal's Leopold Senghor was a less avid supporter, sponsoring instead a more conservative liberation movement, Fling.

But with Bissau's increased exploitation of its fishing resources, relations cooled — Conakry and Senegal clearly wouldn't be too happy at losing their happy fishing grounds. Last year ongoing disagreements over demarcation of the continental shelf took on a



**In November a military clique calling itself the 'Council of the Revolution' seized power in Guinea Bissau. Using Revolutionary rhetoric the new regime has embarked on a programme to undo much of what had been achieved under the PAIGC. Some people have suggested that a more honest title would have been 'The Council for Counter-Revolution'.**

greater importance when studies by Senegal and Conakry strongly indicated the presence of oil off their coasts.

Demands by Cabral for a piece of the action would obviously be unwelcomed by his neighbours. This was particularly so for Senegal, off whose coast lie the Cape Verde Islands.

Jointly, Bissau and Cape Verde would have far stronger legal claims to a substantial area of the continental shelf, and could, speculates *New African* magazine "result in the cutting of a great swathe through Senegal's territorial waters".

But Conakry has also been increasingly unhappy with the growing popularity and strength of its erstwhile protege — and despite his former close links with the PAIGC during and after their war of independence, Conakry's Sekou Toure was the first head of state to afford Bissau's coup makers formal recognition.

And despite the obvious regional and local interests operative in the coup, it is worth bearing in mind

that the violent take-over of Bissau came within months of America losing its most powerful foothold in West Africa — Liberia.

Until the mysterious Master Sergeant Doe's seizure of power in that country, its economic and political life was dominated by freed American slaves dropped there by the US shortly before the turn of the century. The ex-slaves maintained close links with their ex-masters, effectively excluding the indigenous Africans from both political and economic power.

And for all his harsh brand of government, Doe's take-over in Liberia spelled an end to this mutually beneficial arrangement.



Luis Cabral, ousted president of Guinea-Bissau ... the people's choice.

## CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1959** Firstly striking dockworkers killed and hundreds wounded by Portuguese forces at Pidjuiti (August) PAIGC Cadres meet the following month in their first conference and resolve to prepare for struggle. (August 3 has since been made Day of International Solidarity with the people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands).
- 1961** The Conference of National Organisations in the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) founded in Casablanca (April). Member organisations include PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO.
- 1963** PAIGC launches first attacks deep inside Guinea-Bissau (January). By July PAIGC extends military activities into the northern region.
- 1964** First PAIGC conference held in liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau (February 13). PAIGC resolve to create the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARP), from existing Regular Army and Popular Militia. This same month the Portuguese forces suffer the most crushing defeat ever in battle.
- 1970** Portuguese mercenary force of 300 invades the Republic of Guinea (Conakry) bordering Guinea-Bissau aiming to overthrow progressive government of President Sekou Toure which supports PAIGC. Invasion decisively
- 1972** PAIGC forces launch first direct attack on capital city (June 9). UN decolonisation of mission visits liberated areas (April). Committee recognises PAIGC as "the only authentic representative of the people of the territory," later endorsed by UN General Assembly. First ever general elections carried out in the liberated regions of Guinea-Bissau (August to October) completing a major step in the establishment of the People's National Assembly. Extensive rioting among the people of Cape Verde forces the colonial regime to declare a "state of emergency" there.
- 1973** Amilcar Cabral, founder and Secretary General of PAIGC treacherously assassinated by agents of Portuguese colonialism (January 20). Heavy PAIGC offensive captures key Portuguese fort of Guiledge (May 25). Second national Congress meets in liberated Guinea-Bissau (July 18-22). Comrade Aristides Pereira is unanimously elected Secretary General.
- 1974** Progressive elements of Portuguese armed forces topple the fascist Lisbon regime (April 25). PAIGC negotiates immediate ceasefire. Portuguese and PAIGC delegations sign joint statement (August 26) ending colonial rule.



President of the Revolutionary Council 'Nino' Vieira ... led the coup against the popular leader.





No compensation for the poor in Kliptown — an area where the "damage" is permanent.

# SA's real flood tragedy

WHEN disaster struck Laingsburg, few people took notice of the damages inflicted by the rains on the slum area called Kliptown, near Johannesburg.

Kliptown was not exactly covered by 20 feet of mud, but its residents did have to wade through waist high gushing floodwaters — the worst they had seen for a long time.

Kliptown's community was not made up of wealthy farmers with expensive eight-roomed houses. Rather they live from week to week on the meagre wages earned in the industrial centre of Johannesburg.

And when you see your entire month's rations floating out of your front door, and your bedding being destroyed by a mixture of mud and water, then you know you have disaster on your mind.

Kliptown, it would seem to the state, was not really a place to worry about. It did not have millions of rands worth of facilities — it did not even have tarred roads.

So not much state money was lost in the flood, and the taxpayer will not have to aid the destitute folk because Kliptown was not declared a disaster area.

And ironically, when the commercial media got in on the act, Kliptown merited only several

photographs and stories in comparison to the engagement of Prince Charles to Lady Diana.

The floods began in March, and did not abate before they had destroyed what little the residents had been able to build up over the years.

An eyewitness described his shock at what he saw: "I saw women wading through water which reached their waists. The furniture, carpets, and contents of the houses were ruined".

The Monday after the weekend floods, the residents contacted the Mayor of Johannesburg, and engineers of the Johannesburg City Council came to inspect the area. Externally the damage did not appear too great, but water had filled the foundations, and was seeping through the floors.

More rain followed, and people were forced to evacuate their homes. The bridge and roads became unusable. The residents had appealed for Kliptown to be declared a national disaster area — and thus be entitled to disaster aid — but an official said the floods had not been disastrous enough.

A delegation of city council officials and Coloured Management Committee members told residents no assistance could be offered. But



Damage caused by flood water in Kliptown.

community members reminded them they had contributed R100 000 to the Laingsburg Relief Fund.

But the delegation told them Scientific research had shown after the last Kliptown floods in 1977 that no further floods could be expected for the next 50 years. But this answer received only derision from the community.

Even without floods, Kliptown is a disaster area — the shacks and houses scattered across an area which has no sanitation, electricity or community necessities. The roads are muddy after only small showers, and large potholes and bad

drainage traps water which is unable to drain away.

Now the people have to go hungry, they must sleep on damp beds in damp houses — and they have lost most of their possessions.

And just before an election, it is obviously more important to concentrate on those places where votes can be collected, and where the white communities can be mobilised around their white brothers and sisters.

Not many votes could be won by giving aid to — a community most people have not even heard of, let alone care for.

## Smiles: an ordinary man who was ruined by a wall of mud-water

ERNEST Smiles is an ordinary man — by Kliptown standards. He lives in a brick dwelling with another five families, and about 15 children.

When the floodwaters came — destroying his furniture and food — he had to rush out with the children.

The waters rose rapidly from about 4 am on the first day of the rains, and at its highest level it reached halfway up the window.

His family had just bought R23,75 worth of groceries, and these had all been ruined in the floods. Smiles said it was not possible to estimate the damage to his family's personal belongings.

When a SASPU reporter visited Kliptown on Wednesday, mattresses were still drying in the sun. An inspection of the houses showed that many were still wet inside.

Mr Smiles said the children had become sick, and some were still being kept inside — away from the stagnant water where they might catch diseases.

Each family in the Smiles' house pays the landlord R15 a month in rent.

Mr Smiles remembers the last floods in 1977 — his home and belongings were also damaged when the waters rushed through his house.

But there is nothing he can do except wait for the next time, and hope it will be easier on him.

## Kliptown ... a history written in mud and slime

KLIPTOWN sprang up as a squatter community in the 50's — a motley collection of dispossessed people with nowhere to stay. "Indian", "Coloured", "African", and "Chinese" South Africans all lived together here.

And like most spontaneous squatter communities, it soon fell into disfavour with the government. The state 'froze' Kliptown — preventing alterations being made to the houses.

The Africans were then moved to Protea, where often five families were forced to share one house. No real alternative was provided for the beleaguered residents.

Many were moved to houses that were designed for pensioners — houses that were inadequate for families with children.

No social services are provided in Kliptown, and many of the houses in the area are rented from private landlords — who often take no

pride in their properties and leave them to deteriorate.

The landlords, say residents, charge extortionist rents — R22 is an average rent for a one-roomed house with no facilities. In Klipspruit West, a nearby township, a sliding scale is used for the calculation of rent. Community members earning less than R150 per month pay R22 a month, while those earning more than R150 pay about R51 for a three-roomed house.

The average monthly income is about R160 per month. Rent, lights and water total approximately R80 per month, which leaves a further R80 for living expenses such as food, transport, clothing, education, repairs etc.

The West Rand Administration Board have refused to aid the Kliptown people, as they claim the houses are owned by the City Council. The Council will aid in the repairing of flood damage to the houses but will not pay

compensation for personal possessions damaged in the floods.

Neither body will in any way aid the tenants of privately owned houses. The Housing Department of the City Council is only prepared to put in drains, and to provide ash for the residents to attempt to rid the area of excessive water.

Kliptown and Klipspruit West are built next to a marshy area. The fairly recently built Eldorado Park — the township adjoining Kliptown — was drained of the marshy waters to allow the building of the houses.

But Kliptown remains vulnerable to floods, and mosquitoes, snakes and other insects are frequently found in the area — where water cannot drain away. This has inevitably become a breeding ground for disease.

But the residents have been promised new houses, and in certain areas have been asked to leave their present houses. This is despite the fact that building operations for the

proposed Extension Nine have not yet begun.

One resident said he believed the council was only too glad to keep the area 'frozen' because it meant the people could not make alterations to the houses, and so their value depreciated and they could be bought for a cheaper price. But as time passes, people are being forced to continue to live in houses which

are deteriorating rapidly — especially after the floods. The residents are bitter about the way they have been treated. They feel neglected and are angry that they will receive no compensation.

Plans to demolish Kliptown have already begun in theory — and a plan has been mooted to change the name to Extension Nine. The state seems keen to neglect the residents and to destroy a community which has a very rich history in the development of Johannesburg.