

The truth behind the propaganda on Angola

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Thousands have made their mark for the Front

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SASPU NATIONAL

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Thousands of Port Elizabeth students celebrate their victory in the streets. They had boycotted classes in protest against the age-limit restrictions

Bantu Education under attack Grievances spark nationwide protests

AS 1984 unfolds more and more black school students are taking up their grievances, organising around them, and in some cases, winning.

Under the banner of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) scholars have boycotted, fought, negotiated and laid down demands.

Students from South Africa's ghettos have challenged the age-limit laws, overcrowding, bans on Student Representative Councils, authoritarian headmasters, unfair punishment and assaults, dismissals of teachers and sexual harassment of female students.

In Port Elizabeth a 5000 strong boycott won the readmission of students. The students had the backing of parents, trade unions and community organisations in the Crisis in Education Committee.

So far the boycotts have claimed one victim. In Pretoria Emma Satheke was killed when police clashed with students demanding SRC's.

15000 mourners attended her funeral which was addressed by Cosas, the UDF and community leaders.

Cosas speaker, Thabane Mogashoa declared that 'we will prove in action that Bantu Education is evil. We will revolt against it until it has been utterly scrapped, dumped on the junk-heap of history and buried once and



Cosas president Lulu Johnson addresses boycotting students for all.

At Minerva High in Alexandra near Johannesburg boycotting students won the right to form an SRC

A resolution was passed to recognise the SRC and the inspector promised them an office and equipment.

Numerous allegations of students being whipped with sjamboks and hit with fists have also come to light. In the face of these assaults — some of them brutal — students are demanding fair punishment.

Sexual harassment of female students by teachers is also being taken up.

In Cradock in the Eastern Cape over 4 000 students in seven schools are continuing a boycott against the transfer of a popular teacher, Matthew Goniwe, by education



Part of funeral procession for slain Pretoria student authorities. They are also demanding the recognition of SRC's.

Tembisa on the East Rand, Soweto, Bloemfontein and Nigel in Natal have also been the scene of student protests.

The age-limit law has already prevented thousands from going back to school. It says that students over 20 years can't, without the permission of the director-general, be admitted to std.9 or 10. Pupils over 18 are excluded from std.6, 7 and 8, and those over 16 can't go to any primary school.

These regulations have been strongly rejected by students ever since they were introduced in 1981.

One of the most significant victories recently was in Port Elizabeth.

Anger over conditions in PE schools has mounted since the start of term. Many students were barred from schools causing dissatisfaction throughout the community.

A series of mass meetings demanded the immediate readmission of students. The committee put pressure on

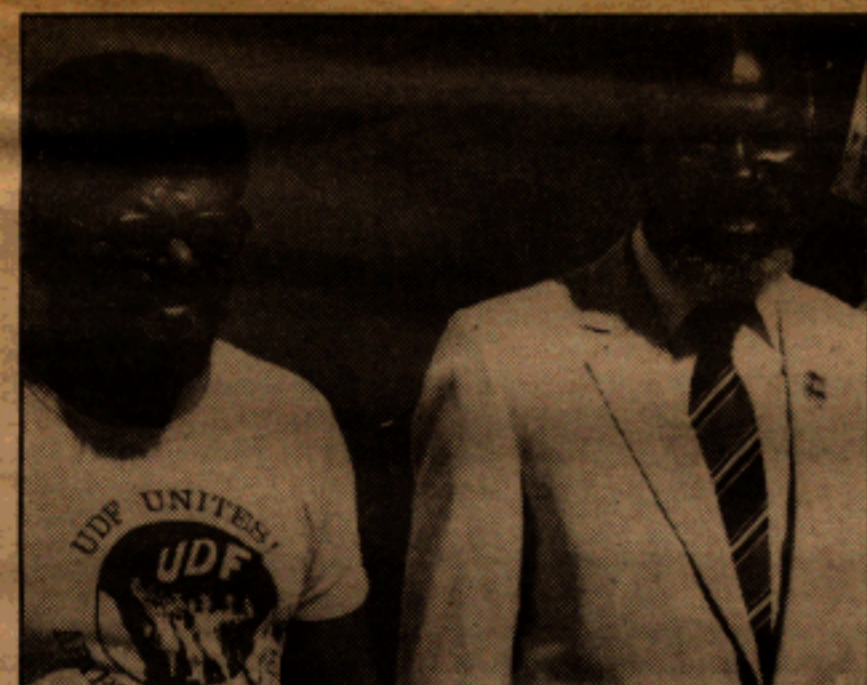
education authorities to meet the demands but hundreds remained barred.

Cosas and other organisations, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union (Macwusa), the General Workers Union of SA (Gwusa), the PE Youth Congress (Peyco), the Domestic Workers Association, the PE Women's Organisation (Pewo), the church organisation Idamasa and the PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), set up the Crisis in Education Committee.

At the end of February a meeting of over 2000 students and parents decided action was needed to force the government to give in to their demands. They agreed students in schools would boycott in solidarity with students not allowed in.

On the fourth day of the boycott the education director agreed to meet the demands.

Since the boycott ended many students complained of victimisation by principals,



Daniel Tjongarero and Toivo

Toivo says release all political prisoners

HERMAN TOIVO Ja Toivo — the 'father of Namibia' — has called for the unconditional release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Toivo, who spent 16 years on Robben Island with Mandela and other South African political prisoners, endorsed the work of the Release Mandela Campaign.

'I endorse the call for the unconditional release of Mandela. I call for his release provided he can go and live where he likes,' he said.

The RMC has been fighting for the release of Mandela and all political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the unbanning of resistance movements.

In reply to a question from Saspu National Toivo said the offer to release Mandela to the Transkei was unacceptable.

'When I was released I told them I would find my own way — I will go and stay anywhere in Namibia.'

He dashed speculation that Mandela, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu would accept the offer from Chief Kaizer Matanzima of release to the Transkei.

He pointed out that any decisions reached inside prison were canvassed with others. No person, he said, would take that kind of decision alone.

In a statement issued to Saspu National the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal welcomed Toivo from jail.

'We have been calling for his release for years,' the statement said. 'But we are also calling for the release of all South African and Namibian political prisoners. They must all be unconditionally released before we can celebrate.'

Toivo's release alone does not satisfy us. We will only be happy when the people of South Africa and Namibia are able to democratically elect a government which fulfills the principles of the Freedom Charter.'

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Detainee's killer gets ten years in prison

SERGEANT JAN Harm van As (27), a security policeman, has been sentenced to ten years in prison for 'cold-bloodedly' killing political detainee Paris Molefe Malatji (23).

In a rare case, charges were brought by the state against van As who claimed that Malatji had grabbed his gun from his holster and shot himself during interrogation.

Originally police told Malatji's family that he had died in an accident. His family did not even know that he had been detained.

Malatji was killed at the Protea police station only a day after he was detained under the Internal Security Act.

Thousands attended Malatji's funeral in Soweto, and he was praised as a 'gallant and revolutionary comrade'.

After an extensive police investigation a charge of murder was laid against Sergeant van As. Expert police investigators who arrived at the scene minutes after the shooting said it was 'highly unlikely' that the detainee could have shot himself. Their claims were based on drawings of the position of his body where he fell, the line the bullet had taken, and the directions in which his blood had spurted.

Paris Malatji had been kneeling when he was shot, and Sergeant van As was not more than a metre away from him.

Tiny blood spots had been found on Sergeant van As' shirtfront and trousers, and in the barrel of the pistol. Gunpowder blackening found deep in the wound in Malatji's head indicated that the pistol was held against his forehead as he was shot.

Van As was sentenced to ten years imprisonment after the judge and two assessors returned a verdict of culpable homicide. The court found that he had not intended to kill Paris Malatji, but had acted 'cold-bloodedly' by holding the loaded pistol to his head in an attempt to intimidate him.

The State prosecutor Von Lieres gave notice of an intention to appeal against the verdict. He believes a conviction of murder would be more in keeping with the facts of the case.

Van As will also appeal. Seeing their son's killer jailed is nevertheless a small consolation for the Malatji family, and they are suing the Minister of Police for more than R50 000 in a civil lawsuit.

In a statement the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) condemned as 'worthless' the vague directives issued by the Minister of Law and Order on the treatment of detainees.

Van As claimed that he was not even aware of the existence of these directives, despite the fact that all members of the police force are supposed to be instructed in them.

Deaths in detention would continue so long as the awesome detention laws remained in force, the DPSC pointed out.

FATHER SMANGALISO Mkhathshwa, secretary general of the South African Catholic Bishops conference, was released amid much celebration on March 8 by a Ciskei Court.

Father Mkhathshwa was charged with subversion under Section 2 of the Ciskeian National Security Act on February 10, three months after he was detained by Ciskeian authorities for addressing a meeting organised by the Catholic Students As-

Mkhathshwa home at last

sociation at Fort Hare.

His detention and trial aroused widespread condemnation. A mass held for him on January 29 was attended by over 3000 people.

Father Mkhathshwa was one of hundreds detained in the

Ciskei last year as the 'homeland' government made violent attempts to suppress the Mdantsane bus boycott and trade union activity in the area.

Father Mkhathshwa's release was welcomed by the UDF publicity secretary. Terror

Lekota, who said, 'We never doubted his innocence, but his treatment is just one more example of the state's attack on the church'.

At the time of his detention, the UDF said, 'With apartheid denounced by all the world church bodies as a heresy, idolatory and unchristian doctrine, only those churches which collaborate with the apartheid rulers of South Africa will not suffer state harassment...'

Father Mkhathshwa, who is

also parish priest of St Charles Luanga, Soshanguve, was previously detained in August 1976 after the Soweto uprisings and was held in 'preventative detention' until the end of that year.

He was then banned in June 1977 for five years. He was detained again on October 19, 1977 during the state clampdown on Black Consciousness organisations. He was released in March 1978 and remained under banning orders until 1983.



UDF Presidents: Albertina Sisulu (left) with Archie Gumede (right) at UDF Press conference. Ram Saloojee (centre).

UDF leader on bail after six months in the cells

A NATIONAL president of the UDF, Albertina Sisulu (66), and a young Soweto science teacher, Thami Mali (26) were convicted last month on charges of taking part in the activities of the ANC.

A Krugersdorp regional court jailed Sisulu for four years (two suspended), and Mali for five years after a trial characterised by 'strange features'.

Mrs Sisulu was arrested and charged barely a month after a restrictive banning order imposed on her was lifted.

Both pleaded not guilty to the charges, but they were found guilty of committing certain offences at the funeral of Mrs Rose Mbele. It was alleged that they furthered the aims of the ANC by:

- displaying a green, black and gold flag;
- distributing pamphlets;
- delivering eulogies to ANC leaders;
- draping the coffin with ANC colours;
- creating support for the banned organisation;
- singing pro-ANC songs,
- wearing a T-shirt with ANC



Zwelakhe Sisulu

colours. Mrs Rose Mbele was a member of the ANC and had been praised for her lawful activities during the '50's.

The defence legal team, led by Mr George Bizos (SC), gave notice of appeal against the conviction.

Mrs Sisulu and Mr Mali were later released on bail after being in detention for six months when their bail application in the Supreme Court succeeded.

'One of the strange features of the trial,' said Mr Bizos, 'was the fact that arrests were made only 18 months after the alleged offences were commit-



UDF President Albertina Sisulu

ted. It was also strange that these 'offences' were committed in the presence of several high ranking police officers. If these police had been satisfied that offences were being committed, then why did they not immediately make arrests?', asked Mr Bizos.

Unchallenged evidence at the trial showed that similar funerals had taken place in the past without police action.

During the trial Mr Bizos slammed the interrogation techniques of State prosecutor, Mr A van Wyk, saying they could be likened to 'inquisitions' in other legal systems.

In mitigation, Mr Bizos pointed out that Mr Mali was a school teacher who should be sent back to his pupils.

The magistrate found Mr Mali to be 'an intelligent man in the prime of his life, and useful to society.' However, he also found that Mr Mali's and Mrs Sisulu's actions had been 'part of the ANC's policy and strategy.'

Although Mrs Sisulu was an elderly woman who had suffered due to her husband's incarceration and that her participation in the funeral proceedings was 'minimal' the magistrate nevertheless imposed a jail sentence.

P.E. men in court accused of treason

A CLOUD of secrecy surrounds the Port Elizabeth treason trial where 11 men face charges of high treason, murder, malicious damage to property and fraud.

Alternative charges are participation in terrorist activities, sabotage, undergoing military training, possession of explosives, harbouring of persons, participation in activities of unlawful organisations, possession of unlawful literature, possession of machine guns, ammunition and hand grenades, and leaving the country without a passport.

It is alleged the accused attacked Constantia Centre and Law Courts in Port Elizabeth, the Council Offices in New Brighton, and the railway line between PE and Uitenhage.

The accused are: Mr Rufus Nzo, 54, Mr Douglas Tyutyse, 48, Mr Siphon Hina, 44, Mr James Ngqondela, 54, Mr Mzanyifani Kame, 57, Mr Mzinikulu Kame, 22, Mr Siphon Nodlanwu, 35, Mr Vukile Tshiwula, 43, Mr Linda Mbelekan, 27, Mr Wellington Gumenge, 29, and Mr Nceba Faku, 27.

The second witness has refused to give evidence and may face charges himself if he does not.

The first witness alleged that Hina and Tyutyse assisted him and two others to transfer arms and explosives in November 1982.

Considerable security measures surround the case. The Supreme Court in the High Street is protected by a large number of police, and spectators entering the building have been checked with metal detectors.

Van Heerden tells of shocks and suffocation

'I COULDN'T stop myself screaming. As I screamed I could not get air.'

This is part of the account of alleged torture experienced by Aurret van Heerden during his 289-day detention as described to the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Mr van Heerden, 29, a former National Union of South African Students president is suing 10 security policemen in their personal capacity for R113 000 for alleged torture. He was detained from September 24 1981 to July 9 1982.

His claims of torture include having his wrist handcuffed to his ankle for about 10-and-a-half hours, having a canvas bag pulled over his head, being suffocated and strangled with a wet towel.

An expert witness, American



Defendants enter the court. From left: Major Abrie, Captain Struwig, Colonel Cronwright, Major Olivier and Lieutenant Pitout.

psychiatrist Dr Louis West of the University of California Los Angeles who examined van Heerden in September 1983 told the court that Mr van Heerden's accounts of be-

ing threatened and tortured by some of his captors were 'generally accurate'.

Mr van Heerden was described by Dr West as suffering from a post-traumatic

stress disorder.

Van Heerden alleges that some of the most 'terrifying' torture took place on November 17 and 18 at the Benoni Police Station.

He said that after the bag was placed over his head 'I felt the left sleeve of my jacket being pulled up and then I felt a sharp pain which I thought was an electric shock. My immediate response was to scream but I couldn't because the wet bag did not allow me to breathe.'

Mr van Heerden's parents, Mr Dennis van Heerden and Mrs Roma van Heerden told the court of the extreme personality changes in their son since he was released from detention.

-In cross-examining Mr van Heerden, Mr H Z Slomowitz,

SC for the security police, suggested that suing the security police was a part of his 'deliberate campaign to malign, smear and possibly destroy the South African Police.'

Mr Slomowitz also suggested that Mr van Heerden was a police spy and was working for Major Craig Williamson.

Van Heerden said that he attributed the spy rumours to Craig Williamson and that he would not be suing the security police if he had worked for them.

The security policemen who are being sued in their personal capacity are: Lieutenant Colonel Cronwright, Majors Abrie, Visser, Olivier, Warrant Officers Prince, Fourie and Van Aswegen, Lieutenants Pitout, Botes, and Captain Struwig.



Part of the crowd of over 15 000 mourners at slain Pretoria school student, Emma Sathekge's funeral sing freedom songs and shout slogans as they march behind the coffin to the cemetery.

Thousands mourn slain Pta student

MORE THAN 15 000 mourners attended the funeral of 15 year old Emma Sathekge who was killed when police clashed with boycotting students at the D H Peta High School at Atteridgeville last month.

Freedom songs were sung at the service and students carried placards which read 'Educate us do not kill us', 'Forward with the people's government', 'We shall overcome' and 'Sure we love freedom'.

Thlabane Mogashoa, a member of the national executive of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) told mourners that Cosas wanted to 'declare to all the people of South Africa, Africa and the whole world that despite assassination, division, harassment, detention and death in detention, we will prove in action that bantu education is evil and we will revolt against it until it has been utterly scrapped,

dumped on the junk heap of history and buried once and for all'.

'With relentless determination and sparing neither courage nor strength we will strive for an education which is free, compulsory, dynamic, democratic, non-racial and universal, because we know no other races except one race, the human race', he said at the emotion-charged meeting.

Local activist and Transvaal UDF secretary, Moss Chikane, said the death had left an indelible mark on the hearts of all South Africans.

Other speakers from the Pretoria branch of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) and the Saulsville-Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo), lashed out at the government.

Throughout the ceremony there were shouts of 'Amandla ngawethu' and 'Mayibuye i Afrika'.

The procession was led by students carrying a Cosas banner with the slogan 'Dynamic, free and compulsory education for all'.

Thousands lined the route and followed the procession singing freedom songs as the coffin was carried on a donkey cart to the Saulsville cemetery.

Emma Sathekge was killed and a number of others injured when police fired teargas to disperse students during



15 000 people attended the funeral

school boycotts in the area. It is alleged she was run over by a police van.

Five high schools in the Saulsville/Atteridgeville have boycotted classes demanding SRC's. The Department of Education and Training (DET) closed the schools and later conditionally reopened them but still refused to give in to student demands.

In Soshanguve near Pretoria, students at four schools formed a committee to discuss how they could win demands for SRC's.

A Cosas statement said the blame for the death of Emma Sathekge and for the violence in the area should fall on the intransigence of the Department of Education and Training.



Transvaal members of Cosas exec: from l to r, Jabu Kumalo (Sec gen), Thlabane Mogashoa (organiser, who spoke at the funeral), Kenny Fihla (organiser) and Mpho Lekgoro (vice-president).

Bloem cops are bullying Cosas

COSAS MEMBERS at Bulumasango High School in Bloemfontein are being victimised after they organised a mass meeting in solidarity with eleven students who were kicked out of the school.

The school committee supported student demands for readmission of the expelled students and put pressure on

the school principal to readmit the students.

But the principal said he would rather resign than readmit the students. He also refused to readmit students who couldn't get into the school because of overcrowding and failures.

Students at the school staged a stay-in in protest against the principal's refusal to readmit fellow students.

But students say their protests have resulted in a campaign of harassment to crush support for Cosas in the school.

Students allege: 'Their homes have been visited and their parents forced to sign declarations that their children would not get involved in politics'. 'Community councillors took students and parents to the security police and later to the Department of Education and Training. Here they were told they would not be allowed into school if they were members of Cosas. 'Security police have raided the homes of Cosas leaders in Bloemfontein. 'Students from nearby schools have been threatened with immediate expulsion if they support students from other schools.

In a further incident, the launching of the Manguang Youth Congress in February had to be cancelled after intimidation by police.

Hundreds of supporters had already gathered in a church hall which had been booked for the launching.

But police allegedly went to the priest and threatened to close the church if he allowed the youth to go ahead. When the priest objected, he was told the church was on government owned ground.

Organisers were forced to postpone the launch until the end of April.

Action plan unites youth around SA

A COSAS idea was put into action when nearly fifty youth organisations from all over the country met at a national youth conference at Wilgespruit in January.

The 1982 Cosas congress appointed a commission of two representatives from each region to build youth organisations.

Since then, youth groups have mushroomed in every region.

The main aim of the conference was to discuss their progress and to work out national and regional coordination.

Many groups reported that the SADF was implementing a 'massive but subtle Civic Action Programme' in their areas to try to indoctrinate youth.

Regions agreed to implement programmes of action suitable to their conditions, around these issues.

The conference unanimously resolved:

- to demand an end to SADF invasions into Angola
- to launch a campaign against conscription
- to hold a second national youth conference in January 1985
- to disband the Cosas youth commission as it had fulfilled its tasks.

Students challenge apartheid education

● From Page 1

teachers and security police. Six New Brighton students have been detained.

Cosas President and PE student Lulu Johnson, told SASPU NATIONAL the government is trying to neutralise student militancy by giving in to certain demands. 'But,' he said, 'students all over the country still have many grievances and demands. Our long-term demands for a democratic education system remain, and these can only be realised in a non-racial and democratic South Africa.'

Prominent educationalist and head of the National Education Union of South Africa, Curtis Nkondo, said he did not expect the schools situation to improve. He said the present dissatisfaction felt by black students is more widespread than the grievances which led to the 1976 uprising and the 1980 schools boycotts.

'If the problems of apartheid education continue, the events of June 1976 will look like a Sunday picnic.'

Bop tries to crush youth

TWO NORTHERN Cape teachers have been kicked out of Bophuthatswana schools because of their involvement in the Kudumane Youth Unity (Kuyoni).

When their parents went to see Bophuthatswan education officials they were told the teachers were expelled because of their involvement in 'politics'.

Youth organisers in the area say the Bophuthatswana

government is trying to undermine Kuyoni and promote its own youth organisation, Bothanya.

They say there has been an attempt to discredit the organisation and intimidate teachers and students. School principals and church ministers have also been told not to allow Kuyoni to use their schools and churches for meetings.

Bophuthatswana authorities

have also been trying to encourage youth to plant trees and flowers as part of Bothanya's 'programme of action'.

Said Kuyoni president, Eddie Tau: 'We have a lot more to do than beautifying the bantustans. Our aim is to encourage youth involvement in sport, social and cultural activities and so on.'

'The bantustan system is affecting us as workers. Many people are starving here. There are not enough schools, most people are out of work.

'Conditions in the factories and mines are very bad, people work long hours for poverty wages. Removals continue. All of these need the urgent attention of the youth and other organisations, and they are related to politics. They can't hide this. And we see the government is not attempting to show that they are with the people.'

Cops disrupt launching

AN ANTI-RIOT police squad disrupted the launching of the Uitenhage Youth Congress (UYCO).

Over 1 500 people attended including supporters from Cradock, Port Elizabeth, Graaf Reinet and Johannesburg.

But crowds arrived at the scene only to find security police already on the spot

The convoy of UDF sup-

porters was then forced to drive back to PE, still under police escort.

The Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) then held a protest rally in support of UYCO.

Speakers included president of Soyco, Oupa Monareng, former Robben Islander and vice-president of Pebco Mr H Fazi and president of Neusa Curtis Nkondo.

Cahac chairperson is victim of shock sacking

AFTER 30 years service at the Wilmill Weaving Company, Mr Wilfred Rhodes, chairperson of the Cape Areas Housing Committee (Cahac), has been unexpectedly fired. Mr Rhodes says it is an act of victimisation because of the concern he has shown for his fellow workers. He tells how, ever since he started work at Wilmill in Salt

River, Cape Town, he has worked hard and was often complimented on this by management. In 1980, he says, there was clear evidence of victimisation of workers. Bus fares were increased in the Cape and the workers went on strike, demanding a wage increase so that they could afford the higher fares.

Three workers were fired and Mr Rhodes expressed concern over what had happened to his fellow employees. 'It was then that Mr Raphaile called me disloyal to the company and 'a snake in his bed'. 'I stood accused of being behind the strike. But I told the boss that there were no leaders in the factory, just workers who stood together

for what was due to them.' Two years later the factory workers joined the Industrial Textile Union of South Africa. Mr Rhodes had his own office, but this was knocked down on the instructions of Mr Raphaile and no explanation was given to Mr Rhodes. They also increased his work load last year by taking three

co-workers off his section. 'But my work did not slack off because I did not want to give them an excuse to fire me,' Mr Rhodes said. However, at the end of last month, Mr Raphaile called him to the office and told him he was fired. The reasons given were 'overproducing' and 'bad relations with the sales department'. Mr Rhodes

dismisses both these reasons as mere excuses. At a Cahac meeting after the dismissal residents said they could not accept the reasons given for Rhodes' firing. A committee of five people was elected to approach the boss, Mr Raphaile, to hear from him 'the real reasons for the firing.'



"Azikhwelwa" we will not ride the buses

Alex boycotts for lower bus fares

ALEXANDRA COMMUTERS recently united in a bus boycott against Putco bus fare increases.

But the boycott, which began in mid January, was halted after only a month due to intimidation of commuters, arrests and detentions of boycott leaders and harassment of taxi drivers.

The decision to boycott was taken after several meetings involving thousands of commuters and progressive organisations such as the Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco), Cosas and the Alexandra Civic Association.

They rejected the increase since the price of fuel had dropped by 4 percent in December and Putco had promised at the time to lower the fares. People could not afford the higher fares immediately after the new year. Furthermore, it was felt that the poor service did not warrant the increase.

On the first day, empty buses entered and left the township while commuters walked,



Boycotting commuters get lifts to work

caught taxis or got lifts to work.

The peace was shattered later that morning when police baton charged the commuters and youths helping them to find transport. A helper, Boyce Sebothe, was allegedly shot by the police.

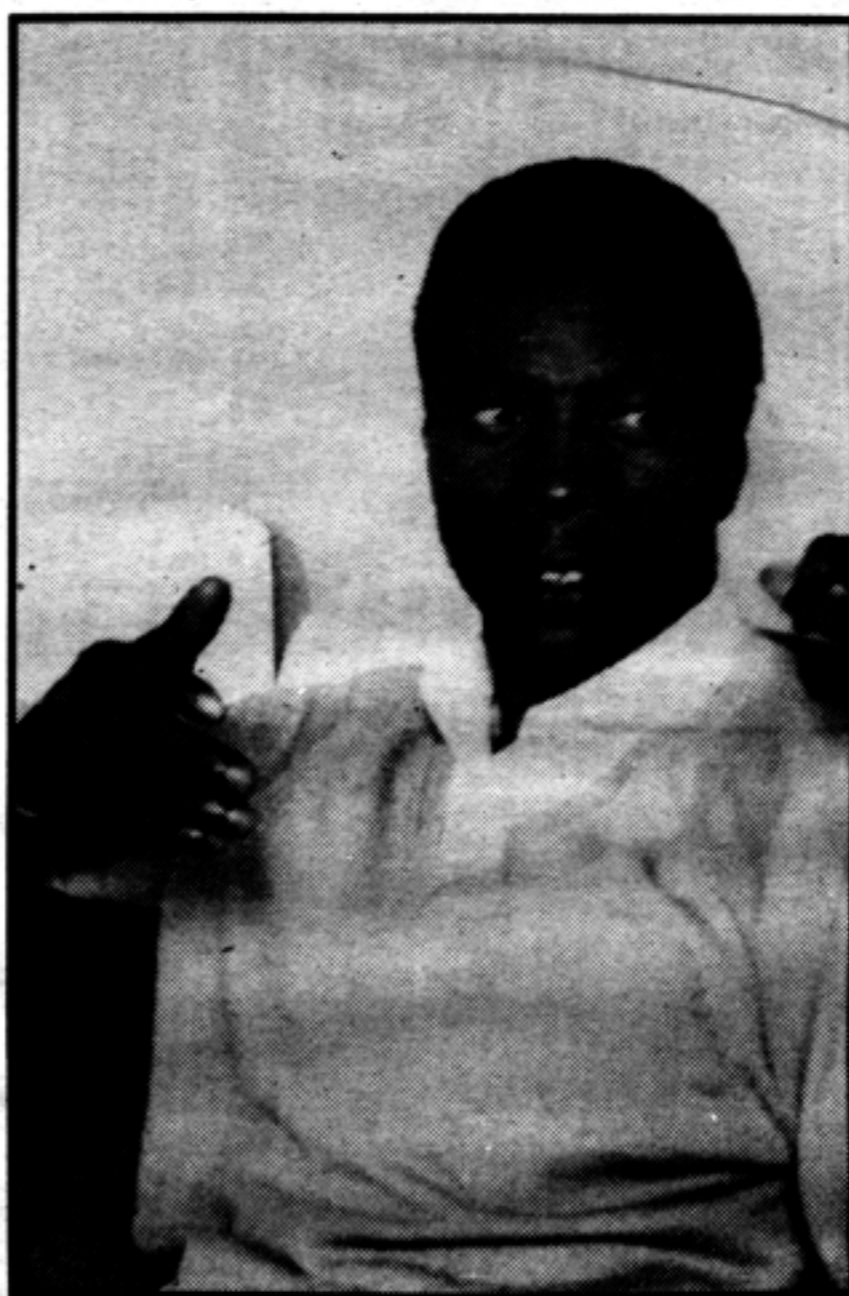
In the second week of the boycott, 5 members of the Alexandra Commuters Association (ACC) were detained by the security police. Three were released after three days

without being charged. Ten people were charged under the Intimidation Act and were released on bail of R500 each.

Security police confiscated typewriters, duplicating machines, books, pamphlets and UDF posters.

Traffic police and transportation board officials clamped down on taxi drivers, charging them with minor traffic offences and seizing their taxis.

In the fourth week detentions occurred daily and



Mike Beea, ACC chairperson

alleged police intimidation of motorists and commuters continued.

The ACC and commuters decided at a meeting on February 1 to suspend the boycott and launch a petition. Their grievances were: high bus fares, bumpy roads, dust caused by buses, dirty leaking buses, no toilets at the Wynberg depot and filthy facilities at 15th Avenue, inflexible season tickets and no pedestrian crossing lines at the

Wynberg depot.

The ACC decided to collect 36 000 signatures — the official number of commuters in Alex, quoted by the Transport Board officials as the present number of Alex commuters.

In early February, an Alex Bus Boycott Support Committee was formed. Progressive organisations sit on this committee. They have decided to take up the petition in other communities which are also affected by the increases.

Ciskei frees MRA members

SEVERAL MGWALI residents were detained last month 'to maintain law and order' in the area, according to the Ciskei government.

Among those detained were Sendikho Fanti, a tuberculosis patient, Makosonke Dyani, a blind man and Mr Herman Gija who is 96 years old. All are members of the Mgwali Residents Association (MRA). All were later released.

The gun-toting men in 19 unmarked vehicles did not identify themselves. No reasons were given for the arrests.

People were bundled into trucks and told they were being taken to Zwelitsha in the Ciskei.

The detentions are seen as an attempt to intimidate the MRA. The MRA is opposing the proposed removal of about 5 000 Mgwali residents to Frankfort, a new relocation site near King Williamstown in the Ciskei.

Minister of Law and Order Le Grange said he could not release a statement until 'in full possession of all the facts.'

According to several spokespeople for the Ciskei government these actions were 'within the ambit of our jurisdiction', because 'Mgwali residents are Ciskei citizens'.

Despite intimidation from the Ciskei government, the MRA remains firm. Its activities include:

- the formation of a youth group
- undertaking money-raising projects
- participation in a national workshop on resettlement in the Eastern Transvaal
- monthly meetings in an interdenominational church hall (the tribal authority has forbidden outdoor meetings).

We will unite says E. Cape

SEVERAL EASTERN Cape civic organisations met at Grahamstown near the end of January in an attempt to form a joint civic body.

Organisations participating included the Port Elizabeth Black Organisation (Pebo), the Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation (Ubco), the Cradock Residents Association (Cradora) and the Grahamstown Civic Association (Graca). The Port Alfred People's Civic Organisation was unable to attend.

The possibility of a federation or a union was discussed and an interim committee of eight members was elected from the various organisations.

SP men at village meeting

A COMMUNITY meeting in Sobantu Village, Pietermaritzburg, came to an abrupt halt when youths warned they would wreck proceedings unless two security policemen were kicked out.

The meeting was convened by a 'think tank' of youth, church figures and former members of the Sobantu Rent Action Committee which spearheaded the Sobantu rent protests in 1982.

Two hundred people attended. The meeting was called to organise effective leadership in the township. It was felt that problems such as unemployment, high failure rates in schools and a lack of facilities, should be taken up by the community.

Mr Thami Nthalani, spokesperson for the 'think tank', said the meeting had been called because the people of Sobantu were tired of being represented by people who merely conveyed decisions taken by the authorities without consultation.



Over 1 000 people attend Graca mass meeting

RECENT TOWN COUNCIL elections in Grahamstown have met with strong local opposition.

Only 4,6 percent of the registered voters in the three contested wards went to the polls in what is seen as a massive boycott of the elections.

A spokesperson for the newly-formed Grahamstown Civic Association (Graca), which spear-headed the boycott campaign, said 'the people of Grahamstown have

Low poll in Grahamstown

rejected the new town councils for what they are — government-created institutions which cannot meet the needs of residents.'

A mass meeting of over 1 000 people approved the Graca executive elected from three

area interim committees in November last year. The aims of the civic are:

- to strive for affordable rents, water and electricity.
- to liaise and co-operate with similar organisations.
- to take a lead on any matter

affecting residents.

●to unite residents against day-to-day grievances and frustrations.

Graca organisers are hoping that the organisation will play a broad opposition role within the community.

Iilizwi Laserhini, a Grahamstown community newspaper, said in an editorial that both the formation of Graca on the local level and the UDF on the national level was an important step forward for the Grahamstown community.

Mwasa divided on non-racism

THE MEDIA Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) split down the middle at their special congress in East London at the end of January. The split was over two burning issues — Mwasa becoming non-racial, and affiliation to the UDF. A proposal to discuss these led to a walk-out of the Transvaal and Natal regions, leaving behind the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Border regions.



M J Fuzile — Mwasa head

The following day the congress resolved to amend the constitution in keeping with Mwasa becoming an industrial trade union. The principal of non-racialism was unanimously adopted, and the Western Cape region's affiliation to the UDF was given full support. Other regions plan to affiliate at a later stage. Newly elected Mwasa president Mxolisi 'MJ' Fuzile said in a statement: 'In keeping with its new industrial nature, Mwasa decided to open its membership to all workers in the affected industries after previously restricting it to blacks only. 'The union is disturbed at the withdrawal from its congress of the delegates from Southern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and Natal. 'Mwasa is still in operation and is open to consultation with the three regions.'



Striking OK workers — they sparked solidarity strikes

Early close as solidarity strike grips chain stores

IN A significant display of worker solidarity hundreds of workers went on a one-day strike in sympathy with 200 fired O K Bazaars workers. Five branches of O K in the Transvaal and six in Natal gave notice of a one-day strike to protest against what they saw as an unfair dismissal. The 200 workers from Sandton near Johannesburg who struck over the dismissal of a shop steward were all dismissed after three days. Lucky Melato, a member of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (C-cawusa) who represented the workers on the Conciliation Board was dismissed by O K management who claimed that he was 'disobedient'. O K accused the 200 workers

of going on strike without negotiations. Ccawusa claims O K victimised Melato. According to a recognition agreement between O K and Ccawusa, workers should be represented by the union when being dismissed. While O K claims Melato did not ask for representation, Melato says he did, and the strike action which followed was legitimate. The 200 workers are still dismissed and management still refuses to rehire any of them, despite the pressure of the solidarity strikes. Allan Fine, Ccawusa's acting branch secretary, said the importance of the events 'was the significant support from other branches. The solidarity strikes are a pointer for the future. However things end —



Shop-workers staged a significant solidarity strike whether there is reinstatement or not — there will be a legacy of bitterness between workers and management. The solidarity strikes are legitimate in terms of the recognition agreement. Management may give workers 24 hours to go back to work before firing them. In certain cases 24 hour notice was issued to the striking branches, but in each case the workers had stated they would go back to work within that time anyway. Observers see the solidarity actions as being important. As Fine says: 'This solidarity action indicates a new trend. A similar thing could happen in the future.'

Workers complain of Azapo conspiracy

FORTY STRIKING workers were arrested by police in Queenstown after a lock-out at a KSM plant. The workers were locked out after they stopped work in protest against the dismissal of colleagues who had been involved in a go-slow. The dispute started after workers complained of an Azapo conspiracy to undermine the AFCWU and recruit workers for the Azapo affiliated African Allied Workers Union. The local chair of the AFCWU, Mncedisi Ngoma, allegedly attended clandestine meetings aimed at destroying AFCWU. Workers ousted him as chairperson, and expelled him from the union. They asked KSM management to transfer Ngoma. Management refused, and a go-slow at the Queenstown plant began among the 200 workers there. For three days running, Ngoma was forced off the premises when he arrived for work, and eventually, KSM local manager Mr C Emmelman, told the workers' committee that Ngoma was to be transferred. But during subsequent negotiations, AFCWU says Emmelman changed his position, and refused to transfer Ngoma. Also, management said, workers who had forced Ngoma off the premises would be dismissed. They said 25 workers would be out of jobs. The 200 workers stopped work in protest against the dismissals. They were locked out of the plant, and police arrived to tell them to collect their wages. The workers refused. The workers' committee attempted to meet management to put allegations that they had called the police, but management did not respond. Three days later, with workers still locked out, more police arrived with dogs and 39 workers were arrested. Workers say they were beaten with batons. A statement from AFCWU branch secretary, Mr Vani, said AFCWU blamed management for the incident, saying negotiations should not have been delayed. The workers are now being charged with intimidation. They have been granted bail amounting to a total of R17 000. Many are still in jail as they have not been able to raise bail money.

Workers in first national legal strike

ABOUT 8 750 workers in four centres went on strike for a week in mid-January in one of the first national strike actions. The legal strike — in accordance with the Labour Relations Act — was a culmination of lengthy negotiations between the South African Chemical Workers Union (SACWU) and AECI management. They decided to strike legally as a last resort. At the end of the week the strikers returned to work following an ultimatum that if they did not, they would be fired. However, 'the management

was able to fire workers the same as if they were on an illegal strike,' a union spokesperson said. 'We would think twice about using the Labour Relations Act again because holding a legal strike has proved of little benefit to the workers,' he said. The workers demanded R400 a month for the lowest paid employee, an increase of R65 a month. Management's final offer was R363 a month from January 1, a raise which had already been implemented. Workers went on strike after

three months of negotiation and one month after declaring a dispute. This is the minimum time provided for in the Labour Relations Act before workers can strike legally. The union also demanded that worker's leave be extended from two weeks to three to give contract workers time to renew their permits and see their families. Management offered an extra day. A union demand that black and white workers be given equal long service allowance was turned down by manage-

ment. After negotiations in early December a series of meetings between management and the union were held and the Department of Manpower was called in to mediate. These failed and in mid-January workers at four AECI factories held strike ballots. On January 16, 5 000 workers at AECI's explosive plant at Modderfontein did not turn up for the morning shift. The next day 1 900 workers at the plastics raw material plant in Sasolburg and 750 workers at the explosives factory in Somerset

West followed suit. About 1 000 workers at the AECI plant in Umbongintwini — the majority of whom are members of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) — also went on strike. A Saawu spokesperson said they had negotiated the wage increase jointly with Sacwu. Meetings between management and Sacwu shop stewards failed. Management offered an additional R7 but the offer lapsed because workers did not return to work within the specified time. The strike was 100 percent effective at Modderfontein where all workers except those employed in the hospital, hostel kitchen and security guards were not working. These workers are prohibited from striking legally because they perform essential services. Management was forced to ferry 'scab' labour from Tembisa township and said they were using apprentices in work for which they were qualified. The machines at AECI factories are designed to work continually and it is difficult and expensive to slow them down or stop them.

Saawu wins recognition agreement

SAAWU HAS signed another recognition agreement with a firm in the Border region. The firm is E C Smith, a distribution company in East London. The agreement was signed on 3 February and brings to six the number of employers with which Saawu has a formal recognition agreement in the area. According to a statement by Yure Mdyogolo, Saawu's East London branch secretary,

there are many others where Saawu has de facto recognition. The union hopes to conclude a number of agreements before the end of the year. 'This is clearly indicative that local management has realised the importance of dealing with trade unions of the workers' choice and have yielded to the principle of freedom of association, instead of adopting an intransigent stance towards independent trade unions,' the statement said.

In another company, a recognition dispute has resulted in workers going on strike. The 92 black workers at I'race Industries walked out on strike on 13 February after management had rejected numerous attempts to negotiate recognition of the workers committee. Since the walkout, many attempts have been made to open negotiations with management on the issue, but

these have been met with consistent refusals. I'race has said it will not have anything to do with Saawu because it is already a member of the Iron and Steel Industrial Council. It has also said that it has had 'bad experiences' with Saawu, when it allowed the union to operate the workers committee a few years back. I'race has already begun hiring new workers, but says production is still only 5 percent of normal capacity.



The Western Cape's first five signatories. From l to r: Dave Lewis (General Workers Union), Walter Lefuma (Western Cape Civics), Willfred Rhodes (Cahac), Mama Zihangu (UWO), Hassan Howa

Thousands sign in W Cape blitz

IT TOOK just two hours to collect nearly 4 000 signatures during a UDF signature campaign blitz on the Cape Flats

This effort in Heideveld and Vanguard areas, followed a successful drive at the University of the Western Cape the previous week, where over 2 000 students signed the form in a similar amount of time.

The United Democratic Front (Western Cape) is aiming to register at least 300 000 signatures against the new deal, as a contribution to the national 1 million signature campaign.

According to a UDF spokesperson, the Sunday blitz was conducted by an enthusiastic group of over 200 supporters who had come from all over the Cape peninsula for the day. The blitz formed part of a pilot study being run by the UDF Western Cape to determine the initial response to the million signature campaign.

Heideveld and Vanguard are so-called coloured areas in Cape Town, spanning sub-economic working class areas, rented flats and middle class self ownership areas. It is also an area with minimal UDF



Collecting signatures, Joe Marks and Mildred Lesea organisational presence.

During the week prior to the blitz, the signature campaign was publicised in the area through a poster and a pamphlet. Contact was also made with schools, churches and mosques.

On the morning of the blitz, activists gathered for a briefing session presented by Mosiue Lekota, UDF national publicity secretary.

Mosiue outlined the objectives of the campaign, stressing the educational and organisational gains that could be made through the collection of one million signatures. He also presented a short overview and history of the UDF.

Local supporters then presented an outline of the

area, giving a description of the type of housing in the areas. The area as a whole was divided into 15 zones, each with a local co-ordinator.

Before setting out, workers were given a final briefing on personal conduct and behaviour.

The success of the morning collection drive was typified by the animated discussion that took place during lunch time among returning activists. From the general discussion that afternoon a number of significant factors emerged.

Out of every ten people approached, an average of eight signed, showing the wide range of support for the UDF and its campaign against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills. Very few people supported the Labour Party, the Coloured Management Committees or the forthcoming coloured elections.

There were a number of reasons why certain people did not sign. Firstly, in the working class areas, some people were illiterate and were unwilling to sign a form they could not read.

Secondly, many women said their husbands could sign and that the person collecting the



Over 200 volunteers at pre-blitz briefing session in Cape Town

signatures would have to come back later. Related to this was the fact that some men, as heads of the family, felt they signed on behalf of the whole family.

Thirdly, there was a fear of the police and matters of a political nature, and some people were afraid that their names would be found on the signature form and used against them.

Fourthly, in some areas people knew little about the new constitution and there was a lack of response to the signature campaign.

Even though the million signatures campaign is still in

its early days, a UDF spokesperson said indications were that it would be successful. 'With sufficient training, planning and organisation, enough democratic South Africans can be reached through the course of the campaign,' he said.

He said an even more important consideration was that the campaign was bringing UDF supporters in touch with the lives of the working people.

'UDF is going into thousands and thousands of homes, listening to local demands and explaining the consequences of the Nationalists' new deal. The process of building a mass movement is under way.'

10 000 add names to Border campaign



Border UDF exec members Siwisa and Sifingo

POLITICAL EDUCATION will be the main emphasis of the million signature campaign in the Border region, say local UDF organisers.

The campaign is divided into three phases. In the first phase signatures will be collected from people who are 'already politically conscious'.

This will include workers in trade unions and people from a broad range of organisations.

A door-to-door campaign throughout the region will be part of the second phase from mid-March to mid-May.

From then till the end of the campaign in June people who are 'reticent about politics' will be approached.

A field work team is travelling around promoting the campaign and over 10 000 people have already signed.

Enthusiasm for the campaign is high. Local organisers predict they may even collect one million signatures in their region alone.

People from all over the region are signing against apartheid — from the massive Mdantsane township near East London to small towns like Queenstown, Grahamstown and Aliwal North, to Umtata and the outlying rural areas.

Mgwali, where people have vigorously resisted removals to the Ciskei is one of many rural settlements where residents have added their names.

But the campaign is more than a signature on a piece of paper.

'We are using the campaign not as an idle exercise but for political education' says Border UDF secretary, Charles Nqakula.

'The UDF is discussed. Local issues and people's problems are linked to the constitution and how it will affect their lives.

'Our aim is that people should understand what the constitution is about, and to connect their plight with the constitution,' said Nqakula.

Trade unions like the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) and the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU) whose East London and Queenstown branches are affiliated in the region are playing an important part. And workers from the General Workers Union are participating actively.

Plans are underway to bring in the Indian and coloured areas where there has been little political activity in the past.

And even in the traditionally conservative white community of East London, small-scale signature collection has started.

As one Border activist put it: 'We are making breakthroughs by the day.'

Unions give reasons for joining UDF

TWO TRADE unions, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa (Macwusa) and the General Workers Union of South Africa (Gwusa) have released a statement about why they joined the UDF.

The unions join a 22 member strong alliance of community, student and youth organisations in the Eastern Cape branch of the UDF.

Each union has sent two delegates as formal representatives to the UDF Eastern Cape General Council.

This comes at a time when trade union participation in a broad front such as the UDF is being debated.

A joint statement issued by the unions outlined their reasons for affiliating: 'It is our standing policy that our unions will co-operate with any organisation if it is relevant to our principles and beliefs.

'Our workers feel that they must have a say in all progressive organisations in order to strengthen the struggle.

'Broad and effective unity still has a long way to go. Workers must not be isolated from the progressive movement.

'We must strive for a non-racial society with church, youth and community organisations, such as those found in the UDF.'



The UDF National executive watch while Rev. Allan Boesak signs the million signature petition. From left to right: Trevor Manuel, Aubrey Mokoena, Popo Molefe, George Sewpersahd, Hintsa Siwisa, Bangumsi Sifingo, Mildred Lesea, Cassim Saloojee, Andrew Borraine, Joe Marks, Oscar Mpheta (president), RAM Saloojee, Rev. Xundu, Yunus Mohammed, Allan Boesak (patron), Virgil Bonhume, Rev. Stoffie, Thomas Kobese, Archie Gumede (president), Joe Paahla, Moss Chikane, George du Plessis, Derrick Swartz, Cheryl Carolis, Edgar Ngoyi, "Terror" Lekota and Mewa Ramgobin (obscured). President Albertina Sisulu was not present due to her imprisonment.

THE EASTERN Cape region of the UDF has established a committee to conduct and co-ordinate the UDF signature campaign in the region.

The campaign will be formally launched at a press conference on 18 March which will be attended by representatives from all affiliated organisations.

Prominent Eastern Cape personalities will sign at the press conference.

The day before the launch all affiliates in the region will attend a workshop where they will discuss and adopt a programme of action drawn

E Cape plans signature launch

up by the Signature Campaign Committee.

In preparation for the workshop and launching the committee is consulting organisations affiliated to the UDF, other organisations, patrons and prominent people in the region.

In addition smaller workshops are being held to discuss the aims of the

signature campaign and questions such as: conditions leading to the formation of the UDF, the UDF now, the nature of front politics, ideological advancement in the UDF and the importance of working class leadership.

The Eastern Cape region has 22 affiliated organisations from Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cradock, Grahamstown and

Humansdorp.

These include the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), the Westville Youth Congress, Gelvendale Youth Congress, Uitenhage Youth Congress (Uyco), the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Port Elizabeth Womens Organisations (Pewo), the Malabar Residents Association, General Workers Union of South Africa (Gwusa) and the Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union of South Africa (Macwusa).

The people called the tune



They gathered in their thousands the day the UDF offered a musical feast

THE UDF Peoples' Festival drew a crowd of more than 20 000 people to Fun Valley to hear eight hours of music.

Sakhile had the crowd stomping and jiving to tunes dedicated to UDF president Albertina Sisulu and the late trade unionist Neil Aggett.

The festival was held to expose local musicians and raise their cultural standard.

The line-up included popular bands like Juluka, Brenda Fasi and the Dudes as well as up and coming groups like Isja, Afubi and Carlos Dje Dje.

UDF national secretary Popo Molefe said that the UDF intends to branch out into cultural activities and start workshops for budding musicians.

But a UDF spokesperson said, 'we do not want to jump the gun, we'll have to know how the members feel about the festival before we plan anything else.'

According to many music fans the festival marked a welcome change of direction from boycotting foreign artists without creating an alternative.

Other objectives were realised at the festival.

Thousands of signatures



Tshazabane of Sakhile



Brenda Fasi lets rip

were collected for the UDF signature campaign including those of singers Mara Louw and Thembi Mtshali, lead singer of the jazz band Peace. 'We'll go a long way towards paying back our debts to various institutions,' said a UDF spokesperson.

UDF affiliates like Soyco, Jodac, Anti-Presidents Council Committee and Azaso were also happy with the way things went.



Banned democrat, Beyers Naudé, signs the United Democratic Front's signature form. He was taking part in a Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) ceremony where leading democrats made their mark against apartheid. Dr Naudé had to sign alone because of his banning order. Others who signed included Helen Joseph and Dr David Webster (Wits academic)

Soyco's treasurer, Mr Mandla Nkonfe said, 'our Soyco T-shirts were bought by all race groups at the festival. We hope this will popularise our youth organisation. We also raised about R250 for the coffers.'

Despite the crowds there were no reports of violence.

The owners of Fun Valley applauded such a good turn out 'for the first time in the history of the Valley' and praised the good conduct of the fans and musicians.

Tvl signs up thousands in campaign to stop reforms

'BY COLLECTING signatures, you are helping to make history.'

This is the message from UDF president, Albertina Sisulu to UDF supporters and signature collectors in the Transvaal.

Her words appear in a booklet put out by the Transvaal UDF to assist supporters in gathering signatures.

Signature collecting in the Transvaal reached a high point at the UDF's People's Music Festival in early March.

'With ten UDF banners urging people to sign against apartheid, and hundreds of campaign stickers and T-shirts, more than 7 000 people signed,' said a UDF official.

Since the national launch of

the campaign in Soshanguve near Pretoria, there have been local launches to popularize the campaign in other areas.

In Soweto, a UDF signature committee packed a hall and collected several hundred signatures. An enthusiastic Transvaal Indian Congress rally launched the campaign in Lenasia.

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) has hosted a press conference where well-known people like Beyers Naudé signed the form. Both Medunsa and Turfloop have launched the campaign on their campuses. Alan Boesak will be at another local launch at an Anti President's Council rally in the near future.

Transvaal UDF has put a lot of work into preparing for the campaign. Eighty supporters joined in producing campaign T-shirts, pamphlets and banners at the Media Night event.

Signatures have also been collected in great numbers at the Wits Free People's Concert and at the BP Cup Final, say UDF officials.

At an educational workshop two weeks later, the same number of people spoke about how the campaign could strengthen local organisations and educate people about the UDF. UDF plans to repeat these events in each area.

A booklet aimed at individual collectors in the Transvaal has been distributed widely.

The booklet is to supplement UDF's national handbook on brief explanation of the UDF, the constitution and the Koornhof Bills, and a guide to collecting signatures.

Transvaal UDF is raising money to employ a full time worker on the campaign.

Durban UDF goes for a quarter million

ORGANISATIONS in Durban are enthusiastic about reaching their target of 300 000 signatures for the UDF million signature campaign.

The preparatory phase of the campaign is nearly over and organisations will soon launch the campaign in their local areas.

The Durban regional launching of the campaign — at a press conference in February — was followed by a mass meeting at the YMCA Hall where 400 people signed.

Prominent people including Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Natal Indian Congress leader Mewa Ramgobin and Archie Gumede, a UDF national president, were among the first to sign at the press conference.

Organisers say the campaign in Durban got off to a slow but solid start.

They said the focus during



A spirited crowd launched the UDF signature campaign in Natal

the first phase was on preparation, getting supporters together, discussing approaches to the campaign.

methods for house to house work and the launching in various areas.

'This will lay a solid founda-

tion for a massive campaign in coming months.'

A co-ordinating committee of one person from each area

or affiliated organisation has been set up to facilitate the efficient running of the campaign.

Curnick Ndlovu, trade union activist from the fifties who was recently released after 20 years on Robben Island, has been employed as full-time organiser for the campaign.

Activists and organisers in the region are enthusiastic. As one organiser put it: 'Careful planning and solid preparation will pay off as people march on to achieve the objectives set out for the campaign.'

These are:

- popularising the UDF and building conscious support for the UDF
- educating people about the constitution and Koornhof Bills
- showing rejection of apartheid and the constitution
- building local organisation.

SASPU NATIONAL

Beware South Africans!

PEOPLE OF South Africa beware!

The rulers of this country are once again trying to implement their policies through trickery.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill is being sneaked in through the back door.

The government is praying it won't be spotted by the democratic opposition. But it has been. Amendments to the Aliens Act will increase penalties for breaking influx laws, and will add new provisions.

Most plans of the Orderly Movement Bill are in this new Aliens Bill before parliament. In some cases the plans are even more horrifying.

8,25 million South Africans have had their citizenship taken away from them by being made 'citizens' of independant homelands. Where they go and how they can move in South Africa is severely restricted by influx control laws.

These millions in Transkei, Venda, Bophutatswana and Ciskei are all considered aliens in the land of their birth.

The new Bill says to these people:

●Before you can enter South Africa you must pay money. This money must be paid as a deposit to the Passport Control Officer to get a temporary permit to enter South Africa.

●The money will be given back when you leave South Africa, but only if you do not break any of the terms in the permit. The money will not be given back if any laws in South Africa are broken.

●When in South Africa 'aliens' must show this permit on demand. If they do not have one, they will be punished. They can be fined R600 or spend 6 months in prison.

●If anyone gives you a job, or does business, or gives you a place to live, or sells you property, that person can be fined R5 000 or given two years in prison.

●If anyone forges a passport or permit they can be fined R10 000 or sent to prison for 5 years.

●All bosses must fill in a form listing all 'alien' workers and send it to the Passport Control Officer.

●If aliens are deported from South Africa they lose the right to permanent residence or admission to South Africa. The same applies to anyone who lives outside South Africa for three years or more.

The new Aliens Bill will do exactly what the Orderly Movement was meant to do — prevent Africans without jobs from coming to industrial centres to look for work. Millions of Africans will not be allowed into the cities and towns of white South Africa unless industry needs their labour. For the majority this new Bill will use the threat of imprisonment or deportation to lock them up into poverty-stricken bantustans.

Tightening control

The Aliens Bill is worse than any law we've seen before. Migrant workers will have to pay the South African government to work in the land of their birth.

Controls over the movement and employment of African workers will go far beyond these 'border' controls. In the workplace, the threat of a R5 000 fine will force employers to act as policemen and get rid of 'illegal workers'. Bosses will help enforce influx control more than ever.

The Aliens Bill is yet another government attempt to bring the Orderly Movement Bill in through the back door. Ever since popular opposition prevented Orderly Movement from becoming law, the government has looked for other ways to force workers and workseekers out of urban areas. Hundreds of thousands have been arrested in pass raids, while countless others have been refused their rights by officials who made up their own rules. In Nyanga Bush, officials used the Admission of Persons to the Republic Act to classify Ciskei workers as foreigners, and then deported them.

So we can see the government has already inflicted Orderly Movement on African people. With the Aliens Bill, they are trying two other tricks. They say the legislation is aimed at white aliens as well, at illegal white immigrants.

We are not fooled. Africans will be the real target of these laws. And while white immigrants qualify for

citizenship after five years, South African citizenship is stripped away from millions of Africans who have lived here all their lives. When the Minister of Internal Affairs was asked to explain this, he said: 'No comment'.

Once again the government has shown it is not accountable to the majority of South Africans. It plans to force this law on us.

The other trick with this Bill is to take responsibility for influx control away from Koornhof's department of Cooperation and Development and give it to the department of Internal Affairs.

The chief director of Administration boards explained why: 'Influx control is a sensitive issue. We would like to suggest this job be performed by somebody else, and by this, we mean another government department'.

He is right — influx control is unpopular. That is why thousands of democrats in the United Democratic Front, trade unions and community, student and women's organisations are fighting it.

Orderly Movements was just a means for implementing the government's plan to tighten influx control. Now it is shelved; they can, and will use other methods. New legislation is only one way. In the past year others, like shack demolitions and deporting squatters, administrative harassment and massive pass

raids, served the same purpose. This Bill will be a death sentence for thousands of workers who will be forced to starve, surrounded by the wealth they have created.

People opposed the Orderly Movements because it aimed at controlling workers in South Africa. Workers are being controlled so they can be kept cheap and docile.

African workers from the bantustans are cheap because there are many people competing for few jobs. If migrants complain about their wages they can simply be replaced by others

Resist or starve

Influx control is the system that tries to keep control of this problem. Workers are threatened with jail or fined if they come to the cities illegally.

The influx laws do not always work. Thousands of workers and their families have defied them. They still come to the cities and fight to stay there. In Soweto, Duncan Village, Crossroads and elsewhere African workers have resisted the demolition of their shacks, arrest and prison. Over a hundred thousand Africans each year are put in jail for being in towns illegally.

Influx control aims to keep people in the homelands, but it cannot. The drought, the recession, deterioration of land and a growing population forces people to resist.

There are no houses so they build their own. They cannot find jobs through the government's labour offices, so they look for their own. But in the process they break the laws of influx control and are made criminals in the land of their birth. The right to work should be a basic human right — instead it has become a crime. The government, it appears, believes it can stop this massive influx into the cities by making the penalties harsher. Six months in jail is a long time when you have children to feed ...

But what can these people do? They do not want to break the laws — they are forced to. Harsher penalties are not going to stop that. Only a complete and total abolition of the influx control system, the homelands and Apartheid laws will do that.

Only when the system which exploits the labour of African workers, which attempts to have absolute control over their lives and labour is abolished, will people be able to escape these pressures.

We must challenge the need for influx control; we must abolish the system of exploitation which says influx laws must exist.

To do this the land must belong to those who work it; there must be work and security for all; the wealth of South Africa must be shared among all the people; there must be houses, security and comfort. In short, all people of South Africa must be citizens in the land of their birth, and must determine together how the country is to run. The people must govern.



Nyembe to come out of jail after fifteen long years

SOUTH AFRICA'S longest serving woman political prisoner is soon to be released.

On March 26 Dorothy Nyembe will bid farewell to 15 years in prison.

Dorothy Nyembe became a symbol of courage to many South Africans. She has bravely faced and overcome hardships in her tireless work for democracy.

Nyembe was born in 1930 in Natal. In 1952 she joined the then-legal African National Congress and became involved in the Defiance Campaign, serving two sentences for non-violent resistance.

She was later elected the vice-chairperson of the ANC Women's League in Durban. When the Federation of South African Women was formed in 1954, she soon emerged as one of its most powerful leaders in Natal. She worked hard at building up the ANC and the Women's League in the Natal region, mobilising women around issues such as the passlaws, housing and government beerhalls.

She also played an important role in the consumer boycotts, such as the boycott of potatoes picked by children and forced labour in the Transvaal.

In August 1956, she led the Natal delegation of women to the Union Buildings in a mass protest against

the extension of passes to women.

Four months later she was facing charges of treason along with 155 others. Charges against her were dropped.

In 1959, Nyembe became the President of the ANC Women's League in Natal. Harassment from the authorities culminated in her being endorsed out of Durban. Undaunted, she began organising among people in rural areas. She was detained for five months in the 1960 clampdown.

The state hit back hard. In 1963 she was sentenced to three years for furthering the aims of the now-illegal ANC, and banned for five years.

In 1968 she was rebanned and then detained with 11 others. In 1969 she was sentenced under the Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts to fifteen years for harbouring guerillas.

She has served her sentence in Barberton, Potchefstroom and Kroonstad. Even in prison her spirit remains unbroken, and in 1980 she was charged with disobeying prison orders, and later for going on hunger strike with other women political prisoners.

She has received international recognition for her struggle, receiving awards from the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organisation and the National Front of Czechoslovakia.

The women still in apartheid's prisons

THANDIAS 'SMALLY' Maqungo, on her release from Kroonstad prison in 1983 asked people to remember South Africa's women political prisoners.

'Please pray for our women in prison, they are suffering', she said.

'Smally' Maqungo said study rights were taken away from them in 1979, after strikes and boycotts over food and clothing. She said, 'At Kroonstad we were cut off from the outside world. We didn't have a radio and we were not allowed newspapers.'

Among the women in South African jails for political offences are ●Feziswe Bookholane (40), sentenced in April 1979, under the Terrorism Act to 8 years for recruitment of youths to do military training.

●Ruth Gerhardt, sentenced in 1983 to 15 years under the Internal Security Act for High Treason and espionage for the Soviet Union.

●Elizabeth Gumede, who is in her 50's, sentenced in June 1979 under the Terrorism Act to 5 years for assisting guerillas with money, food and information.

●Barbara Hogan (31), sentenced in November 1982 under the Internal Security Act to 10 years for being a member of and working for the ANC.

●Ida Jimmy (39), sentenced in 1980 under the Terrorism Act to 7 years

for urging support for SWAPO guerillas. Her sentence was reduced to 5 years on appeal in November last year.

●Jansie Lourens (23), sentenced in November 1983 to 4 years under the Internal Security Act for assisting in ANC activity.

●Caesarina Makhoese, in her 20's, was sentenced in 1979 under the Terrorism Act for 5 years.

●Thandiso Mangungo (23), sentenced in 1979 under the Terrorism Act to 5 years.

●Thandi Modise (25), sentenced in November 1980 under the Terrorism Act to 8 years for undergoing military training, furthering the aims of the ANC and conspiring to commit arson and sabotage.

●Elizabeth Nhlapo, sentenced in 1979 under the Terrorism Act for 5 years.

●Zodwa Elizabeth Nntombi also sentenced in 1979 under the Terrorism Act to 5 years for recruiting others for military training.

●Montshidisi Kate Serokolo (34) was sentenced in 1979 under the Terrorism Act to 5 years with her aunt Elizabeth Gumede, for assisting guerillas.

●Lillian Keagile (24), sentenced in 1983 to 6 years for furthering the aims and being a member of the ANC, recruiting people to the ANC, and undergoing military training.

Organisation keeps rolling forward the wheels of history

ORGANISE THE unorganised. Politicise the un-politicised. These calls have been answered by many of South Africa's brave sons and daughters. With little or no thought for their own safety and comfort they have dedicated their lives to the task of mobilising, organising and educating people for one noble and responsible purpose — to build a just and democratic society.

This is not utopian. People can achieve it provided that they can organise themselves effectively enough to challenge the powerful networks of control that keep the ruling class in their privileged position.

To change society people need to be organised and united. They must be able to take part in the struggle to change society. And they must have a clear idea of what needs to be changed and how to go about it. None of this happens without organisation. Individuals alone will not get very far, and nor will large groups if their action is unplanned and unstrategic.

Clearly defined structures and programmes of action are essential to the effective operation of trade unions, student, womens' and community organisations. These targets and programmes are even more important at the national political level where the individual struggles of these groups have to be fused together and extended.

In every case, our progress and our victories are likely to be accidental rather than planned, random rather than strategic, if we do not have organisation and programmes. And we are unlikely to have either if we do not have members and supporters who participate directly and indirectly in that organisation and programme.

Democratic organisation threatens the ruling class. They desperately want to stop oppressed people coming together, discussing the conditions under which they live and work, analysing and understanding domination and exploitation and organising for change. The ruling class knows only too well what the conscious and united action of the majority of South Africans can achieve.

The ebb and flow of resistance and repression draws these points out clearly.

A decade of organisation and programmatic activity under the leadership of the Congress Alliance put great pressure on the ruling class government. It was only after a four-year war that democratic opposition was crushed.

At first it seemed that the government had scored a permanent victory. By 1961 it had succeeded in banning or forcing underground the leading organisations and activists, detaining and jailing thousands and forcing many into exile. For the next four or five years a political calm settled over South Africa. Profits soared as never before. Strikes and boycotts and campaigns were rare. It seemed almost as if the flame of resistance had been extinguished.

Almost. By 1969 black students had taken the decision to form their own organisation. Black workers were beginning to stir and there were major strikes in '72, '73 and '74. Nineteen or twenty trade unions were formed to fight for workers' rights. High school students started to organise.

The anger and impatience that was bursting out in the factories was also building up in the schools and the townships. By 1976 it had reached ignition point and the events of June 16 1976 were the spark that set the country alight like wildfire.



Consolidating mobilisation into organisation and then sustaining it through ongoing programmes is the main challenge progressives face. This is the task history sets, but it also points the way . . .

Students, workers, the unemployed — in the small towns and major cities, people took to the streets in protest against the 2nd-class citizenship to which they were condemned and the deadly manner in which the powers that be turned a deaf ear to their demands. All they got in response was the sound of gunfire, the snarling of dogs and the stinging stench of teargas.

As the government struck back, organisations and activists were forced to take evasive action. Meetings were impossible. The liberty and lives of activists were in danger. And in any event the conflict had snowballed way beyond the scale and scope of any of the existing organisations.

To organise under these circumstances demanded special and particular skills. Black townships had become war zones where skirmishes could break out at any moment. Lines of command and communication were almost impossible to maintain.

To involve everybody in structured, planned activity would have been impractical, if not impossible under the

circumstances. The student organisations that were in the forefront of the struggles of '76 and '77, Saso, Sasm, and the SSRC did not have infrastructure or the resources to cope. Nor were they originally designed to cater for such conflicts.

Their terrain was the field of education. Their unit of organisation was the school or university. Their members were pupils and students. A nation-wide, violent clash between thousands of residents of townships all over the country and the full repressive might of the Nationalist government went way beyond their original objectives and the state of their organisation at the time.

The results were depressing and tragic. As in the early sixties, organisations and activists were banned, and democratic opposition by the oppressed was obstructed.

But the ruling class's investment in repression did not have the same profitable pay-off as in the sixties. Instead of five years of peace

and profits, they found themselves locked into a downward spiral of economic recession and political conflict. Every move they made seemed to complicate matters further and they often ended up worse of than before.

While the ruling class was busy marshalling its resources to contain the sources of grievances and conflict, progressive activists were doing the same, but from a radically different perspective. Having learnt their lessons of the 1970's, organisers were concentrating on involving people at the grassroots level in activities which took up local issues. They focussed on issues which people themselves saw as important and pressing.

Together with this emphasis on participation in structures and programmes went a new appreciation of the working class character of the oppressed majority and the problems that they face as dominated and exploited class. This meant that issues taken up in a local community, school or factory were not seen as problems which arose out of

apartheid alone, but which had as much, if not more to do with the need to exploit cheap black labour. And while it was clearly understood that not every problem faced by black people could be directly (or even indirectly) related to the ins and outs of exploitation) the knowledge that such links existed lay in the back of every activists' mind. As such, that link between apartheid and exploitation, between race and class, could be drawn out in the course of some struggles — could be demonstrated to people in action, not just in theory.

Some activists were too keen to explore the underlying class logic in some apartheid issues. They superficially brushed away the problem of apartheid and national domination and crudely pointed to the dynamics of exploitation at work beneath the surface.

Their sincerity and concern however, in exposing the link, was not rewarded. Instead of galvanising support and organising opposition amongst their constituents for the struggle against capitalist exploitation, they found themselves talking a language that no one else understood.

The links are not obvious. Everybody knows about apartheid. It dominates our lives. So does exploitation. Every factory and farm worker, every domestic servant and unemployed person resents the long and hard hours that people must work for poverty wages. It is only the link between apartheid and exploitation that is unclear.

PW Botha and the heads of commerce and industry have been making the link clear however. They state clearly that they are no longer blindly defending apartheid but rather the so-called free-enterprise system. The private sector has stepped in to try and help the government solve the problems created by the apartheid housing and education systems.

Since 1979, democratic opposition has gained pace rapidly. Organisations sprang up, took root and grew. Even the arid Free State and Northern Cape have seen flowering of organisations. With the growth of organisation, and partly as a result of it, came an increase in action. 1980-81 saw an increasing number of campaigns, demonstrations, boycotts and strikes.

Mobilisation was at a high pitch, and it was difficult for the new grassroots groups to consolidate into organisations. The thousands of people who supported particular struggles tended to disappear as soon as the pressure was off, and activity tended to flare up and then die down rather than grow consistently.

Consolidating mobilisation into organisation and then sustaining it through on-going programmes has become the main task facing progressive activists in the eighties — one that constitutes the cornerstone of any democratic mass movement. Without that stone in place, we cannot start to build on the struggles we are currently waging and the victories we have won.

Consolidation means organisation. It means the building of structures and defining a division of labour within and between them. Organisation means devising a programme to suit a constituency, recruitment of members and the training of activists.

It means regular meetings and educational seminars. There is publicity, contact with other groups, fundraising and a whole lot more.

This is the task of organisation. It is organisation that will make our resistance strong.



'THE PROHIBITION as to the possession is therefore not confirmed.'

That short legal phrase by the Publications Appeal Board (PAB) put the lid on years of controversy about whether one could lawfully print in South Africa a document that many regard as the country's 'unofficial constitution'.

In an historic decision earlier this year, the PAB overruled a decision of the Publications Committee that the Freedom Charter be prohibited for possession.

Despite the decision lawyers remain divided about the extent to which the Freedom Charter may be promoted publicly.

But there is no argument about its political significance.

Drawn up in 1955, the Charter remains South Africa's most politically important document and the fact that it still enjoys the attention of the courts 29 years later shows how these words have stood the test of time.

The Board, almost as if to avoid the politics associated with the Charter, was precise and technical. It rejected as irrelevant the fact that the ANC has adopted the Charter. It did accept the argument of Advocate Gilbert Marcus of the Centre of Applied Legal Studies that the Charter itself contained no reference to violence as the means to attain its objectives.

But the Board ended its judgment with a warning that 'irresponsible use of the Freedom Charter could lead to a prosecution under the Internal Security Act.'

What does the PAB decision mean? In the words of a leader of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco): 'No organisation upholding the Charter has ever been affected by its banning.'

The South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) general secretary said: 'The earlier banning of the Charter had been futile. Even if the people could not see it, they still acted according to its ideals.'

Before the decision to unban the Charter there were many Charter pamphlets in the townships and speakers who quoted from it at public meetings were guaranteed applause just mentioning the words.

One academic has noted that the Charter is 'far more than a series of noble sounding phrases. It has acquired a quality and symbolism that go far beyond its prose.'

He added: 'Reading between the lines of the Charter, one reads the history of the last three decades of the liberation struggle in South Africa.'

The idea for the Charter was first suggested by Z K Mathews, Cape president of the ANC, at a provincial conference of the organisation in 1953.

Early the following year, members of the ANC met three other organisations — the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation to plan a national convention.

They decided upon a three-phase plan that would end with adoption of the Freedom Charter.

The first phase would be the formation of councils in each

Democrats still strive for Charter's freedoms

'... until we have won our liberty'

province. The next would be the recruitment of thousands of 'Freedom Volunteers' who would go out and collect the demands of the people, to be incorporated into the Charter.

Later that year, ANC President, Albert Luthuli called for 50 000 volunteers to help with the campaign.

Finally delegates would be sent from each area and would then meet to decide which demands would be incorporated into the Charter.

The most successful force for popularising the Charter campaign was the 'Freedom Volunteers'. Travelling country-wide, even to obscure rural areas, they went to people and asked: 'What is your idea of being free?'

They received many replies, of course, including one from a man who said his idea of being free was to have ten wives.

The Natal committee reported being overwhelmed by the response, with demands coming in on scraps of note book paper, or scribbled on the back of Congress pamphlets.

Once the demands had been received from all over, various sub-committees sorted them out and categorised them, after which a drafting committee prepared a document for the Congress of the People.

On June 26 1955, 3000 delegates met on an athletics field in Kliptown, a township outside Johannesburg.

For three days delegates discussed the Charter with each clause read aloud, and its approval established after applause from the delegates.

Watching the proceedings was a large group of policemen who, eventually, unable to resist the temptation to put their mark on such an historical gathering, moved in on the meeting and confiscated documents and took down the names of all

those present.

The police eventually withdrew and the Congress continued undaunted to adopt the remaining clauses of the Charter.

Rev M Xundu, many years later described how he, as an ANC Youth League delegate, felt at the time:

'After discussions were held and the Charter drawn up, it was read out to everybody. The joy there was as if a baby had been born.'

The Charter was not forgotten by the authorities. The raid on the Congress of the People was a prelude to the marathon Treason Trial of the 50's which saw the eventual release of all the accused.

The Charter became a central issue in the trial with the prosecution arguing that the aims of the Charter could not be realised without violence.

This argument proved unsuccessful in the court room, but what was clear at the time, was that the aims of the Charter could not be achieved in the existing South African order, and profound changes would have to occur before they were realised.

A year later, in 1956, the ANC adopted the Freedom Charter as its official policy.

After the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960 and the intense state repression in the 60's, the Charter moved out of the public limelight inside South Africa.

In the late 70's, interest in the Charter was reborn with the rebirth of a nationwide democratic movement.

The re-emergence of the Natal Indian Congress as a political force was especially symbolic from the point of view of the

The Freedom

We, the People of South Africa, declares for all our country and the world to know:

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

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

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

Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and

racess;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK

ITI

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and to assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an



Charter as the NIC had been associated with it since the 50's, and it once again placed the Charter on the agenda of popular political debate.

Newly emerging organisations like Cosas, Azaso and the Release Mandela Committees began publicly to articulate Charter demands. This returned the Charter to the significance it had had in the 50's. So much so, that the Charter almost became a kind of test for identifying opposition groupings. Ideological differences began to be distinguished between those who supported and those who were against the Charter.

Today, those organisations that adhere to the Charter are commonly called Charterists.

NIC leader George Sewpersadh said the Charter was like a compass: 'The Charter is still as relevant to us today as it was in 1955 — it tells us where we still have to go.'

What makes the Charter still relevant today is that all its demands have yet to be met. In fact, the present situation is possibly worse than at the time it was drawn up.

Whereas in 1955, 14 of the worst apartheid laws were singled out for attention at the Congress of the People, 29 years later almost all these laws remain and many others have been added.

The 14 laws which the Congress of the People opposed when they drew up the Charter were:

- The Population Registration Act (1950) which classifies people according to race.
- The Group Areas Act (1950) which creates racial segregation and restricts ownership of property on the grounds of race.
- The Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidated Act (1945) — the cornerstone of the influx control system.
- The Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act (1952) is still the basic pass law prescribing that every Black person over the age of 16 must carry a reference document to be produced on demand.
- The Native Laws Amendment Act (1952), later the Native Administration Act, authorising the Governor-General to order a tribe or group of people to withdraw from a place and not to return there without permission.
- The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) enabling the Minister of Justice to ban, banish and outlaw people and organisations deemed to be furthering the aims and objectives of communism.
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) provided that separate amenities need not be the same as those set aside for 'the other race'.
- The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) was a Government response to the contraventions of any law when they occurred by way of protest.
- The Bantu Education Act (1953) required all schools to be registered. Registration could be refused at the discretion of the Minister of Native Affairs. It marked the enforcement of inferior education for Blacks.
- The Separate Representation of Voters Act (1951) was the first step in the removal of Coloureds from the Voters Roll.

'The Charter is the written embodiment of the people's aspirations. Whether it has been banned or not is irrelevant because what the Charter says will remain until we win our liberty' — delegate to the Congress of the People

- The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) prohibited all marriages between 'Europeans and non-Europeans'.
- The Immorality Amendment Act (1950) prohibited sex between 'Europeans and non-Europeans'.
- The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act (1953) absolutely prohibited all strikes.
- The Native Land Act (1913) together with The Native Trust and Land Act (1936) which set aside 13% of the land for Africans.

The demands of the Charter have cropped up wherever popular struggles have taken place.

A community organiser said recently: 'There isn't a rents struggle that takes place these days without a banner in front of the hall demanding that there shall be housing, security and comfort for all.'

What the law decided or is still to decide about the Charter is of less importance than what it means to those who stand by it.

In the words of one delegate to the Congress of the People: 'The Charter is the written embodiment of the people's aspirations. Whether at one time or another in our history the document has been allowed or disallowed is ultimately irrelevant because the fact that the people's aspirations as articulated by the Charter will remain until we win our liberty.'

Charter says

equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for

equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their

country say, as we say here: 'These

freedoms we will fight for, side by side,

throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty.'

TOIVO



Toivo ja Toivo speaks to Nicco Bessinger (left) and Hendrik Witbooi (right), both Swapo members in Namibia.



In his own words . . .

Q: How do you feel about your release from prison?

A: I am feeling very strong, and my incarceration has just cemented my faith to work harder for the liberation of Namibia so that one day we will be in a free Namibia.

Q: Do you fear re-arrest?

A: Not at all. If they are thinking of re-arresting me, that is no problem.

Q: How did you feel when you were told you were to be released?

A: I was not happy. I told them I did not want to be released because I still have four years to go. Besides that I have people to lead. They are following me and I'm not happy to leave them behind. It would be better for me to stay in prison and let my comrades go. They said they couldn't do anything because my release had been signed. My mother and sister were there and they agreed with me. My mother said I must stay in, not leave my comrades behind. But they

Unbowed by 16 years on Robben Island, the Namibian leader gives his views on the future of his country, the war in Angola and the Matanzima bid to free Mandela

could do nothing — the Administrator-General had signed my release.

Q: What do you think the South African government is hoping to achieve with your release? Do you think they are hoping you will change political colour?

A: That is my suspicion. I think it was motivated by this Multiparty Conference. And I think the Americans are behind all these movements, like the disengagement in Angola, because of the elections in November. Their foreign policy has failed in Lebanon, in the Middle East, in South America and in Central America. I think they are now trying to do something here so they can get the credit for that, which can be used as a winning card for Reagan.

Q: The US is desperately trying to get some sort of settlement going in Namibia. How is their presence affecting Namibian politics?

A: The role the USA has played with their so-called constructive engagement has messed up everything. The Reagan Administration is only concerned with their own interests. They are not concerned about the interests of the oppressed people in South Africa and Namibia.

Q: Why do you think France withdrew from the Western Contact Group?

A: If you were in their position, what would you do? Things have been going on for years and years, and all the time objections crop up. They had no choice but to pull out.

Q: Given the US position on an internal settlement, do you think that Namibia is any closer to independence now?

A: We were closer in 1977 (when Resolution 435 was passed) than we are now. The US has been supporting South Africa at the same time as being a member of the contact group. They cannot play a mediator's role when they are siding with our enemies. If they drop the demand for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops then the contact group could start playing its mediator role.

Q: What is your view of the Cuban troop issue?

A: The Cubans were called in by the Angolan government because the MPLA was being attacked by South Africa and the Unita bandits which

are surrogates of South Africa. South Africa is a big power in Southern Africa. Angola had the right to call in the Cubans to help defend them.

Q: How do you think Swapo will react to an agreement between Angola and South Africa?

A: The agreement has nothing to do with Swapo. It is an agreement between Angola and South Africa. The ceasefire is between those two countries. Swapo will keep on fighting. It is fighting in Namibia, not Angola, and the agreement doesn't cover this.

Q: Does this mean that Swapo will not recognise an agreement?

A: With guerilla struggle we can still have a meeting. If the negotiations fail, we can go on fighting. The

The years of pain: A brief history of S

WITH JUST four years of his 20 year prison sentence to go, Swapo founder Herman Toivo ja Toivo was released from Robben Island early this month.

But Toivo, one of 30 Swapo members convicted in January 1968 under the specially introduced Terrorism Act, did not want to leave the Island without his comrades.

'I was not happy. I told them I did not want to be released because I still have four years to go. It would be better for me to stay in prison and let my comrades go,' he said in an interview with Saspu National recently. Swapo was originally founded as

the Ovambo Peoples Organisation (OPO) in 1958 when Toivo, who had worked as a clerk on the Reef Gold Mines, as a South African policeman and in a Cape Town grocery store, united with other Namibian migrant workers and students in an effort to destroy the contract labour system.

Eight years after Swapo's formation Toivo was convicted by a Pretoria judge for participating in a plot to overthrow the government of Namibia (SWA) and replace it with a Swapo government.

Previously he spent 10 years under house arrest in his birthplace of Ovamboland after smuggling a taped message inside a copy of 'Gullivers Travels' to the United Nations in 1958. The message contained details of alleged South African repression in Namibia.

By that time, OPO had wide support in Namibia. Sam Nujoma became its leader in 1959 and within a year the movement became a massive organisation supported by contract workers' compounds in the

mines and cities.

In December 1959, OPO, the Herero Council and the South West Africa National Union (Swanu) organised a massive campaign against the forced removal of 30 000 Windhoek people to Katutura. OPO then became Swapo and the organisation became a national rather than regional party. That year Nujoma left the country after being sent back to Ovamboland under police guard.

At its first National Congress in

1961 Swapo decided to prepare for armed struggle after its unsuccessful diplomatic efforts at the United Nations. The first 200 volunteers went to Egypt for military training in 1962.

The following year South West African authorities banned Swapo from publicly campaigning — but it continued to do so in underground cells.

So the first guerilla operation began in 1966. Soon afterwards, the South Africans arrested 27 guerillas and 10

6 The people of Namibia must stand together. We must not be sh

SPEAKS



Toivo ja Toivo with UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota and Transvaal secretary Valli Mohammed at Jan Smuts Airport.

... on Swapo, Angola, Mandela

The face of a leader: 16 years in a South African jail has not changed Toivo's resolve to fight for the liberation of Namibia

Namibian people are bitter towards the South African government. We should have been long free, but because of the delaying tactics of South Africa, we are still not free. The demand for Cuban withdrawal is one of these tactics. If this one fails, or if the Cubans are withdrawn, they'll find another tactic. They are stalling because they don't want to relinquish Namibia. They know Swapo will win, and they don't want Swapo to be in power in Namibia.

Q: What are your views on the Multi-Party Conference?

A: This is just an attempt to have a Muzorewa-type government.

Q: What will your attitude be to seeing a delegation from the MPC?

A: Before I was released Andreas

Shipanga of Swapo Democrats came to see me. He stood up, and came towards me, and I turned my back. It was not only because of his association with the MPC that made me do that. He was with us, and he left us. If he is an enemy of Swapo, he can't be a friend of mine. They asked me if I wanted to see Moses Katjiongua. I said no.

Q: What other visitors did you have in Windhoek Central?

A: Colonel Sarel Strydom, head of the Security Police, came to see me. He asked me whether I wanted to stay in Windhoek. I said, when you open the gates and say go, I will find my way. I will go and stay anywhere in Namibia, it is not any of this gentleman's business where I am going to stay.

Q: How were you treated on Robben Island?

A: Badly, very badly. It improved a bit after 1972 when the International Red Cross were allowed to see us, but it was still bad. I was beaten up by warders twice. Doctors there are just the same as prison warders. It is unethical.

Q: How did you pass the time over 16 years?

A: We lived from day to day, not further. I refused to accept classification so I remained a D-Group prisoner with very few privileges at all. The groups, to my mind, are designed to use the common-law prisoners against the others.

Q: You were in a section until the end of 1982 with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada. Can you say anything about them?



Toivo address a press conference the day after his release. On the left, a bouquet sent to him by the United Democratic Front.

A: They are still very strong and they are determined in the struggle to liberate South Africa. I endorse the call for the unconditional release of Mandela. I call for his release provided he can go and live where he likes.

On Friday 24 February the jailer called Dr Mbeki and told him that Matanzima wanted to visit him, and wanted to know from Dr Mbeki whether he was prepared to accept the visit. He refused, and went back to his section. Subsequently he was called again and told that he should put this in writing, which he did. After that we heard that Matanzima was demanding Mandela's release. In my personal view I think this is another South African trick. They don't want to do this on their own.

They know that once they tell Mandela that they are going to release him and that he must go to Transkei, Mandela is going to refuse. So to get out of the jam the South African government is using Matanzima. If Mandela rejects this, they can wash their hands of him and say, well, the man has been offered sanctuary by Transkei, what can we do?

There were no conditions attached to my release: no parole, nothing.

Q: When you were on the island and a major policy decision had to be taken, like whether to accept a visit from internal Namibian politicians, did you manage to discuss it democratically with your Namibian comrades?

A: Although we were not in the

same section, and communication is not easy, still, that is how we did it.

Q: There is speculation that you will make a bid for the leadership of Swapo, and people are saying that your release could split Swapo. Can you comment?

A: It is their right to say so, but I can tell you it will remain one Swapo. As far as I am concerned, we in Swapo have no problems. We are a big family, it does not matter who is leading us, positions are not important. So long as we think that this is the man who should lead us, that is fine, and that is the case with the leadership now.

I am very happy to be meeting Sam Nujoma. It will be the first time I will have met him. I look forward to meeting my comrades, both those who I've never met and those who I haven't seen for a long time.

Q: After 16 years on the Island, do you have a message for the people of Namibia?

A: My message is this. The people of Namibia must stand together, we must not be shifted by anybody, not by the Multi-Party Conference, not by South Africa, not by Reagan, nobody. We must know that it is only (United Nations) Resolution 435 that can lead this country to true independence.

Q: And what is your immediate aim?

A: As far as I am concerned, my mission is to help liberate Namibia, but even if Namibia is free, free from the oppressive South African government, free from Apartheid, we cannot be free as long as our brothers and sisters in South Africa are living under the oppression of the Apartheid regime. It will also be our duty to help where we can to help our brothers and sisters in South Africa to be free.

wapo

leaders, one of whom was Toivo.

Although the prosecution did not prove that he was involved in organising guerillas, Toivo was sentenced to 20 years on Robben Island.

Swapo was then forced to operate as a national liberation movement in exile, though it continued to operate as a legal political party in Namibia.

'I look forward to meeting my comrades, both those who I have never met and those I haven't seen for a long time,' Toivo said recently.

hifted by anybody — not by South Africa, not by Reagan, by nobody. 9

Angola



Perez de Cuellar, UN General Secretary;
Hendrik Witbooi; Swapo official

African forces attacked Menongue, the capital of Kuando Kubango.

The South African attack on Monongue failed, but the Angolan authorities believe that these two raids, and the large scale movement of Unita groups northwards, signalled the start of a new campaign. Together with large scale support for Unita's military actions, South Africa and the United States started a massive pro-Unita propaganda offensive. Unita, according to this propaganda, was a powerful, popular military force which would soon bring the Angolan government 'to its knees'.

Whatever activity Unita was able to indulge in was exaggerated and 'accidents' were claimed to be the work of Unita activists.

On November 8, 1983, a Boeing 737 of the Angolan national airline, TAAG, crashed on take off in the southern city of Lubango, killing 125 people. Inquiries showed the disaster to have been caused by pilot error. But Unita claimed that the Boeing had been brought down by a missile fired by a Unita group which penetrated to within 2 km of the Lubango airport runway.

A few weeks later an apartment block in Luanda burnt down when chemical products stored on the ground floor caught fire. The Luanda fire brigade was unable to bring the blaze under control. The building was on the corner of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin Avenues and for Unita, this symbolism was too good to ignore. They claimed that they had placed an incendiary device in the building.

At the same time, Unita's modest successes in the diamond rich provinces of Luanda-Norta, and the pressure which they were able to place on Huambo, Angola's second largest city — have been reported in the Western media as a major success story. Unita was reported to be driving northwards to join up with Holden Roberto's FNLA, based in western Zaire.

However, reliable reports from Angola say that Angolan government forces began a major counter-offensive in December 1982 and inflicted, by Unita's admission, serious casualties on the insurgents. Unita's 'strongholds' — often no more than some villages held captive by 50-60 soldiers — were rapidly eliminated and Unita resorted to the tactics which it has been using since 1975 — 'scorched earth' retreats (burning everything behind them) and then splitting up into small groups.

The counter-offensive gained strength in mid-1983 in Malange province. Malange is Angola's richest agricultural area. Unita was clearly attempting to disrupt food production and add to the already difficult conditions caused by the drought. Malange is

WHEN PRIME Minister P W Botha told the world that South Africa was 'disengaging' its forces in southern Angola, US President Ronald Reagan hailed the move as a 'major breakthrough'. But South Africa has always denied having any troops in Angola. They were now going to pull back armies which had obviously been permanently in Angola since at least 1981.

For the people of Angola 'disengagement' does not necessarily mean the South African troops will leave — only that the fighting will stop for a while. Meanwhile Unita, backed by South Africa, continues its activities.

In the past few weeks, Mozambique has been forced into a 'non-aggression' pact which seems to favour South Africa heavily; Herman Toivo Ja Toivo has been released, and SWAPO, only one month after the SADF Operation Askari (which the SADF claim 'wiped out' Swapo bases), has infiltrated almost 1000 guerillas into Namibia. At the same time, reports are filtering through of massive Angolan popular resistance to Unita and decisive Unita losses.

In October last year the MPLA government released a White Paper on South African aggression on Angolan soil.

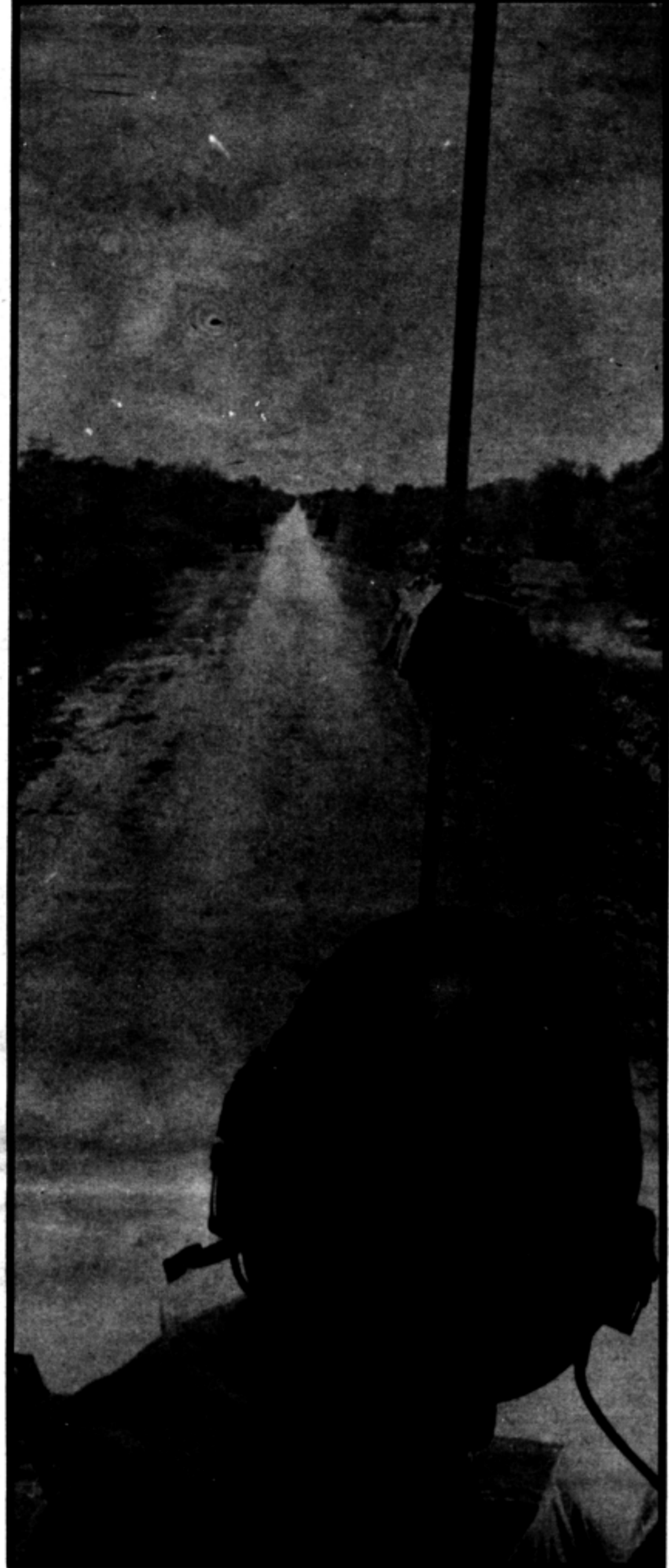
The paper alleged that 'since March 1976 there had been continuous aggression against Angola. This took the form of air space violations, bombing raids, incursions of helicopter troops, acts of provocation, infantry troops supported by armoured units, artillery shelling, mine laying in fields, on bridges and highways, and the looting and destruction of varied materials and means of production.'

In July 1981, the South African army launched an invasion, Operation Protea, into the Southern Angolan province of Cunene. Towns and villages fell and the invaders set up a command post at Mulemba. The Angolan defence ministry estimated that 11 000 South African soldiers were involved. The equipment used included Mirage and Impala aircraft, M-41 and Centurion tanks, and AML-90, Ferret, Saracen and Ratel armoured cars. South African reconnaissance planes often penetrated as deep as 300 km into Angolan airspace.

The South African ground forces were eventually halted by Angolan forces (FAPLA) at Cahama. The front line stabilised a few kilometres south of the town. But the South African invasion had prepared the ground for Unita — as soon as the SADF pulled back, Unita units moved in.

Unita groups set out from two areas — the Chitudo/Cuvelai/Namacunde triangle in Cunene (reported still to be occupied by the South African army), and from parts of the vast south-eastern province of Kuando Kubango which borders on Namibia and Zambia. In early 1982, these large Unita detachments were instructed to strengthen the dispersed bands operating in the provinces north of Cunene and Kuando Kubango and create Unita 'bases'.

On November 30, 1981, a South African commando unit allegedly attempted to blow up the Luanda oil refinery. At the same time regular South



The SADF in Angola — the facts heard in South Africa are being questioned.

Obs UDF condemns Angolan invasion

A RECENT meeting in Cape Town called on South Africa to withdraw from Angola and Namibia, release the founder of Swapo Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, end conscription and in the words of one speaker, 'wage peace'.

Three hundred people attended a meeting called by a local committee of the United Democratic Front to protest against the SADF's 'Operation Askari' invasion of Angola.

Statements condemning the SADF's actions were made by the Black Sash, the Conscientious Objectors Support Group, the United Women's Organisation, and the Cape Youth Congress. The statements condemned not only the 'illegal and abhorrent occupation of Angola' but also the 'violence perpetrated against millions of South Africans within our



Mike Evans: 'Dissatisfaction with SADF action in Angola on the increase borders.'

The main speakers were Prof Mike Savage of the UCT Sociology Department and Mike Evans, from the Observatory Area Committee.

Savage focussed on the militarisation of South African society and on South Africa's attempts to destabilise its neighbours.

He said: 'The curlian death toll in these neighbouring states as a result of South African actions, or South African sponsored actions, far exceeds the total deaths attributed to any actions by the military wing of the ANC, and it is patent nonsense for the South African state to issue claims that it is not following a

systematic destabilisation programme.'

'It is purveying death and destruction on a wide scale in Southern Africa and engaging in the very terrorism it so vocally decries.'

Evans focussed on Operation Askari, the reasons for the invasion, and on the SADF's attempts to conceal the truth. He said Askari indicates several trends: the increasing use of conventional military tactics, the decision to engage Angolan and Cuban forces rather than just Swapo and the increasing public dissatisfaction with the SADF's action in Angola, as reflected in both the English and Afrikaans media.

Cayco joins campaign to fight conscription

THE CAPE Youth Congress (Cayco) has declared that its members will not allow themselves to be called up to serve in the South African Defence Force, and has formed a committee to participate in the campaign against conscription.

This follows announcements made last year by the government and the coloured Labour Party that the call up will soon be extended to so-called coloureds and Indians.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) has condemned this move and has said it would take up the issue as one of its campaigns this year.

Cayco held a focus on conscription in December, where approximately 300 representatives from Cayco branches discussed the role of the SADF in upholding the apartheid system.

They agreed that the SADF was fighting a civil war against the youth

who left South Africa in the wake of the 1976 uprising.

Speakers at the focus spoke of the destruction which the SADF was spreading throughout Southern Africa. 'Countries such as Angola, which South Africa sees as a threat, are attacked by the SADF, the rationale being that they provide military support for guerillas,' said one speaker.

Another speaker said the SADF attempted to conscript people in Namibia in 1981 resulting in a massive exodus of the youth. 'As a result they were forced to halt their conscription plans,' he said.

Cayco has more recently held a workshop on conscription for all its branches. The workshop made short-term plans to educate people about the conscription issue. It also formulated guidelines for taking up the anti-conscription campaign and involving all organisations in this.

keeps aggressors at bay

All you ever wanted to know about Angola, but the South African government was too afraid to tell: Angolan popular resistance to Unita and SADF.

described by an Angolan official as being of 'unbelievable' size, 'clearly of Western origin'. Unita prisoners taken at Mussende said many groups did not worry about taking their weaponry with them when forced to retreat, since they knew where to find more.

In the last three months of 1983, the Fapla counter-offensive notched up successes throughout the centre of the country. Unita was driven from its position at Andulo in Bie. Large areas of Benguela province were cleared in early December, with Unita suffering heavy losses.

The South African and Western media have played down these setbacks. The Angolan government's attitude has always been, as one official put it, 'What happens on the ground is more important than what appears in the press.'

While Unita is not a military threat to the MPLA government, it is threatening to undermine the MPLA's education, health and agricultural projects. As an Angolan official pointed out in 1976, when national reconstruction was just beginning, 'during the war (against the Portuguese) we learnt that you cannot mobilize the masses without a concrete response to their immediate needs...'

By 1980, 84 000 worker-assembled trade unions had been set up involving up to 80 percent of the country's workforce. MPLA called on the students and workers to contribute free time to 'Red Sundays', days of mass voluntary work on collective farms and public works. By 1980 more than 65 000 000 hours of work had been performed in this way.

In the education field, more than 200 000 adults each year have become literate. Schools have been set up in thousands of areas and these have become Unita's favourite targets.

To counter Unita, people's militias were formed (arising out of the MPLA pre-1975 guerilla structures). The people's militia is made up of voluntary cadres, who devote a few hours a week to maintaining ad hoc 'home guards'. Political and military education are high priorities and militias are situated in the context of the communities they serve. The Regional Military Councils, made up from people's militias, are for defence only.

More than 1 000 000 Angolans have volunteered for service in the peoples' militias, many of which mobilize at short notice to counter Unita attacks.

It is in this context — of Unita's low key but constant sabotage, that 30 000 Cuban 'troops' operate in Angola. According to South Africa and the U S, these troops are the biggest single threat to peace

But in 1975, all but 10 percent of the 350 000 white colonialists fled the country, taking with them what they could: two-thirds of the nation's trucks were destroyed, all plans for public works (power stations and water works) were deliberately shredded and teachers even went off with school records. This destruction, added to that caused by a 15-year liberation war, put a severe strain on the MPLA government: many of the Cuban 'troops' are in fact teachers, administrators, doctors, dentists, agricultural experts, veterinary surgeons and engineers. Even those in Angola in a military capacity are mostly instructors and strategists.

Angola's popular militias and Fapla need training

● To page 18



Sam Nujoma: Swapo president



Eduardo dos Santos: President of Angola

WAR-TORN ANGOLA



one of Angola's most successful examples of co-operative farming — thousands of Angolans work on major agro-industrial projects. Foreign journalists described morale and enthusiasm on the co-operatives as high and pointed to the success that the co-operatives were experiencing in making Angola self-sufficient. MPLA support has been strong in this province since the 60s.

The counter-offensive in Malange was organised by one of the newly created Regional Military Councils (CMRs). These are small units consisting of a Regional Political Commissar, and one other and are directly responsible to the Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos (who is also FAPLA's commander-in-chief). The ninth CMR covers Malange and Kwanza-Norte provinces. The speed of its operations surprised even some members of the Angolan government. The FAPLA units under its control were soon engaging Unita, and forced them into a widespread retreat.

In October, the Ninth CMR concentrated its operations in Kwanza-Sul, liberating Mussende from Unita occupation. Once Unita had been flushed out, people who had taken refuge in the bush during the occupation returned to Mussende. The scene, witnessed by Angolan and foreign journalists, was desolate. Unita had burnt hundreds of tons of cotton, and had destroyed all the shops. An arms cache uncovered in Mussende was

IN SEPTEMBER last year an unlikely coalition of internal Namibian political parties calling themselves the Multi Party Conference (MPC) began meeting in Windhoek.

Nobody paid much attention to them.

But by early 1984, it had become clear that great things were planned for the MPC by the Botha government.

On January 13, P W Botha spoke of them in glowing terms in parliament.

This was soon after leaders of the six parties had flown to Cape Town for discussions with the two Bothas, Pik and P W, and US undersecretary of state for Africa, Chester Crocker.

The MPC, P W announced, during the no-confidence debate, had accepted the challenge of working towards a political and constitutional dispensation acceptable to the Namibian people.

Roughly translated, the MPC had agreed to form an anti-Swapo front and actively work with South Africa in fighting off Swapo

The statements sounded rather like a pipedream. As any observer of Namibia will point out, challenging Swapo in an election would be risky.

Prime movers behind the MPC

Another pipedream

SA dreams up another coalition to keep Swapo at bay



DTA head Dirk Mudge: back into SA's favour



Namibia Christian Democrat Hans Rörh



Prime mover behind MPC Andreas Shipanga



SWA National Party's Kosie Pretorius

were Moses Katjuongua and Andreas Shipanga. Katjuongua is a former maoist who has turned into a moderate social democrat, and whose party, the South West Africa National Union, has been split by radical opposition to his watered down programmes of action.

Shipanga was a founding member of Swapo, imprisoned in Zambia by Swapo in 1978 for revisionism, and later expelled from the party. Having fended off several attempts by South Africa to buy his allegiance, it is now an open secret that all his funds have

dried up and he needs money — fast. Then there is the 11-party alliance of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, led by Dirk Mudge. The DTA has been in the forefront of every bandwagon ever got on the road by South Africa in an attempt to form an anti-Swapo alliance.

Although he fell from favour with South Africa at the end of 1982, Mudge and the DTA seem to be creeping back into favour.

His funds come mainly from conservative West German foundations and from Franz Joseph Strauss'

Bavarian Christian Socialist Union, regarded as being on the right of German politics.

The Rehoboth Liberation Front of Hans Diergaard is a tiny organisation which seeks to achieve independence from the rest of Namibia for the tiny area occupied by the Rehoboth bastards.

Then there's the right-wing white National Party of SWA, which closely adheres to the philosophies of Dr Andries Treurnicht and his political mentor, Hendrick Verwoerd.

Speculation is that they, as the most

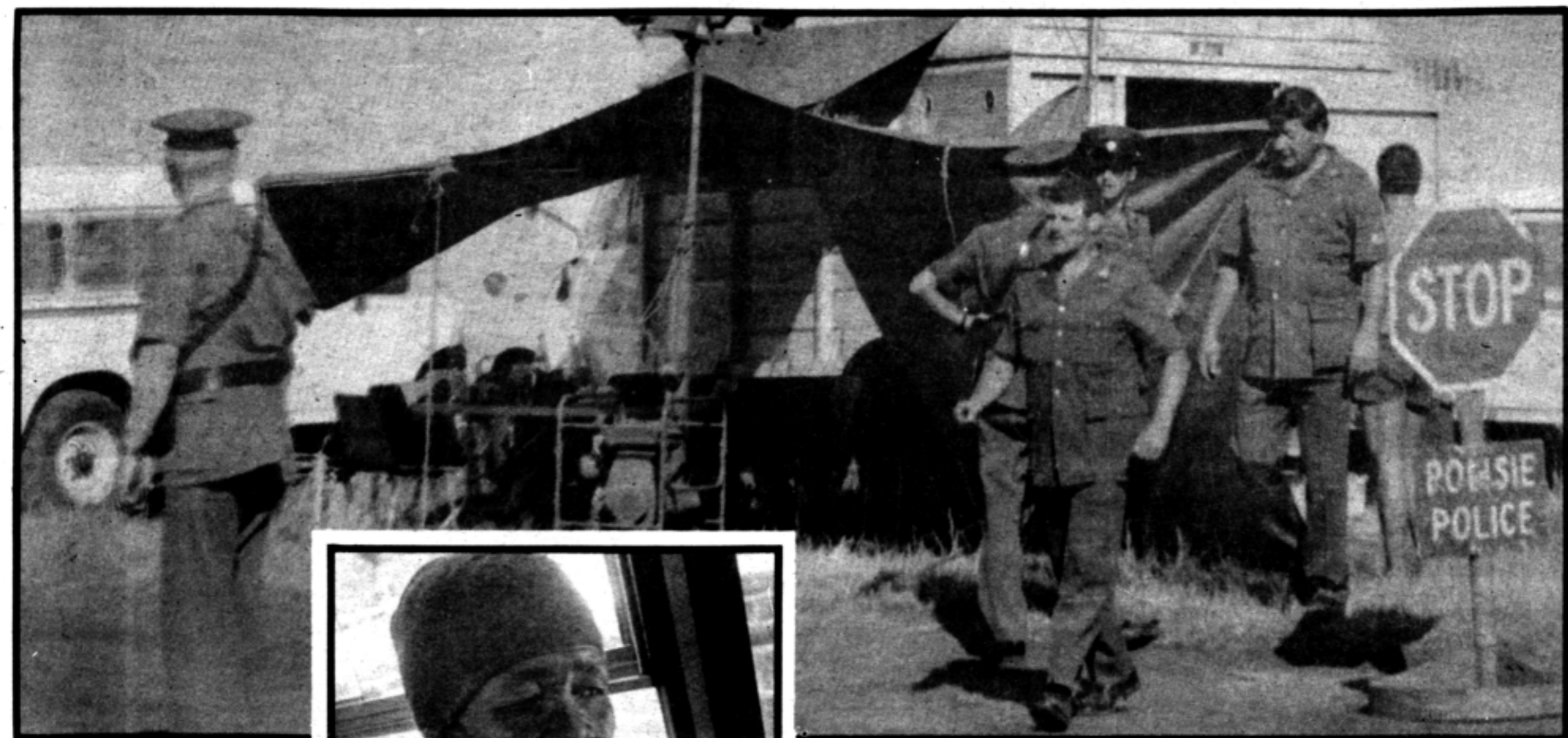
powerful white party in Namibia, with plenty of funds, were ordered into the MPC by South Africa to keep an eye on the more radical black parties.

Completing the line-up, and the most puzzling participant of the lot, is the Damara Raad of Justus Garoeb. Garoeb is a longtime ally of Swapo, but whose policies increasingly deviated from those of Swapo. His choice to fight internal ethnic elections as a means of attaining a power base discredited him in the eyes of many Swapo supporters. Still he manages to maintain a measure of credibility through his outspoken statements on a variety of issues, particularly on repression and torture.

Swapo sources in Windhoek speculate that Garoeb was blackmailed into co-operating with the MPC after a commission of inquiry found that he and members of the party were guilty of misappropriating official funds for party use.

This, then, is the line-up — unlikely a combination as it is — which South Africa sees as its alternative to Swapo, and which will probably decide the short term future of Namibia

Exiled in land of their birth



Police set up road-blocks, sealed off the area, and moved Magopa behind barbed-wire.

NINETY POLICEMEN, a fleet of at least 30 trucks and Department of Co-operation workers, took just three days to destroy the 70-year old settlement of Magopa in the Western Transvaal last month.

But this show of force could not keep the uprooted villagers of Magopa at Pachsdraai — the arid camp near the Bophuthatswana Border to which they were removed — from continuing their struggle against the removals.

Some 100 families who were dumped at Pachsdraai by the government between February 14 and 16 fled the camp within two weeks, followed by many more. They have firmly established themselves at Bethanie, the ancestral land of the Bakwena baMagopa tribe near Brits.

Thousands of rand to help 'apartheid's internal refugees' came from many quarters after a public appeal by Johannesburg church leaders.

The mass exodus was but one indication that the people did not move willingly to Pachsdraai. No-one expected a willing departure from people who had refused to move when half their village was bulldozed eight months ago, their schools broken and their water pumps shut down.

The people had taken Supreme Court action in an attempt to stop the State President's order for summary removal and had at their cost, and by their own sweat, rebuilt one of the schools demolished by the government removal squad in July.

But police and government officials insisted the move was both voluntary and 'without incident'. They nevertheless insured it was done in secrecy, sealing off Magopa entirely for the first day's operation and at one stage declaring an 'operational area'.

They later allowed a few black journalists to enter under police escort.

The relocation area of Pachsdraai was also sealed by police but not before some families had been interviewed. Interviews with shaken victims, families on their way to Pachsdraai and information collected by Magopa leaders reveal allegations that force was used during the removals.

The SAP have denied the allegations. Villagers allege that some were beaten with batons when they ignored orders to stay inside their homes as the removal started in the early hours of St Valentine's Day. Owners who were away from their homes when the removal squad descended say their doors were broken down and household goods



Woman and grandchild on journey to Pachsdraai

taken off to Pachsdraai. Community leaders and their families were the first to be moved.

Other allegations include:

●The daughter of a prominent man said she was surrounded by police who pointed shotguns at her.

●A woman claims she was carried bodily from her house to a bus.

●Deputy chief Mr Isaac More says 'too many police to count' occupied his house.

●Chief Shadrack More was forced onto a bus when he arrived from Johannesburg on the second day of the removal, his committee says. His daughter and household goods had already been dumped in Pachsdraai.

●Some families had time to organise private transport directly from Magopa to Bethanie at an average cost of R300 a load. They settled in the yard of the tribal authority, erecting shanties which would serve until they were allocated stands.

Within a week of removal, arrangements were made for the mass evacuation of all who wished to leave Pachsdraai for Bethanie. Within a fortnight about 100 families had left their tin huts and tents in the bushveld. Chief James Mamogale



Tears after Magopa was demolished



Community meeting against move to Pachsdraai



Police move in

allocated them sites at Bethanie and they had retrieved zinc and other building materials from their homes at Magopa. Trucks have been ferrying people daily between Pachsdraai and Bethanie.

Some of the refugees arrived in high spirits, triumphant at leaving Pachsdraai. 'We are Bakwena baMagopa — not Barolong or anything else — we are back where we belong,' declared Mrs Lydia More when her truckload of goods touched down at Bethanie.

But others are more aware of their losses. 'We want to make clear we have only been compensated for our houses — not our land or our school,' said Mr Philip More, of the town committee. 'We have now truly seen how the government is.'

The material losses of the Magopa people include livestock which was sold hurriedly to white farmers in the Ventersdorp area for a fraction of their value, and breakages on the journey to Pachsdraai.

But perhaps the greatest loss will be urban residents' rights for future generations, and the right to work freely in South Africa — for ancestral land or not. Bethanie is part of Bophuthatswana.

Koornhof says: Out damn spot

THE PEOPLE of Magopa were moved because they constituted an unsightly 'black spot' on 'white' territory for the state.

The 250 families — probably representing between 1 500 and 2 000 people — add to the 600 000 people affected by 'black spot' removals and bantustan consolidation between 1960 and 1982. Almost 1.2 million are scheduled for similar removal.

A section of the Magopa community was moved in mid-1983 with the approval of discredited headman Jacob More. All the schools and churches were broken down including many houses.

Some appear to have moved voluntarily. Others maintained in papers before the Supreme Court that their houses had been smashed and their families taken away without consent of the household head.

The forcible eviction of the Magopa people who resisted the initial removals was carried out eight months later in terms of a State President's order under the Black Administration Act.

The only proviso is that the move be approved by parliament if, as in Magopa's case, it involves scheduled or released land and the tribe refuses to move.

Mr Justice van Dyk ruled in the Pretoria Supreme Court that such parliamentary approval might be

given in anticipation of the specific order.

So when the State President issued an order on November 18 for Magopa's residents to quit and move to Pachsdraai by November 29, parliamentary approval given in 1975 for the clearance of scores of black owned areas (including Magopa) was sufficient to make the order valid.

On the eve of November 29, church leaders, including World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak, gathered for a nightlong vigil at Magopa and with foreign press coverage the obscure community, on the brink of destruction, became an international cause.

The removal squad stayed away as even the United States State Department expressed its official disapproval of the Magopa removal.

Urgent negotiations with the Department of Co-operation and Development officials and with Minister Piet Koornhof followed.

The people of Magopa were adamant they would not go to Pachsdraai. Leaders maintained the community had never been consulted on their destination and that it was totally unsuited to their needs as migrant workers and subsistence farmers.

Dr Koornhof's parliamentary promise: 'There will be no more forced removals ... as far as possible.'



WHEN THE Urban Foundation predicted a 38 - 46 percent for the 'new look' community council in Soweto, many eyebrows were raised.

The Urban Foundation played a major role in evolving Koornhof's Black Local Authorities Act, and were interested in seeing whether their efforts had changed attitudes to government plans.

A rude shock was in store for Piet Koornhof, the Urban Foundation, and anyone else who hoped that this not-so-new deal could be sold to anyone.

The Black Local Authorities (BLA) elections were rejected from Nyanga in the South to Soweto in the North.

Even though government spokesmen argue that municipal powers have been expanded, rejection of the BLA's was as widespread as that of their unpopular predecessor, the community councils.

There was much speculation after the BLA elections about the significance of the results. Koornhof's explanation for the low polls was that very few contract workers voted and that, in any event, 'polls for municipal elections are never high'. Others suggest that the low poll was less the result of a deliberate stay-away than mass voter apathy.

Despite these post-election verdicts, candidates seem to have expected a low poll from the outset.

● Pensioners in Wattville in the East Rand claimed they had been intimidated and threatened with eviction if they did not vote. According to them, this campaign was carried out by East Rand Administration Board clerks.

● In KwaThema, it was alleged that certain candidates led gangs from house to house, demanding reference books with the promise that they would bring them back before the day of the election.

● In Guguletu, residents claimed they were threatened with eviction if they didn't vote.

But even intimidation was not enough to force residents to go to the polls in significant numbers. Ikageng, for example, registered a 13 percent voter turn-out.

A Cosas anti-BLA pamphlet outlined one reason for the low poll: 'In South Africa we do not have the right to vote for parliament and can only vote when the white government wants us to...'

'Let us show these puppets we are not ignorant. Let us boycott the elections and support our parents in their struggle against the Black Local Authorities,' the pamphlet said.

This nationwide rejection of 'stooge bodies' stems from the well learnt lesson over the years that such institutions represent an obstacle to

Who will clean up the mess after the election party?

Despite flashy images, promises and threats, nationwide rejection of the BLA exposes the farce of Koornhof's "not-so-new" deal



democracy. More particularly — residents have first-hand experience of the oppressive and corrupt administrations of the community councils.

Any hope that these bodies could be used as a 'platform' to frustrate the government's intentions have long since been dashed.

It is not surprising then, that townships in general are suspicious of government-created institutions. This was reflected in the breadth and depth of the boycott. Breadth, in that the boycott was taken up even in areas where no substantial anti-BLA campaign was conducted. Depth, in that the boycott call penetrated to all

sections of the communities, young and old, workers and professionals.

Another factor which ensured that the boycott call was effective, was the campaign conducted by the UDF. Despite the problem of police harassment, thousands of UDF pamphlets were distributed calling on people not to vote. Mass meetings were well attended and a lot of work went into door-to-door campaigning.

Throughout the country, UDF speakers warned mass rallies of the

new dangers posed by the BLA's and set forward the alternative demand for 'a full vote in the government of this country'.

Civic organisations played an important role during the boycott campaign itself. By confronting the would-be rulers of the townships and presenting a democratic alternative to the people, the civics demonstrated that BLA-rule needn't go unchallenged. Organisations such as the Soweto Civic formed anti-

community council committees to wage the boycott campaign. In other areas anti-community council committees were formed as the nucleus of future civic organisations.

The BLA's are in for a rough time. During the elections candidates made promises they can't possibly keep. Sofasonke Party candidates in Soweto promised residents a 200 percent rent cut. Other promises included the abolition of all influx control on people born after 1944, permanent ownership of houses and leniency in the case of late-payments on rents.

BLA incumbents simply don't have the legislative power to make such sweeping promises, nor do they have the financial resources.

It is not surprising then, that newly-elected councillors started backtracking from their electoral 'commitments' as soon as they assumed office.

Before the election, Koornhof made it clear that the councils would not receive subsidies which would cover the costs of much needed projects. Many councils are bankrupt. So residents will have to pay for bodies they reject.

Financial problems plague many of the townships. Tom Boya of the Daveyton Town Council said at its inauguration that R100 million was needed to wipe out the existing backlog of 4 000 houses. He also said the new councils would be unviable without subsidies.

'ET' Tshabalala, mayor of Soweto has said that unless the debts of the previous council are written off by Koornhof, 'the whole concept of the BLA's is a farce.'

The methods by which the councils solve their problems have often been brutal

In Duncan Village the council has come out in full support of shack demolitions by ECAB. The council justified this on the basis that 'legal' residents would have to shoulder the financial burden of the illegal dwellings.

Opposition forces see this as blatant support for influx control. They say the council is attempting to divide residents 'a la Koornhof'.

This is only the tip of the iceberg. Further rent increases can be expected from the BLAs. The development of service schemes for those with Section 10 rights will be used in attempts to 'divide and rule'

The legitimacy of the BLA's will continue to be challenged, and residents will continually call on councillors to resign. The challenge that faces the civics is now to transform the achievements of the anti-BLA campaign into a movement which unites all different sections of the various townships in a united effort to fight this new government strategy.

above: Soweto's "new-look mayor" E.T. Tshabalala
left: Dlamini's punch-drunk campaign
above left: The mayoral prize: Ex-"mayor" Thebehall's mansion.
below left: Sofasonke's "new image"?

ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1944, an explosion tore through the Hlobane coal mine near Vryheid killing 57 and seriously injuring six workers. An inquiry into the disaster revealed that poor ventilation allowed a build up of methane gas which exploded.

Exactly 39 years later on Monday September 12 1983, the tragedy was repeated. Again Hlobane was rocked by an explosion. 68 workers died. Some were burned, others died from poisonous gas.

This was the worst mine accident in South Africa since the 1960 Coalbrook colliery disaster where 437 miners were buried alive when the mine collapsed. The Hlobane disaster has once again focused attention on safety in South African mines.

Accidents and deaths are part of everyday life for black mineworkers. In the last ten years, over 8000 workers were killed. Almost a quarter of a million were injured in accidents that stopped them working for 14 days or more.

After the Hlobane disaster, the fast-growing National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) called for a national commission of inquiry into accidents, with workers' representatives, 'in view of the appalling safety conditions in South African mines'.

NUM, which represents 65000 workers, has identified safety as a priority issue.

The main danger in underground coalmines is methane gas explosions. Methane is always given off when coal is mined. Regulations under the Mines and Works Act are supposed to reduce the chances of explosions happening.

The evidence at the Hlobane inquest showed that many of the regulations were ignored.

Methane gas explosions don't just happen. Three things have to happen at the same time for an explosion to occur:

● There must be a lot of methane.

Air is circulated through the mine to get rid of any methane given off at the coal faces.

The air is brought from the surface through 'airways' and directed along the working faces by 'brattice cloth', a type of curtain.

At the inquest, the mine ventilation officer, Mr P Shand, admitted that his records showed that enough air was not reaching the coal faces.

Even in December 1983, months after the explosion, many of the faces were still not being supplied with enough air.

Shand claimed that during his 11 years as a ventilation officer for the Chamber of Mines, he had found that no Natal coal mine provided the correct amount of air to the faces all the time.

At the time of the explosion, mining was taking place through a dyke (rock in the coal seam). Because more than the usual amount of methane may be released when mining dykes, special safety precautions should be taken.

No action was taken and Shand

The Hlobane inquest cast a spotlight on the mining industry. It showed where safety and profits clash, safety gives way, even if this endangers lives. Reckless management made Hlobane a time bomb. Last year the bomb exploded, leading to . . .



Flashback to disaster . . . this miner died from burns

THE HLOBANE DISASTER !!

was not even informed.

Less than half the air supply was reaching the dyke because of a holing into a return airway which happened the Saturday before the explosion.

The holing meant that the air returned to the surface before it reached the working faces, allowing methane to accumulate over the weekend.

A miner, Mr R J Morgan, had been instructed to block the holing but did not do so. Although the mine officials on duty at the time realised the importance of the holing, they did not check that their orders had been carried out.

● Something must start off the explosion.

Open flames are not allowed underground, and all pieces of machinery that may cause sparks are 'flameproofed'. Of the 29 pieces of machinery found in the sections of the mine affected by the explosion,

14 were not flameproof.

Any one of these machines could have sparked off the explosion.

● The presence of methane gas must not be found.

Before workers enter the workings at the beginning of a shift, the miners in charge of a section have to 'make safe' and check for the presence of methane.

One week before the explosion, a miner, Mr T J Bezuidenhout, who was killed in the blast, reported that he had found methane and spent half a shift clearing it.

According to regulations, where gas has not been found in the previous three months new finds must be reported by the mine to the government Inspector of Mines for a full investigation. The shiftboss and mine overseer decided that Bezuidenhout had lied to cover up poor production. Bezuidenhout's report was crossed out 'to avoid hassles with the loss control depart-

ment.'

The regulations say that flame safety lamps should be used for finding methane. Only four of the ten lamps required by law were found after the explosion.

Mr J T Barnard, who led evidence for the state, described the organisation of lamps as 'chaotic', a state of affairs which 'contributed to the circumstances of the explosion, where there were not enough lamps to test for gas'.

Methane is lighter than air and tends to rise and form layers just below the roof of the workings. Although not required by law, a special attachment to suck air from the roof must be fitted to safety lamps to detect these layers. At first the mine manager, Mr D Watson, claimed that nearly all the lamps used at the mine had attachments.

When he later showed the lamps found in the blast area to the court, he was 'disappointed' to find only

one of the lamps had the attachment.

In his evidence, Mr Ralph Boswell, Inspector of Mines, said that the death rate was extremely high for a gas explosion. In his view it had not been a very big one. Many workers had been killed by the fumes produced by burning coal dust and brattice cloth.

The coal dust had probably not been watered down properly because of frequent interruptions in the water supply. According to the regulations the brattice cloth should have been fire proof.

The inquiry shows that little attention was paid to safety regulations in the mine. Mr Denis Kuny, who appeared for the families of five deceased workers, handed in a list of 21 Mines and Works Act regulations which, according to the evidence, had been broken, some a number of times.

On the other hand, compared to other mines, Hlobane appeared to be

● From page 15

not foot soldiers. This is brought home by the fact that South Africa has never, in its numerous clashes with Fapla, captured Cuban 'foot soldiers'

President Dos Santos told British journalists recently: 'We have nothing to hide — we have never hidden the presence of the Cuban internationalists. We also stated that we have established co-operation agreements with the Soviet Union and through these agreements we have many Soviet instructors here who are helping to train our cadres in every sphere.'

South Africa, by contrast has only recently admitted to having thousands of troops in southern Angola, and still denies allegations about its '32 Battalion' and 'Special Reconnaissance Group' (the reekies) who allegedly operate hand in hand with Unita.

Meanwhile Angola, like Mozambique, has sworn never to turn its back on the ANC or Swapo — no matter what temporary expediencies they may have to make in terms of South African 'peace initiatives'.

Lucio Lara, of the MPLA's political bureau said: 'Our people today know what socialist fraternity is, not from books... Our Fapla, and people's defence militias, our MPLA, our women's organisations and pioneers are laying down their lives for the freedom of our people.'



A Black

BLACK TAXPAYERS will be taxed on the same income tax scale as white taxpayers from March 1. But black taxpayers will still have no say over how their contributions are spent.

Under the new act low wage earners and married men will pay less income tax than they did under the old Black Taxation Act of 1969. A married man with no children who earns less than R365.00 a month will no longer have to pay income tax.

Under the old system anyone who earned over R150.00 a month had to pay tax.

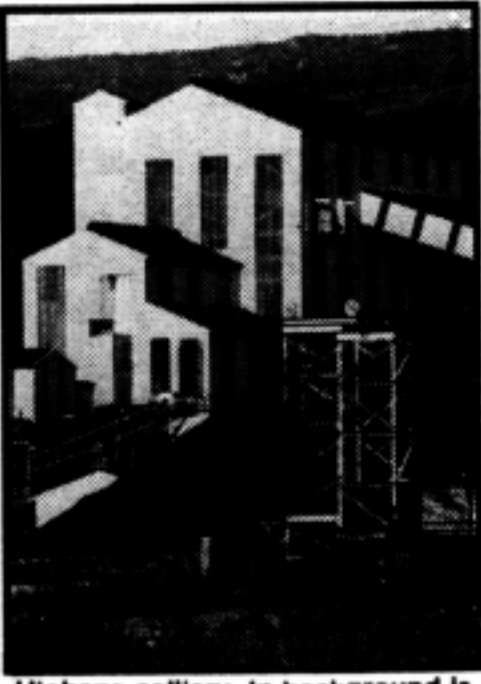
Married women will take less money home at the end of the week than before. Previously, a married woman earning R350.00 a month would have paid R7.50 in tax. Now she will pay R22.83.

If her weekly pay is R160.00, her tax goes up from R10.21 to R21.03.

Single people with no children will pay no tax if they earn less than



A mining accident victim. If unions have their way this sight will be seen less often.



Hlobane colliery. In background is mountain where workers were killed

Organised miners are watching the killer industry

THE HLOBANE inquest was just one of the mine inquiries at which the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has been represented.

This is part of a general organisational campaign that the union has mounted on safety in the mines — an industry that claimed over 800 lives last year.

Factors such as the rapid growth of NUM and the Hlobane accident have created an unprecedented focus on mining safety.

The union and its representatives have been involved in a number of inquiries and disputes arising out of accidents and unsafe conditions on mines.

In October last year 17 workers at Goldfields' West Driefontein mine refused to work because they said their working conditions were unsafe. At an inquiry requested by the union, an inspector of mines said the area in question was in fact safe.

But the Industrial Court ordered the reinstatement of the workers until such time as the dispute is resolved. Currently, the workers are receiving their wages although the company has not taken them back.

The final decision will take place in April in the Industrial Court. Here the company will be trying to show that they were justified in dismissing the 17 workers. The workers will be alleging that their dismissal constituted an unfair labour practice.

The Mines Inspectorate is obliged by law to hold inquiries into all fatal accidents.

Union representatives have appeared recently at inquiries at Western Deep Levels, West Driefontein and Doornfontein gold mines.

The union was also represented at an inquiry into an accident where two miners were killed at Rietspruit open-cast Colliery near Witbank. After the accident the 1 000-strong workforce staged a two-hour stoppage to demonstrate sympathy for the families of the dead miners.

During the inquiry into the accident, workers staged a further work stoppage.

At the end of such an inquiry the presiding inspector makes a finding on the cause of the accident. He submits a recommendation to the Attorney General about whether anybody should be prosecuted for their part in causing the accident by breaking mining regulations.

For the inquest and inquiry into the Hlobane accident, NUM assembled a team of lawyers headed by Denis Kuny, SC. They were assisted by three distinguished overseas scientists who have all held senior positions in coal mining research bodies in their countries. They are reported to have considerable experience in investigating the causes of mining explosions.

a safety conscious mine. The mine manager claimed that the management held daily meetings where safety was always discussed. The mine had specific safety instructions and people were appointed to carry them out.

The Inspector of Mines said that Hlobane 'was not a bad mine'.

The Chamber awarded Hlobane four stars — five stars being the maximum — for their safety rating scheme.

NUM arranged for three international coal mine experts to attend the inquest to make sure that the dead miners were properly represented. They showed that South African regulations have fallen behind international standards.

For example, Dr R van Dolah, retired research director of the US Bureau of Mines Research Centre, noted that:

●US ventilation regulations are much stricter than South African

regulations.

●Flame safety lamps are an old fashioned method of finding methane and in the USA, UK and Europe, methanometers which give earlier warning of problems are used.

●Many lives might have been saved if workers had been given self-rescue equipment which change poisonous carbon monoxide to carbon dioxide or provide fresh oxygen.

Dr H S Eisner, former Director of the Explosion and Flame Laboratory of the Health and Safety Executive, a UK state body, analysed South African coal mining statistics and concluded that deaths in underground South African coal mines are 6 times higher than in the UK and 1,6 times higher than the USA.

Profits first, safety second

BLACK MINERS are victims of

over 90 percent of all accidents. While mine-managements and the Chamber claim that every effort is made to ensure safe conditions, underground mining involves a constant conflict between safety and production.

Time spent 'making safe' — for example, installing roof supports, removing loose rocks — is time that cannot be used for production.

Black miners are exposed to the greatest dangers by working at the face. White mine workers spend little time at the face, but their wages are linked to the amount that their teams of black workers mine. So white miners tend to neglect safety precautions so that the miners spend more time mining.

In the past there was no way workers could demand safer conditions. The situation is changing with worker organisation. Hlobane highlighted the issue of mine safety. Since then, NUM has made sure that

workers have been represented at numerous inquiries into fatal accidents.

At West Driefontein, the right of management to force workers to work in unsafe areas was challenged.

A year ago, NUM applied for representation on the Safety Committee chaired by the government Mining Engineer, but was refused.

In December 1983, the Chamber of Mines announced that individual trade unions would be given representation on their Prevention of Accidents Committee, originally formed in 1913.

The 39 years since the first Hlobane disaster have shown that management, safety rating schemes and regulations cannot be relied on to ensure safe working conditions.

However, they are surely feeling the pressure from organised workers whose collective strength will force management to ensure safe working conditions.

Tax to make workers pay more for less

R300.00 per month. However, single people who earn more than R350.00 per month will pay more tax under the new system than they did under the old one.

Citizens of the so-called national states will continue to pay taxes to those states. A migrant worker from the Ciskei working in Welkom will have money deducted each week from his wages. This money will go to Pretoria and then be transferred to Sebe's administrators.

The money collected in taxes under the Pay As You Earn (PAYE) deduction method will go to the Commissioner for Inland Revenue. He will pass on some of it to the Department of Co-operation and Development to be used for the 'benefit' of the black population.

This means that it will be used to maintain the ethnic homelands, influx control and group areas.

The new act also introduces a rebate system which allows taxpayers

with children or dependants a tax deduction.

For example, if you are entitled to a rebate of R30.00 per child, that amount will be deducted from the amount of tax you pay.

All workers will have to fill in an IRP2 form giving the Commissioner of Inland Revenue their personal details.

Workers who earn over R8 000 a year will have to fill in a tax return form at the end of each year, which asks them how much they have received during the year.

If this form is not filled in, the worker who has paid too much tax will not receive a rebate.

The PAYE system of paying tax means that the employee is forced to pay taxes. Traders and factory owners do not pay taxes on the same basis. There are many ways companies can avoid paying the full 46 percent of their profits they are required to pay in tax. Pick 'n Pay, for

instance, last year arranged their finances so they only paid just over 1.5 percent tax.

Tax concessions are available only to companies. The much talked about 'Perks tax' for management and high income earners has been delayed year after year, and when it does come into effect it is going to be introduced over a seven-year period.

The country's wage earners were given four months' warning of the changes affecting them.

While this income tax system will be the same as for the white population, black taxpayers will continue to have no say in what is done with their money. They will have less funds allocated to social services and amenities than white taxpayers.

Unions have warned that these changes are likely to be received with suspicion. They come hard on the heels of a rise in GST and an increase in the price of bread, and just before

what is predicted to be a harsh budget.

Early in February, Fosatu called on the government to delay the tax plan, warning that it could cause unrest.

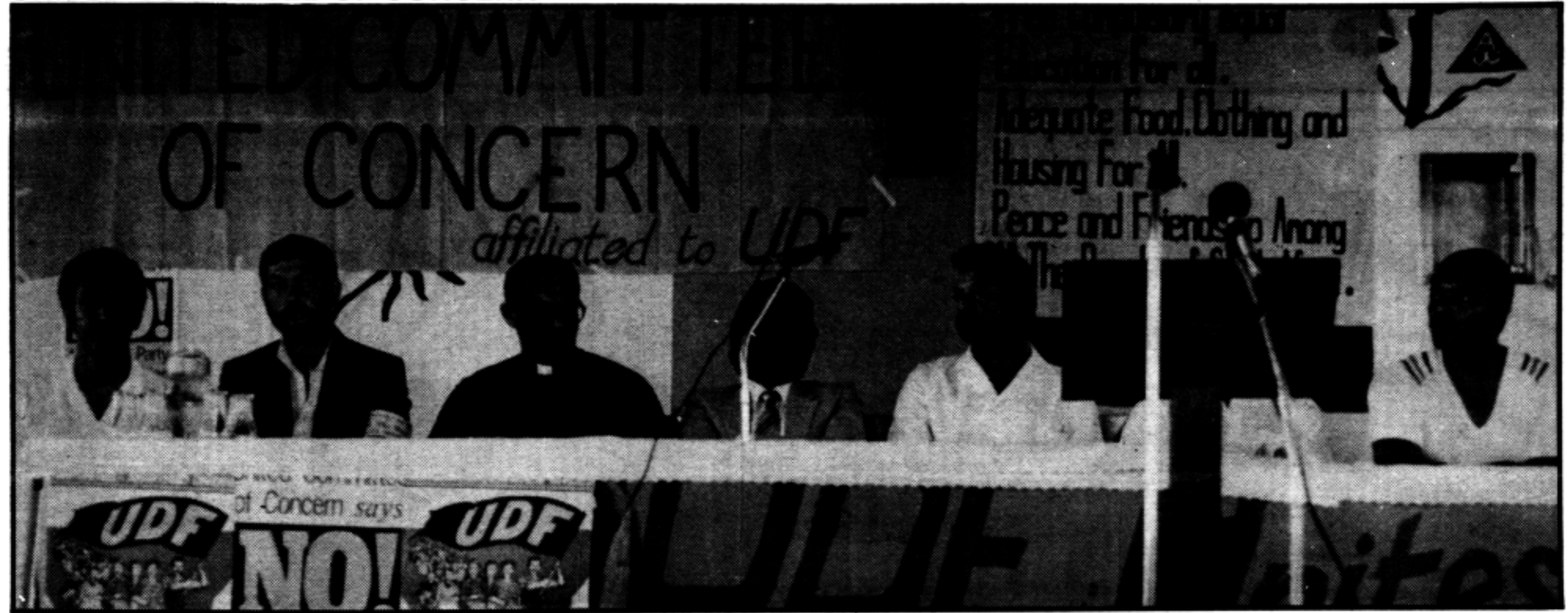
In a press statement, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) said while most major South African companies had made huge profits in 1983, workers had suffered more and more.

'Their real standard of living has dropped and more families are falling below the breadline than before.' It said the increased GST was 'another blow to workers and their families.'

Concerning the new tax dispensation, the statement noted that:

●'Although taxation would be equalised, the benefit of the money would not go equally to all groups.

●'Some groups in South Africa have tax with representation, the majority do not. This is not equality.'



Speakers at the United Committee of Concern launch attended by more than 1 000 people

UCC: Getting grassroots support

SASPU NATIONAL talks to Virgil Bonhomme of the UCC about organised opposition to the constitution

Q: Could you explain what the United Committee of Concern is and how it developed?

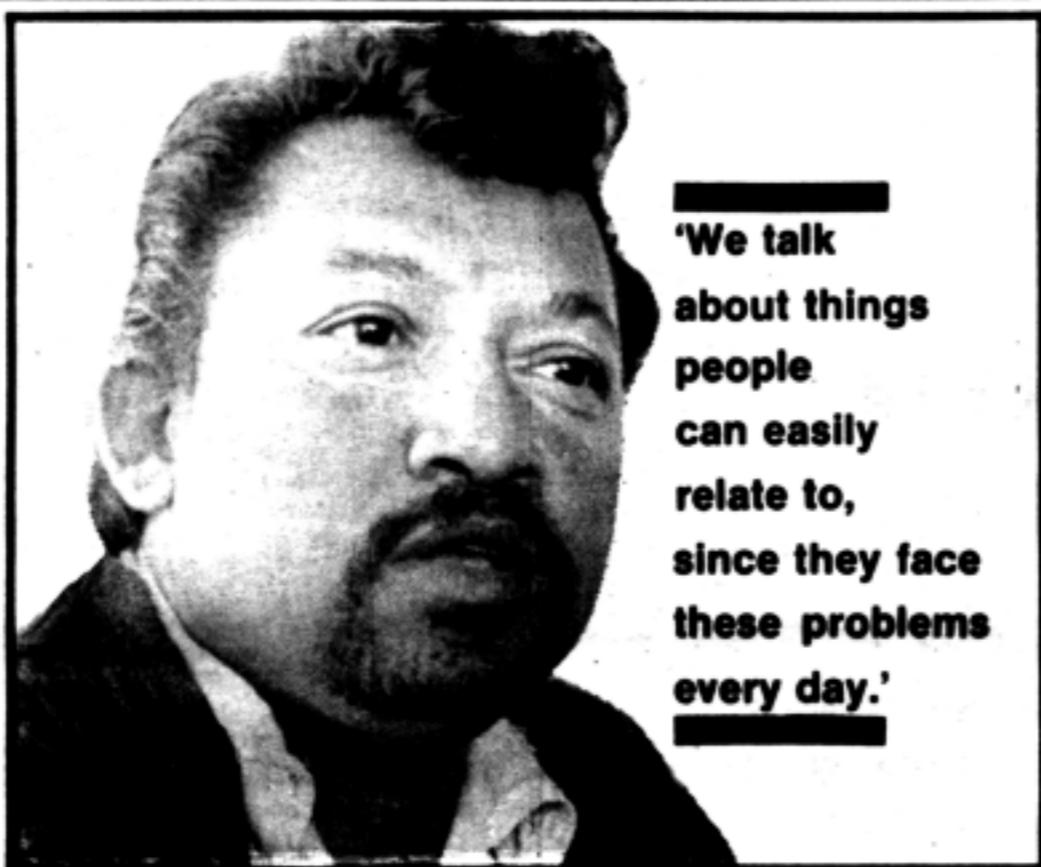
A: In January last year the Labour Party decided to enter parliament in terms of the new constitution.

It became clear to us — while conducting a house to house campaign — that people rejected this decision. The need arose for a political home for these people, where opposition to the new constitution could be voiced.

At the same time discussion started on the formation of the UDF, and committees of concern were formed in the so-called coloured areas. These united to form the United Committee of Concern (UCC).

In November last year the UCC was officially launched at a mass meeting in Wentworth. It drew together more than 1 000 people.

Resolutions were passed rejecting the Labour Party and mandating the UCC as representative of the will of the communities. The Koornhof Bills were rejected out of hand, and it was decided that the UCC would continue to represent the people in its area on the UDF structures.



'We talk about things people can easily relate to, since they face these problems every day.'

Q: Could you talk about the methods used in building the UCC?

A: Our main strategy was to speak to people in their homes. This is always the most important aspect of our work. We have visited every house in Newlands and Sydenham and about

three quarters of those in Wentworth. It took us seven months to cover Sydenham.

You really have to tell people how the constitution will affect them.

If there were scholars in the room, we would discuss the education issues

involved. We would talk about housing and so on. Things people could easily relate to, since they face these problems every day.

That's how you really get grassroots support.

Grassroot support doesn't come from public statements or meetings. Standing on a platform shouting political slogans doesn't give people enough confidence in you.

This is the best way of making P W Botha's sophisticated strategy ineffective.

We have already started on the second round of this campaign. At the moment the issues are the million signature campaign and the elections.

Q: Could you expand on the elections and the million signature campaign?

A: The two issues go together. We are using them to strengthen our own organisations and the UDF.

We are stressing that the election boycott is an active process of rejecting the new constitution.

The million signature campaign will be launched in all areas locally. We

are going to get prominent people together at a gathering where the official signing will take place. We are requesting that ministers allow us to speak briefly in churches about the campaign.

Q: What other plans do you have for the future?

A: We want to work on areas where the UCC does not have a strong presence, places like Greenwood Park and Marion Ridge. Workshops will be held on the Koornhof Bills and the million signature campaign in these areas.

Q: How do people feel about the Labour Party?

A: People are angry with them because they feel the Labour Party has no mandate from them to participate in the constitution.

The Labour Party holds small meetings where they indulge in smear tactics against the UDF. They have said that the UDF gets money from the PLO, and that I have been used by the ANC.

It is always important to remember, though, that we were not formed to fight the Labour Party, but the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

ABOUT 2 000 people from Johannesburg's Indian township, Lenasia, packed the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) mass rally recently to condemn the new constitution.

This was the TIC's first meeting since their Dadoo memorial meeting was banned in October last year.

Opening the meeting, TIC president Essop Jassat said, 'accepting the new constitution would mean accepting all discriminatory legislation including the Group Areas Act, Pass Laws and unequal education.'

'We would become co-oppressors with the white man of our fellow Africans.'

He said the TIC would call on people to boycott the tricameral elections as they did for the SAIC elections in 1981.

UDF publicity secretary, Terror Lekota, said even if the new constitution included Africans, people would still reject it because we want a constitution drafted by the people of South Africa themselves.'

The UDF was uniting people across racial, provincial and class boundaries and building them into one force that must bring down apartheid.

'In strengthening the TIC you are strengthening the UDF.'

Speaker after speaker recalled the tradition of resistance of the Indian people in their fight against apartheid from Gandhi to the present day.

Firoz Cachalia from the Benoni Students Movement said the people never passively accepted attacks on their political representation.

Mass rally calls for united action



Over 2 000 people at TIC mass rally say NO to the Constitution and YES to the Freedom Charter

In 1946 the NIC (Natal Indian Congress) and the TIC started the passive resistance campaign under the leadership of Dadoo.

'The signing of the Doctors' Pact with the ANC in 1947 committed us for ever and a day to fight side by side with African people,' he said.

The government had entered into a prolonged courtship with Indians, and were trying to convince people that they want to share power and end domination.

'But we won't be so easily fooled by a plan aimed at dividing us from the African people.'

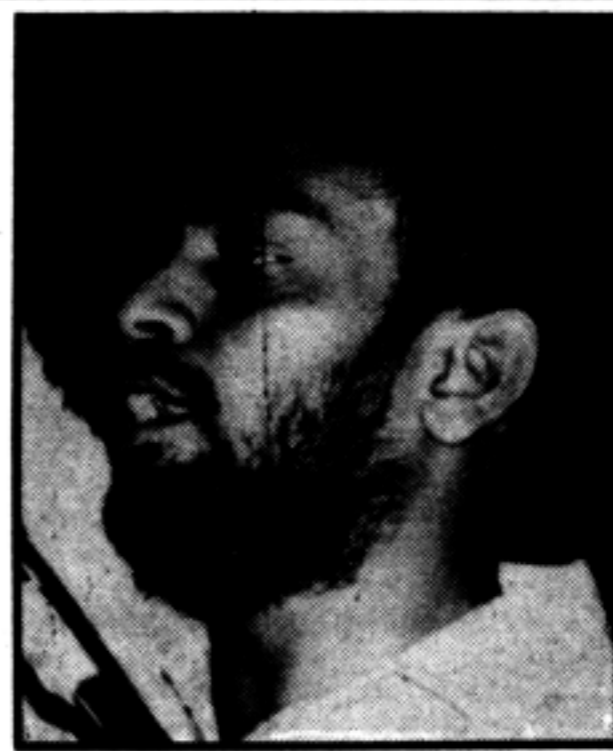
Prema Naidoo from the Transvaal Indian Congress said there was a deliberate attempt to obscure how

the new constitution would affect people's lives in the schools, houses and factories.

He said it was the government's responsibility to provide housing, but now people will have to provide their own housing. This was way beyond the reach of the working people and would increase their hardships. There were no safeguards for the worker.

Mewa Ramgobin, who was unbanned last year after 17 years, said the reality of economic exploitation and racial domination would not change.

The new constitution was 'part and parcel of the total violent scenario to perpetuate a racist government and its allies in capital.'



TIC's Prema Naidoo: 'No safe-guards for workers in the new constitution'

People must not only reject the new constitution, he said, but build the foundations of a new South Africa.

'The TIC and the NIC in alliance with other democratic organisations committed to uniting in action, must build our organisations. We must further unite, mobilise and organise all democracy-loving people of this land. We must reinforce community, trade union, student and youth organisations. We must create women's organisations as we can't be free as long as half the human race remains in bondage. We must refuse to be part of anything short of a non-racial and democratic future for all,' he said.

Hendrikse hits at UDF — and pays the price

VIOLENCE ERUPTED at a Labour Party meeting held in Grahamstown early in February. The meeting was addressed by party leader Alan Hendrikse

The meeting, attended by over 400 people, ended in chaos when Hendrikse quoted from a pamphlet alleged to have been published by the UDF. It claimed that the UDF had links with the South African Communist Party. This inflamed sections of the audience and angry UDF supporters insisted that they be allowed to challenge the authenticity of the document.

Meanwhile, the UDF has denied any knowledge of the pamphlet.

At the same meeting, a woman claimed she was threatened by one of Hendrikse's bodyguards while attempting to ask a question.

In another incident of violence, a pupil, Gideon Oerson left when a speaker told the meeting that failure in the schools meant laziness on the part of students. He was followed outside by a small number of Labour Party supporters sporting yellow party T-shirts, who kicked and then stabbed him.

According to one Labour Party supporter, a bus-load of Labour 'henchmen' were transported from Port Elizabeth to the meeting.



TRADE UNIONS exist to protect and advance workers' rights. One of the biggest stumbling blocks to workers' rights is the employers.

To do this, a trade union needs some sort of bargaining relationship. This is not to say that unions rely only on negotiation and consensus. The strike weapon is crucial, although generally speaking a last resort.

'Bargaining' and 'negotiation' themselves are not trouble-free things. They are processes which show the union's strength against management.

A union cannot do its job properly unless it gets some sort of hearing from management. It has to have a way of making its demands known, and of pushing for them.

Representation

Management 'recognition' of a union means that the bosses are prepared to listen to the workers. It gives the union the chance to make worker demands, lodge grievances and defend workers, particularly against dismissal.

A progressive trade union sees recognition as an acknowledgement of the collective strength of workers in a plant. But management itself, and many conservative unions, see it differently. They argue that the recognition of a union can reduce and control the conflict between employers and workers. They say that 'talking' through recognition is a way of putting off stoppages.

Some even argue that trade unions can help 'healthy' competition by balancing wages and other costs 'correctly'.

So although South African employers have traditionally set their faces against union recognition, resistance is softening as labour gets stronger and as managements begin to see what they can get out of recognition.

Now that many unions have got recognition, the terms of recognition have become the crucial issue. If a union allows recognition exclusively on management's terms it will find it is powerless. This is where the actual agreement, which sets out the terms of the relationship, comes in. An agreement can be formal or informal.

Agreements

Before Wiehahn, and changes to the Industrial Conciliation Act in

The battle is just beginning when the bosses start talking

Independent unions have long been struggling for recognition from management. They have won many battles, but are still to win the war . . . SASPU National investigates.

1979, written recognition agreements were vital to establish the rights of unions to represent their members.

But changes in the law, and in particular the launching of the Industrial Court, have changed the position. Court rulings have established that an employer must negotiate things like wages and retrenchment with a representative union, even if they haven't recognised it.

At present, it is unclear whether the Court will retain its present powers. The possibility exists that, through management pressure, the court's authority will be re-defined.

In addition, most unions prefer not to rely on lengthy and costly court proceedings to establish their right to represent members.

The independent unions have generally chosen to establish rights through shop-floor bargaining.

Elements

Formal recognition agreements vary greatly, but the basic elements include:

- The recognition of shop stewards to take up grievances and represent workers. For the independent unions the role of the shop steward is most important.
- The recognition of the union as the workers' representative for negotiating wages and working conditions.
- Disputes and grievance proceedings.
- Access of union officials to the plant, and
- General rights — such as the right for shop stewards to get time off to attend union meetings.

Many independent unions also

negotiate the collection of union dues through 'stop orders' as part of the agreement.

In order to get the most favourable terms for its members, the union has to negotiate every aspect of the agreement. For example, while the union would insist that it should have the right to negotiate on any matter affecting workers in a plant, management will try to limit negotiation to particular issues.

Local employers are increasingly trying to defend their privileges. They argue that there are certain areas in which unions should have no say.

This view is best summed up by Barlow Rand's Reinald Hofmeyr, who said in an interview published on December 23, last year in the Financial Mail: 'We believe that capitalism, despite whatever faults it may have, is still the best recipe for sorely needed economic growth.'

'While we are prepared to negotiate on any matter relating to the contract of employment, we have been unwilling to enter into negotiation agreements where we or our companies are called upon to negotiate on any matter of 'common interest', which obviously would include such things as where you site your plants and what production methods you use.

'And this, I think, is possibly a cause of frustration and annoyance on the part of some unions.'

Strikes

Sharp differences often arise over the 'dispute procedure'. This is the procedure for settling disputes between management and the union. Management always tries to force

'no strike' procedures on unions. Very often they argue: 'We've given you all these concessions, and now we want a guarantee of industrial peace in return.'

Independent worker bodies argue that management should accept the workers' rights to strike, as well as the fact that strikes happen, whether lawful or unlawful.

They stress that legal strike actions are cumbersome and lengthy, and that the dispute procedure should allow for illegal strikes. Such provision would include, for example, a delay on the dismissal of striking workers for a given period (eg. 24 hours), during which time the company and the union would try to settle the dispute.

Having attempted to outlaw all forms of industrial action, in many cases managements will finally agree to recognise lawful strike action as a worker weapon in a dispute.

There are other areas of hot debate, such as management's attempts to exclude union officials from certain processes — disciplinary hearings for example, because the matter is 'in-house'. This is usually a way to try to turn the shop steward into a type of liaison committee representative. In other words, somebody separated from the union outside the plant and serving only to tell workers of management decisions.

Intransigence

It is clear that it is not easy to negotiate an agreement that will get real rights for a union.

Getting management to the negotiating table in the first place can

be a major task. Many local employers still refuse to consider recognition, hiding behind excuses like insisting that an independent union joins an industrial council, or saying that they already recognise another union — which is very often unrepresentative.

Probably the best example of management's lack of co-operation on this issue is the Frame company in Natal. For ten years Fosatu's National Union of Textile Workers has been battling for recognition, but nothing has happened.

Management also uses many delaying tactics, such as insisting that the union's receipts are checked by auditors in order to establish how representative it is.

Strategies

Like other forms of progressive politics, the struggle to get recognition demands the use of various strategies. Among independent unions firm approaches have been adopted and no 'model' agreements exist.

In some cases, in fact, there has been a swing away from very detailed formal recognition agreements. Unions are trying instead to establish a few basic rights like the recognition of shop stewards and the creation of a disputes procedure. This is because lengthy, legalistic documents tend to lose their meaning for workers and take too long to negotiate.

In other cases, managements have insisted on the negotiation of a full agreement before consenting to discuss any issue with the union.

Despite the fact that worker bodies can now use the industrial court, they will often take this negotiating route to avoid court proceedings. In such cases they have tried to use the negotiations as a way to mobilise and educate their members.

Battle for recognition

It is clear that the independent unions have come a long way in winning the battle for recognition. It is also clear that the battle can never finally be won, for there will always be room for further struggles over the terms of recognition.

The real battle begins when a company agrees to recognise a union. An agreement is only good to the extent that the workers it covers are strong and united.

Ciskei Report: attempt to save a sick system doomed to die



Another recipe for rural impoverishment: new land reforms may drive off small landholders so that businessmen can "consolidate".

CISKEI'S SELF-STYLED Life President, Lennox Sebe, believes in getting second opinions.

Four years after the 1979 Quail Commission returned a diagnosis of 'incurable' on Ciskei's economy, he appointed another group of experts to investigate economic development in the homeland.

This time the report, released recently, was more to Sebe's liking, and its recommendations were accepted in full. Legislation is being prepared for consideration by Ciskei's parliament, and a National Planning and Development Advisory Council has been set up.

The council's chairperson is Prof Nic Swart, vice-rector of Potchefstroom University, who also chaired the commission. As another attempt to float a homeland economy, the report makes interesting reading.

One of the main recommendations is that the traditional system of land tenure in the rural areas be done away with, and that tribal authorities be given the right to sell or lease their land. So far such land was allotted to members of the tribe who needed it, without money being involved.

A result of such a policy, the commission says, will be 'a spontaneous process of consolidation' (and in some cases, sub-division) towards optimal farm sizes. If farms are negotiable, inefficient farmers or farmers with uneconomic units will maximise the potential return to them by selling to farmers wishing to consolidate, or more efficient farmers.

It is another recipe for rural impoverishment, presented in the guise of a plan for progress and modernisation. If implemented, the plan will see the Ciskei rural areas being taken over by a small number of large-scale farmers who are able to buy out other landholders.

It doesn't take much to work out who will be in a position to become members of this new class of Ciskeian capitalist farmers: it will be the Sebe's and the other functionaries of the homeland bureaucracy, with perhaps a few small-time businessmen thrown in. It certainly won't be 'the more successful farmers.'

The commission admits the plan will displace many rural people: 'A successful land reform programme will be characterised by a reduction of the population on the land and a migration into the villages, towns and cities' where they will swell the ranks of the unemployed. But this is not spelt out.

The commission proposes the establishment of a new brand of resettle-

ment camp, called 'central places', to absorb the displaced rural population. The report calls the establishment of an economic base in the central places 'of utmost importance' and has a number of suggestions as to how this economic base will be built.

The displaced will bring with them the money they have gained through the sale of their land. This will enable them to set themselves up in town, build a house or enter into business. The informal sector is to be boosted in every possible way, including the removal of regulations 'designed to curb competition, to protect consumers from the unwise spending of their own money, to provide ideal sophisticated conditions for employees, to control, rationalise, co-ordinate or centrally plan.'

Industry, the report says, must take over as the 'main spearhead' of future job creation. The report itself sketches the size of the problem. 'At least a quarter and probably half' of the potentially economically active population of the Ciskei are unemployed, and 70 000 industrial jobs would have to be created to solve existing unemployment.

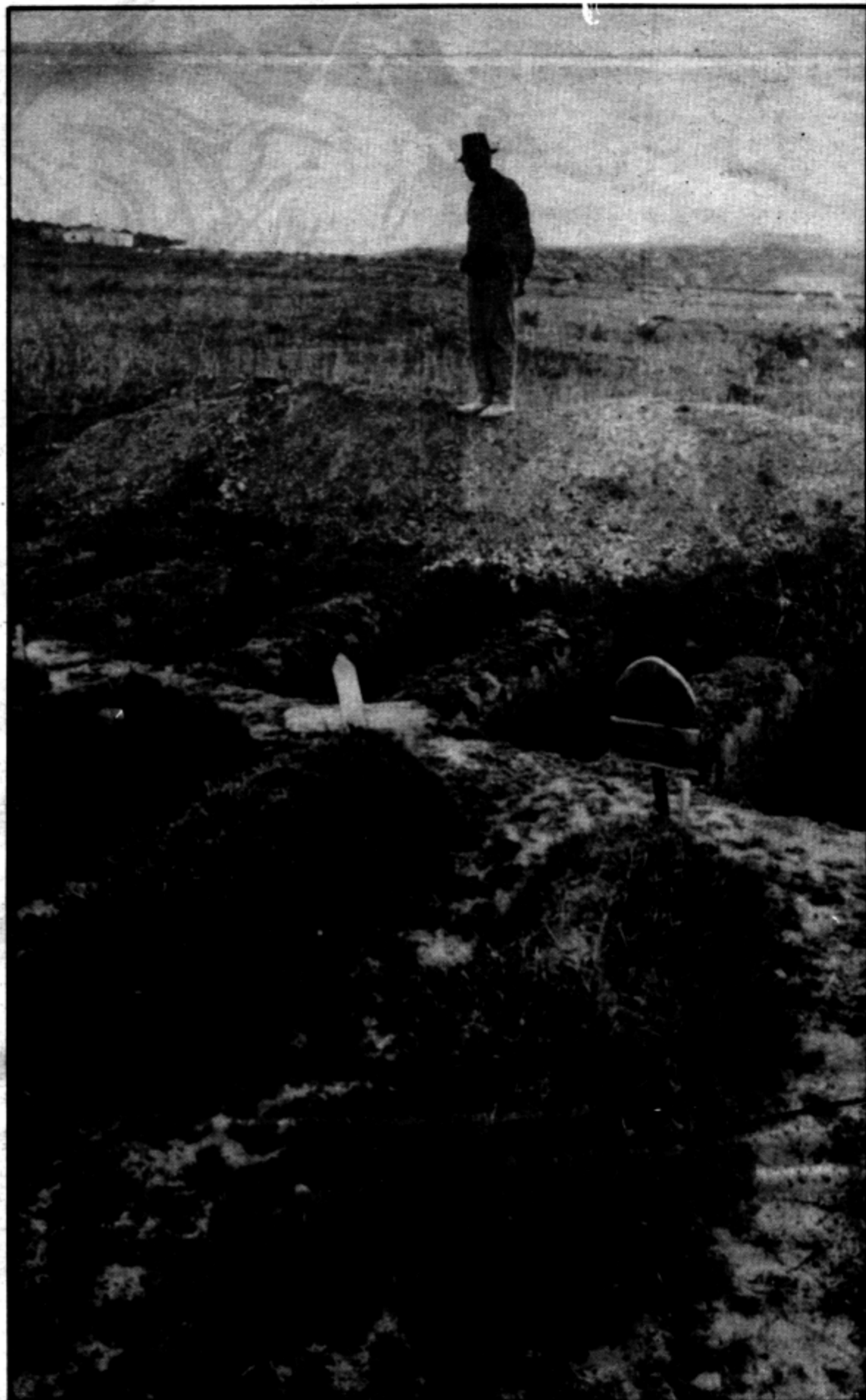
The Ciskei would have to pay R350 million in decentralisation incentives initially, and R61 million annually, to subsidise these developments. As the report itself points out, the total Ciskei expenditure budget for 1983/84 is only R320 million.

To solve this problem, the South African government should be requested to take over a larger share of the costs of decentralisation incentives. The South African share should be pushed up from 50 percent to 80 percent, the commission argues optimistically.

With rising military and other costs, the low gold price and the international recession, the South African government is unlikely to be prepared to shoulder an even larger share of the incentive costs.

If the Ciskei cannot get a better deal, it should develop its own package of incentives, to undercut the existing package. But since the costs of the current package are the problem, the Ciskei would have to find incentives that are attractive but not expensive. The list is short: a 10-year tax holiday for pioneer industries, cheap industrial land, cheap loans and a special service to cut through red tape for potential investors.

However, it is recognised that the main source of employment for Ciskeians for the foreseeable future will be migrant and commuter labour. The commission has a number of proposals in this regard,



Rural impoverishment in Ciskei — it has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world.

which are either meaningless or unrealistic.

Some of these are that the Ciskei should press the South African government to stop recruitment of labour in other neighbouring states, that it should consider establishing state-owned industries such as Armscor in Ciskei or on its borders, that it should not introduce a national minimum wage and that Ciskei citizens should always be treated with respect in South Africa.

Another recommendation is particularly interesting, although it stands little chance of being implemented. The report urges the Ciskei to refuse to accept any more resettlement into the Ciskei, unless the South African government pays R5 000 per family to build a house and R15 000 per work-seeker for job creation.

It is highly unlikely that the South African government will fork out an estimated R250 million just to resettle Mgwali, to name but one of the communities faced with removal. It is also very unlikely that the Ciskei will be able to refuse accepting further resettlement. The proposal may be just a bargaining tool, with which the Ciskei hopes to achieve a slightly better deal from South Africa.

Underlying the entire report is the

belief that unrestricted capitalism is the remedy for all Ciskei's ills. Remove all restrictions on business, the logic goes, and capitalists will invest and create wealth for the whole nation.

In line with this idea, the commission recommends that state bodies sell their shares in companies. Tucked away here is a recommendation that is of great political significance:

The CTC bus company, which is 'frequently the victim of political agitation,' should be sold off. This comes against the background of a bus boycott by Mdantsane commuters, who have lately demanded that a new bus company be set up which has no ties with the Ciskei government. The boycott is now into its eighth month, in spite of consistent and brutal attempts to crush it.

The company is losing vast amounts of money, and this recommendation may offer the Ciskei a way of backing down without appearing weak.

Right at the start of the report the commission quotes Lennox Sebe on the importance of Ciskei's image: 'I am inclined to say that our very livelihood depends to a very high degree on the way in which others see us ... A country and a people

whose image is besmirched have a very slender chance of attracting overseas investors, entrepreneurs and tourists.'

Quite so, one might say. The report, as a blueprint for homeland development, is doomed to failure. This is not only because Ciskei's impoverishment is a necessary precondition for the wealth of the few in larger South Africa, but also because it cannot be dealt with in the framework of the homeland.

An historical irrelevancy, then, the Swart report? While the proposals may have very little chance to achieve, what they ostensibly set out to do, they may well significantly worsen the position of ordinary people living in the Ciskei.

If the land reform proposals are implemented, even more people will be pushed over the brink of starvation, as they are forced off the land which provides them with some source of livelihood, at least.

However, among the many gaps in the report there is one which might prove to be the largest one of all. No reckoning is made of the resistance of the people to measures such as these. And the people of the Border region have shown before that they are no longer prepared to allow themselves to be ignored.

Would you buy a very used homeland from Lennox Sebe ?

Book burning in 'God'-fearing SA

THE CANCELLATION of Chinua Achebe's 'Arrow of God' as a prescribed work for coloured standard nine pupils, has focussed attention both on the South African education system and African literature.

The book was withdrawn as part of the 1984 syllabus at the last minute. Schools, which because of discriminatory per capita spending on education, have a tight budget, were told to destroy their stocks of the book.

Principals have been instructed by the Department of Internal Affairs to 'choose the book which the school has the largest number of copies of in stock' to replace the Achebe work.

No reason was given for the cancellation of the prescribed work, other than that it is 'unsuitable' for study by high school pupils.

What is meant by 'unsuitable' has not been explained. Indirect reference has been made to expressions and sayings which occur in parts of the novel. These have been called 'obscene'.

The expressions are in fact inseparable from the language idiom and culture of the Igbo people about whom Achebe writes and that the claim of abusiveness is therefore not only prudish and ridiculous, but also a thin veil to hide the real reasons behind the cancellation.

If the department has no problems with the torrid explicitness of D H Lawrence's 'Sons and Lovers' for

standard ten, then 'Arrow of God' is mild stuff. The language of the novel is clearly not the reason for sudden and dramatic cancellation.

The central character of 'Arrow of God' is Ezeulu, the chief priest of the god Ulu, reigning deity in the six villages of Umuaro. In testing the limits of his power, Ezeulu is defeated as is his god Ulu.

The victors are not the rival god and his priest, but the christian god and his missionary. The christian missionary sees that Ezeulu has failed in the eyes of his people, and that Ulu is discredited. He steps in and fills the gap with christianity.

Christianity is shown to be the religion of the coloniser, it becomes part of all that contributes towards the disintegration of traditional Nigerian civilisation.

Achebe, in 'Arrow of God' shows:

- the prejudices and chauvinism of the colonial authorities
- the use of unpaid labour, and the young men's rebellion against it
- the people's deep mistrust, resentment and fear of the British colonisers.

Achebe made it clear that, before any other theme was tackled in African literature, there was one which had to be explored: 'This theme is that African people did not hear of culture for the first time from Europeans; that their societies were not mindless but frequently had a philosophy of great depth and value, and beauty, that they had poetry and,

above all, they had dignity.'

A study of 'Arrow of God' would spark inquiry and thought not normally afforded by school networks. The questions of domination by a colonial power, of the conflict between the dominated and the dominating cultures, of resistance, would be discussed, examined and

even researched.

African literature opens up a whole new world of human experience to pupils who have been brought up on certain values and standards. These



take for granted that Western civilisation was the first and only true civilization and that world history began with the Greeks.

In the light of the new constitution and conscription, the Department of Internal Affairs probably realised that 'Arrow of God' as a prescribed work would not make their task in 1984 any easier. It might even fuel student struggle.

Their refusal to give adequate reasons for cancellation of 'Arrow of God' is evidence of their dilemma. They will not give their reasons, as that will further excite the already heightened curiosity of pupils.

Koornhof is brutal in Duncan demolition

RELATIVELY UNNOTICED by the national media, another of Koornhof's new deal strategies is being brutally implemented in East London.

The victim this time is Duncan Village. In early February, officials of the East Cape Administration Board (Ecab) moved in with a tractor, and began demolishing shacks in the Ndende Street area of the township.

A cable was slung around each shack, and then pulled over. The zinc sheets were then dragged to a central spot, where they were set alight. Residents say the Ecab officials did not make sure that residents had their belongings out of the shacks when they demolished them.

In some cases, residents returned from work to find their shacks and all that was in them destroyed. Although the numbered shacks of some legal residents were left standing, others were reported demolished.

According to a minister involved in relief work, a new settlement has sprung up in the bush in Duncan Village since the demolitions began. Many still remain in the rubble, having nowhere else to go.

It is estimated that the demolitions, which went on for a week, left 2 000 people homeless. 400 shacks are



A resident looks over Duncan Village shacks.

believed to have been demolished. Twenty thousand people are to be relocated in all.

There were reports of stone-throwing when the demolition squads moved into Ndende Street. The police were called in and the demolition work continued. Otherwise, people simply moved in with friends, or re-erected their shacks elsewhere.

The government has said that it

aims to clear Duncan Village completely. The existing houses would then be rebuilt for coloured or Indian people. Some relocations took place, but there was strong and united opposition from the people of Duncan Village.

Even the community council opposed the move. However, the government stuck to its plan, arguing that halting the removals would be

unfair to those who had already been moved. It also argued that there was a need to clear slum areas in the township, ignoring the fact that the deterioration of conditions there was due to its own refusal to spend money in the township.

In early 1982, local authorities like the East London City Council and the Kaffraria Divisional Council began to push for the retention of

Duncan Village. They expressed 'concern that East London would be the only city in South Africa without a black residential area', and set up a committee to look into the possibilities of upgrading Duncan Village or establishing a new township for non-Ciskeians.

In June 1983, Koornhof finally announced his new deal. After a meeting with the Duncan Village Community Council, Koornhof said the largest part of the township would be allowed to stay. The area, known as Ziphunzana, would be upgraded and a committee was set up to make plans for this.

However, the old part of Duncan Village, the Ndende Street area, would still be cleared. The people would be rehoused in Mdantsane as accommodation there became available, he promised. This would be done with the full co-operation of the community council and the Ciskei government.

Certain conditions were attached to the deal: the community council had to accept the boundaries that would be determined by the Group Area Board and no further expansion would be allowed, the residents would have to accept economic tariffs, and the community council would undertake to see to it that there was no unauthorised squatting.

Now, some seven months later, the plan is being put into operation. The 400 shacks of Ndende Street are merely the first to go.

In a statement, the community council responded to the demolitions by saying while it had sympathy for 'those unfortunate people who do not qualify, it cannot ignore its responsibility towards legal residents who pay service charges every month and who will have to pay more if illegal entry and the construction of illegal dwellings is permitted.'

In obedience to its deal with Koornhof, the council said it would 'do everything necessary not to have situations like the Ndende Street shack area developing again.'

Ciskei to sell bus company to end boycott

THE MDANTSANE bus boycott is still going strong as it moves into its eighth month.

The boycott originally began when the government-owned CTC bus company put up its fares. Lennox Sebe unleashed unprecedented violence on commuters in an attempt to force them to end the boycott, but this has only hardened the people's resolve.

The level of repression has been high. Eight of the 10 members of the Committee of Ten, originally set up to negotiate with the bus company on the question of the fare hikes, were detained. Venues were impossible to

get, even in East London, part of 'white' South Africa.

A meeting of commuters was held early in the new year to discuss the boycott, after the situation in Mdantsane had quietened down and after the detained members of the Committee of Ten had been released.

The meeting resolved to demand that a new bus company take over the service, a company that had nothing to do with the Ciskei government. 'The buses stink of blood,' some people said, 'we will never ride them again.'

The Committee of Ten is currently negotiating with various bodies to try

to find a solution to the problem. After this new demand was formulated, the Ciskei government accepted the recommendations in the Swart Commission's report on the economic development of the Ciskei.

One of the recommendations made is that the Ciskei People's Development Bank, the old Ciskei Development Corporation, sell off the bus company. This is recommended in line with the policy of the state withdrawing from the sphere of private business as much as possible.

This may be an opportune way for Sebe to solve the impasse which has developed, without losing too much

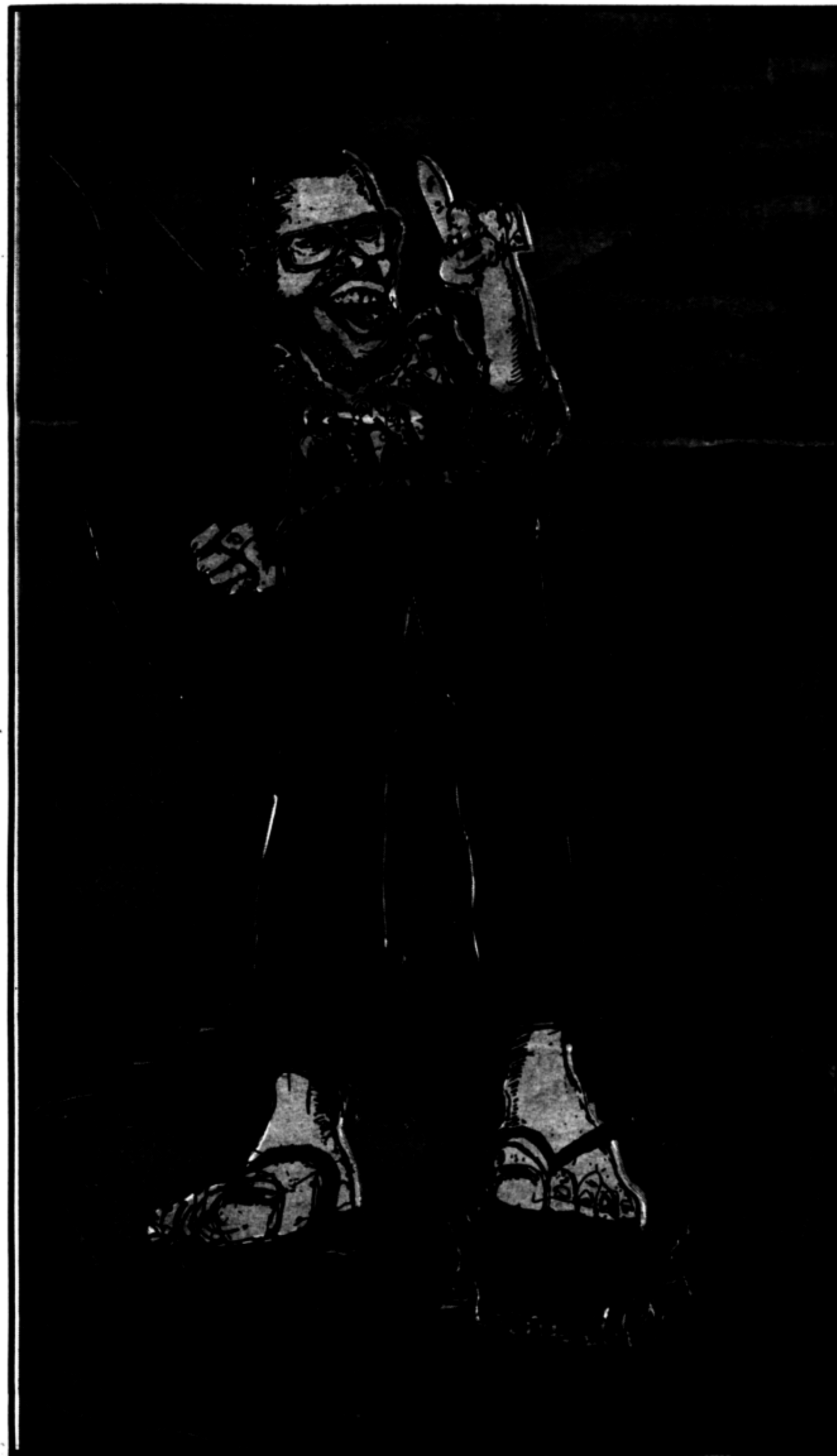
face. The company could be sold to a private company without seeming to be bowing to the boycotters' demands.

In another development, the homes of two of the members of the Committee of Ten were petrol-bombed, and pamphlets were left there threatening them with death if the bus boycott was not ended. The petrol bombs burst harmlessly and no damage was caused.

A few days later, an employee of the bus company was detained. He is said by township residents to have been the person who first told Lennox Sebe of the plot against him.

Inkatha battles with anyone who stands in its way

Things have hotted up for Inkatha. Its armed attacks on students and church leaders have made it a pariah in the eyes of the world



INKATHA has declared war on anyone who stands in its way.

The movement shifted onto an openly militant footing when it declared itself the 'sole custodian of the liberation struggle in South Africa.'

This came at a time when opposition mounted against Inkatha both in South Africa and internationally.

In the past Inkatha was content with projecting an image of non-violence while privately harassing its opponents. This is now changing as Inkatha increasingly condones the actions of its armed supporters in the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Now Buthelezi tends to ignore or deny allegations implicating Inkatha in various atrocities.

Where necessary however, an 'eye for an eye' philosophy is being adopted: oppose Inkatha or insult its president, and face the consequences.

At a meeting for Inkatha loyalists at the Jabulani amphitheatre in Soweto on December 4, 1983, Buthelezi spelt out his new frame of mind with disturbing clarity: 'If they pick up a gun to force us off our course, we will seriously consider picking up a gun...'

Hard evidence suggests that Inkatha's decision to embark on a strategy of intimidation is not new.

The youth brigades were formed to lend muscle to Inkatha — attempting to force people to take the organisation seriously.

Buthelezi is commander-in-chief of this para-military outfit. There are two camps for youths where training is given in all types of combat, including armed combat with sticks, clubs and spears.

Buthelezi also sees fit to have his own bodyguards who are heavily armed with rifles and sub-machine guns.

Opponents in KwaZulu allege they cannot voice their opposition to the movement for fear of being victimised by what have been termed 'these goon squads'.

These para-military squads have had a striking effect on KwaZulu politics:

- Buthelezi now controls a 'one party bantustan' which excludes any real opposition;
- chances of promotion in the KwaZulu civil service are heightened if a person is a card-carrying member of Inkatha;
- Inkatha-based syllabi are taught in and out of the schools. Great emphasis is placed on 'Zulu history' and ethnicity is encouraged;
- most students who receive bursaries at the University of Zululand are Inkatha members, and
- housing benefits are given mainly to card-carrying members.

P W Botha has called Inkatha a 'type of Zulu Broederbond'. Recently a member of parliament likened Inkatha to the Mafia.

The first breach of Inkatha's declared policy of non-violence came in May 1980, when riot police broke up a clash in KwaMashu between 500 boycotting school children and 200 Inkatha supporters armed with knobkierries, spears and knives.

Since then the broadening scope of Inkatha-inspired violence has earned the movement international condemnation.

A high-powered Inkatha delegation recently returned from a 10-day European tour. However, the organisation's reputation preceded it, and the result was a cold reception.

While in the Netherlands, the delegation invited a number of church and church-related organisations to South Africa for talks.

This attempt to win support for the movement backfired when most groups refused to meet the delegation.

One of the groups, a Dutch christian agency called Kairos (Christians Against Apartheid) refused to participate in the meeting on the following grounds:

● During a demonstration by the people of Lamontville against incorporation into the KwaZulu homeland, Inkatha's brigades fired into the crowd, killing two people and wounding one.

● In October 1983 students at Ngoye University protested against Buthelezi speaking on their campus. The next day armed members of Inkatha raided the students' residences. Five students were killed and 113 injured.

● The November 1983 Conference of the Alliance of Black Reformed Christian Churches of South Africa (Abreca) — a group of critically-minded people was called off because delegates felt intimidated by Inkatha. Among the participants of the conference were representatives of Dutch churches.

The Inkatha delegation was refused visas to enter Belgium, although they were allowed to meet with the Lutheran groups in Switzerland.

The World Council of Churches in Geneva also refused to meet Inkatha.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Holland Committee on Southern Africa also shunned the delegation.

In a bizarre twist to the international tour, Buthelezi instituted proceedings against Mr Sietse Bosgra — an internationally known anti-apartheid activist — on the grounds of 'defamation'.

In a letter to the Dutch newspaper 'De Volksrant' on February 1, this year, Mr Bosgra referred to Inkatha killing three people in Lamontville and terrorising a meeting of the organisation Abreca.

Inkatha met overwhelming opposition overseas as a result of its actions in South Africa and its pretensions about being a 'liberation movement'.

International observers saw through this facade.

Inkatha, it seems, has revealed its true colours at last. And those are not the green, black and gold it puts on its flag.