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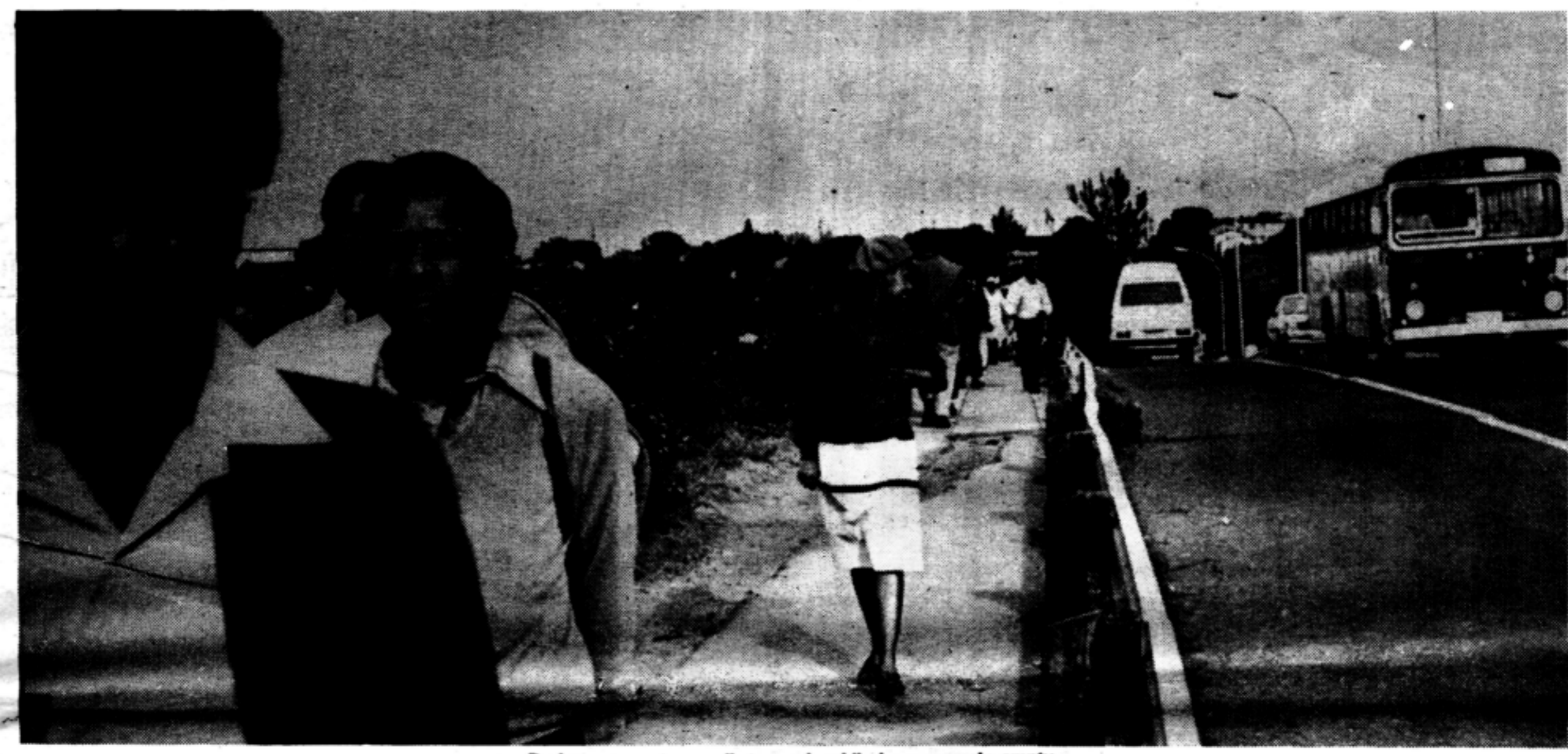
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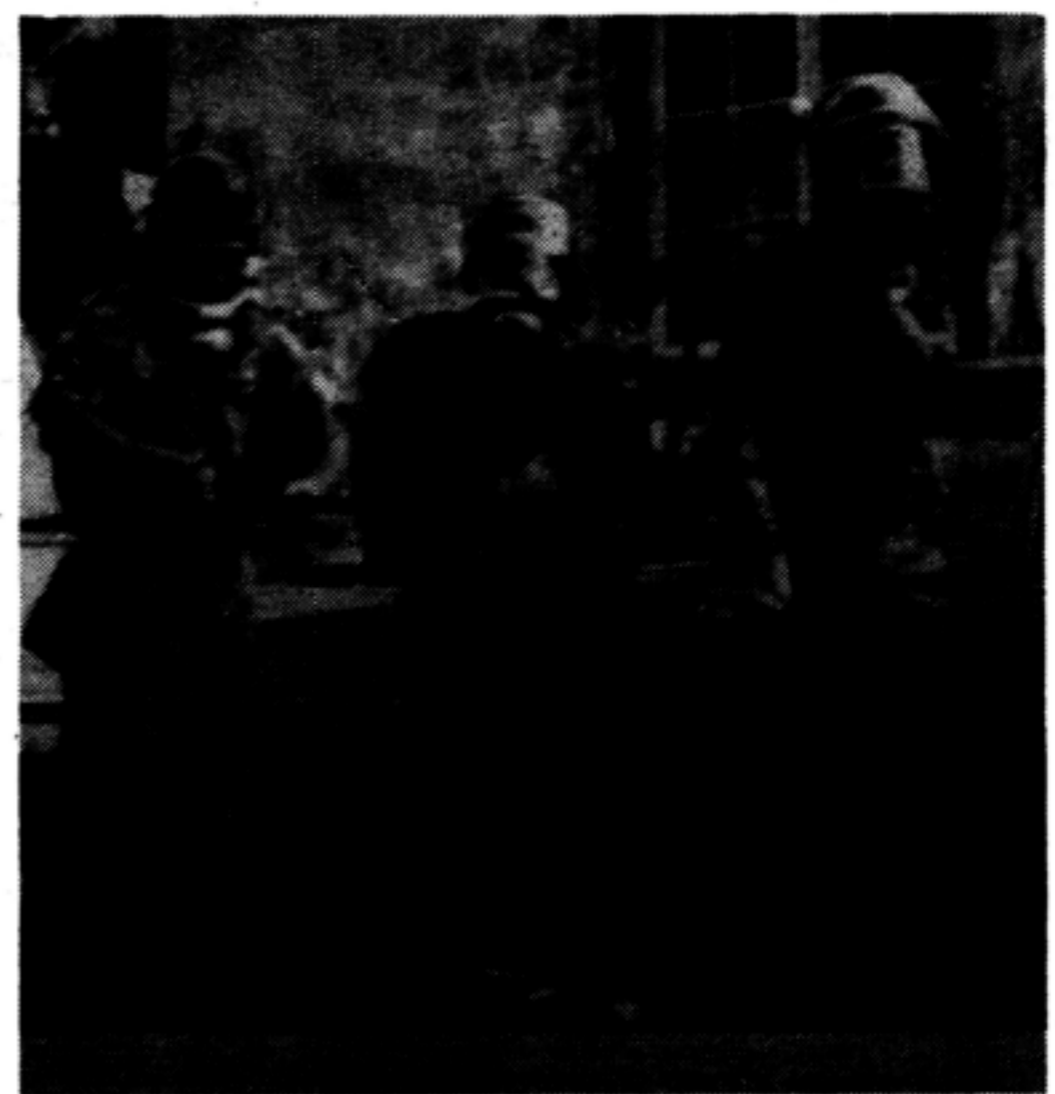


Durban commuters walk to work while buses remain empty

Big walk as fares go up

DURBAN BUS services have been crippled for nearly three months by a united protest in African communities against bus fare increases. The protest began when the Durban Transport Management Board (DTMB) increased their fares by 14 percent on December 1 last year. People in the communities decided not to ride the buses. The boycott was initially so successful that the company withdrew all their buses after a week. The same fate met the Putco bus company when they increased their fares 13 days later. Putco buses operate primarily in Inanda, while the DTMB buses run in Clermont, Klaarwater, St Wendolins, Kwa Makutha and Lamontville. In Lamontville a meeting was held a few days before the increases were to take effect. A committee was elected and mandated to ask the DTMB to halt the raise. In all the other areas the boycott was spontaneous. Angry commuters simply stayed away from the buses and walked or used other means of transport. Soon community organisations reared. Local commuter committees were formed in each area. Thousands of people came to mass meetings organised by the committees and endorsed the boycott call. After three weeks, the local area committees came together and formed the Joint Commuters Committee (JCC). This move was hailed by a spokesperson for the committee as a significant step towards inter-township unity. The JCC was mandated to play a co-ordinating function, to seek a meeting with the DTMB, and to organise alternative transport for the

boycotters. The DTMB has a monopoly over bus transport and the JCC was asked to encourage other bus owners to apply for licenses and compete with the DTMB. In the meanwhile, the DTMB was doing everything possible to break the boycott. In the face of huge financial losses, the DTMB flooded the affected areas with pamphlets. Once, leaflets were even dropped from an aeroplane. It also alleged that the DTMB and police stopped taxis, charged them with overloading and harassed passengers. There are unconfirmed reports that DTMB bus drivers stoned private company buses. The DTMB worked closely with the community councils and Advisory Boards. At a meeting organised by the community council in Clermont, a Publicity Officer of the DTMB was invited to explain why the increase was necessary. On December 19 the Advisory Board called a meeting. The commuters were told they had made their point but must now ride the buses. However, the thousands who attended the meeting resolved to continue the boycott. At the end of the month, the DTMB, in consultation with the Advisory Board and the Native Commissioner, decided to resume the bus service from December 30. Radio announcements were made. Commuters were not only promised protection from 'agitators' if they rode the buses, but also free rides to the beach on New Year's Day. The JCC say the radio announcements were misleading. Support for the boycott diminished. Apart from the confusion sown by the radio and press announcements,



Riot police gather with teargas at the ready.

it was becoming increasingly difficult to arrange alternative transport. Commuters walking, using other bus services or private transport were allegedly being harassed by DTMB officials, bus drivers and police. These claims have been denied by the authorities. In addition, the holiday season was coming to an end and workers would have to commute daily. The majority of workers were due to return from their Christmas holidays by January 9. The JCC had planned a meeting on that day to assess the boycott.

Permission to hold the meeting in Clermont was refused by the Native Commissioner and Township Management Board. However, the JCC went ahead with the meeting two days later and well over 1000 people attended. At the meeting the JCC advised the commuters to reconsider their stand. 'We are no longer strong and united and to continue boycotting would cause greater disunity,' they said. It was nevertheless decided the JCC should continue as a permanent body.

The meeting also mandated the JCC to continue organising alternative transport to break the DTMB monopoly. A petition was launched to support the call that permission be granted to other bus companies to operate in African areas. An attempt by the JCC to meet with the DTMB failed. The general manager of the DTMB laid down unacceptable conditions. (Even though the JCC had approached the Durban mayor to mediate.) For example, the manager insisted that the JCC get permission from the Advisory Board to see him. The bus boycott still continues in two areas. In Lamontville DTMB buses have been completely withdrawn. Residents are using privately owned buses. In Inanda, which is serviced by Putco buses, there is still a 100 percent boycott. Since the start of the Inanda bus boycott, police have harassed residents. In one incident, police teargassed a crowd of school children jeering at Putco buses. Many of the children were seriously affected. Police have also forced vehicles off the road and given R100 spot fines. Police claim the fines are for overloading, yet residents deny this. When offenders have taken their cases to court, they have often been found not guilty and their fines have been refunded. Employers of Inanda workers are also becoming concerned. Some factories came to a standstill after police stopped company vehicles. Rumours are rife about Putco. For example, it is alleged Putco drivers disguise themselves and offer lifts in cars. The passengers are then driven to the Putco yard and beaten up.

THOUSANDS OF false pamphlets linking Nusas to the military wing of the banned ANC were distributed last week in a slickly coordinated campaign.

The pamphlet, entitled 'Campus News', called on students to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, and says students should be prepared to kill for the liberation struggle.

In a statement, Nusas Head Office said they saw the pamphlet as an attempt to incriminate Nusas in the eyes of students and the public by undermining the organisation's legitimate stand of opposition to Apartheid. 'However we feel confi-

Underhand tactic in Nusas fake leaflets

dent that our strong student support will not be affected by these underhand tactics', they said.

'The reason we view this in such a serious light is because the content constitutes treason.

'What we fear is that this may be an attempt to legitimate further repression on Nusas in the future. Nusas has a long history of opposition to Apartheid and there is an equally

long history of state attempts to undermine Nusas.

'These have included pamphlets such as this one, government coordinated disaffiliation campaigns, the presence of spies on campus and the banning and detention of student leaders.'

The four page pamphlet, printed on expensive paper and laid out in the format of the Nusas publication,

Nusas News, was circulated on university campuses and in public places around the country between midnight and six a.m.

Nusas President Kate Philip said, 'We strongly suspect this to be an initiative from the right-wing but we question who or what organisation would have the resources to conduct this campaign.'

Wits University Vice-Chancellor, Professor du Plessis, said in a statement it seemed as if the pamphlets had been issued with the intention of discrediting student organisations.

He warned of the possibility of further attempts to do this.

Cosas trial delays for torture rule

THE TRIAL of three Kwa Thema COSAS members charged under the Internal security act for furthering the aims and objects of the ANC has entered its fifth week.

The three accused, Vulindlela Mapekula, Andrew Mokone and Mzwandile Nkosi, were all detained in September 1982.

They are charged with furthering the aims of the ANC by:

- forming an ANC cell;
- distributing ANC literature;
- receiving money from the ANC;
- directing the activities of COSAS and the Women's Federation;
- conveying messages to and from the ANC.

The court heard how Andrew Mokone was arrested at the border-post between Botswana and South Africa on September 6, 1982. He was found with two letters

The state alleges that the letters emanated from an ANC member

Much of the trial has been taken up with two trials within the trial concerning the admissibility of statements made by Andrew Mokone and Vulindlela Mapekula to a magistrate. They both allege that the statements were not made freely and voluntarily

Mokone said that after his arrest at the border, he was taken to Zeerust. He alleges that four policemen then took him to a field where they tried to force him to admit ANC membership by torturing him.

At the time of going to print, the magistrate has still to give his finding on the admissibility of the statements.

Fort Hare trial postponed - Students wait

WHAT HAS come to be known as the 'Fort Hare Trial' in the Ciskei has once again been postponed.

The case, to be resumed on April 11, has seen a number of adjournments since last May. The accused - 18 Fort Hare students and a field worker for the Border Council of Churches - were detained on May 1.

On their release they were charged in terms of Ciskei's Security Proclamation R252, and had to face an additional charge of public violence.

The charges were modified after defence counsel, Advocate M T K Moerane suggested that Proclamation R252 was contrary to basic human rights

The charges followed what the students have termed a 'peaceful demonstration' which was broken up by Ciskeian police, in an operation involving members of Lt-Gen

Charles Sebe's elite police unit, the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, as well as riot police and even members of Ciskei's military force.

The Ciskei regional court, where the case is being tried, has been told by the accused that the police waded into the peaceful demonstrators with quirts and sjamboks and how some of the demonstrators were put in the boots of police motor vehicles.

Teargas was also used by the riot police and, students have claimed in the case, many innocent bystanders suffered in the confusion that followed the teargas.

Some of the accused have denied they were anywhere near campus when the commotion started. Some claimed they had completely ignored the graduation and had gone elsewhere but were detained when they came back to campus later in the evening.

The accused have also revealed to the court they had to attend a couple of unofficial identification parades for the benefit of the police, who also asked them twice to pose for photographs. They said police refused them a change of clothing during their 19 day detention.

The police have denied all the allegations, but admitted two students were fired at when they allegedly smashed the rear window of a car which carried Namba Sebe, Minister of Transport, who is president Lennox Sebe's brother.

Ciskei's security chief, Lt-Gen Charles Sebe, confirmed to the court he gave the order for the shooting of the students. Both were injured and had to be taken to hospital.

The problem at Fort Hare on May 1 occurred when students demonstrated against the presence on campus of Sebe and his cabinet colleagues.

A rumour was rife at the university that on graduation day Sebe was going to be made chancellor for the university, which would be handed over to the Ciskei government.

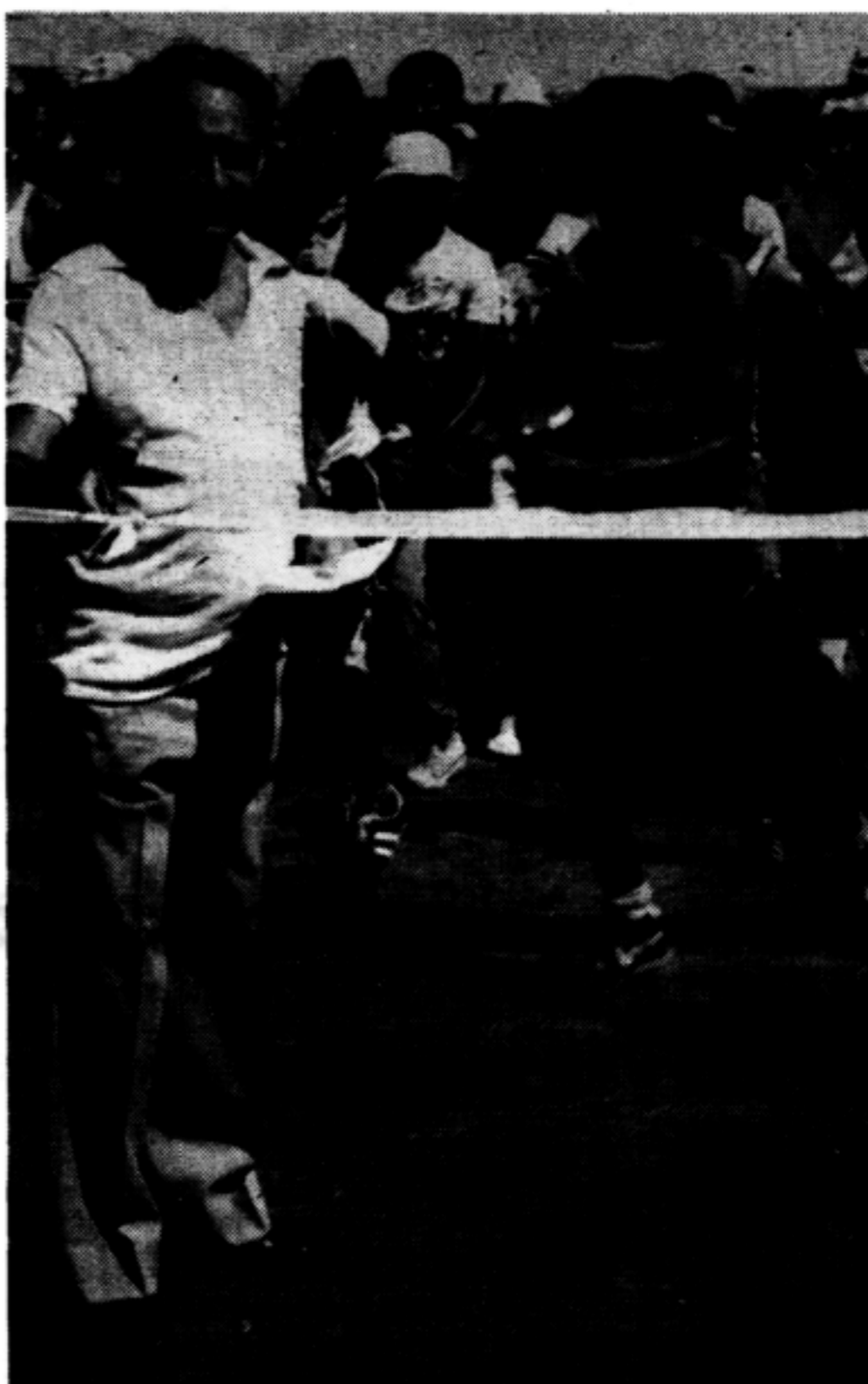
The students strongly objected to the move, as they had objected in the past to the links Fort Hare was apparently trying to forge with homeland leaders.

Sebe received an honorary doctorate in law from Fort Hare at the 1979 graduation ceremony.

Twenty-two people were originally charged in the Fort Hare trial but two detainees were released before the trial and charges were withdrawn against one accused.

The more than 1,000 students who staged a sit-in strike in solidarity with the 22 detainees, were arrested by Sebe's police and stood trial at a special court.

Fort Hare paid R65,850 admission of guilt fines for the 1,317 arrested students.



Essop Jassat starts the festival running.

Lens youth league takes off

THE LENASIA Youth League received a big boost after their youth festival at the end of last year.

The festival, which extended over a week, included sporting, cultural and educational activities. Large numbers attended from Lenasia, as well as from other parts of the country.

Youth groups came from as far afield as Cape Town.

'The festival helped us build and popularise our organisation', said the Youth League chairperson.

'We also established contact with youth from other parts of the country.'

Police harass union officials

RECENT SECURITY police actions against trade unions have been labelled by the unions involved as harassment.

The two organisers of the recently established National Union of Mineworkers were twice questioned by security police in the office of a Vaal Reefs hostel manager.

This was despite the fact they were recruiting members at the mine with

the permission and knowledge of the owners, Anglo American.

Shortly after this incident, the two men, Jeffrey Magida and Muyiselo Mtshotshisa, 'disappeared' from the Klerksdorp township where they were staying. They were taken away by men in plainclothes at 2 am.

They reappeared the next morning in the Commissioners Court charged with not having a lodgers permit and

were fined R15 each. They had also been questioned at the Klerksdorp Police Station.

Meanwhile, in the Eastern Cape, the homes of Saawu officials have been raided by the Ciskei security police.

In the latest incident, Godfrey Shiba was raided twice within 24 hours. Books on trade unionism, Saawu constitutions, membership lists and T-shirts were confiscated.

Shiba said the police asked him if he wanted to continue living in the Ciskei.

'When I said I did, they told me I must stop reading these documents about unionism and must stop wearing 'Congress' T-shirts,' he said.

According to Saawu, this is at least the eighth time this year union officials have been raided by Ciskei security police, who have also confiscated union T-shirts from ordinary union members. Members are ordered to take the shirts off on the spot.

Full control for Ukusa

TOTAL CONTROL of Ukusa, a Durban community newspaper, was handed over to democratic community, student and worker organisations at the first Ukusa Media Association Annual General Meeting held in Durban in December.

Over 100 people representing 40 organisations attended the meeting. 'It marked an important stride in Ukusa's growth as the voice of the people in Natal,' said one representative.

Ukusa was formed in 1981 but only in 1982 did organisations become more active in all aspects and proved they could successfully take over the paper. Distribution increased from 3,000 to 10,000 in this period.

A new working committee and president, community leader Archie Gumede, were elected at the AGM. The committee will run the paper and carry out decisions of the general membership.

Representatives from similar newspapers around the country, Grassroots, The Eye, Speak and Saspu National gave messages of support at the meeting.

As a community newspaper, Ukusa sees itself as very different to commercial newspapers. It is run on a non-profit basis and news is determined not by a few individuals but by organisations representing the views and aspirations of the country's majority.

And to ensure maximum participation of community people in all aspects of the paper, Ukusa also aims to provide training in writing, layout and other media skills.

Admin censors Rhodeo

THE MOST recent attack by the Rhodes university administration against student control of student affairs has forced censorship on to the official SRC newspaper, Rhodeo.

Late last year, Senate ruled each issue of Rhodeo be submitted to a university-appointed 'advisory panel' before publication.

During 1982 the administration moved against student body publica-

tions with the target 'anything political'.

Alan Williams, editor of Rhodeo, said, 'The proposed censorship of Rhodeo is totally unacceptable and reminiscent of the state's attempt to silence the established press.'

Both the Rhodeo editorial staff and the SRC have said they will resist all censorship attempts by the so called 'liberal' university.

'Unity best tribute to Aggett'

THE NEED for unity was the message hammered home by speakers at memorial meetings in Cape Town, Johannesburg, East London and Durban to mark the first anniversary of Neil Aggett's death.

Trade unionist, Aggett, was found dead in his security police cell at John Vorster Square on February 5 last year while in detention under the Terrorism Act.

At the commemorations, unionists emphasised Aggett's aim had been a united trade union front and the best tribute that could be paid to him was to fulfil that wish.

In East London, the General Workers' Union (GWU) branch secretary said, 'We face the situation whereby no progressive organisation can divorce itself from another. Standing together is the basis from which we must go forward.'

Addressing the Johannesburg memorial meeting in the Wits Great Hall, Israel Mokgatle of the union Aggett worked for, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU) said: 'Neil died for the work to which he dedicated himself: the formation of a strong, united democratic union movement.'

As Aggett's friend Liz Floyd put it: 'Neil Aggett has become an example of unity to people.'

'Neil Aggett symbolises,' said DPSC representative David Webster, 'the suffering and heroic struggle of people opposed to the system. His death represents the extent to which the oppressors will go to get rid of opposition.'

A speaker from the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, Mogasi Khatebe, said the struggle could not afford to weep over a 'fallen comrade'. 'He was a soldier on



Part of the crowd at the Wits memorial service.

the battlefield. Now the enemy has killed him, we must pick up his spear and carry on.'

This theme was picked up and expanded upon by Massim Achat of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee. 'Neil Aggett,' he said, 'epitomised the worker struggle for a fair share in the wealth of South Africa. He recognised that apartheid is only giving economic exploitation a new set of clothing.'

'Neil Aggett the doctor recognised

the problems we as blacks face cannot be cured by medicine, only by full liberation.'

'The urgent need of the time,' said Sydney Mofumadi of the General Workers' Union, 'is to increase unity and expose the myth that there is any alternative to the Freedom Charter.'

Speakers said more state action could face those who continue that path. Transvaal Secretary of SAAWU, Herbert Barnabas, said people had to speak up.

'You mustn't hide your head in

your armpit,' he said, 'but you must realise you face detention and even death. The forces of darkness must realise the forces of democracy must win at some time in the future.'

Fosatu's Charles Mkabele said if there were more deaths like Aggett's it was important to show the state the trade unions do not depend on one person. 'We must prove everyone is the leader.'

'What the government is afraid of,' said Neil Msilele of AFCWU, 'is the structure of our union. Its real power

is on the factory floor and it is there the government is most afraid.'

'The government's real fear is of democracy because it knows nothing at all about it,' he said.

Backing this point up, his colleague in the AFCWU, Israel Mokgatle said, 'The security police must admit any union not in their power or in the bosses' pocket, is regarded as a threat to state security.'

Tribute was also paid to Neil Aggett as a person: Liz Floyd said he would have been surprised - but pleased - to see so much support for him.

Sister Ester Tshabalala of the Baragwanath Hospital told of Aggett's tireless work there and his sister Jill Berger, paid tribute to the quiet and dedicated man she knew.

And in Cape Town about 800 people gathered to commemorate Aggett. Jan Theron of the Food and Canning Workers' Union said Neil had worked for unity. 'He built contact with other unions and kept contact with other progressive organisations.'

Community speaker Daller Omar said, 'You can detain them and kill them, but the time you could kill the freedom movement in this country is over.'

Liz Abrahms of the FCWU spoke about FCWU unionist Oscar Mpetha, whose lengthy trial continues. She accused the government of imprisoning him because of his beliefs in a changed society.

'An injury to one is an injury to all organisations,' she said.

At all the meetings messages of support from a wide range of organisations were read out.

No to statement, Mayson on bail

IN THE second week of Methodist minister Cedric Mayson's treason trial, his 29-page confession was rejected as evidence and he was released on R1000 bail after 18 months in detention.

The case was remanded until April 18 at the request of the state because they had been unable to trace a key witness, former Nusas president and detainee, Aurret van Heerden.

The statement's rejection as evidence came after a trial within a trial about whether Mayson had made the statement 'freely and voluntarily' during the first weekend of his detention in November 1981. Thirteen police witnesses were called - most of them were also involved in the interrogation of Neil Aggett - and they all denied that Mayson was subjected to assault and other forms of duress.

But Mayson said:
●A tuft of hair was yanked out of his

head by a warrant officer 'Spyker' van Wyk - allegedly called 'Spyker' because he is as 'hard as nails';

●That he was kept naked and handcuffed and that he was forced to remain standing during the first weekend;

●That police threatened they would also detain his wife Penelope.

Mayson also said he included certain passages in his statement 'to satisfy the police', adding he was forced to include certain untruths, as well as exaggerations.

After the statement was rejected, the state prosecutor, J A Swanepoel - the deputy attorney-general of the Transvaal - read out portions of certain documents the police seized at Mayson's home and at his office.

According to one of the documents - all of which Mayson was allegedly the author - it was necessary 'to work as hard as possible for as rapid and as total a change as possible' in South



Cedric Mayson

Africa - that is, revolution, the document said.

The statement went on: 'The churches do not view the African National Congress in the same light as the government. They are seen as brothers in the struggle for liberation and they are held in high regard.'

Among the other views expressed in the documents were:

●That Christianity was a vital part of the struggle for liberation and that the people should pray and work for a peaceful political revolution;

●That the main problem in the world was one of power and materialism.

The case was postponed until April 18.

Tvl body forms to fight PC

AN AD-HOC Anti-President's Council Committee was recently launched at a meeting of coloured community and student organisations in Johannesburg.

The decision to establish such a committee was triggered off by the Labour Party's (LP) decision to participate in the government's new 'dispensation'.

The committee is comprised of representatives from a number of organisations and includes prominent civic leaders such as Dr Ishmail Mohammed and ex-members of the LP such as George du Plessis and Bill Jardine.

'The committee will channel the widespread rejection of the PC proposals,' said Mohammed.

Recently the committee conducted a pamphleteering campaign in the coloured areas of the Witwatersrand. The pamphlet outlined why the PC proposals should be rejected.

Rev Allan Hendrikse, leader of the LP, blamed the new committee for the violence that erupted during his tour of the Transvaal.

The ad-hoc committee rejected these accusations. They referred to the Reiger Park and Eldorado Park meetings where LP supporters came armed with hose-pipes and sjamboks.

They also denounced attempts by the LP to discredit the anti-PC movement by launching 'slandorous attacks on individuals'.

'The LP does not have a mandate from the people it claims to represent,' said a statement from the ad-hoc committee. 'Less than 150 people out of 90,000 people in Eldorado Park passed a vote of confidence in them.'

Gwusa strike incitement unfounded

THE TRANSVAAL secretary of the General Workers' Union of South Africa (Gwusa), Donsia Khumalo, was recently acquitted in the Pretoria Regional Court on charges of inciting a strike at the De Luxe Dry Cleaners in Koedoespoort in September 1981.

The strike was the result of a dispute between Gwusa and De Luxe Dry Cleaners over recognition of the union.

At the first hearing, Mr Kaplan, managing director of De Luxe Dry Cleaners, testified that Mr Khumalo approached him, introducing himself as a Gwusa official.

Mr Kaplan said he demanded the Gwusa constitution, and upon receiv-

ing it, phoned the security police to enquire if Gwusa was legal. They told him the union was unregistered and was therefore illegal. Mr Kaplan said he then told Mr Khumalo he did not deal with unregistered unions.

During the second hearing on 26 September, the state called three witnesses. The first testified that she joined the union in August 1981 but decided to terminate her membership when told Gwusa was illegal.

The second witness admitted joining the union a few weeks before the strike. She said she was forced to participate in the strike but admitted in cross-questioning from the defence

that she could not say who had forced her.

The third witness said she joined the union a day before the strike and that Mr Khumalo had made her sign a document which instructed her to go on strike. The next day the defence lawyer produced as an exhibit an application form for membership of the union signed by the witness, which showed she had joined the union a month before the strike.

Delivering judgement on 21 January, the magistrate, Mr le Roux, held that the court could not accept the evidence of state witnesses which was untruthful and contradictory.

Fees victory for Cosas in Queen

THE QUEENSTOWN branch of Cosas, formed in early 1982, has won a victory over increased school fees.

The increase hit students as they started the new school year and most found they could not afford it. Working under the COSAS banner, the students soon mobilised widespread community support against the increases, organising meetings and pamphlets.

With support from student demands coming from both parents and teachers, school principals petitioned the education authorities. The school fees have now been frozen for the year.

'We saw what we could achieve through united action,' said one student.

Saic takes over ethnic education

THE SOUTH African Indian Council's new powers over Indian education have come under heavy fire from numerous organisations in Durban recently.

A Committee of Concern formed by the Teachers Association of South Africa (TASA), the Natal Indian Congress, student, parent and community organisations has launched a petition calling for SAIC's education powers to be stripped.

The petition as well as letters of objection from individuals and

organisations will be given to the Department of Indian Education.

A spokesperson for the TASA Chatsworth branch said, 'SAIC has no mandate whatsoever from the people to have control over any matter concerning the Indian community, let alone education of our children.'

SAIC's new powers give it control over promotions, allocation of schools and funds.

But people fear SAIC's victimisation of its opponents in the schools. Some teachers have been posted to remote areas, away from their communities. In other cases experienced teachers were denied promotions or even demoted.

SAIC's control over funds could mean that communities and schools active in the anti-SAIC campaign will suffer.

The Committee of Concern rejects apartheid education and demands 'a democratic education system to educate children for a democratic future'.

But they say SAIC cannot introduce such a system as its power is just rubberstamp power. Education would therefore remain without democratic control.

The changes are seen as an attempt to give SAIC some credibility. 'They are trying to make people think that because SAIC has these powers it has some kind of status and they therefore support it,' said a committee member.

'But the people are not fooled by this and they say SAIC remains a dummy body.'

Dismissed workers decide to collect pay

SOUTH AFRICAN Transport Services (SATS) dockworkers in Port Elizabeth have decided to sign off and collect their pay after SATS' year-long refusal to negotiate with their union, General Workers' Union (GWU).

The workers were dismissed in September last year after they staged a go-slow in support of GWU's attempts to discuss union recognition with SATS.

Workers initially refused to collect their pay as this would have meant accepting their dismissal. They were also awaiting the findings of a SATS labour relations committee to which GWU gave evidence.

But the committee report has not yet appeared although it was promised in January.

Workers say their attempts to communicate with SATS have met with no response: 'We've written letters, even sent telegrams. Each time we phone, the SATS secretary says he can do nothing without the General Manager'.

During the last six months workers have relied on local trade unions, the International Transport Federation and the East London United Women's Organisation for financial support. Regular meetings were held in the townships.

GWU will continue to organise SATS dockers and attempt to win union recognition. The union said in a statement that SATS' refusal to cooperate was an indictment of government labour policies: 'The intransigence of South Africa's biggest employer is an indication that the basic principle of freedom of association had not been accepted by the government'.



Azaso grows in strength and popularity

Huge campus turnout at Azaso meeting

REPRESENTATIVES FROM twelve university campuses around the country attended the three-day Azaso General Student Council held in Durban in December.

This was seen as an indication of the growing popularity and strength of the organisation among black students nationally.

Much attention was given to discussing ways of building Azaso. This was emphasised by the two guest speakers at the meeting, Archie Gumede, chairperson of the Release Mandela Committee and Auret van Heerden, an ex-president of Nusas.

In his opening address, Gumede called on students to be emotionally attached to their goals, but to continually analyse their situation objectively.

Van Heerden emphasised the need for student organisations to consolidate their gains as they developed. 'We must not rush from one campaign to another without as-

sessing the advances our organisation has made,' he said.

A joint session of Azaso and Cosas saw the drawing up of the Education Charter as a long-term process. 1983 would be used to prepare the groundwork for the campaign.

Azaso vice-president, Giyani Mdluli explained why:

'Firstly, students need to develop a greater understanding of the education system and secondly we need to strengthen and consolidate our branches.'

'For this reason we have also reaffirmed the 1982 theme 'Education towards Democracy,' he said.

Concrete suggestions on leadership training, campus organisation and Azaso's role came from discussions, debates and committee sessions.

A regular Azaso newsletter was suggested to improve national contact and introducing regional councils to improve contact between campuses in the same region.

National representation at the GSC enabled delegates to come to grips with different conditions and problems in the various centres. Some of the black campuses had democratically elected SRCs. But Fort Hare students were denied any democratic representation and were subject to continued repression.

The meeting slammed the Fort Hare authorities for their insensitive handling of the crisis on that campus. Azaso branches pledged to raise funds for students' legal costs in the Fort Hare hearing. The executive reported their attempts to gain international publicity for the plight of the Fort Hare students.

Other student issues Azaso could take up were also discussed, including canteen food, student accommodation and transport, D.P. and exam systems and academic problems.

Arising from committee recommendations three new executive portfolios, Projects Officer, Publications Officer and a Womens Organiser were introduced.

The discussion on constitutional matters was interrupted by a student

who proposed Azaso return to advocating black consciousness. After lively debate the B C proponent was defeated. The council later learnt the incident was 'guerilla theatre' - it had not been serious but a game to liven up the meeting and create more debate and participation.

The council passed resolutions condemning the Maseru raid, the Orderly Movement Bill and the SAIC takeover of Indian Education in Natal.

The unconditional release of two Turfloop students, Benny Mona and K Mhlapo, who have been in detention since October last year, was demanded in a resolution.

The council also called for the release of Oscar Mpetha, the 72 year old African Food and Canning Organiser

Offers from America for black students to study at American colleges were seen as attempts to buy off a section of the student movement. A resolution said bursaries should only be accepted if there were no strings attached.

In assessing the GSC, Azaso president Joe Phaala said the most pleasing aspect of the meeting was the honesty with which problems were admitted. 'We could then arrive at an accurate assessment of our strengths and work out solutions to overcome our weaknesses.'

Inquest witness sues SP for alleged torture

AN EX-DETAINEE and prominent witness in the Aggett inquest, Auret van Heerden, is suing security policemen for alleged maltreatment during his detention.

Van Heerden, a former Nusas president, is claiming R65,000 damages from ten security policemen. His claim was spelt out when his lawyers applied to the Supreme Court for 'substituted service' - an easy form of serving documents on the policemen involved.

Van Heerden was detained for ten months from September 1981 to July 1982 under various sections of the security laws.

R20,000 of his claim is against John Vorster Square's Majors Cronwright and Abrie, Lieutenants Pitout and Van Aswegen, Captain Struwig and Warrant Officer Prince for allegedly

threatening assault, victimisation and reprisals to keep him from reporting his and Neil Aggett's maltreatment to the visiting magistrate.

Van Heerden alleges:
*He was handcuffed wrist to ankle for ten and a half hours and forced under threat of violence to remain on his feet.

*For more than three hours he repeatedly had a tight-fitting bag put over his head and face and water was then poured over the bag causing him to suffocate.

*He was repeatedly given electric shocks.

Other allegations of physical assault include being whipped with a sjambok on his bare feet, strangling with a wet towel, hair pulling, hitting and being made to go for long hours without sleep.

Three under Terrorism and Internal Security Act charge

THREE FORMER Turfloop students, Peter Mokaba, Jerome Maake and Portia Nhlapo are facing several charges under the Terrorism Act and Internal Security Act in the Pieterburg Regional Court.

Mokaba has been charged with gathering information and sending it to the ANC in Swaziland. The state also claims he underwent military training and encouraged others to do

so. He was allegedly found in possession of ammunition.

Maake, the second accused, is also alleged to have joined the ANC, received military training outside the country, and recruited several people.

Nhlapo is charged with helping Mokaba and Maake and acting as a courier for them.

Before the trial was postponed until

March 11, two state witnesses denied the validity of statements they made in detention, claiming they were forced to write them.

A third state witness, Benedicta Monama, was sentenced to 18 months in jail for refusing to testify against the accused.

In October last year, after the detentions of Nhlapo and Monama,

students at Turfloop University boycotted lectures for six days demanding their release.

The students also protested against the fact that two staff members had assisted security police in arresting the two detainees, who were students at the time.

The Turfloop rector confirmed the alleged collaboration of the staff members with the police

Whereabouts of detainee still unknown

CISKEI AUTHORITIES have refused to disclose the whereabouts of detainee Mzwandile Msoke, a member of the East London Detainees Support Committee (Descom) and employee of the Dependence Conference.

He was detained two months ago after police claimed to have discovered banned literature in a plastic bag in his garden.

The East London Descom and Msoki's wife have tried in vain to get any information from the Ciskei authorities.

In September Sebe told a Descom delegation he would attend to the matter of visits for detainees. More recently he told them they must write to him for permission to visit Msoki.

Msoki's wife has so far written two letters requesting visits but has received no response. Authorities have refused clothes and food parcels for Msoki and he has been denied access to lawyers or doctors.

Anger grows as age-limit law restricts school entry

RECENT IMPLEMENTATION of the much-hated age-limit law in Soweto schools has drawn widespread opposition from students and parents alike.

The law, introduced in 1981, stipulates that no person over the age of 16 can enrol at primary school, no person over 18 can enrol in standards 6, 7, or 8 and no one over 20 can enrol in standards 9 and 10.

The ad-hoc Age-Limit Law Committee, formed by students who have been refused readmission, has so far organised two mass meetings. Each was attended by over 200 people.

At the most recent meeting parents gave their full support to student de-

mands. A student-parent committee was set up to take the campaign further and to circulate a petition supporting the demands:

- The Department of Education and Training must scrap the age-limit regulations
- the DET must readmit excluded students unconditionally
- the DET should return exam scripts to students who feel they have been failed unfairly

Students at the meetings said the regulations were not only being applied to matric students - in some schools JC students had also been expelled. Some students were told to leave even after they had paid their school fees. Principals were also reported to be using the regulations to victimise student activists.

But it became clear from the meetings that the problems in the schools went a lot further than the age-limit regulations. Corruption was rife in the schools, especially in the exam system.

One parent told of a case where they were forced to sign a document saying they knew students had seen exam papers before they wrote. In some schools students are still waiting for results from exams written last year. Exam papers often go missing and student complaints are ignored.

Many people at the meeting stressed the importance of drawing teachers into the campaign. They said teachers were also victims of DET corruption. Many teachers had requested leave to no avail. 'It is high time we worked with the teachers - they also have complaints,' said one parent.

When the question of a boycott was raised the meeting felt that this was not the best strategy. 'We cannot go



The age-limit law is denying many students the right to education.

it alone, we must mobilise students, parents and teachers alike. We must confront the DET from a position of strength,' said one student.

So far the petition has been gaining widespread support. In Soweto the Teachers Action Committee has expressed concern over the age-limit regulations. 'It has become very clear that our children's educational advancement is being impeded and their quest for education frustrated. Given the rottenness of the education system and the inhibiting environment both at school and at

home, our pupils cannot hope to complete matric before they are 20,' said one representative.

A spokesperson from COSAS saw the problems as reflecting the broader crisis in the education system. 'This age-limit law affects students around the country. Students in P.E. resisted it last year and its implementation was dropped. But this is an issue which must be taken up on all fronts. We call on progressive organisations and parents and teachers to support the students in their stand.'

New civic forms in Vryburg

GROWING DISSATISFACTION with the Vryburg community council has led to the formation of a civic association in the area.

In September last year a pamphlet was distributed in Vryburg calling for:

- *the building of more and proper houses;
- *rents people can afford;
- *proper, efficient and hazard-free sanitation;
- *an end to removals to Pudemong;

- *abolition of government-created community councils, and
- *formation of a civic association.

The pamphlet also informed people of a government resettlement plan in a nearby 'labour reservoir'.

The community council objected to the pamphlet and called an emergency meeting at which the people gave their full support to the demands in the pamphlet.

They said the community council

had refused to deal with their problems and had not fulfilled its promises. It had ignored the question of rents and had not informed people of government plans to destroy their houses. There were also allegations of the community councils collaborating with the government and bantustan leaders.

A delegation of 6 people from the meeting was mandated to accompany community council members to meet the regional manager of the Northern Cape Administration Board to discuss:

- *the powers and rights of the community council;
- *permission to let residents build houses, and
- *forced removals.

The regional manager refused to negotiate with the delegation and referred them to the community council. He informed them that 400 houses in the area had been declared uninhabitable and occupants would be moved to Pudemong.

At a heated report-back meeting a few weeks later, a motion of no confidence in the 'collaborationist' community council was passed. Community council elections would be boycotted.

A new civic association which would take up the people's demands was formed.

Education campaign spelt out

DRAWING UP an Education Charter should be seen as a long-term process. This was concluded after much debate at a joint session of the Azaso GSC (General Student Council) and Cosas National Council, both held in Durban in December.

The Education Charter campaign was initiated at the Azaso congress in June last year, attended by over 300 delegates from different universities.

They saw the Charter as:

- uniting students
- listing student demands throughout the country
- strengthening student organisation at universities and schools
- educating the community and students about SA's unjust educational system and the type of education the majority of students want
- providing a widely accepted set of demands against which students could compare the changes made by the government in the education system.

A steering committee of representatives from the different campuses was established at the congress.

Intense debate on the Education Charter over the last six months and at the GSC has clarified the campaign's process and Azaso's present priorities.

The GSC felt the campaign's initial conception was perhaps 'premature' and 'too optimistic'. To have maximum effect the campaign should be seen as a long-term process because:

- Azaso is still a young organisation and although it had grown rapidly in the last two years, its priority was to establish more branches and to consolidate existing ones.

● 1983 would be a particularly difficult year for workers because of massive retrenchments and the rising cost of living. This would limit participation of community and labour organisations in the Charter campaign, as they would be too tied up with issues directly affecting their own organisations.

● the demands of the Charter must emerge directly from student struggles. Each struggle provides practical lessons about organisation. Students gain a greater understanding from their own experience, enabling them to define more clearly their reasons for rejecting the present education system and to work out a constructive alternative. The Charter campaign if pushed too quickly could become a substitute for this valuable experience.

Noting that the best way to organise students was by focussing on the education system's inadequacies, the joint meeting resolved to 'lay the groundwork for a campaign to formulate an Education Charter which would be the product of the struggles waged in the past as well as the struggle waged by Azaso and Cosas'.

Students held on CMC voting day

THE GRAHAMSTOWN coloured management committee was faced with some unexpected opposition on election day.

Students from the local high school held a demonstration outside the voting hall on polling day and slogans were painted on the Grahamstown Recreation Hall.

During the protest, eleven students were arrested and later charged with malicious damage to property. A Rhodes journalism student was also taken in for questioning.

About 260 votes were cast in the elections. This represents 50 percent of registered voters, which according to a source, is only a small percentage of the coloured population in the town.

Problems raised as lengthy trial resumes

AFTER A lengthy court vacation, the last stretch of the marathon Mpeha trial has begun.

Oscar Mpeha and 17 others face charges of murder, alternatively terrorism or public violence following the death of two motorists during the 1980 schools boycotts in the Western Cape.

Before the trial resumed on February 8, the Western Cape Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) called together the accused's families and their lawyers to discuss their problems and the trial's expected course this year.

Various problems were raised by relatives and friends of those on trial. One parent said people who arrived

at court after the morning's proceedings had started, were locked out of the public gallery until the interval. Another said the accused were not held together in Polmoor prison, although up to three of them might be together in a cell.

The defence lawyers predict that the trial will last another three to four months. The last of the defence evidence, state and defence argument, is still to be heard. After argument has been completed, there is likely to be a postponement before judgement. Detained under Section 6 of the old Terrorism Act between August and late September in 1980, the accused were charged in December of that year.

The trial's immense length has caused great hardship both to the accused, who have been refused bail throughout, and to their families.

One parent said, 'It is the first time that we in South Africa have known such a long trial. The trial affects not only the accused but their parents as well. I felt so sorry that one mother died on her way to see her son in prison in Cape Town.'

'The parents feel very sad because some of the boys were breadwinners while others should have left school by now and helped. We feel our oppression harder even than before. Some parents have to take other children out of school to help support the family.'

SASPU NATIONAL

Explaining the West Indies and politics

The dust settles. Hysteria levels slowly descend. The West Indian cricketers pocket R100000 each and leave, pronouncing for all to hear that 'apartheid doesn't seem to be as bad as it is made out to be'. This, after spending six weeks in the hotels, at the cocktail parties, and on the cricket grounds of white 'international' South Africa.

The South African Cricket Union (SACU) rejoices because they think they have managed to 'keep politics out of sport'. For progressive-thinking South Africans, though, the West Indian tour demonstrated more than ever that sport and politics are inextricably linked.

It is a political fact that each West Indian cricketer earned over R100000 while over 3 million people are unemployed.

It is a political fact that the SABC televised hours and hours of cricket, while ignoring cholera epidemics and bus boycotts.

And it is a political fact that the government has finally come out and said it openly - that it will underwrite sports tours in case they incur losses. Clearly, it does the government's image wonders overseas when blacks are seen to be playing sport in the stadiums of South Africa.

But, sport has also become more than a huge public relations exercise for the government. It supports sport tours because they fit in well with the thrust of 'reform'. Many people will 'do a Labour Party' and be seduced by the razmatazz, hysteria and superficial non-racialism of an event like the West Indian tour.

They should not forget that for the government sport is a political weapon, and that the SACU unwittingly carries out the government's political aims when it lures overseas cricketers to South Africa.

LP shacks up with PW

The two events dominating the pages of newspapers the past month have been the decision of the Labour Party to participate in the proposed tricameral parliament, and the demolition of shacks in cities all round the country.

Unrelated events?

Not if one realises the seduction of a privileged black elite is not enough to make apartheid survive. A tightening up of influx control and the stringent application of security legislation are just some of the sticks that make the carrots possible.

National Detainees' Day organised

Detainees' Support Committees nationwide are launching a National Detainees' Day on Saturday 12 March. As the state continues to use detention against those involved in the struggle for a just and democratic country we will repeat our united call for the unqualified release of all detainees.

DELEGATES AT the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee (Tasc) Congress on January 22 were shocked when it was announced that Molvi Ismail Saloojee had passed away.

For over forty years, Molvi Saloojee played a leading role in democratic organisations in the Transvaal - initially in the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and then in the Tasc.

Molvi came to South Africa in 1930 after studying Islamic theory in India. He joined the TIC in the early 1940's at a time when an emerging group of Indian political activists were trying to change the TIC and Natal Indian Congress (NIC) into democratic, mass-based organisations.

Molvi Saloojee, together with people like Yusuf Dadoo, Molvi Cachalia, Naransami Naidoo, Nana Sita and Mervy Thandray, was instrumental in steering the TIC away from conservative influences. In 1942, he was also responsible for initiating the Bengal Relief Fund.

Molvi became prominent during the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign. The Indian community unanimously rejected the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, aimed at curtailing Indian property rights in exchange for token political representation.

The campaign against the 'Ghetto Act' culminated in a mass rally of 15000 people in Durban's Red Square on June 13, 1946, which had been declared Resistance Day by NIC and TIC.

During this campaign, Molvi Saloojee led the first group of political resisters in the Transvaal. 'There will be no retreat - even if I have to die', he said.

15 other groups, totalling 199 people, followed Molvi's lead, and either served sentences or paid fines.

He also participated in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, in which 8000 people served prison terms for defying oppressive laws. He was one of the delegates at the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955, where the Freedom Charter was formulated.

Molvi Saloojee was one of the many victims of the repressive period of the early 1960's. He held his position as TIC president despite being imprisoned. But in 1964 he was banned for ten years.

We salute a tireless fighter for democracy



'There will be no retreat' - Molvi Saloojee

When Molvi was unbanned in 1974, at the age of 76, he was still determined to contribute. He played a prominent role in the successful Anti-Saic campaign, speaking at rallies throughout the Transvaal.

At the commemoration meeting held for Molvi Saloojee, a speaker said Molvi's commitment would be a 'guiding light through a trying period'.

Another speaker said: 'we will only break faith with Molvi if we fail to make our contribution towards the course for which he stood and fought; we will only break faith with him if we place expediency above the unity of the oppressed for which he tirelessly strived; we shall break faith with him if we forsake the Freedom Charter for a constitutional monstrosity.'

Community revival of Pebco

PEBCO IS on the move again!

That's the message from newly elected general secretary, Vuyisile Oliphant.

Oliphant is part of a new executive headed by Pebco president Qauauli Godolozzi which was voted in at a meeting of Pebco branches last year.

'Pebco at first addressed itself to the real issues when it was formed,' says Oliphant in an interview with Saspu National.

Faced with high rents, residents in the Port Elizabeth township of Zwide formed the Zwide Residents' Association under the leadership of Thozamile Botha in 1978 to take on the East Cape Administration Board.

Soon other residents associations built up rapidly until they formed a federation - the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation - in 1979.

But as it grew into a mass community organisation - with boycotts and rallies - Pebco turned more and more to national issues to the detriment of civic issues for which it was originally created, says Oliphant.

'I'm not saying that Pebco should not address itself to national issues, but it should address itself primarily to civic issues.'

'People who attended those Pebco meetings didn't understand what we stood for. They heard that Pebco was there to 'liberate them'. Hence you found a lot of sloganeering and freedom singing at rallies which later chased away the very people that should attend Pebco rallies - the older people who occupy houses, the tenants,' Oliphant points out.

The organisation grew top heavy - and faced with bannings and detentions in 1979 went through a crisis in leadership that has split the organisation to the present day.

Pebco plans to take a low profile in the coming months. It will focus on building up grassroots support and membership with a system of ward representatives and action committees. The ward representatives are part of a new democratic structure to

broaden active support for one of the most well-known civic organisations.

At the same time, Pebco plans to create sub-committees on matters such as health, labour, youth, women, law, culture and sport to provide skills and information to back up the organisation's work.

These specialist sub-committees - 15 are planned in all - will sit together on an action committee.

'Rent, transport and education are dire problems which are facing us at the moment but the present executive feels we cannot tackle those issues right now until we are established.'

'When Botha was banned it was difficult to elect a new leadership. The organisation was top heavy and people didn't know how to participate in it,' says Oliphant.

'We feel that with the new strategy even if the whole exec is removed, Pebco will still be able to continue.'

Oliphant says Pebco's policy will be 'open ended'. At one stage Pebco was overtly influenced by black consciousness thinking, he says.

'We believe that Pebco should not subscribe to any philosophy or ideology because it is for all the residents of Port Elizabeth.'

'In other words we are providing the people with an opportunity to discuss what they expect from Pebco and how they think it should work. This will give them the chance to develop the ability to solve problems themselves and make Pebco the sole and authentic voice of Port Elizabeth's people.'

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Fight proposal fraud together - congress

THE PRESIDENT'S Council proposals were an attempt to con South Africans and the world that the Government was moving to democracy and power sharing.

This was said at the recent Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (Tasc) Congress in Johannesburg where the new constitution was slammed as a way to reinforce white economic and political control by drawing coloureds and Indians into a streamlined Apartheid.

The congress, attended by a cross-section of the country's community, trade union, student and women's organisations, in a unanimous rejection of the proposals, voted to form a United Democratic Front to fight the government's reform initiatives.

Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, sounded the call for a national front to oppose the 'new deal'.

'Most of the churches and all the democratically minded organisations in our communities have unequivocally rejected the proposals,' he said. 'Because we are all committed to a non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa, these organisations must unite on this issue, pool our resources and inform the people of the fraud that is to be perpetrated in their name.'

The proposals were condemned as trying to co-opt coloureds and Indians to make the 'Apartheid machine' run more smoothly, and were a move by the government to meet the economic, military and political crisis it faces.

This new deal, worked on ethnic lines and excluding the country's Africans, would reinforce the

A front to oppose 'new deal'

A STEERING committee to launch a united front to oppose the new constitutional proposals was formed at the Tasc congress.

This decision came after a call by Rev Allan Boesak for a national body to resist the President's Council proposals. 'There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student and other organisations should not unite on this issue,' he said.

The congress appointed a commission, comprising 60 delegates from different parts of the country, to look into the feasibility of such a front.

The commission's report that there was a need for a United Democratic Front (UDF) because the constitutional and reform proposals were rejected 'in totality and without exception', was unanimously adopted by the congress.

The steering committee was elected to consult with other organisations on forming the UDF and on its structure.

It was felt the Front needed broad participation and could not be formally constituted until wide consultation had occurred.

However, the following principles would determine its membership:

- *A belief in the tenets of democracy.
- *An unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non-racial, unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations as formulated in the bantustan policy.

- *An adherence to the need for unity in struggle through which all democrats regardless of race, religion or colour shall take part together.

- *A recognition of the necessity to work in consultation with, and reflect accurately the demands of, democratic people wherever they may be - in worker, community and student organisations.

Four organisations, the Tasc, NIC, Release Mandela Committee and Azaso have already committed themselves to the UDF, with others expected to join once they have consulted their own membership.



A standing ovation for opening speaker, Helen Joseph

homeland system, said Boesak. 'But black people have not been fooled by the independence of these bush republics. We know they are a sham, and are no more than dumping grounds for the discarded people of this land. And we won't be fooled by the new lies of these proposals.'

'Through changing the constitution,' he said, 'Botha is trying to do the same thing differently in order for it to remain the same.'

In-depth discussions on the proposals showed flaws in the government's claims to be moving towards 'democracy' and 'power sharing'.

The new constitution will have a three chambered parliament - one for whites, one for coloureds and one for Indians, with representation at a ratio of 4:2:1 to ensure the white vote is always decisive. The coloured and Indian chambers would deal only with 'matters of segmental concern', while 'matters of crucial concern' - the budget, foreign policy, defence and so on - would be handled by joint sittings of the three chambers. Because of the numerical white majority, they would always have the final say in decisions.

But the real power would lie in an executive president, voted in by an electoral college representing the majority parties in each parliamentary chamber. In effect this means the president will be elected by the National Party. A deadlock in parliament would be resolved by the president and the President's Council, of which 45 out of 60 members will be white.

'These features,' said one speaker, 'ensure white domination and give coloureds and Indians a mere spectator role in propping up the decisions of white executives.'

The local proposals, 'to place decision-making in the hands of local



Sasu president, Thozamile Gqweta, rejects new constitutional proposals.

authorities', were rejected as an attempt to reduce the government's responsibility for providing for its citizens' welfare. 'The effect is that although we are in no way responsible for the Group Areas Act, but rather its victims, we will increasingly have to shoulder the cost burden of

the problems caused by racial separation,' said chairperson of Tasc, Dr Essop Jassat.

He said the constitutional proposals reinterpreted the concept of democracy. 'Together with other reforms disguised as meaningful change, this is the old, discredited

and hated man called Racial Discrimination, Separate Development, Apartheid, and Self Determination, washed, shaved and fitted out in new clothes.'

Democracy no longer meant extending franchise and citizenship but a form of constitutional democracy based on strictly controlled and unequal group representation.

The other side of reform, he said, was repression. 'The recent barrage of security legislation, the high defence budget, bannings, detention and new press controls show the big stick behind the rotten and dangling carrot of reform.'

In a motion unanimously passed by the congress, the main reasons for rejecting the proposals were:

- *They have been imposed without consultation or active participation of the country's people.

- *They make race and ethnicity the only criteria for the right to take part in government.

- *They don't begin to redress the intrinsic economic and social inequalities which have been the result of centuries of white domination.

- *They perpetuate and consolidate economic and racial exploitation and entrench the Apartheid state.

The constitution's base of ethnic representation was seen as another way to divide the black community.

'Indians, coloureds and Africans are fully integral to South African soil,' said Jassat, 'and soil that is not bonded will not produce growth. The government's policies have deliberately worked to prevent this soil from binding.'

President of the South African Allied Workers' Union, Thozamile Gqweta, said, 'These proposals again show racism to be the cornerstone of white control.'

Professor Jerry Coovadia of the Natal Indian Congress said blacks in a favourable economic position would be most vulnerable to be drawn into the reform initiatives. 'Our task is to dissuade the professionals and business interests from being sucked into the apartheid machinery for what they see as immediate benefits and our duty is to make all aware of the very real dangers of participating,' he said.

An old official of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), part of the Congress Alliance in the 50's, called for the TIC's revival. This was supported by the Congress and the Tasc was mandated to approach some of the old TIC leadership to do this.

After hearing that Molvi Saloojee, past president of the TIC who was too ill to give the opening speech, had died, the congress paid tribute to him as 'a man who had remained undaunted and firm in his stand for truth and justice for all South Africans'.

'LP join as juniors in apartheid'

THE LABOUR Party's decision to accept the President's Council proposals had made them the junior partners in apartheid, said Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed churches, at the Anti-SAIC congress in Johannesburg.

'In terms of active planning and legislation, Apartheid no longer has a white face,' he said. On the Labour Party's decision to 'join the system to fight the system', he said: 'What you call compromise is actually selling out your principles, your ideals and the future of your children.' He



Rev Allan Boesak

pointed to the Labour Party's rejection of the 1977 constitutional proposals - because they entrenched apartheid, excluded Africans, were formulated by the government and not SA's people and entrenched white domination. 'What's changed?' asked Boesak. 'We must continue to show South Africans and the world there are people who refuse to be intimidated by the violence of Apartheid or tempted by its sugar-coated fruits.'

Tighter influx control linked to govt reform

THE ORDERLY Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, introduced at the end of 1982, meant intensifying influx control which would result in massive pass raids and prosecutions.

This was said in a motion passed by the Tasc congress, where the Koornhof Bill was condemned as introducing small concessions for 'legal' urban blacks, while increasing rural poverty and suffering.

Other resolutions at the congress included:

- *Condemning the transfer of certain powers relating to 'Indian Education' and the possible transfer of welfare

power to the Saic.

- *Rejecting 'dummy' institutions like management and local affairs committees.

- *Supporting the total sporting and cultural isolation of SA and slamming the West Indians for 'showing complete disregard for our people'.

- *Rejecting the Reagan Administration for supporting the government's constitutional reforms.

- *Calling upon all sections of the people to reject and resist the government's proposals and pledge to 'strive with all the people, sparing neither strength nor courage for a truly democratic non-racial South Africa'

Aftermath of the

WRAB SMASH 'n GRAB

They weren't pretty. Or warm. Or even comfortable. But they were houses ... until the men from Wrab arrived



The build

ON FEBRUARY 2 workmen from the Soweto Community Council and West Rand Administration Board (Wrab) policemen armed with batons and machineguns pulled down about 20 shacks in Orlando East.

One day earlier, a meeting of shack-dwellers called by the Orlando Civic Association had resolved not to demolish their shacks until alternative accommodation was provided, despite the Council's threats of tough fines and prosecution under the Squatters Act.

Fifteen shack-dwellers subsequently won interdicts in the Supreme Court preventing the Council from demolishing their shacks, but the destruction of other people's homes continues.

The Soweto Council and Wrab did not just pull the shacks down, but also took away all possessions and building materials.

Tenants could get their property back if they paid the Council a fee for 'transport and storage' but their building materials, worth hundreds of rands, were confiscated. Some shack-dwellers had come home from work to find their homes flat-

tened, and many stayed away from work to protect their belongings. Others pulled their own shacks down to save the building materials.

The Soweto Council and Wrab have been harassing shack-dwellers for a long time. Approximately 23,000 families live in backyard shacks in Soweto.

In May last year, the Council began demolishing shacks in White City Jabavu. Fifty women marched to the Council in protest, and were told to apply for new houses in Chiawelo - where rents will be R100 a month.

In September, Wrab ordered Orlando East residents to demolish their shacks by November 10. The residents defied the order and large-scale raids on shack-dwellers followed. Of about 1,000 people arrested, 300 paid fines. Thirty-five people were charged with erecting illegal structures, but these charges were later withdrawn.

The Soweto Council director of housing, Mr Oosthuizen, said the shacks were being pulled down because they were a 'health

hazard' and an 'eyesore'. The chairman of Wrab, Mr Knoetze, also said the shacks were a danger to health and safety, and shack-dwellers were 'arrogantly flouting the law.'

If people are living in 'health hazards' - and other health hazards such as blocked sewerage and water shortages are not always taken care of so speedily - it is not out of choice. One man whose shack was flattened has lived in Orlando East for 46 years and has been on the waiting list for a house for 17 years. Another man built a shack for his married son, who had waited nearly 9 years for a house, and was then told to apply for a housing loan.

It is the severe shortage of houses in Soweto (and other townships) which has forced people to put up shacks. The housing backlog in Soweto is estimated at 35,000 houses and many people say it is even higher. In 1981, the total number of houses built in all Wrab townships was only 828.

According to a member of the Orlando Civic Association the last house was built in Orlando in 1958.

... MEANWHILE IN CAPE TOWN ...

Mass action wins right for shelter

THE RIGHT for 2,500 families to build houses on the KTC site near Guguletu was won in February after a bitter struggle between authorities and township residents.

The concession represents a significant breakthrough for mass protest, but still leaves many thousands of black families in the peninsula homeless. These are the so-called 'illegals' who travel to the cities to escape the dire poverty of the homelands. They make up about 42 percent of Cape Town's black population.

The struggle at KTC, led by the women of the township, was essentially a protest against the conditions suffered by people with section 10 rights. Families left their overcrowded houses in the townships and within a week a mini-town of nearly 100 branch and plastic shelters mushroomed on the KTC site.

The authorities moved in with force and razed the camp to the ground within two days. Rioting erupted as angry youths watched their parents'

homes being demolished by Administration Board workers protected by a heavily armed cordon of police.

About 2,000 township residents pledged their support for the squatters at a meeting hastily convened by the United Women's Organisation.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koorhof, then announced that 2,500 homes would be given permission to live in controlled self-build units at the KTC site.

For the first time a site and service scheme had been considered as an alternative to the Western Cape's chronic housing shortage.

For almost a decade, up to 1980, the Government refused to build houses for blacks in Cape Town. The severe shortage has led to cases of three families sharing a room. Conditions became unbearable and residents began building their own shelters in the bush.

Heavily armed convoys of police and administration board vehicles



KTC shrouded in teargas.

have become a daily sight in the townships. The pattern is for the convoys to surround a site where makeshift shelters have been erected and send workers in to demolish the homes and cart the materials off.

Reporters on the scene have been told to leave the area while the operation is in progress or their township permits would be summarily confiscated.

There are approximately 3,000 people on the waiting lists for houses. Rumours amongst officials who allocate houses are rife. The Administration Board estimates a shortage of 600 units which means a shortage of housing for about 40,000 people. But these figures do not include 'illegals' - blacks in the peninsula who make up 42 percent of the black population. Taking them into account, it

is estimated that there is a shortage of houses for more than 20,000 people.

Legal residents on the waiting lists are forced to board with relatives or friends in badly overcrowded conditions.

At the beginning of last year there were 21,565 families living in 14,229 family housing units and 2,102 squatter dwellings. There were also 37,169 hostel beds. In the first six months of 1981, 209 housing units were built and 250 single quarters were converted to family units.

The estimated shortage of family accommodation was 7,135 units and 1,000 hostel beds.

To aggravate the position, in the four years prior to last year, 10,000 applications for employment of Africans were refused in terms of the coloured labour preference area



All that remains

policy.

Residents have become tired of moving from house to house while they try to hold down low paid jobs. Worst affected are married women who leave their husbands. It is virtually impossible for them to legally secure a house.

Raids on black's 'illegally' living in Cape Town have continued with unabated ferocity. A survey by the Black Sash has found that over 90 percent of those 'illegally' in the area are gainfully employed.

Resistance to pass raids has been tried in many forms. In most cases however, it has only achieved concessions which have left the resisters in limbo.

A huge tent town has mushroomed near Crossroads where people have been waiting for a decision on their



... came leaving a path of pain and destruction.



No mercy for the disabled.

At the beginning of 1982, the government announced that funds for African housing would be cut back. People applying for houses are told to apply for loans, build on site-and-service schemes, take out 99-year leaseholds - in other words pay for the houses themselves.

Wrab and the Council are trying to do the same thing with the shack-dwellers. They are telling them there is R3,5m in loans available for people to build extensions to their houses, instead of putting up shacks.

One woman who had been on the housing list for seven years and whose shack was demolished said: 'We are told about applying for loans ... for extensions, but how on earth are we going to repay the money when the officials know we earn very little.'

A spokesperson for the Orlando Civic Association said loans were not what people wanted. It was time Wrab built houses for lower-income groups and for those who had been on the housing list for years.

It seems strange that people's homes are being destroyed

when there is a chronic shortage of accommodation. One reason the state is doing this is because housing has always been used to help enforce the pass laws. Since 1964, African workers could not enter an urban area unless they had 'approved accommodation', meaning a house, a lodger's permit or a hostel bed. The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill makes this even stricter. Africans who are already living in urban areas will not be allowed to stay unless they have approved accommodation.

Wrab is destroying the shacks because it wants complete control over who enters and lives in the townships. They are using the Soweto Council to carry out their dirty work. It is not surprising that shack-dwellers all over South Africa are under attack - in Cape Town, in Katlehong, and in Daveyton, where service charges for shacks have been increased from R3 to R7,50.

The shack-dwellers and various civic organisations have been

fighting against the demolitions. Meetings have been held where hundreds have resolved not to pull their shacks down. The Soweto Council has been prevented from demolishing certain shacks by an interim decision of the Supreme Court and there are plans to appeal on behalf of other shack-dwellers.

The Supreme Court will make a final decision about the 15 shacks on February 22, but officials of the Council and Wrab have said this will not prevent demolition of the other 4,000 shacks. This was made clear when shacks were pulled down after the court ruling, although Knoetze claimed they had stopped. It is also clear shack demolition will continue after February 22. As Knoetze said, 'If the judgement goes against us ... we will have to consider other ways to achieve our goals.'

Court rulings alone will not prevent the pulling down of the Orlando shacks. A spokesperson for the Soweto Civic Association said the demolition of shacks was a challenge to all people in Soweto to unite: 'It is a simple issue of fighting for accommodation for desperate people who are homeless ...'

... AND IN KATLEHONG ...

Shack city hopes are bulldozed to dust

ONE THOUSAND shacks have been demolished in Katlehong near Germiston since November last year despite promises by the local community council that the shacks would remain.

The problem began in 1979 when factories in the nearby industrial areas increased their demand for labour. The township became overcrowded and workers were forced to build shacks.

Initially the authorities turned a blind eye to the shacks even though they were illegal under the Squatters Act. The chairperson of the community council even invited workers to build shacks.

Most of the shack-dwellers were on the waiting list for houses and were thus legally entitled to stay in an urban area.

Small one room dwellings, separated by a curtain into a 'bedroom' and 'kitchen/dining room' sprang up all over the township in the yards of already existing houses.

They were made of zinc, wood and cardboard or bought ready-made from companies under the name of 'Zozos'.

In 1980 there were 8,000 shacks in Katlehong, in April last year there were 21,760 and about 15,000 more have gone up in the last ten months. No wonder Katlehong is nicknamed 'shack-city'.

There are twice as many shacks as houses in the township and an



Homes reduced to rubble.

average of two to three shacks per yard.

In some cases 12 to 16 shacks have been erected in a single yard.

Last year the East Rand Administration Board (Erab) recognised the existence of the shacks by demanding that landlords pay for each shack in their yards. Shack-dwellers pay their landlords between R15 and R20 per month of which R5 goes to the Erab.

But now the Erab has changed its tune. It claims that only 20 percent of the shack-dwellers are legal residents and is demolishing shacks.

While residents reject the distinction between so-called 'legal' and 'illegal' residents, they say that many of the shacks that have been demolished belonged to the 'legals'.

The community council also promised in its election campaign that the shacks would not be demolished because they were legal.

Trade unions and community organisations in the area understand the issue in broader terms. They point out that when the workers had jobs the authorities did not mind if they built illegal structures.

However, due to the recession the authorities are becoming concerned with the number of unemployed people in the townships. By demolishing shacks they are forcing retrenched workers to return to the homelands.

The community council says the shacks are a 'headache' but they can't do anything because they lack finances. Yet they received R2 million for new community council offices.

'The real reason why they can't do anything is because the central authorities want the number of organised workers in the industrial areas reduced,' says Sam Ntuli, Fosatu organiser.

'They do not want to build more homes for workers,' he said.

Many of the shack dwellers are members of the Metal and Allied Workers Union and other trade unions. At a Germiston shop steward council meeting the demolition of shacks was strongly condemned.

The East Rand People's Organisation (Erapo) has also condemned the demolitions and called for united action to fight the situation.

'It is not enough to oppose the demolition of shacks,' said a resident, 'we need to demand proper houses and facilities.' Because of the large number of shacks there is massive overloading of the water and sewerage system. The shack dwellers use the same facilities as the house residents.

The sewerage system has not worked since October last year and in some areas since June. Pipes have burst, flooding houses and shacks with excrement and causing an invasion of flies.

The water supply is weak and inconsistent and refuse collection occasionally breaks down. Doctors, nurses and health inspectors have repeatedly warned of the danger of epidemics.



Broken structures.

fate for more than 18 months.

The second phase of new Crossroads has been shelved resulting in chronic overcrowding in shacks in old Crossroads. A blanket towing has sprung up in Crossroads consisting of people who are legally entitled to be in the area but refuse to live in cramped rooms adjoining existing structures.

The policy of the Government is to keep the western Cape white and coloured and only allow Africans into the area on a controlled basis as long as their labour is required.

The new head of the Western Cape Administration, Mr J Gunther, has said it is his ambition to make up the backlog of houses, but in the same breath concedes that there isn't a chance unless a housing commission allocates more funds for housing.

Party labours to sell its line

THE LABOUR Party is on the run.

After their decision in Eshowe to 'go inside', they have met with condemnation from all sides. The people's message has been blunt - you are sell-outs and stooges and you are not our leaders.

A nationwide speaking tour by Allan Hendrikse, party leader, to sell the LP move, has instead become a forum for the coloured people to show their rejection of the LP decision.

Meetings around the country have been characterised by heckling and interjections, and have usually degenerated into chaos. LP leaders have had to resort to the police for protection. Jac Rabie, Transvaal leader of the party, is now threatening to form a 'military wing'.

Police have been present at almost all the meetings and have twice used tear gas to control demonstrators. In East London, a busload of workers was stoned by unknown elements as they were leaving the meeting. But it seems that LP members have provoked much of the violence.

At the few meetings where motions of confidence in the LP were passed, there have been conflicting accounts of what really occurred.

While Hendrikse regards the disrupters as an 'orchestrated and manipulated minority', he is fearful of some communities. Meetings were cancelled in Ravensmead and Coronationville, and police only admitted LP supporters at a meeting in Eldorado Park.

At the meetings, Hendrikse has been labelled a 'boereboetie' and the crowds have chanted, 'we want Boesak'. Dr Allan Boesak, recently elected president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has come out strongly against the LP and refused to take part in a debate at the University of Cape Town because David Curry, national chairperson of the LP, was to be present on the platform.

Political groups from Inkatha to the Natal Indian Congress have condemned the LP. This stand has been echoed by student and teacher organisations and trade unions.

Fosatu have totally rejected the government's proposals and the LP's participation. Relations between Fosatu and the LP have deteriorated since Hendrikse came out against a strike in Uitenhage last year. Membership of his Uitenhage congregation has since declined.

In East London, SAAWU, the General Workers Union and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union have rejected the LP decision. In Vredenburg last month, an LP meeting was virtually taken over by members of the Food and Canning Workers Union. When they withdrew from the meeting the unionists stated that workers had never given the LP a mandate to negotiate with the government on their behalf.

After the Eshowe decision to 'go inside', much has been made in government circles and in the liberal press of the fact that the LP is the biggest coloured political party.

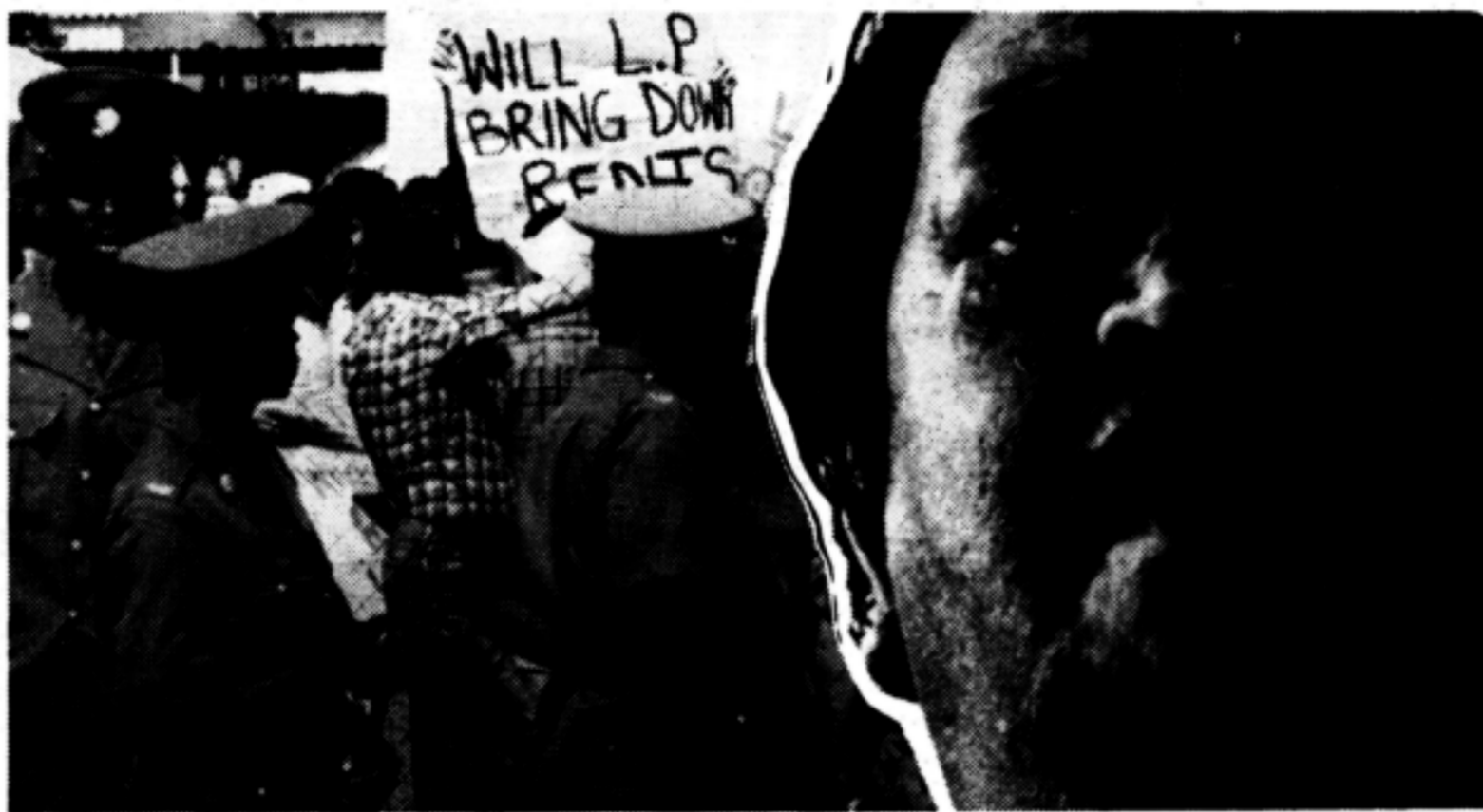
This cannot be disputed - it is the largest formal political grouping of coloured people in the country. But to say the LP represents the majority of coloured people, is like saying the white parliament represents the majority of South Africa's people. The percentages are about the same.

The party was formed in October 1965, to contest elections for the Coloured Representative Council.

The founding constitution stated that the party would 'strive for the effective participation of all workers (later amended to 'people') in the government of the country, by participation in the councils of the nation'.

A clause saying the party would strengthen the trade union movement was also later removed. A clause which still remains reads: 'The party is dedicated to vigorously opposing communism in all its forms'.

The ambiguous position of the LP was clear from the start. The initial scepticism of the majority of coloured people was confirmed by the actions of the LP in subsequent



Police confront the people in Eldorado Park.

Allan Hendrikse, Labour Party leader.



Community paper, Grassroots' slamming of LP held high by protestors in Vredenburg.

After years of flirting with the government the Labour Party has finally entered the laager. And battleground reportbacks show this is no popular decision.

years - talking the politics of liberation yet practicing the politics of collaboration.

The LP first contested CRC elections in 1969 on an anti-apartheid ticket. They won 26 seats, while their runners-up, the pro-apartheid Federal Party, took 12. Then, in one of the supreme acts of political cynicism seen in South Africa, the government nominated 20 apartheid supporters - mainly FP members - to make up the total of 60 seats, giving the FP an effective six person majority on the council. During the election, the LP told voters that if they won they would refuse to take up their seats and 'prove in this way that the coloured people reject apartheid and the CRC'.

Despite this and despite the government's action against the party, the LP decided to enter the CRC as an opposition party.

In 1972, the party congress resolved to boycott all entertainment and sporting events organised on a racial basis. Thousands of stickers stating 'this is petty apartheid' were distributed. One of the main figures in

this campaign, V R Noel, the Natal youth leader, was later banned.

The second CRC elections took place in 1975. The LP received 62% of the vote, although only 10% of the coloured people supported the election. The LP took 31 seats and the government nominated four more LP members giving the LP a 35-25 majority in the council.

The LP, also fought this election, promising to close the CRC if elected. Instead, the party decided not only to enter into the council, but also to accept the five executive positions with their higher salaries and official cars. The then leader of the party, Sonny Leon, accepted the position of executive chairman.

The LP leaders now found themselves in an even more ambivalent position - they were working within and in nominal charge of a system they had pledged to destroy. So they prepared themselves for a limited confrontation. Instead of 'playing the system' like the homeland leaders, they would actively work towards 'wrecking' it, they said.

To this end they boycotted the opening ceremony of the CRC and in the no-confidence debate adjourned the Council for a period of six months. An initial motion to adjourn the Council until the government met the demands of the coloured people was temporarily dropped due to incorrect wording. Members of the executive also refused to occupy their official residences in protest against the living conditions of the coloured people, but made full use of official vehicles and chauffeurs.

Shortly before the opening of the 1976 CRC session, Rev Allan Hendrikse, then vice-chairperson of the party, was detained. At the opening ceremony, LP members lined the entrance to the CRC chambers wearing black armbands and carrying placards calling for the release of Hendrikse and other detainees. Hendrikse was released before the majority of other detainees after he had apparently given a written undertaking to disassociate himself from extra constitutional agitation and denounced the 'violence' unleashed by Sowetan youth.

When the CRC was finally abolished by the government in February 1980, Curry hailed the decision as a 'victory for the party and a ratification of its stand'.

In every speech they have made on their tour, the party leadership have stressed their role in the CRC as a major victory and have said they will operate in the same way should the tri-cameral parliament not live up to expectations.

Yet many dispute that the LP was responsible for the demise of the CRC. 'Their participation in and outspoken criticism of the council gave it a credibility it could never have achieved had they refused to take up their seats or refused to contest the elections,' University of the Western Cape lecturer, Prof Jakes Gerwel.

'Without the LP, the government's dummy body would not even have gained a modicum of credibility,' he continues.

With the end of the CRC, LP members lost their salaries of R15,000 a year, although longer serving members received a 50 percent pension.

The LP also continued to serve on local management committees. The party has never taken a principled stand on this issue. At their 1981 Congress, they adopted a resolution which read, 'Party members serving on management committees shall extract from their services every political benefit possible for the party and shall not co-operate with their respective local authorities in any manner that might serve to entrench the current system of local government'.

Here, as in the CRC, the LP has given powerless, ineffective bodies a credibility they do not deserve.

The party rejected the government's constitutional proposals when they were first introduced in 1977. Hendrikse described the proposals, which do not differ fundamentally from the 1982 proposals, as indicative of 'decadence, immorality and a sick society and an attempt to entrench racism in the constitution'.

Curry, when the second report of the President's Council's constitutional committee was released, said it was a 'clever and sophisticated scheme for entrenching baaskap.' He said he could not believe the proposals would be acceptable to the coloured community.

This from the same Curry who 42 days later rose to his feet at the Eshowe Congress and said: 'We in the Labour Party have decided we are going inside.'

The Eshowe Congress in January was loaded with delegates from the rural areas. Two members who resigned from the party later alleged that small country constituencies which normally never send delegates to the annual congress because of the expenses involved, were represented this year by four or five delegates each.

Controversy also surrounds the voting on the participation motion. According to members who resigned, some delegates were tricked by the voting procedure. Hendrikse read the resolution, which was framed in vague and ambiguous language, and called for a show of hands without first calling for amendments or objections.

Since the Congress, LP leaders have used progressive rhetoric to justify their stand. They unabashedly quote Nelson Mandela, who in 1958 distinguished between boycott as a tactic and boycott as a principle.

The LP's leaders deny they have accepted the government's proposals. They say if they cannot make the system work for them they will destroy it in the way they forced the CRC to collapse. They claim they will use their position within the parliament to gain full political rights for all South Africans.

But the events of recent weeks show that they are not being believed. Rather, as Allan Boesak says, they have become 'junior partners of apartheid'. Boesak concludes: 'From now on, they will share the responsibility for apartheid.'

Congress body - revival in Tvl

Saspu National interviews the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee on the decision to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Q: The recent Tasc congress decided to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress. Why?

A: At the congress it was decided there was a need for a fully-fledged political organisation. The reasons for this must be seen in terms of the anti-Saic campaign. This campaign dislodged the reactionary and collaborationist hold over the Indian community in the Transvaal, throwing their ranks into complete chaos and disrepute.

The Tasc presented an alternative political leadership and organisation to the community in the context of a massive popular rejection of apartheid and its puppets.

The campaign was the first national political campaign in the Indian areas since the Defiance Campaign, and served as an important lever for advancing the level of political consciousness in the Indian areas. But by the close of the campaign it had become evident that we could no longer make gains by mobilising public support through mass meetings and distributing newsletters, and that we needed to create the basis for ongoing political activity and organisation. Only in this way could we provide the community in which we are based with consistent political, moral and intellectual leadership.

For us, a political organisation is necessary for developing a broad political consciousness in our areas. We believe this task becomes all the more important in the face of state initiatives to co-opt an elite from our community.

In summary we need a political organisation to:

- Consolidate the gains made during the anti-Saic campaign.
- Entrench the position of the political leadership that emerged during the campaign.
- Make alliances with religious, cultural, sporting and other organisations which already exist in our communities and draw them together in an attempt to unify them under one political programme.
- Politically channel and transform day to day struggles.

This position clearly requires that we form a political organisation with a coherent political programme and not just an ad-hoc arrangement.

Q: Why can't Tasc itself play the role of a political organisation?

A: The Tasc has attempted to play this role after the anti-Saic campaign. However, the structure, content and history of Tasc limited the extent to which it could act as a political organisation.

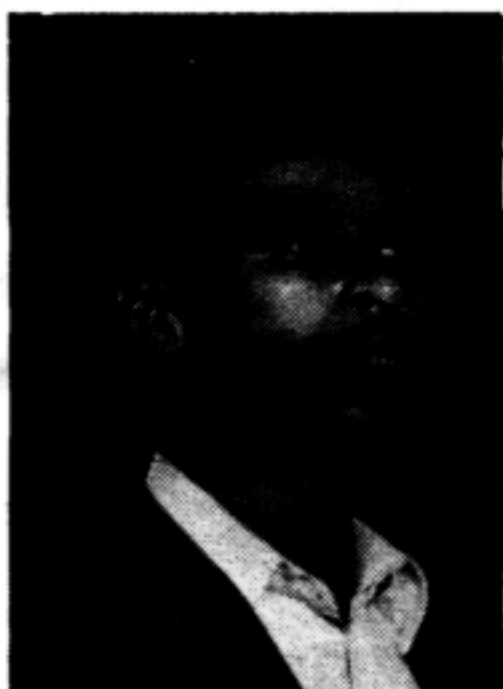
The Tasc operated as a committee which sought to mobilise the Indian community in the Transvaal against the Saic elections. It is viewed as an issue-oriented organisation rather than a political organisation with a long-term programme.

Q: How can an essentially Indian based political organisation advance the struggle for a non-racial society?

A: To achieve a non-racial and democratic South Africa, we need to ensure that the methods used to achieve these ideals are successful in building grass-roots unity. We must not confuse goals and methods nor should we mistake the consciousness of political activists and intellectuals



Exec member, N G Patel



Exec member, Samson Ndou



Vice chair, Ram Saloojee

for the consciousness of the masses. The physical separation of the oppressed people has imposed limitations on us and we have been forced to organise in our separate communities. During the 70's activists negated these factors and confused their ideals and the consciousness of intellectuals for the community's as a whole. At that time, students were forced to take the political initiative at national level since the people's leaders were banned, jailed or exiled. Thus the organisations functioning then failed to win mass popular support in our communities. The other side of their isolation from a mass base was the popularity of local management committees set up by the state.

Equipped with an understanding of these realities and a constant awareness of our goals, we must work towards constructing a solid unity and identity of the oppressed. This, we believe, can only be done through joint struggles around common issues and not simply through sloganeering and literary propaganda. The anti-Saic campaign bears testimony to the correctness of this approach. No other progressive organisation since the disbandment of TIC can claim to have had the same success with a political campaign in our community.

Q: With the PC proposals confronting both the coloured and Indian community, would it not have been more appropriate to form a united organisation to fight them?

A: The decision to revive the TIC is based on concrete conditions prevailing in the 'Indian' community and the correspondingly different development in the 'coloured' com-

munity.

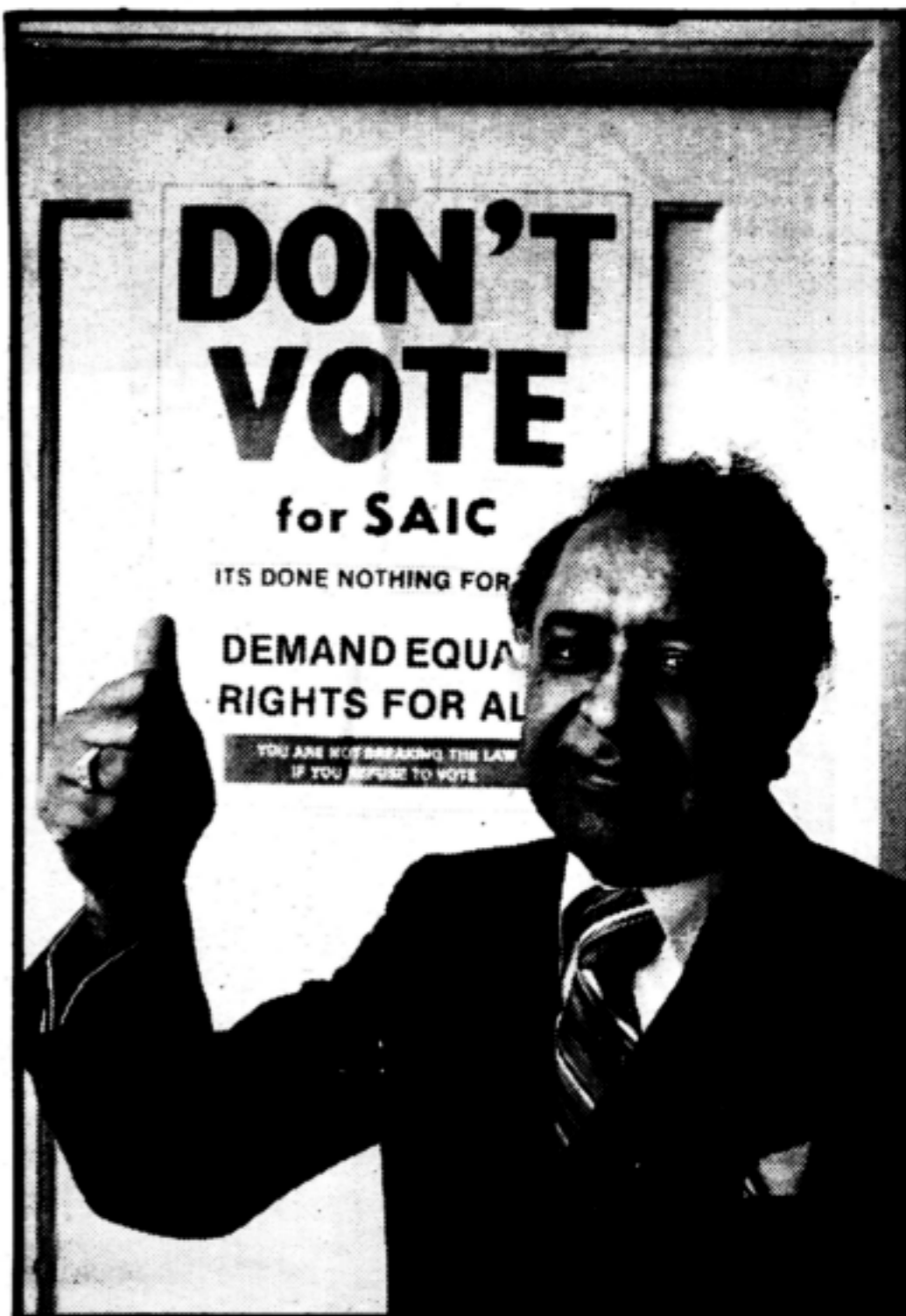
We agree that the PC proposals now more clearly than ever highlight the similar objective relationship of these two communities to the state. However it does not thereby follow that historically evolved differences - of both an objective and subjective nature - have suddenly disappeared.

The two communities are still segregated in different areas, have different internal class structures, have undergone different political experiences particularly in recent times and are not organised to the same extent or in the same ways. We believe, that under such conditions, any attempt to form a single political party, attempting to mobilise support in both communities, will succeed, in fact, only in harnessing a base within one or other of the two communities and will be perceived at a mass level to have an ethnic bias. This will place obstacles in the way of developing mass organisation in all areas.

On the other hand, we believe establishing distinct structures, sensitive to the unique conditions confronted by these two oppressed communities and linked by co-ordinating structures, will ensure both mass organisation and the unity of the oppressed at a mass level.

There is much reason for optimism. A progressive movement based on growing support for the emerging trade unions, the growth of community and youth organisations and progressive church leadership is in the process of consolidating itself in opposition to reformist and opportunist elements within the Labour Party.

And in the Indian areas, the anti-Saic movement, which has its own origins, history and character, has made important political advances.



Tasc chairperson, Essop Jassat



Secretary, Ismail Memoniat

We believe that joint action against the President's Council's fraud will lay the basis for the convergence of these two movements at a grass roots level.

Q: There have been criticisms that the TIC is an ethnic body. What is your feeling on this?

A: The criticisms are unfounded and fraught with misconception. We believe an organisation can only be accused of being ethnic if it evokes amongst its supporters an ethnic identity - if it encourages ethnic separatism and protects and advances its own separate and corporate group interests.

When the TIC is mentioned, what comes immediately to mind is not ethnicism, but historical events and symbols rich in meaning - the Congress of the People, Defiance Campaign, Congress Alliance, the Freedom Charter, names like Mandela, Dadoo, Naiker and so on.

The TIC has since the late 1940's been closely associated with the struggle for liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation for all the people of South Africa.

Q: Instead of reviving TIC, why did you not form a new political organisation?

A: We have already established why it is necessary to form a political organisation. Some who agree that this is necessary have disputed our decision to revive the TIC.

Forming a new political organisation with another name will not, in our view, be politically as effective as reviving the old TIC. The TIC is an organisation deeply rooted in our community with many people still

supporting their proud history in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

A new political organisation would have to prove itself anew and spend a great deal of time and energy in an attempt to establish its legitimacy at a mass level.

But in the case of TIC, this limitation could be quite easily overcome. The TIC has played an important role in developing the non-racial democratic political tradition of our people and is therefore rich in significance for them.

It is through the medium of ideology that the masses of people relate to a political programme. The Freedom Charter, for instance, is a strong material force at a mass level not only because of its content but because it has a deep symbolic resonance. For us, then, the non-racial democratic ideology which has developed through a long history of resistance to an oppressive state will be crucial in establishing a link between our newly formed political organisation and the masses of our people.

Clearly then, the revival of the TIC is not simply a sentimental act of faith but will be crucial in establishing a continuity between popular tradition of struggle and the present interests and goals of our people. The ethnic tag may well have some disadvantage particularly as it could be misunderstood by people deeply committed to the ideal of a non-racial society and is also open to manipulation by our political foes. We however are convinced that the advantages of this initiative outweigh the disadvantages.

Q: What kind of political programme did the Tasc Congress envisage for the TIC? Would TIC work with other organisations that do not share this programme?

A: We cannot answer for the TIC, since it is up to it to decide on its political programme, and who it is prepared to work with.

However, at the Tasc congress, a UDF was formed to have a broad front of anti-government organisations to oppose the PC proposals. The Tasc congress saw the TIC joining this front and thus working with political organisations which do not necessarily share its own political programme or its political ideology.

But for us a commitment to a unitary state and the achievement of a universal franchise is non-negotiable.

Drought runs deeper than water

For some drought means a bad year for profits. But for those thousands who depend on the land for survival, lack of rain adds to the already harsh environment.

WHAT DOES 'drought' mean to you? No rain, you may answer. And are the problems of drought washed away when the rain returns? Yes, you will probably say, if like most of us urban-dwellers your understanding is limited to local newspaper reports.

But there's more to the landthirst hitting the country. And the answer to its devastating effects won't fall from the sky either.

In character, South Africa's media drummed home the white farmers' plight and production drops. There's no doubt the commercial farming industry has suffered. By October last year, estimated damage to the country's maize crop had already reached R80 million, with the state stepping in to provide R14 million in drought relief for white farmers and opening national grazing land for their cattle.

But what of the millions who use land for survival, not for profit? This is where our view of the short-term hardship 'no rain' theory falls flat. For, once again, we realise a natural phenomenon - rainfall - can't be divorced from the social and ecological environment.

And so, while Oom Piet on his thousands of dry acres will no doubt make up his losses in a year of good rain, poverty stricken rural areas are fated to ever deepening devastation.

Rural workers argue these areas have been experiencing drought conditions for years and the present drought is a crisis point in this never ending cycle.

In the 'homelands' where the land is already overburdened by its heavy population, no rains mean escalating malnutrition, starvation, and although not much has been reported by way of statistics, a rise in diseases like cholera that breed on poor living conditions.

And the burden of this drought continues for years. Crops can only be planted after the rains, and if they don't come, there is no harvest - a vital supplement for many to other sources of income. Also, there won't be seed for the next year's planting season. Widespread cattle loss has occurred in most of these areas, and the surviving cattle lose their milk and don't calve the following year.



A bleak future as drought refuses to break

These are long-term spinoffs of the crisis, and where people are already living on the brink of survival, they are unlikely to recover.

Overcrowded, eroded bantustan land is incapable of supporting its population. With resettlement, unemployment and influx control, it is pushed way beyond its limit.

But in the same way as the big white farmers will come through a bad drought more easily than the smaller farmers, so in the rural areas

there is a distinction between various sectors of the population to recover.

Land is not equally distributed in rural areas, being determined by a strict and hierarchical traditional structure. Cattle farmers represent the wealthiest section, and then agriculturalists who also have access to land. In a drought situation division is caused over use of land. Normally cattle will move to grazing areas during the planting season, but in drought it is in their interests to

keep cattle on the land usually used by the community for planting.

The result of drought on these landowners is to wipe out the smaller landowner and increase the wealth of the larger ones. This means a smaller and smaller elite gain more and more control of the land.

The most desperate people in the present crisis are those with restricted access to land. They rely on food from the land to supplement other forms of income, mainly from

migrant labour. With the recession, work is not easy to get. The men leave for the cities, but the women are forced to stay behind because of influx control. The only option open to them is to work on white farms - employment is usually restricted because it is the most exploitative. Usually farm labour in these areas is paid in kind; a small portion of the produce they have harvested.

Meanwhile people wage a day to day struggle to survive on whatever water is available in the worst hit Northern and Eastern Transvaal and Zululand areas. With rivers, dams and boreholes drying up, they resort to digging for water or use water from muddy, stagnant pools. Disease spreads. In many rural areas, people are buying water from landowners or white farmers. In villages like Bophutatswana's Winterveldt, landowners charge up to R2.50 for a drum of water and in others people queue for hours at boreholes.

While government response to white farmers is to pump in aid, what is being done in the rural areas where this drought has caused a crisis in food supply and the ability to survive?

Because drought is seen as no more than a seasonal problem, solutions are stop-gap and don't consider the broader problems of unemployment, landlessness, poverty and so on.

Charity is a short-term answer, easing the people's plight only for a while. In 1980 a Sunday Tribune drought relief fund for KwaZulu resulted in feeding schemes. But in 1982 when the drought again reached crisis point, the Natal public, having 'done their bit', were not so ready to fork out again.

So too with many 'development projects'. In 1980 pumps were donated to many KwaZulu villages but no-one thought of teaching people to keep them in working order.

In the meantime, people are starving, disease spreads and the government keeps the spotlight on white farmers.

And on the eroded lands of the bantustans, overpopulated and impoverished, the fight for survival deepens into an ever more desperate cycle.

SACC could lose its funds

THE ELOFF commission of Inquiry into the South African Council of Churches (SACC) has heard the first of what action could be taken against the council.

The head of the Security Police and the future commissioner of police, Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, has recommended that the council be stopped from receiving money from overseas churches.

The SACC currently receives about 96 percent of its R4,500,000 budget from European churches and church organisations. But Gen Coetzee's view was im-

mediately attacked by Jack Unterhalter, SC, who is appearing on behalf of the SACC.

Mr Unterhalter said any such action would encourage revolution rather than prevent it and would do more damage to the country than anything the SACC itself did.

Presenting a 120-page memorandum with 11 volumes of documents to back it up, Gen Coetzee questioned the council's assertion that it did not support the ANC or any other political organisation. He said the council condoned the onslaught against South Africa and criticised the country's defence system.

He accused the SACC and its general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, in particular, of boosting the credibility of the ANC and spent much time telling of the links between the SACC and the World Council of Churches, which supports the ANC and PAC.

The bulk of his testimony was aimed at showing that the SACC is more representative of its foreign financiers than of its member churches in South Africa.

He pointed to their support for disinvestment and asked if they would still support it if they weren't foreign financed. The large scale unemployment that would result from such a policy would drastically influence their support and their finances, he argued.

Their policy on education was not very different to that of the ANC, he argued.

They had taken an interest in trade unions and supported striking workers because they saw the field of labour as 'the cutting edge of the struggle'.

They had also helped people who were evicted from their homes because of the Group Areas Act. The SACC gave financial support to a number of other organisations that opposed the system in different ways, he said. They had given money to the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, Azaso, Azapo and Nusas.

He rejected the view that SACC represented the majority of South Africans, claiming that only 37 percent of the country belonged to the member churches.

Unterhalter, on the other hand, said that the council's leaders were sincere, honest and devoted Christians and it was wrong to look for sinister motives behind their actions.

It was wrong to see them as foreign financed, he argued. The church was one body spread throughout the world and when one part of it, such as in this country, was hurting, the other parts came to its assistance.

He challenged Gen Coetzee's assertion that SACC leaders had never unequivocally condemned violence as a means of liberation. Rev Storey, the SACC president, had for example said in a 1980 Press statement that



Bishop Tutu

'the SACC has consistently proclaimed their commitment to working non-violently towards these ends. We have said that we understand those whose frustration has led to an abandonment of peaceful methods, but we cannot walk that way'.

He argued that they had the full support of their member churches, who would otherwise have criticised them or withdrawn their membership.

If Gen Coetzee's recommendation is accepted, most of the council's work will be brought to a halt.

The 2000 educational bursaries they give out every year, their project to provide water for needy rural communities and their special ministry to refugees in exile are some of the projects that will be threatened.

The council's money is spent on an enormous range of South African life - from ordinary theological education to legal aid for political prisoners, detainees, and banned people.

Government sits on CO commission

PEOPLE WHO object to serving in the SADF on political grounds could be jailed for up to eight years if the government accepts the proposals of the Naude Commission on conscientious objection.

The commission proposed that: *religious objectors who did not refuse to wear uniform should serve as non-combatants for the same length as non-objectors.

*religious objectors who refused to wear military uniform should perform maintenance tasks in the SADF for one-and-a-half times the length of military service.

*religious objectors who refused to serve in any armed force should carry out community services outside the SADF for a period twice as long as military service.

*non-religious objectors should be liable to a prison sentence twice as long as their remaining service.

The commission also suggested that the Minister of Manpower set up a board to categorise objectors. The board would consist of a judge, three theologians and two members of the SADF.

A number of church groups have labelled the proposals 'retrogressive', especially since various church bodies, including the SACC, had called on the commission not to differentiate between religious and non-religious objectors.

Muofhe policemen 'responsible' but not guilty

TWO VENDA security policemen have been found not guilty of murdering detainee Tahifhiwa Muofhe. In the inquest held last year, they were found responsible for his death, less than two days after he had been detained.

The Venda Chief Justice said there was not enough evidence to convict Captain M L Ramagliga and Sergeant P J Mangaga of Muofhe's death on November 11 1981.

The Venda District Surgeon testified that Muofhe had severe bruising all over his skull, back, chest, legs and scrotum. There was also a small laceration on his liver.



CCAWUSA workers thrash out pregnancy issue

Pregnancy a worker right, says union

HARSH AND inconsiderate treatment of pregnant working women in the retail trade has led the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA) to push for maternity agreements with retail companies.

The union, which has a large female membership in department stores and other retail establishments, has found that pregnant women suffer particularly from discrimination in the workplace.

'Managements treat women only as workers and don't allow for the fact that they also bear children. They usually feel the women who work for them don't have the right to bear children', says a CCAWUSA organiser.

Because of the problems caused by management's attitude to pregnant

workers, the union has decided not to sign any recognition agreements without negotiating and signing maternity agreements at the same time.

An old maternity leave agreement of some kind does exist between Assemp (the employers' association of the retail trade) and the retail unions, but it is completely inadequate, say the union's officials.

The old agreement involves two unacceptable preconditions before a worker can qualify for maternity leave: she has to have worked for 2 years for the company and her work performance must be deemed satisfactory by management.

'These conditions are unjust and subject to abuse,' say CCAWUSA officials. 'There must be no precondi-

tions and working women must not be discriminated against in any way for the natural function of childbirth.'

CCAWUSA organisers spoke to Saspu National about their members' experience of these problems - the grievances which the new agreement is tackling.

Firstly, pregnant women usually lose their jobs. They are unlikely to get back the same job or even a job in the same company and with escalating unemployment, they may not get a job at all.

Maternity is a workplace issue.

If they are reemployed with the same company, they usually suffer a drop in salary and position. Their absence while they had the child is treated as broken service, and they don't receive any wage increases that usually go with length of service. Their annual leave will also be affected.

When allocating work, management does not consider the physical needs of a pregnant woman. Heavy work can make a woman lose her baby, but management seldom bothers to give her lighter work. Even women in advanced stages of pregnancy are often moved off the shop floor and into less visible positions like warehouses which usually require heavier work in unhealthy conditions.

The Shops and Offices Act stipulates that shops have seats available for workers to sit at 'reasonable intervals'. This regulation is seldom kept and even when pregnant, workers are rarely given seated jobs.

Women also have problems claiming maternity benefits. They have to claim at the right time, and do not always realise this. And management is unhelpful in getting their unemployment cards ready in time.

Pregnant women need to go for checkups at clinics and management do not recognise this need. So any days taken off to go to a clinic are not

counted as sick leave.

After returning to work, women can't have time off to take their children for medical attention, and are disciplined or warned for missing work if they do. Of course no thought is given to breast feeding.

These problems form the main thrust of CCAWUSA's agreement to ensure full protection for pregnant workers, which includes:

- Workers can take up to a year's maternity leave.
- The leave be regarded as unbroken service.
- They shall under no circumstances lose their jobs.
- They shall not suffer any drop in salary and must be included in any general increases that occur during their absence.
- They shall not be given unreasonable tasks which are a threat to their health.

The union's fight to put a stop to discriminatory treatment of women workers does not stop here. Within the recognition agreements a clause on sex discrimination provides for removing discrimination on job advancement and wages. The union will monitor companies' progress in this regard.

'CCAWUSA has taken up the fight against women's exploitation,' says an organiser, 'because we believe trade unions are in a strong position to do this.'

Ban expiry 'lists' Botha

EX-CHAIRPERSON OF Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation (Pebco), Thozamile Botha, became a 'listed' person on January 31, the day before his banning order expired.

This means that what he says cannot be quoted in any publication. Botha is now living in Maseru. He escaped from South Africa early in May 1980, just over two months after a three year banning order was imposed on him. He was elected the

first chairperson of Pebco when it was established in October 1979.

When Botha resigned from Ford on October 30, 1979, 700 workers walked out in solidarity with him, alleging he had been forced to leave. The Struandale plant was brought to a halt by the strike. Botha was reinstated, and the strikers won their demands for full pay for the strike period.

He was detained under the Internal Security Act on January 10, 1980,

and released and banned on February 26 the same year. The banning order restricted him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district. He escaped on May 4 1980 and made his way into Lesotho soon afterwards. His wife Fezeka joined him there.

A Port Elizabeth journalist and fellow-Pebco organiser was detained with Botha, and his house arrest and banning order also expired at the end of January 1983. Mono Badela said, 'I am not that thrilled that it is lifted, because most of my friends are still restricted. Even now, ten members of the Media Writers' Association of South Africa are under house arrest.'

Badela said 'Thoz' was listed because the Government knew that the people in Port Elizabeth and throughout the country wanted to hear what he had to say. He did not condemn Botha for leaving the country: 'The Internal Security Act forced him to leave. He was gagged and he could not stand it. The Act restricted his movement to such an extent that it made him live a half-life in the land of his birth. So he is not to blame.'

Badela will again join Pebco, which he says is more like an ordinary Resident Association than a political party: 'They have a lot of problems with which to concern themselves. I am living in a ghetto area, I must be a member. Perhaps not an active one, but I must subscribe to its policy. It is time to fight to uplift the living conditions of the people in the townships.'

New act: three found guilty

THREE BLOEMFONTEIN students have been found guilty in one of the first charges under the Intimidation Act since it was passed in June last year.

In the trial it was alleged the three students, Oliver Mohapi, Jacob Khange and James Mthuphi drafted and distributed pamphlets calling on people to stay away from work on June 16, anniversary of the 1976 student uprisings.

Mohapi is a Unisa student and the other two are school students and members of Cosas in Bloemfontein.

Incriminating evidence of two state witnesses, Mosholi and Matloko, led to the conviction of the accused. Mohapi was sentenced to five years imprisonment of which two years are suspended for four years and Mthuphi and Khange each to 18

months imprisonment or a fine of R1000.

They were granted leave to appeal and were released on R5000 bail for Mohapi and R1000 each for Khange and Mthuphi.

One student, Satch Jacobs, faced a perjury charge after he denied making a statement to police which incriminated the accused.

The Act has been described by lawyers as vague and ambiguous. It says any person who 'without a lawful excuse compels another to do something or to stop doing something or not to do something' is guilty of an offence and can face a prison sentence of up to 10 years or a fine of R20000 or both. The onus is on the accused to show his or her actions were for 'lawful reasons'.

Two appeal against Terror sentence

TWO TERRORISM Act detainees, Thabo Lerumo and Akile Mapetho, were found guilty and sentenced to three years each

They were arrested while leaving the country in November 1981 and were later charged with attempting to undergo military training and recruiting others to do the same.

They have been remanded in custody pending an appeal.

Meanwhile, the Terrorism trial of Lilian Keagile resumes on March 7.

She was charged in the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court with furthering the aims of the ANC, undergoing military training and providing information on the Soweto

Inhlazana power station to the ANC in Botswana.

She has been in custody since she was detained in November 1981, returning from Botswana. She was with two young children and claimed during the trial that they were held in order to pressurise her. They were denied food for more than 24 hours, she said.

Keagile's lawyers contested the admissibility of a confession she made in detention. In a trial within a trial she alleged assaults on her by security police. These included a sexual assault. She alleged the children had been present when these happened.

Q: How strong is Nusas on the campuses at this point in time?

A: Durban, Wits, Rhodes and UCT are affiliated to Nusas and a Local Committee keeps a Nusas presence felt at Pietermaritzburg. On the whole, I think Nusas is firmly grounded on the campuses, and last year's emphasis on consolidation provides a basis for more effective mobilisation, organisation and political education in 1983.

The right wing, however, continues to make its presence felt, for example, at Wits. But it's hard to tell how organised that threat is, given that much of the impetus seems to come from forces off the campus, from where unlimited glossy media seems to be available.

Q: What shifts have there been in Nusas' direction over the last few years?

A: After 1980 and '81 Nusas students realised that while our participation in the broad national campaigns of that period had been highly significant for Nusas, and while we had clearly identified a role for ourselves, as students, in supporting worker and community struggles, we had become so caught up in the challenge of that role that we tended to neglect our own campuses. We had depended on high-profile politics to mobilise students, without following that up with organisation.

So, when that period started winding down, we found ourselves, in a sense, looking back and realising we'd left our campus base in dribs and drabs behind us. At that point, we realised strongly that if we intend to participate meaningfully in the broad democratic movement, then our participation must be on the basis of the organised, united strength of our campuses. 1982 was therefore a year in which we addressed ourselves more to our campus base, and to ways of effectively mobilising and organising students.

Q: How does the Nusas theme 'Educating for Change' reflect Nusas' direction for 1983?

A: In his opening address to our 60th Congress in Durban in December, Jerry Coovadia stressed that while students' participation in broad campaigns is important, our particular responsibility, as students, is the education struggle. Nobody is going to fight it for us. The need to seriously address ourselves to ways of contesting the education system on our campuses was recognised and extensively discussed at Congress.

So, on the one hand, the theme 'Educating for Change' reflects an emphasis on challenging our education and the structures of our universities. On the other hand, it reflects the ongoing emphasis in Nusas for

Nusas: Educating students for change

SASPU NATIONAL speaks to Nusas head office about Nusas' position on the campuses and their direction for 1983.

the need to educate ourselves about broad political questions, as a basis for our active support of struggles and campaigns going on in the broader community.

Q: How would you define the 'Education Struggle'?

A: In the long term, the education struggle is the struggle to establish an education system which is democratically organised, and is based on the premise that education should be used to serve the needs of society as a whole, making it a better place for all. Such an education should instill this notion into students, plus values such as co-operation, non-racialism, equality between men and women and democracy.

Obviously this won't happen before society as a whole changes, but until then, student organisations have two main responsibilities as regards forwarding the education struggle. Firstly, there are many interim demands we can make and organise around, and some which we can win.

Secondly, because educational institutions play such a central role in instilling an acceptance of the status quo and its values into generation after generation of students, it is our ongoing responsibility to expose stu-

dents to the realities of aggression and exploitation in SA, and to expose them to ideas about more just and democratic ways of organising society.

While students are on campus, they are in a transitional phase of their lives, and are in limbo from society in many ways; their ideas are still being formed. A definite feature of the education struggle is the extent to which it is an ideological struggle - a struggle to challenge some ideas, and gain acceptance for others. But our effectiveness in tackling this ideological struggle means the difference between us as students actively allying ourselves with the forces fighting for freedom and justice, or not; it means the difference between students committing themselves to use their education to these ends when they leave campus, or not. And in the long term, these ideas will be essential in building a more just society.

Q: What are some of the features of education on the liberal campuses that Nusas rejects?

A: Obviously, our major criticism of the universities relates to the question of whose overall interests they serve, which are clearly those of the current ruling class. But it's impor-

tant to understand the ways in which our education influences students to serve those interests themselves.

Firstly, our education tries to make us see ourselves as the guardians of 'civilised' values such as competition, individualism and the profit motive. Getting a degree is seen as a way to get ahead, a stepping-stone to status, wealth and security. Secondly, we're taught to look to Europe and America as yardsticks against which to measure SA, and so, for example, technological and scientific developments are judged by how they compare with overseas standards rather than by how they help redress the wrongs of SA society.

Furthermore, our education is structured in such a way that students only get a fragmented view of society. The links aren't drawn, for example, between high technology and unemployment, history and economics, or migrant labour and malnutrition. The hierarchy of power and discipline that exists in schools means students have grown up not expecting much say in their education, and the complicated structures of power in the universities reinforce students' sense of impotence to change or challenge anything. This sense of impotence contributes to student apathy.

It is an important function of Nusas

to challenge these processes, to draw the missing links, and to provide direction for students who want to commit themselves to working for a liberated, democratic future.

Q: How do you see 1983 developing in broad national terms?

A: 1983 looks like it's going to be a very challenging, and potentially exciting year, but one in which the demands on the democratic movement are going to be great. Because on one level, people are going to be really hard-hit by unemployment and the recession, mass-based organisations face an enormous task in responding in such a way as to provide a supportive, unifying force for their members during times of real hardship.

And on the political front, the tasks are enormous. Things are moving fast and dramatically in relation to the President's Council proposals. The formation of the UDF is a recognition of the urgency with which the Labour Party's defection into the apartheid laager must be countered, and an ideological battle democratic forces can't afford to lose. A united response, on many different levels, is clearly called for. For Nusas, this means an enormous amount of groundwork to be done on the campuses.



Kate Phillip, Nusas President

Neighbours thwart SA constellation dreams

IN RECENT weeks, fresh allegations have been made that South Africa is responsible for economic sabotage and military intervention in neighbouring states.

The Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) - a body set up by nine Southern African states to combat economic dependence, particularly on South Africa - 'strongly condemned deliberate interference by South Africa, affecting the economic stability of the SADCC region'.

The United States State Department claimed the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) which has terrorised the northern parts of Mozambique, 'receives the bulk of its support from South Africa'.

P.W.Botha has described the destabilisation allegations as 'sheer nonsense', but refused to confirm or deny that South Africa supported the MNR and UNITA in Angola. Defence Minister Magnus Malan said South Africa would, if necessary,

use any methods 'to fight enemies in neighbouring countries'. This would include supporting 'anti-communist movements' like the MNR and UNITA 'to act against Swapo and the ANC on our territory'.

The SADCC's statement was made in a communique issued at the end of their conference in Maseru in February, and signed by the nine member countries, by representatives of 29 other countries and by 23 international organisations and development agencies.

In addition, representatives of other countries expressed support for the overall aims of SADCC. The Swedish foreign minister criticised South Africa's 'continued violent arrogance and disregard for international law'. He said apartheid was an increasing threat to international peace and Sweden supported SADCC for this reason.

SADCC was formed in April 1980 when Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Swaziland and Botswana

decided to form a regional body to promote development and to break out of the economic stranglehold which South Africa had over the region. The formation of SADCC put paid to the SA government dream of a constellation of Southern African states with SA at the head.

SADCC saw the improvement of transport and communication networks in the region as a top priority, since this was where reliance on SA was heaviest.

SADCC's efforts have concentrated on economic development and cooperation but over the past few months members have been hard hit by sabotage and military intervention.

The list of incidents of destabilisation and anti-government acts of sabotage is extensive and includes:

- *SADF raid into Maseru which claimed 42 lives
- *MNR's blowing up of 34 fuel tanks in Beira last December, and more recently of the Beira-Mutare pipeline.

- *the sabotage of the Lomaum hydro-electric power station in Angola;

- *the blowing up of 12 jets at the Gweru airbase in Zimbabwe;

- *the skirmish in southern Zimbabwe in which three SADF soldiers were killed;

- *a claim by Mozambique that 40 SADF commandos had attacked Namaacho in the north.

It is clear SADCC's goal of developing Southern Africa and breaking South Africa's economic grip is made much more difficult by incidents such as these.

As the chairperson of SADCC's Council of Ministers, Peter Mmusi, said: 'It is not much use to develop ports and pipelines, roads and railways and then watch in silence as they are blown up.'

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe called for the formation of a regional army 'to repulse Pretoria's aggression'. He also sent troops to Mozambique to help guard the Beira-Mutare pipeline.

Despite these problems, many are

confident that SADCC can succeed - without South Africa. There is a commitment to cooperation and mutual support among SADCC members.

SADCC remains dependent on foreign aid. The R200m raised at Maseru is a long way from the R900m target, but many donors are still examining the feasibility of the projects.

There is no chance of South Africa being welcome in SADCC. South African Minister of Commerce and Industries, Dawie de Villiers, said it was a pity 'politics' prevented SA from playing a role in SADCC.

SADCC members say it is because of politics that SA must be kept out - 'only a democracy' would be welcome in the organisation. At present, SADCC members are not just concerned to break free of dependence in South Africa - they also believe firmly that South Africa is trying to stop them achieving their aims.

Playing the game Pretoria's way

'NEXT TIME it will be Manzini,' said the old woman on the bus as her creased brow followed the column centimetres marching across the front page of the Times of Swaziland, Friday Dec 9.

'Slaughter in Maseru', the words screamed up at her, writhing in journalistic indignation at the massacre of refugees in Lesotho by the SADF.

'You're wrong Ma,' the youth at her elbow said quietly. 'The boers don't need to come here. Just look around and you'll see the job is being done for them.'

His words bear witness to the truth. Swaziland doesn't have to fear any armed South African invasion, simply because it's playing the constellation game Pretoria's way. Despite the country's membership of the OAU and the SADCC, (Southern African Development Coordination Conference), Swaziland is well in the running for the title of South Africa's most successful homeland.

When Sobhuza died last August he left a political vacuum with no clear cut successor and political power spread diffusely among several factions in both the royal family and the government. The strongest individual in Swaziland at the moment is Prince Sozisa, an aging traditionalist who bears the Kafkaesque title of 'The Authorised Person', and holds the sway on the domestic political front.

But he has none of Sobhuza's statesmanship or grasp of modern diplomacy and the most successful thing he and the Likoqo (traditional parliament) have done has been to blow their credibility.

The month long mourning period after Sobhuza's death assumed farcical proportions as the nation's males were ordered to shave their heads and the women to gird their loins with grass. So far so good, even if the leg-pullers in the local shebeens were spreading the word that there was also a ban on lovemaking and that parties were out. But the real crunch came with the next decree from Lobamba, the spiritual capital of Swaziland and seat of the royal family - there was to be no ploughing until further notice.

In Swazi culture this was because the king had just been laid to rest at the royal burial ground at Zonbodze in the Shiselweni district, and that his spirit would be disturbed if the earth that enveloped him was torn by the callous ploughs of his subjects.

It all sounds rather quaint, but to the Swazi peasant and smallholder, it was akin to asking them to cut their own throats. Like the rest of the sub-continent they had been gripped by a fierce drought, and now when the rains finally came, they were prevented from carrying on their livelihood, with the result that this year's maize crop is going to be substantially smaller than before.

Nonetheless, the ploughing ban was enforced with offenders being dragged before the traditional courts and fined or having their cattle seized. The Swazi Umbutfo Defence Force's solitary aircraft took to the skies, sweeping the land for any sign of agricultural activity. Lobamba appeared unmoved by the polite protests, but chose to ignore the cultivation being undertaken by the foreign controlled sugar and pineapple industries.

The South African Students Travel Service (SASTS) calls for applications to fill the position of managing director at its Head Office in Cape Town.

SASTS is a non-profit organisation, dealing with national and international student travel. It has sales offices on the Nusas-affiliated campuses, as well as outlets on various other universities throughout the country.

The position of managing director involves a broad set of responsibilities. These range from dealing with the technical and business sides of travel, through to maintaining contact with the sales officers and students on the campuses themselves.

Although applicants need not have specific experience in this field, they must be prepared to begin an extensive training programme early in 1983. Salary is negotiable according to experience.

**Applications should be forwarded in writing to
SASTS BOARD OF DIRECTORS
P.O. Box 1381
Cape Town
8000**

Details of name, age, address, phone number and previous student or organisational experience must be included. Interviews will be arranged in Johannesburg or Cape Town in the second half of March.



King Sobhuza - his death has left a political vacuum.

These industries, like the control over the rest of Swaziland's economy, had in the past decade shifted from European hands to grubby little South African paws, mainly those of Anglo American.

Another illustration of SA control over Swaziland lies in the weird and wonderful land deal which would have seen the transfer of Ingwavuma and Kangwane to Swaziland in exchange for a certain cooperation on the security front.

Enough has appeared in the commercial press on the land deal to throw everyone off the track of what was happening. Sobhuza in his stately senility had visions of uniting Swazis in the subcontinent. But his cohorts in the deal had far earthier designs. For starters, the likes of Sishaya Nxumalo, head of Tibiyo Take Ngwane, Swaziland's economic muscle, and Foreign Minister Richard Dlamini, saw the opportunity of carving themselves a handy power base and greasing their palms at the same time. It is this faction that has steered Swaziland neatly into South Africa's orbit of direct control, but the story is not so simple.

Very little has been said about what Swaziland had to gain from the land deal apart from inheriting a million new hostile subjects and several hundred square kilometres of mosquito infested, infrastructureless

land. Ostensibly they wanted a route to the sea, pretty much the same idea that Oom Paul Kruger had when he was playing cops and robbers with British Imperialism at the turn of the century.

But access to the sea means nothing without a harbour thrown in, but what foreign investor worth his weight in business sense would be persuaded to part with the huge expense it takes to build a port, especially if such facilities already exist at Maputo to the north and Richards Bay and Durban just down south.

So who would finance the building of a new harbour at Kosi Bay?

Consider this scenario: Uncle Sam casts a nervous eye at the build up of Soviet naval activity in the southern Indian Ocean, his twitch somewhat more pronounced because the Yankee base at Diego Garcia is falling under the shadow of Mauritian Nationalism and the Kenyan facilities have their hands tied up trying to make sense out of the horn of Africa. Overt cooperation with Pretoria is out because of the stink that liberal shmucks and shit-kicking lefties would raise and Frelimo is playing for the opposition anyway.

Listen to this, say the hotshot strategists on the Southern Africa desk at the Pentagon: Swaziland will play ball but they have precious little to offer, unless ... unless they had a spot on the coast our boys could use to service their nuclear subs and do a bit of surfing. Maybe we could make the whole thing a little more attractive (after all they will now qualify as a potential nuclear target), if we threw a neat aid deal in as well. We should pull Pretoria in on this one with a few whispered reassurances in their sunburnt little ears.

Whether this scenario exists outside the domain of conspiracy theorists is open to debate. Of course all parties deny vigorously that this may have been behind the land deal, but the same story surfaces with monotonous regularity in diplomatic and press circles in Mbabane and elsewhere.

With the backroom boys being sent to redo their homework, there must have been more than a few sighs of relief in Swazi government circles when the whole affair sank back into



The aftermath of South Africa's raid on Maseru.

Swaziland's stakes for the title: 'South Africa's most successful homeland' are high. After the Maseru raid, SA's grip on the landlocked country has tightened, and internal political wrangles mean all is not well for the mountainous kingdom.

silence - the social problems and development costs of taking over the disputed land would have been enormous with no hope of a viable solution and likely disapproval from the black brothers upcontinent.

Well even if the land deal has slipped down the agenda a little, the two countries are still chewing the breeze over other mutual interests, mainly that old bugbear, security.

Two weeks before the Maseru foray, Swazi Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla, made a surprise announcement that detention without trial was to be reintroduced, mainly to control 'the refugee problem'. At the same time a bill was hastily pushed through parliament increasing the severity in sentences for arms cases. Following stringent travel restrictions on refugees, this was the latest of a series of anti-ANC measures.

Word was out that Pretoria had warned its neighbours that the ANC was preparing for an active Christmas and an explosive New Year, and that harsh action would be taken against countries harbouring such brigands. Swaziland stepped into line, Lesotho didn't.

Within days of the Maseru raid, 27 ANC members were rounded up in a huge para-military operation, although several of the bigger fish apparently swam through holes in the net. The deputy Prime Minister's office, which handles the refugee portfolio, sheepishly admitted that it knew nothing of the arrests which had been ordered from 'higher up'. The official statement said the detainees were being 'held for their own protection'.

That wasn't the way the ANC prisoners felt. When a BBC journalist wrangled her way into the Malkerns camp where they were being held, they told her in no uncertain terms that they were terrified of being grouped together because they were sitting ducks for Malan's marauders. It was clear they didn't trust their captors or their motives. Before long, 16 of them were deported to Maputo, again for their 'own protection', but it was evident that the Swazis were trying to wash their hands of the problem, even if they

were getting dirtier in the process.

But then an odd thing happened. The rest of the crew simply walked out and disappeared. What had sparked this off was the presence of two Rapport journalists who had been seen nosing around and photographing the camp after being refused permission to do so. They were suspected of being South African agents, and the detainees apparently had no inclination to hang around any longer. The only clear thing about this incident is that within the Swazi hierarchy there are those whose sympathies lie more with the ANC than with Pretoria and had paved the way for the walk-out.

This factionalism isn't restricted to the police and security force. In the royal family itself there are basic differences of opinion, hence the attempts to discredit some of the princes when stories were leaked to the press that Sobhuza had been poisoned.

However, one can be sure that the faction that eventually emerges as top dogs will be Pretoria's choice. The trend has been set and increased dependency is on the cards.

This hasn't gone unnoticed by other African countries. There was talk last year of Swaziland being thrown out of the SADCC for cooperating with South Africa. The matter was smoothed over, however, and although several OAU members have made noises over Swaziland's direction, it is unlikely that any action will be taken.

Times have obviously changed in the mountainous kingdom that has as many head of cattle as head of population. The rugged Swazi independence of the past is slipping away, and 1982 will go down as the year Pretoria bagged its first foreign state for its constellation. Gone are the days when the wily old Sobhuza could entertain John Vorster on Hlane shooting expeditions while being an honorary member of the ANC at the same time. Gone are the dignity and style of the old days when Swaziland successfully played her protagonists off against each other, for now her fate is inextricably linked to that of South Africa.

TWELVE EASTERN Cape organisations met on January 26 in Port Elizabeth to form the Eastern Cape Co-ordinating Committee (ECCO) to counter the government's constitutional proposals.

In a newsletter to publicise the newly formed group, ECCO says it sees its immediate task as exposing the 'sell-out of the Labour Party by joining the government's constitutional deal.'

'The formation of ECCO shows a new unity of oppressed people's organisations.'

At its inaugural meeting, ECCO adopted two resolutions. It approved a press statement by the Port

ECCO formed to counter 'sell outs'

Elizabeth Black Civic Association (PEBCO) earlier that the Labour Party's acceptance of the government's proposals came as no surprise. 'The Labour Party has always worked on government-created stooge bodies,' the motion said.

'The formation of ECCO is in line with a countrywide anti-Labour Party campaign.'

ECCO also hit out at the current West Indian Tour and worked to channel opposition to the cricketers.

The co-ordinating body was

formed at a meeting of trade unions, community, youth and educational organisations originally called by Pebco to discuss the creation of sub-committees to provide skills and information for Pebco.

'Pebco called the meeting to present the new structure to organisations, but the meeting decided there were two immediate issues to be attended to: the constitutional proposals and the cricket tour,' said ECCO spokesperson Vuyisile Oliphant, who is also Pebco's general

secretary.

The meeting decided to form ECCO specifically to deal with the two issues. But, says Oliphant, there are moves to maintain ECCO as a permanent body.

ECCO consists of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, P E Youth Congress, Congress of SA Students, EP Council of Sport, Kwazakele Rugby Union, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union, the General Workers Union

of South Africa, the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, African Food and Canning Workers' Union, SA Council for Higher Education, the Detainee Parents' Support Committee and the Eastern Cape Council of Churches.

Members of the Urban Training Project, the Council of Unions of SA and the General Workers Union attended the inaugural meeting as observers.



Jazz Pioneers on stage.

Townships boogie to big band jazz again

TWENTY-FIVE years ago Ntemi Piliso was an organist at the township 'stokvelle'. 'I would just play three chords over and over again,' he says. 'People would fill empty condensed milk cans with stones, using them as maracas. Everybody would improvise. After a while the music would get into their blood.'

Today Ntemi is still around, and, along with people like his old friend Kippie Moeketsi, has formed the African Jazz Pioneers, an eleven piece 'big band', which promises to show us what the music was like before Juluka and Hotline became the biggest acts in town. 'We're not trying to relive the glories of the past,' says Ntemi. 'It's just that some of the kids today have never heard the big band sound, and maybe we could teach them a thing or two...'

Kippie Moeketsi met Ntemi thirty years ago when they were both playing for the Harlem Swingsters. Ntemi

had just left the musical 'Zonk!'. In the fifties, white impresarios had started organising musical variety shows like 'Zonk!', 'Drums of Africa', 'Township Jazz', 'African Jazz' and 'Variety'. Some of these shows ran for more than a decade, and almost everyone who was to become famous passed through one of them at some time or other.

Kippie had been playing with the legendary Wilson 'King Force' Silgee and the Jazz Maniacs, one of the most popular big bands of the time, along with bands like Peter Rezant's Merry Blackbirds, The African Hellenics, The Harlem Swingsters and the Rhythm Clouds. The Maniacs were especially important, since they never played polished American Swing, like the Blackbirds. Instead, they concentrated on developing a definite Marabi feel to their music. This form of expression gave inspiration to a new generation



Kippie Moeketsi: one of South Africa's best.

of jazzists - people like Hugh Masekela and Dollar Brand.

Later, Kippie played in King Kong, the famous musical about the life and death of South African heavyweight champion Ezekiel Dlamini. King Kong was a big international hit and played successfully to British audiences for over a year.

The show was a great financial success, making over half a million rand. But at the time, Kippie, who describes himself as 'an alley cat

from Johannesburg rubbing shoulders with royalty', was making only £35 a week, for playing some of the most difficult parts.

Back home, the music industry was taking off, and the musicians were paying for it. Political and economic conditions were making it harder for musicians to make a living out of live shows. In the townships, the musicians had problems with violence in the overcrowded dance halls, while in the towns they had problems with passbooks. Then there was the white musicians' union trying to stop them from playing at white nightclubs.

Musicians like Kippie, Zakes Nkosi and Ntemi, found circumstances changing. The new worldwide trend in jazz was away from the big band. The industry just wasn't interested in getting a big band into a studio and paying so many musicians.

The big bands were breaking up, and musicians were faced with the choice of going into the studios and producing Mbaqanga, or becoming labourers. When they did record, they were at the mercy of the industry.

'They told us point-blank there were no royalties,' says Ntemi. 'We used to get about £2.10 a side for a record, and there were also no royalties for airplay. We pioneered, but at a loss.'

Culture not a view from the sidelines

'PLAYS, SONGS and paintings need to educate as well as entertain' was the theme of a recent workshop held in Johannesburg.

The workshop drew together five cultural groups and individuals to explore the idea of 'progressive art' and the role of artists committed to change.

'Radio and TV, as well as places like schools, do not allow alternative or progressive ideas to be voiced,' said one of the organisers.

She criticised the view that good artists only watch society from the sidelines: 'We must use our skills as weapons against cultural control'.

The weekend workshop began with

a public concert by the African Jazz Pioneers.

'These musicians, who include Kippie Moeketsi, are among South Africa's best,' said a delegate. 'Yet today they are struggling to make ends meet because the music industry either exploits or ignores them.'

The programme included a drama workshop, a film on Lynton Kwesi Johnson and a jam session. The highlight of the performance was a band from Kagiso, Badiri. 'They put progressive lyrics into their own unique funky beat,' said one foot-tapper.

The Lynton Kwesi Johnson movie led to a discussion on reggae.

Delegates felt that reggae lyrics did not go far enough because reggae musicians do not involve themselves in the everyday struggles of the people.

The workshop ended with a paper on Art and Liberation by Eric Molobi. He divided artists into three types: artists of the dominant group, 'Ivory Tower' artists who did not believe in choosing sides, and committed artists.

Molobi encouraged artists to concentrate not only on their art but also to work towards understanding society. 'This will inform your art,' he said, 'and art will only be meaningful if it forms part of the broad national movement.'

United action a must for women and workers

JUST AS workers in the factories must fight their case, women at home must fight theirs. Just as workers unite to be effective, so must women.

This was said by a speaker from East London United Women's Organisation (ELUWO) at a meeting in East London to commemorate trade unionist Neil Aggett.

At home women experienced the effects of economic exploitation and political domination daily. They were confronted with rising food prices, busfare increases, bad housing conditions, lack of child care and health care facilities and poor education for their children, she said.

'But if women are to overcome these problems they need to overcome their passiveness and voice their grievances.'

'We invite all women to stand up and move forward with us to a democratic and undivided South Africa for all,' she said.

A speaker at the Aggett memorial meeting in Durban said black women in South Africa suffer a threefold burden of class, racial and sexual oppression. But the battle against these could not be seen as a three stage plan.

'All the oppressed people of our country, men and women, must struggle simultaneously at all levels towards a truly democratic society, a society free from all forms of discrimination.'

When the government introduced passes for women in the 1950's protests erupted all over the country. Women united in organisations like the ANC Women's League and the FSAW which was the umbrella organisation.

'The intensity of the feeling amongst women, their militancy and efficiency of organisation surprised both their menfolk and the police who were at a loss as to how to deal with them,' said the speakers.

Women had again begun to show their resistance in the factories and in the communities, she said. Their activity in strikes, bus boycotts and rent protests were some examples.

'As wives and mothers it falls on us to make small wages stretch a long way. It is us who feel the cries of our children when they are hungry and sick. It is our lot to care for the homes that are too small, broken and dirty.'

'We know what it is like to keep family life going in pondokkies, shanties, in over-crowded single room apartments.'

'We know the bitterness of children taken to lawless ways, of daughters becoming unmarried mothers while still at school, of boys and girls growing up without education, training or jobs at a living wage,' she said.

But many women were still bound by traditions which were a brake on progress.

'Freedom cannot be won for any one section or for the people as a whole as long as we women are kept in bondage.'