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on Cape
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**You can't
silence truth!
COSAS
speaks out**
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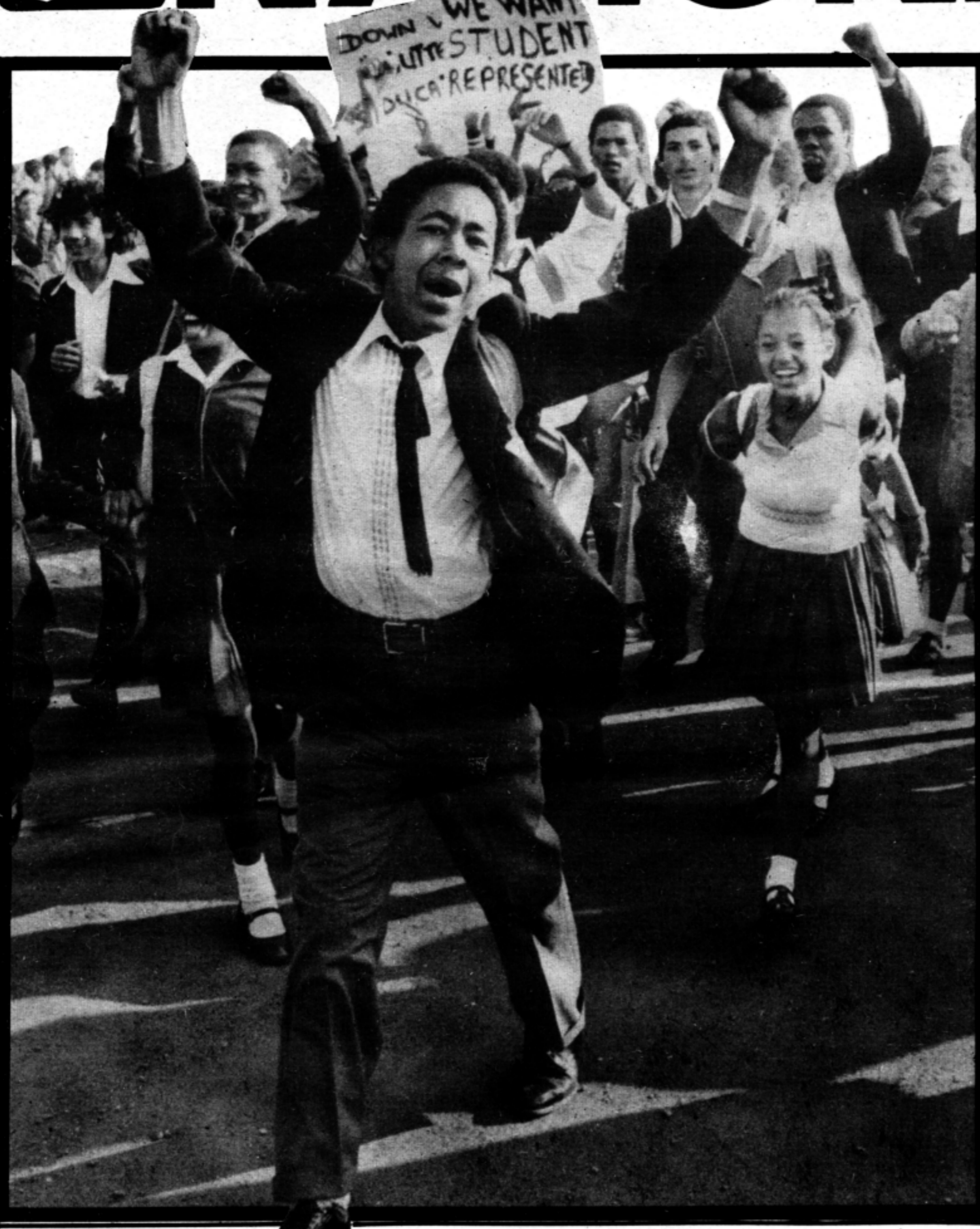


**Crossroads
today:
Problems
aplenty**
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NATIONAL



Massive demand to free Mandela

THE call for the release of former African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has received overwhelming national and international support.

The 16-year-old campaign to release all imprisoned leaders has in its newest phase collected over 50 000 signatures. Implicit in the call for Mr Mandela's release are the demands for the return of exile groups and the unbanning of organisations and individuals.

These sentiments have been expressed by various pamphlets and speeches across the country which have pointed out that 'no democratic solution for South Africa's future can be spoken about until Mandela and his colleagues are free'.

In response to this campaign, the government has accused Mandela of being a 'terrorist', and have rejected the democratic principles embodied in the Freedom Charter.

The number of people who have so far signed the Free Mandela petition organised by the *Sunday Post* has broken the



Daughter Zinzi Mandela

50 000 mark. Despite intimidation, pamphlets discouraging people to sign the petition and the general fear of people to put their names to the call for the release of a leader of a banned organisation, thousands of South Africans have rallied to the call.

Besides the petition itself, many groups have now taken up the campaign as a long term programme to run together with their other activities.

At a recent rent meeting organised by the Natal Indian Congress in Durban, over 1 000 people called for Mandela's release.

The campaign has been conducted on a number of levels. There have been a series of mass gatherings throughout the coun-

Demo's push back state

Victory for boycotts

THE nation-wide boycott in schools, colleges and universities by over 150 000 students protesting racist education has been a decisive victory against apartheid.

The boycott started in so-called 'coloured' schools in Cape Town four weeks ago, spread rapidly throughout the country to African, Indian and white schools, with universities and colleges also responding to the call.

The students have repeatedly

charged that education perpetuates the oppressive apartheid system. Unequal and separate education, they say, is the first obstacle in the struggle against oppression. The boycott of schools must not be viewed as a decisive form of struggle, they say.

Prime Minister P W Botha's recent announcement that he would personally investigate the grievances of the 'coloured' schoolchildren boycotting their 'inferior' education is seen by

many as an attempt on the part of the State to get the students back into a 'controlled classroom situation' and to defuse the crisis in the State's own interest.

The Prime Minister announced that he was personally looking into the question of the students' education and that he was considering empowering a commission of inquiry into education to 'investigate the possibility of a single education department.'

The Prime Minister said, however, that he thought it would be 'detrimental to the "coloured" people' to have one department of education because 'then they will not receive the same specialised attention they are receiving at present.'

The students have reacted by saying that they do not want the same education as white pupils and pointed to statements by the now-detained former Soweto teacher, Mr Curtis Nkondo,

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Will Jimmy's Visit be a sellout?

WHEN a man hailed as the King of Reggae is scheduled to make an appearance in the football stadium around the corner, not only your self-styled Dread is going to sit up and budget a cut in his month's dope supply to buy tickets.

Jimmy Cliff, the man they call King, will be flying into South Africa on May 14 for a tightly organised tour of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town on three consecutive nights. A case of dub inna Azania? There are a few niggling contradictions.

I called Rasheed Vally at Kohinoor to ask him how Cliff's latest LP 'I Am The Living' was leaving the racks. Kohinoor is the biggest supplier of jazz and black music in Johannesburg and has a solid township clientele.

He had interesting news: 'To be quite honest, we've had a huge stock of Cliff's new album for a whole week now and so far only two copies have been bought.'

I asked why. 'Well,' he said, 'there's been talk of a sell-out. One customer asked why Cliff, with his songs of black liberation should come to South Africa. He wanted to know if he was just coming here to make money out of us, like Millie Jackson.'

Why, indeed, should an exponent of reggae grace the land of the racially oppressed, even if only to appear for genuine fans starved of big league performers. The answer may lie in Cliff's approach to his music.

There's no question of his talent. Ever since he cut his first successful hit 'Hurricane Hattie'

at 15 in Kingston, Jamaica, Cliff has played to enthusiastic audiences in Europe, the United States, South America and Jamaica. His command of the various musical idioms emanating from in and around Jamaica has kept him on top.

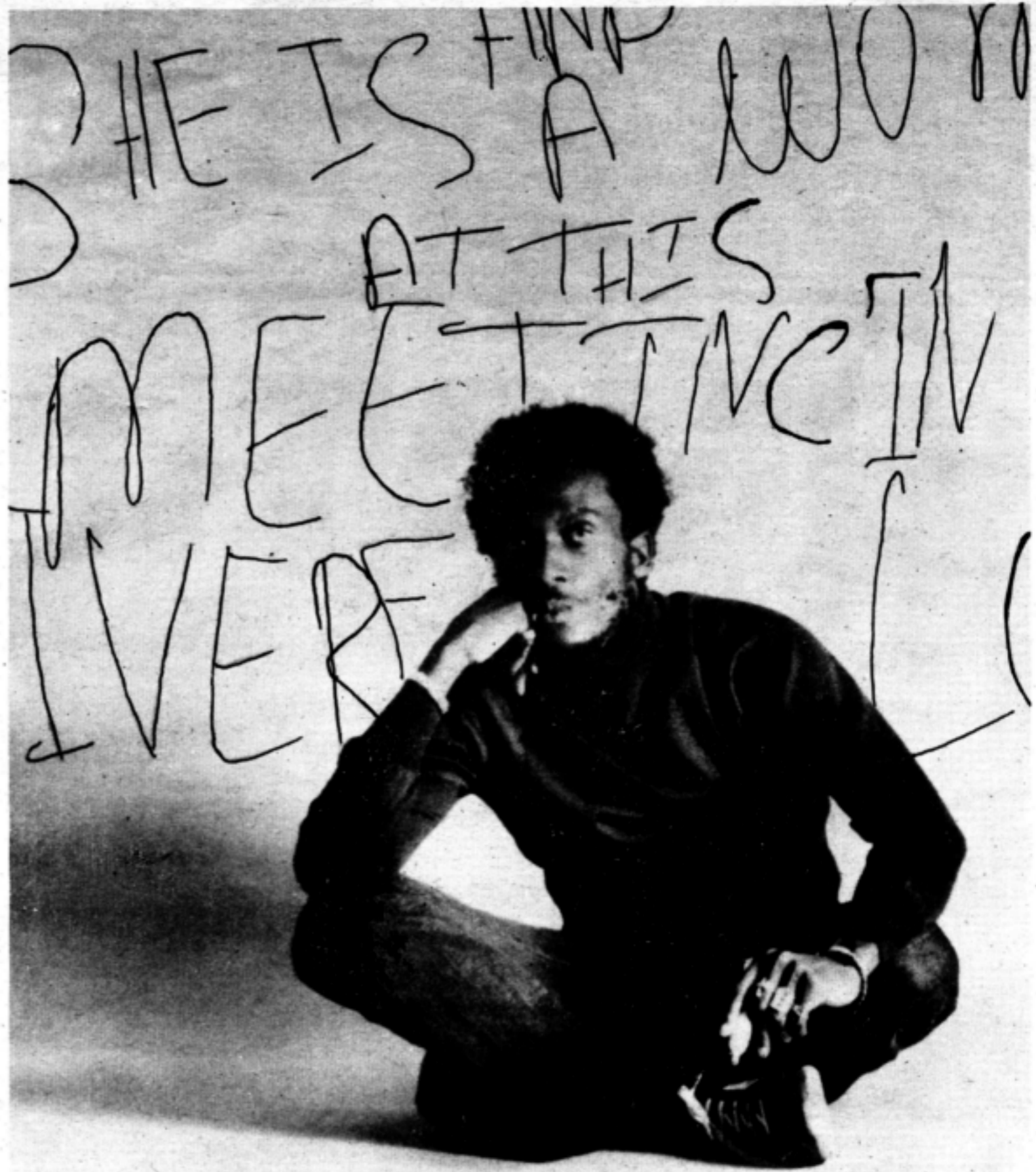
He made hits with ska when it was fashionable in the mid-sixties, served a club apprenticeship with an R&B group in Europe and then drifted into a reggae format. Then the film 'The Harder They Come' was premiered in 1972. The name Jimmy Cliff became synonymous with reggae.

But Cliff has never been a mainline reggae artiste. Even his cover version of Bob Marley's 'No Woman No Cry' had more of a pop feel than the original with its rolling reggae rhythms. Cliff is no more nor less than a competent professional who has used reggae as a vehicle in a more commercialised form.

This analysis is borne out in a close inspection of his new album. 'I Am The Living' is definitely his most inferior offering to date. Which may be another reason why Kohinoor may be having trouble keeping dust off the Jimmy Cliff rack.

The tracks are mostly up-tempo, with a hint of disco bump-and-grind. It even has a slightly funky sound and lyrics like 'We're Gonna Make It To The Top' would certainly endear him more to this class of musical appreciation.

The slightest of reggae beats helps shunt the music along in an almost pedestrian manner and the social content sounds pat



A soulful Jimmy... hero or sellout?

when words like 'oppression' come wrapped up in such an innocent package.

Basically Cliff makes pop-reggae, hoping for the widest commercial success. His versatile background and experience would no doubt make him an all-round entertainer which, I

suggest, will bring him out here.

It is worth noting, though, that Cliff has a new album out called, 'Give Thans' which has been heralded as a return to reggae roots, but it has yet to reach these shores.

A final contradiction is that Cliff converted last year to

a Moslem. It would be interesting to know how he reconciles the strong Rastafarian connections to reggae with his new religion.

But, he will be here in less than two weeks and his concerts are likely to be sell-outs, criticism notwithstanding.

Karoo Meat

THE KAROO strike began on Monday, March 24, when management allegedly dismissed an unregistered worker without consulting the workers' committee first. Of the 80 workers at Karoo Meat, 59 came out on strike — the 20 so-called coloured workers did not support their fellow African workers.

On Friday after the strike began, the workers agreed to return to work if all of them were unconditionally reinstated in their former positions. Before this over 100 representations from 11 other meat firms had gathered at the offices of the union representing the workers, the Western Province General Workers Union, to express their solidarity with the Karoo workers.

On March 30 all Karoo workers, WPGWU officials and the press gathered at the factory. The workers were called into management's office and emerged two hours later having won an outright victory.

They had rejected management's request that each fill out an application form and insisted on unconditional reinstatement. This was agreed to by management who also agreed to pay the workers a week's wages and to consult the workers' committee on all issues affecting the workers in the future.

Truck Drivers

SUNRIPE FRUITS (Wadeville): 28 senior truck drivers claimed that victimisation related to attempts to form a works committee led to their 'retrenchment'. The company denied this, and also that the drivers had been replaced, but said that a



seasonal drop in work' meant the sale of some trucks (RDM 80.02.02).

Michael Mohatia, general secretary of the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, to which the drivers belong, said that the workers had asked management to allow them to form a works committee to take up grievances. Management said that they would nominate all members, a situation rejected by the workers.

Uncivil Engineer

CMGM (Civil engineering contractor, Saldanha Bay): Following the dismissal of eight workers at the site at Saldanha Bay at the beginning of February, first 200 and ultimately 500 workers demanding their reinstatement were bused to Cape Town to be sent back to the Transkei.

Management agreed to reinstate seven of the workers, but this was rejected by their fellow workers who demanded that all be taken back.

The first worker fired was said to have threatened a foreman, an accusation denied by

the workers. The other seven were the first to demand his reinstatement.

The Western Province General Workers' Union (WPGWU) took up the workers' case in Cape Town where they spent the first night. They were then taken to CMGM's Epping site on Wednesday (6 February 1980) where management allowed the election of a workers' committee, one of the workers' early demands. The dismissed worker was one of those elected.

Non-resolution of the issue led to 280 being returned to the Transkei. The WPGWU released a statement saying that management's attitude in 'escorting the workers to the station "with riot police and dogs" could "only be seen as an attempt to intimidate the workers in the most high-handed manner" (Rand Daily Mail, 7 February 1980).

No milk today

TRANSVAAL DAIRIES (Malvern East, Johannesburg): A three-hour strike took place on 80.01.09, involving 270 milk delivery men employed by this firm. It appears that the issues

SA's workers: a record of labour disputes

had been long-standing dissatisfaction with the works' committee (failure to convey workers' grievances), and a request for a pay increase.

Management said that the pay issue would be discussed with the new works committee, to be 'elected' from 14 people nominated by workers (Star, 80.01.09).

200 sink zinc

AGGENEIS MINE (north-west Cape): The mine, owned by Black Mountain Mineral Development Company, a subsidiary of Gold Fields of South Africa, a subsidiary of Consolidated Gold, of which Anglo American has just managed to get a 25 per cent share, is involved in exploiting silver, zinc and copper deposits. Two hundred workers were sacked at the mine in January after demanding across the board wage increases.

The only report we have (RDM, 80.01.08) states that management were to have said that the nine hundred workers were given the ultimatum of either going back to work and

making representations through the 'proper channels', or they 'could pack their bags and leave'.

Two hundred left (flown back to the Transkei bantustan), and were allegedly guilty of desertion, and had, therefore, not been given severance pay. Replacements were taken on.

Sour grapes

FRUIT Growers' cooperative (Ceres): 750 workers went on strike after a colleague, Klaas Markus had been asked to retire from the employ of the FGC, and his wages discontinued (Rand Daily Mail, 19 February 1980). The workers saw the threatened dismissal as revenge because he was a delegate at wage negotiations recently held with the company's management.

They refused to return to work unless they were given reassurances that Markus would remain employed. By 21 February 1980 (Rand Daily Mail), additional workers (labour recruits) had been hired to replace the striking workers. By 26 February 1980 (Rand Daily Mail), one of the striking workers had been told he would be evicted from his company-owned house unless he returned to work. After two weeks 700 workers had decided to return (Rand Daily Mail, 29 February 1980).

A representative of the Food and Canning Workers' Union said that assurances had been given that Klaas Markus would be reinstated.

SASPU would like to thank the Development Studies Group for the above information.

Free Mandela: widespread calls continue

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try at which people have called for the release of the former executive member of the African National Congress, as well as other political prisoners such as Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Dennis Goldberg.

These gatherings have included:

● The 'Heroes Day' meeting at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto at which 5 000 people chanted 'Free Mandela - we want freedom.'

● A mass meeting of 4 000 people at the University of Natal, Durban, addressed by George Sewpersahd, Natal Indian Congress President, and Zinzi Mandela

● A mass meeting at Wits University where Zinzi Mandela, Percy Qoboza, Nthato Motlana and Sheena Duncan addressed 3 000 people.

● A meeting organised by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in Port Elizabeth at which 3 000 people called for

Lions tour sparks bid to boycott British sport

A SERIOUS attempt to exclude Britons from all international sporting events is now certain to follow the arrival of a British Lions rugby team in South Africa.

The powerful Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, which organised the boycott of the Montreal Olympics, said it would try to get Britain excluded from this year's Moscow games, although there is little chance of that happening. Even so, British athletes are likely to be cold-shouldered by African participants.

The 1982 Brisbane Commonwealth Games, where the Africans have far more muscle, are, however, looking decidedly shaky. It is now virtually certain that African countries will cut all sporting ties with Britain, at individual, club and national level.

Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, has hailed the tour as 'the best news in South African sport for a decade.' He claimed that it had 'taken sport out of the level of politics to a high level again.'

Sam Ramsamy, special adviser to the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, said: 'There is likely to be tremendous pressure from Africa and the third world to kick Britain out of the Olympics. Even if they do not succeed, British sportsmen will be ostracised; they will become pariahs of the world.'

It is now virtually impossible for the Africans to succeed in any attempt to expel Britain from the Olympics because it would have to be proved that Britain had contravened the Olympic Charter and the rugby union is clearly outside the Olympic committee's control.

But the Africans will have much greater success with the 1982 Commonwealth Games. Sir Denis Follows, chairperson of the British National Olympic Committee, said: 'I don't think that the Commonwealth Games will go ahead unless it is on a very restricted basis. There would definitely be enough votes against Britain for her to be expelled.'

Australia and New Zealand have already realised how real the African threat to the Commonwealth Games could be. Australia has just banned a South African yachting team and bowls team - fulfilling the terms of the 1976 Gleneagles Agreement by Commonwealth governments to cut all sporting links with South Africa.

Mandela's release.

A number of prominent political figures in South Africa have added their support to the campaign. They are:

● Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

● Mr Curtis Nkondo, former Soweto teacher and Teachers' Action Committee president.

● Alex Boraine, PFP member of Parliament for Pinelands.

The 'Free Mandela' campaign has recently gained international support. This has come from:

● Over 5 000 signatures collected by the ANC and Basotholand Congress Party in Lesotho.

● The British Labour Party.

● Mr Sam Nujoma, Swapo President.

● Kenya's Defence Minister, Robert Ouke and Tanzania's President, Julius Nyerere.

● Nineteen US congressmen.

The South African Government has reacted to the campaign with an emphatic refusal to even discuss the release of political prisoners. Adopting an uncompromising attitude to-

wards the campaign, Mr L le Grange, Minister of Police, said the aims of the African National Congress and Mr Mandela did not fall within the framework of the Government's total national strategy, which rejected power-sharing.

'He will serve out his sentence', Mr Le Grange said.

At one of the several mass meetings addressed by Mr Nkondo before his recent detention, the former Soweto teacher and president of the Soweto Teachers' Action Com-

mittee said: 'I salute and say "Mandela Must be free" And he must be freed as soon as possible. We want Mandela. We are demanding his release. We are not requesting anybody to release Mandela - we want him here and now.'

'What is important about that demand is that it identifies leadership in South Africa and it dismisses all the spineless ones that run the streets.'

'It therefore dismisses all the homeland leaders. It dismisses those in the community councils who have one and a half votes to run those community councils.'

'Why I have chosen to honour and be prepared to participate in the struggle for liberation is that this struggle leads finally to a position where the land belongs to all of us, where the land will be equally divided among the people who live in this country,' Mr Nkondo said.

In calling for the release of Mandee and all political prisoners, Mr Nkondo said there were those who believed the struggle was a 'civil rights' one.

'They believe the struggle is a moral one, and that once apartheid is removed, all of us, and blacks in particular, will have attained our freedom and that we will walk day and night without reference books and that if they have the money (which of course they will never have) they will be able to buy property in Berea, Lower Houghton and Parktown.'

Mr Nkondo said he rejected that road. He said it was 'too beautiful and unrealistic.'

'Children died trying to persuade or force the government to scrap Bantu Education - and what they should have done, if this thing had happened now, was to have persuaded the children to ask their elders for an education that LIBERATES.'

'At the moment we do not have that kind of education.'

Mr Nkondo said that in the 80s 'we shall concentrate all our efforts on liberation, and we shall, in talking about liberation, prepare ourselves for a new state - a non-racial state.'



Reading the OTHER press ... the five charged student editors seen here with one copy of 'Die Huisgenoot' and one copy of 'The Capetonian' are, from left: Bish Russell, Andrew Thompson, Richard Goode, Andy Boraine, André Kraak

Spate of press charges against Cape students

THE GOVERNMENT continues to view white students as a major threat.

This is clear from the recent spate of charges brought against 18 University of Cape Town students under the Publications and Internal Security Acts.

Five students have been charged with producing undesirable publications. They are:

* Andrew Boraine, Nusas President, in connection with SRC News No 3, July 1979

* Andrew Thompson, 1978/9 UCT SRC President, in connection with an edition of Bona Fide;

* Christopher Russell, in connection with National Student No 2, 1979; and

* Richard Goode and Andre Kraak, Nusas Research Officers, in connection with the SSD dossier on repression.

The other thirteen are being charged for 'furthering the aims

of communism' by distributing pamphlets in support of the Free Mandela Campaign.

The pamphlets contained the full text of the Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955.

The Internal Security Act, formerly the Suppression of Communism Act, carries a minimum penalty of five years.

The relevant clause of the Publications Act makes it an offence to produce a publication subsequently declared undesirable. The implication is that an editor is expected to know that the material he or she is producing will be considered objectionable by a committee of the Publication Control Board.

Tony Weaver, SRC President, has called the implications of the trials 'staggering'. No longer was the State satisfied with banning individual publications.

'It now seems intent on

removing certain individuals from activity in the student press. Even a suspended sentence will make continued involvement in the press impossible. In addition, it hopes to create a 'prosecution psychosis' which will inhibit students' expression of their opinions.'

These trials are the first after Sean Moroney former 'Wits Student' editor was acquitted on a similar charge by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein in May 1978. His case highlighted a loophole in the legislation which was subsequently closed. According to the Act then, a proclamation in the Government Gazette was 'sufficient' proof that the publication was undesirable.

In Acquitting Moroney, Supreme Court Judge Van Winsen held that 'sufficient' was not the same as 'conclusive' proof.

Sufficient proof meant that,

in the absence of countervailing evidence, the committee decision may be accepted by the court as establishing the undesirability of a publication.

Conclusive proof, on the other hand, was proof that the court was obliged to accept, to the exclusion of countervailing evidence.

In April 1979, the wording was changed to 'conclusive proof' to close this loophole.

Commenting on the prosecutions, UCT SRC Media officer Franz Krüger said: 'It is time that the State realised that when there is an opinion to be expressed, when a reality prevails which inevitably gives rise to a common denominator of opinions and beliefs, the student who expresses it is only one of its many voices.'

Goodbye demo as doctors boycott graduation

SEVENTY-EIGHT newly qualified black doctors boycotted their graduation ceremony at Howard College, University of Natal at the end of last month. The remaining 21 doctors of the 1979 final year class attended and were formally capped.

The doctors issued a detailed explanation of their action. They said the boycott should be seen as a rejection of a ceremony which served to set them apart from the people it was their responsibility to work with. It also represented a rejection of racially discriminatory education.

'For several years,' says the statement, 'the black community has rejected racial discrimination in education and has protested against the introduction of 'Bantu Education', 'Coloured Education' and 'Indian Education'. However, in order to acquire the skills they need to serve their community they, as young black men and women, have attended racially segregated institutions under open protest, always making known their opposition to these institutions.'

'While the graduation ceremony serves to highlight person-

al achievement, the doctors make the point that many blacks, not because of inferior intellectual ability — but as a consequence of a racially determined, inferior education, are prevented from attending a university. It is circumstances which, in a few instances, permit certain blacks to attend a university and so obtain a university education and degree.

'The graduation ceremony, however, ignores this situation and instead praises and honours the graduates for their academic achievement, thereby celebrating

and reinforcing the myth of the graduates' 'Superior intellectual ability'.

'In addition, the doctors note that the pomp and ceremony of the graduation, with its associated paraphernalia and Latin, and the venue, appear designed to emphasize the differences which supposedly exist between the black graduate and his community.

'Is our community invited and able to attend? How many people in our community even know that such an event is going to take place?'

The boycotting doctors' statement declares: 'We, the young, committed doctors, hopes of our people, infused by selfless consideration, strongly believe that by boycotting the graduation ceremony we

* continue the protest against racial education,

* reinforce our relentless struggle against all attempts to separate us as an elitist group standing apart from our people,

* strengthen our commitment to selflessly employ the skills we have acquired in the service of our community.'

Charge us, ban us, jail us, you can't silence truth!

DETENTION will not deter South Africans from struggling for their liberation, as the liberation of the people depends not on the individual but on the whole nation.

This was said by the Secretary General of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Modisa Metsing, after the recent detention of three Cosas leaders, Wantu Zenile, Titi Mtenjane and Ishmael Mocketu.

Zenile — a member of the Cosas national executive — and Mtenjane — an ex-SSRC member — were arrested on April 30 in a police raid on Mtenjane's Soweto house. Mocketu was detained two days later, but is believed to have been released.

Mr Metsing said that the State thought it could crush Cosas through detention but had failed. The system, he said, needed to be changed and education was just one aspect of that system.

'As long as black people are oppressed white people will feel the pinch. To keep black people down they are going to have to sit on them, because there is no force that can suppress the will of the people to be free,' he said.

While education has been viewed as the immediate obstacle facing students, Cosas also sought to raise the people's awareness through focussing attention on wider issues. In addition to criticising the use of 'soldier' teachers in black schools and the erection of barbed-wire fences around schools as a method of controlling students, Cosas has also taken a stand on rent increases, bus fare increases and other community related issues, Mr Metsing said.

Cosas feels that education has

A spate of detentions

IN OCTOBER last year a spate of detentions aimed at the Congress of South African Students began.

In a nation-wide swoop the entire national executive of Cosas was detained. In all, 14 students were held under Section six of the Terrorism Act for five months.

Cosas president Ephraim Mogale was arrested on November 1, 1979. Within three weeks a further ten Cosas leaders were detained.

- They were:
- Mr Modisa Metsing, Cosas National General Secretary
 - Mr Vusi Gqoba, Cosas National Organiser
 - Mr Oupa Masuka, National treasurer and Pretoria branch executive member
 - Mr Mpho Masetlha, national executive member
 - Mr Naomi Mogase, national executive member
 - Mr Wantu Zenile, Port Elizabeth branch chairperson
 - Mr Monde Nditshwa, Port Elizabeth branch executive member
 - Ms Baby Tyawa, Soweto branch member and ex-SSRC member
 - Mr Tsietse Malewa, Soweto branch member and ex-SSRC member
 - Mr Kanekane Matsena, Grassroots cultural group executive member

In December 16 four more people were detained but one of the detainees, Mr Nong, was released.

The other detainees were Mr Jabulane Ngwenya, ex-chairperson of the Christian Institute Youth League; Mr Thame Gqwetha, an ex-SSRC and ex-SASM member and Mr Titi Mtenjane, also formerly of the SSRC.

These people were held in detention until their release in April this year.

to take into account the aspirations of all the people of South Africa — black and white, he said.

'We don't want "white" education,' said Mr Metsing. 'We don't want to be "white" black men. We want education that will bring us together. There is

nothing that can separate us — not colour or race. We are one thing.'

'Cosas was established with a non-racial policy — we are not racists. It is racism that we fight and therefore we ourselves cannot be racists,' said Mr Metsing.

Cosas, formed in May 1979,

Modisa Metsing secretary general of Cosas . . . we don't want 'white education'

sees its aim as challenging racist structures while striving for a 'dynamic non-racial education'. It is attempting to improve relations between students and the community and to change the attitudes of teachers towards students, he said.

'We realised that our problem was that racism was dividing the people and ruling them. It is only through our working together that we can achieve true liberation.'

'The students are no longer prepared to be ruled like their parents. Since 1976 the situation has changed — we now have soldiers and white principles who are trained to maintain so-called law and order. We ourselves are considering what is happening to the black states in the north. We don't consider ourselves to be exceptions to the winds of change.'

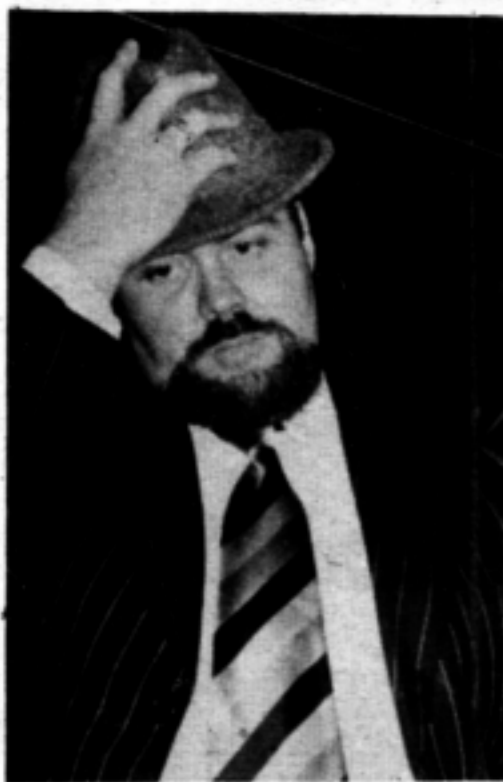
Wits nuclear physics man held under Terror Act

AN EMPLOYEE in the Nuclear Physics Department at Wits University, Mr Themba Shongwe, has been detained under the Terrorism Act. Reports are that he was detained for possessing African National Congress (ANC) pamphlets. Mr Shongwe was apparently on his way to his 2353(b) Zola South home after work when he was arrested.

His brother, Mr Caesar Shongwe, says it is believed Mr Shongwe is to be charged under Section 22

Mr Caesar Shongwe is a third year electrical engineering student at Wits. He said he has

Williamson a witness at Christie 'atom' trial



Police spy Williamson

RENFREW CHRISTIE, Nusas's former Vice-President, pleaded not guilty to seven charges under the Terrorism Act when he made his second court appearance last month.

Dr Christie is accused of obtaining information about South Africa's energy supplies — including nuclear energy — with the intention of passing it on to organisations and people overseas.

According to the eight page indictment, he wanted to supply the information to the International University Exchange Fund, its director Lars Gunner Erikson, the African National Congress (ANC), Frene Ginwala and former Christian Institute worker, Horst Klein-

schmidt.

Dr Christie is also facing several alternative charges, among them one under Internal Security Act and one of theft.

He first appeared in court in Pretoria in March this year. His case has been set down for hearing in the Transvaal Supreme Court in Pretoria for May 19. The trial is expected to

last at least two weeks.

Names of twelve witnesses have been released. Among them are former NUSAS national office bearers and Wits SRC member who subsequently confessed to being a police spy — Captain Craig Williamson.

Several other security policemen who will give

evidence are also well-known to students: Lieutenant Visser and Detective Constable Vermeulen from Cape Town and Major Cronwright from Johannesburg.

Names of other witnesses are being withheld under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act which says that if the Attorney General thinks that Witnesses may be interfered with or intimidated, he can withhold the release of their names.

Dr Christie was arrested in October last year. At the time of his detention, he was attached to the South African Labour and Development Research Unit at UCT. Until his court appearance in March, he was kept in solitary confinement but since has been classified as an awaiting trial prisoner and, as such he has certain rights — such as access to lawyers and to receive letters.

Dr Christie was active in student politics in the 1960's and early 1970's.



Brother Caesar Shongwe

twice been called in for questioning at Protea police station in connection with his brother's arrest.

The investigating officer, Lieutenant Trollip, said after Mr Shongwe's first visit he thought his statement was 'inadequate'.

He was picked up at 1 am on April 24 for his second visit to Protea. Police described this as a misunderstanding on their part.

The family has instructed Mrs Priscilla Jana to handle the case.

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6 You can't trust these people. I'd shoot first before I get stabbed in the back 9



Singing and dancing as Rhodesia bites the dust

SALISBURY in mid-April staged an elaborate media event: centres of activity for the hordes of foreign pressmen and dignitaries were two plush hotels, the Monomatapa and the Meikles, where you could be depressed at any time of day or night by the sight of a Nigerian in flowing dashiki impatiently snapping his fingers for another drink; or a press briefing where every step of Prince Charles' schedule was desperately recorded by sixty anxious journalists; or you could bump into equally desperate South African semi-political reggae freaks who'd come for Bob Marley but couldn't find out where he was palying.

There were rumours that Bob 'really was a people's man', that he had been hanging out in various bars on the black side of Salisbury — jamming for the people and even talking to them and shaking their hands.

A disco/club called Job's assured us at ten o'clock one night that Bob would be coming their way at half past one. A weary four hours of rootless disco churned out by some guys in white satin suits and suspicions rose that perhaps the management had hired people to spread the rumour, especially when two thirty came and the audience were finally told that 'Bob Marley is drunk'.

Many of the people were wearing independence garb: cardboard hats and beautifully coloured cloths and T-shirts stamped with the images of the moment: the austere face of the Comrade-President, Jongwe the victorious symbol cock, and the vivid colours of the new flag. Certainly there was joy — even if it was of a disco variety, but perhaps for these people, independence represented above all relief that the war is over.

The streets of Salisbury are paved with opportunism: bloated images of Mugabe and Prince Charles side by side in the windows of Greaterman's, Truworths, Barclays Bank.

Peace and the party's rhetoric of reconciliation were taken very seriously by all but those whose war psychosis was beyond repair. And since it's estimated that one in four families lost people during the war, one cannot under-rate the damage there was of that kind.

A young white woman flaunting a gun on her hip while she drank beer in a hotel, explained: 'You can't trust these people. I'll shoot first before I get stabbed in the back.'

The white manager, with



Reggae's Bob Marley

tears in his eyes, called the police: 'How can people be like that? We want peace. To carry a gun now is an act of terrible provocation.'

A senior police officer who'd been in the CID for 24 years, 'heading south' since, as he said, he'd put 70 percent of the new government behind bars at one stage or another. 'It's true what Mao said — that the people are the water and the guerillas are the fish, I was telling that to Smith and the boys for years. But even protected villages didn't work. We should never have let them win.'

DISTURBED

On the surface at least, there was little to disturb the peace of the manicured white suburbs, not a flag to be seen except a couple of desultory tokens around the shopping centres; not a revolutionary song to be heard, except at night the faint sounds of gatherings of domestic workers.

Several whites confessed that they hadn't had a party to celebrate independence — they'd had a wake to bury Rhodesia instead.

In the countryside, a huge contrast to the mess of contradictions in the capital is soon obvious. In Pindura, north west of Salisbury, an area that was solidly pro-Mugabe all through the war, an area where people suffered much and sacrificed much the celebrations resounded with a depth of intensity that the townships could not have reached.

Protected villages were designed to starve the guerillas in areas where their support was strong. One comes upon them very suddenly, driving through prosperous white farmland, then through undeveloped bush. In the midst of all the usual scars of rural poverty; one suddenly sees lights like those of a football stadium, towering over a large



Mugabe Supporter . . . independence day vibes

tented village of thatched huts. Surreal.

The people refer to these villages as concentration camps. There has never for one moment been the illusion that they were protecting anything except white privilege. Reports arrived unannounced at one village, in mid-afternoon, on independence day, to find the people engaged in an intense meeting, led by one of the guerillas who had fought in the area and was now working full-time for the party.

There are many fighters, both men and women, who are now involved in such activities. Zanu has rented large houses in every town — usually in white suburbs, since that's where the large houses are — and the party workers live there communally. They are given a small allowance, 'for cigarettes really, though if you don't smoke you can spend it on beer or clothes'.

More and more people poured into the village as the afternoon wore on: lorry-loads, tractor loads, but mostly groups of people on foot, from farms and other villages in the area. Faint singing could be heard in the distance, and as each group arrived, there would be cheers and shouts of Pamberi ne Comrade-President, Viva Comrade Machel, Viva Zanu. People flapped their arms like wings and crowed jongwe rooster style.

The meeting was serious, people discussed various aspects of party policy, and the particular, immediately problems of the area. Some of the people were staying on in the village. Others would be returning to the settlements they had been removed from as soon as the grass for thatching was dry and ready.

Celebrations came later: beasts were slaughtered and drinks brewed in huge drums. There was singing and dancing

and beer-drinking, late into the night.

An ancient man played a thumbpiano and sang songs about Mugabe. Security was tight: the youth of the party had organised themselves into guards and the whole area was ringed by a 'human fence' of young men and women. People who strayed outside the 'fence' or tried to join the gathering without being searched for weapons by the youth at the gate, were reprimanded gently but firmly. The youth controlled distribution of the food too, made sure that everyone understood there was a queue. A group of party officials stood up on a platform, distributing bangles, combs and ballpoint pens to the crowd around them. All these had been confiscated as people arrived at the gathering and were now being returned to their owners. Reporters were told: 'During the war these things were often poisoned and used as weapons. Many people died'.

Most impressive was the sense of the totally integrated relationship between the fighters and the people. The guerillas had as much respect for the villagers and what they had suffered in the struggle for independence as the people had for them.

This relationship was well-established, and as old as the war itself, and founded on a mutual equality which is difficult to conceive of for South Africans, who live within a series of assumptions about power, authority and hierarchies.

In the towns it's different: people tend to hero-worship the fighters, or even claim transparently to have come from the bush. One guerilla confided that he found it difficult to form ordinary relationships with people after all those years of isolation in the war, where victory was the only thing that ultimately mattered:

'I've asked the party to send me back to the rural areas, I'd much rather be with those people. A woman I know here in Salisbury, who works in a bank — she told me that she's afraid of us — those of us who have fought.'

It may be easy to underestimate the problems yet to be faced by the new Zimbabwe, but it's just as easy to underestimate the level of support, and organisation that exists for Zanu across large areas of country.

One Struggle!

THE massive school boycotts over the last month have been characterised by a high degree of organisation and a decisiveness in their demands.

Whereas in 1976/77 students looked on mass action as a decisive form of struggle, today's leaders have realised that boycott is a limited tactic. No action should be seen in isolation - organised activity should always facilitate the growth and strength of progressive organisation.

Unequal education prepares people for exploitation. The link has been illustrated by the content of a number of pamphlets issued by boycotting students. It is clear, therefore, that their attack on education is in fact a protest against the broader exploitative structures.

The limited protest of a non-violent nature against the racist education system has achieved both non-racial solidarity and worker-student unity.

Oppression breeds resistance and as such it does not matter what 'plan' Mr Botha comes up with, until such time as it includes the real demands of the people of South Africa it cannot succeed.

One such demand expressed by a Natal delegation to Marais Steyn was 'Free compulsory and equal education for all.'

What when the students of today become the workers of tomorrow.

Free the authentic leaders

THE campaign for the release of former African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has demonstrated quite clearly that the shadow of what Mandela and his colleagues stand for looms long and large over south African history - now more than ever.

The 16-year-old campaign has in its newest phase received remarkable response. Groups and organisations from all sectors of South Africa have responded to the call for national democratic unity, demonstrating the universal respect and acknowledgement for Mandela as a legitimate leader of the people of South Africa.

Even the commercial press has felt the need to lend its support to the campaign. Papers throughout the country have pointed out that there can be no democratic future for South Africa while Mandela is in prison.

The campaign has shown that the support for Mandela and his colleagues runs far deeper than petitions and signatures. Supporting a petition calling for the release of a leader of a banned organisation is a difficult decision for people who have experienced the full might of State repression.

It is interesting, then, that for the first time since 1964 people are on the streets campaigning for the release of political prisoners.

The past few years have seen an intensification of national 'crisis'. There has been the nationwide Fattis and Monis boycott, the Port Elizabeth strikes, the Natal rents issue, and the schools boycott across the country - and the demands expressed in these struggles are those contained in the Freedom Charter - demands which after 25 years have still not been met.

It is further illuminating that the talk of 'change' coming from Parliament still does not take cognisance of the Charter, despite the fact that it was formulated by representatives of the majority of the people.

What this has served to prove is that over the last 25 years the Freedom Charter has become a yardstick of democratic activity - ultimately the true test of an organisation's sincerity and relevance. To ignore the Charter is to ignore the aspirations of the people.

With the idea of a National Convention being bandied about, it is important to realise that it is not the power holders' decision whether to hold a convention or not - it is a situation achieved through force.

'Internal leaders' who do not have authentic organisational strength to apply pressure are not in a situation to decide whether or not to partake in a convention - they lack the support and legitimacy which for whatever reasons come about through the escalation of underground struggle. Pressure is capable of alleviating oppression.

As was demonstrated in Zimbabwe it is ultimately those organisations who have conducted struggle against the upholders of oppressive systems that will decide the future of South Africa.

Zimbabwe proved that it is these groups that have the support of the people. Five years ago Ian Smith was saying that there would not be majority rule in a thousand years, yet it was shown that those groups who had conducted the armed struggle had the support of the people.

Whatever happens at a National convention must be a victory for the people - not an act of benevolence by the State.



World Shorts

Guerilla aid

AT the recent regional meetings of the World Council of Churches, African churches recommended that the WCC continue special funding of African Liberation Movements during the 1980s.

Over the past nine years, a special fund has contributed \$1 700 000 (R1 445 000) to liberation movements in Southern Africa. The African churches have suggested that the WCC not only increase this figure, but that it now allocate most of the money to 'Namibian and South African liberation movements'.

Is fair, fair?

FINAL preparations are being made in Washington for a series of congressional hearings which will focus on recent political developments in South Africa. The hearings, which are likely to develop into the most intensive examination of South Africa ever launched by a congressional committee, will examine whether the US should continue its

economic involvement in South Africa.

On May 15 the committee will hear evidence on the Sullivan Fair Employment Code, applied by several US corporations in South Africa.

China softens

RELIABLE political commentators on Africa have predicted that China is likely to soften its criticisms of South Africa's internal policies, and concentrate primarily on what it regards as the 'principle contradiction' in Africa - the risk of Soviet intervention with the Cape sea route.

It is felt that with the advent of Robert Mugabe's government in Zimbabwe, Chairman Huo Kua Feng of China is likely to suggest that problems in Namibia and South Africa can best be solved by negotiation rather than fighting.

Racist blasts

AN elusive right-wing organisation, proclaiming 'Long Live Racism' has claimed responsi-

bility for a series of bombings of buildings housing the French Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Four people were injured during the attack. Members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement have received threats to their lives and fear further attacks.

Selous crack-up

THE crack Rhodesian tracker regiment, the Selous Scouts, has been disbanded amid speculation that many members might join the South African Defence Force.

The Selous Scouts, formed early in the Zimbabwean guerilla war, have been accused by their enemies of killing nuns and civilians to make it look like the work of guerillas.

SASPU National thanks: Ravan Press Wits Student Les and IGB for their help with the newspaper.

Saspu supports charged student editors

THE EXECUTIVE of SASPU has taken a stand on the students presently on trial under the publications Act.

'The students are being charged for publications brought out last year, which have subsequently been declared 'undesirable'. The implications or retroactive charging of student journalists are far-reaching, the Executive said in a statement. 'It will have an intimidatory effect and will make it possible for the State to simply remove selected individuals from working in the student press.'

The Executive pledged their fullest support for the students

being charged, and called on the student press to continue their work even in the face of increasing opposition.

Earlier this year SASPU sent its own representative to cover the Zimbabwe elections. During the election week regular newsletters appeared on all the campuses covering the elections.

SASPU affiliates have already been hit by bannings of publications this year. Varsity 5 and 3 were banned for distribution, as well as 'Organised Opposition and Sharpeville' which was produced by the Students African Movement (SAM).

● In a statement issued at the Katberg SASPU April Seminar,

the Executive said 'It is widely accepted that Mandela is the leader of the majority of South Africans, and his incarceration on Robben Island does not change this. Freeing of political prisoners would open the way to real understanding of South African oppression and the disastrous direction this country is taking'.

The Executive said that student newspapers who had quickly picked up the issue had significantly aided the campaign, and thereby fulfilled their role as an alternative medium.

'Mandela is the leader. He must be heard', the statement concluded.

grassroots

GRASSROOTS is a new community newsletter focussing on the problems, successes and work of the people in the Western Cape.

Steering away from elitism and intellectualism the Editors express their dominant focus: '... our main role is to write about the bread-and-butter issues affecting the man in the street'. They do not intend to maintain control over the paper, but intend handing it over to community.

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The Editors look forward to receiving readers views.

Please send to

SASPU National,

41 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg 2001.

Saving Alex: PW's Total Strategy gets a boost

WHEN the Government announced that Alexandra township just outside Johannesburg would not be turned into a hostel township but that its residents would be allowed to stay on, many people thought Pretoria had stepped back.

In fact, in Pretoria's terms, it had stepped forward.

Plans to make Alexandra into a hostel city were set aside. And the township is now to be redeveloped along the lines of a high density family housing scheme.

For its plan to 'reconstruct' Alexandra forms a very important part of the Government's Total Strategy.

Soon after the Peri-Urban Board took over the administration of Alexandra in the late 50s, it was announced by the Board that Alexandra was to be turned into a hostel city to house migrant workers.

So far two of the planned eight hostels have been built and one is still under construction. This plan for Alexandra was to have cost R57m.

The reconstruction is being planned by the Department of Co-operation and Development in conjunction with the Department of Community Development, WRAB and the Sandton Council. It is to include flats, maisonettes, tarred roads, sewage, water and electricity supply and is estimated to cost R200 million.

The reconstruction in Alexandra is in line with the Total Stra-

tegy proposals of the government which aim to preserve the 'free enterprise system' (capitalism) by dividing the working class. The aim is to create an urban black middle class who have a stake in the system and therefore something to defend.

Total Strategy arises as the response of the government to changing conditions in South Africa. The South African economy is becoming increasingly dominated by bigger and bigger multinational corporations and businesses. This sector tends to use more machinery in their industries.

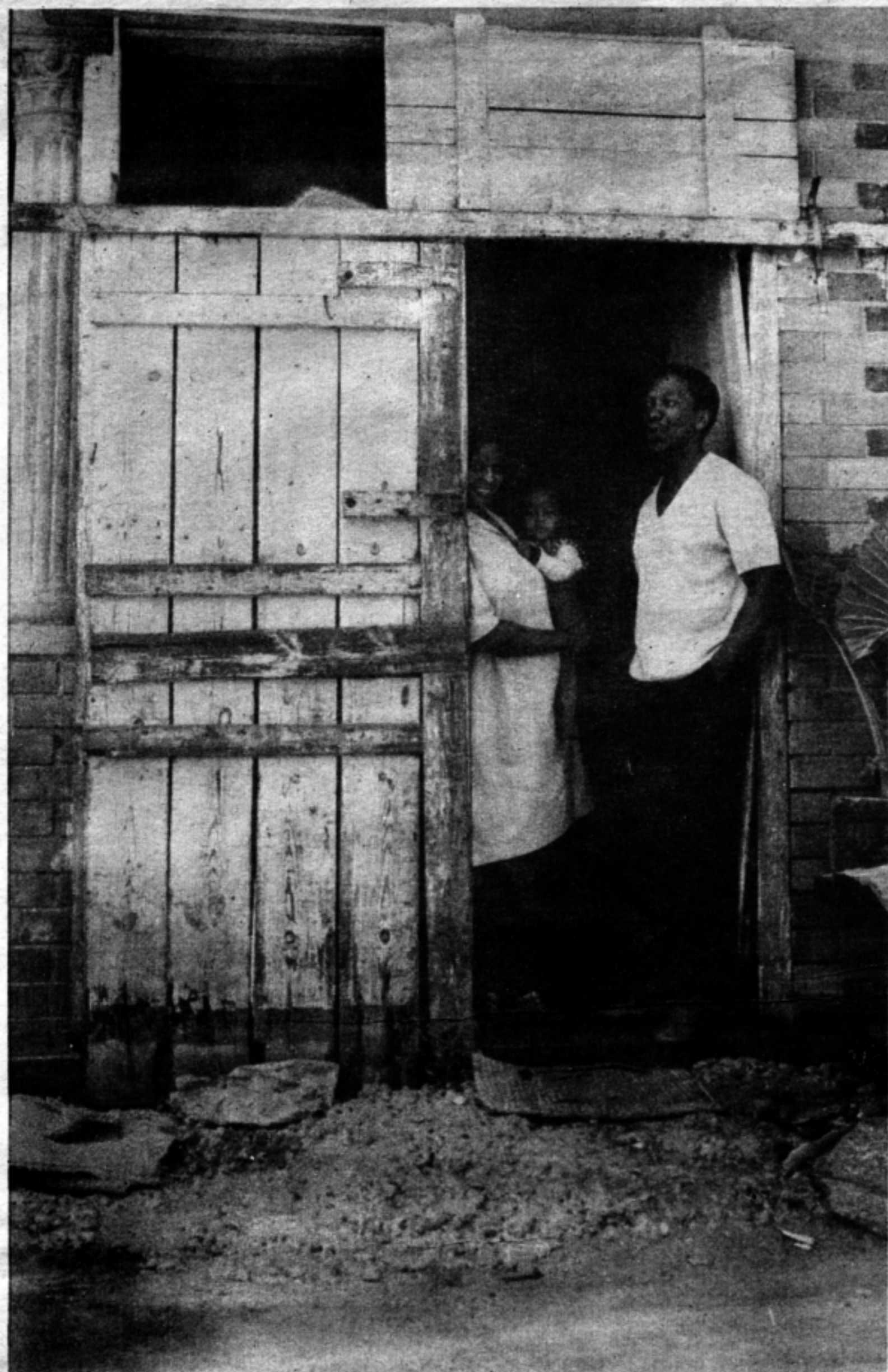
The effect technology has on workers is that they are being replaced by machines more and more. And so more and more people are losing their jobs.

RIEKERT

The recommendations of the Riekert Commission contain some of the ways in which the Government intends going about preserving the 'free enterprise system'.

- Better training schemes for blacks are to be promoted which will enable blacks to get jobs that are higher paid. Coupled with this is the removal of certain job restrictions which will then allow blacks to take up the jobs they have been trained for.

- Encouragement of home ownership in black areas through the allocation of sites with the necessary services on a household basis.



Alexandra residents . . . Pretoria plans 'Total Strategy' solution

Cosas head in court

THE PRESIDENT of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Ephraim Mogale, and a University of the North student, Mr Thabo Makunyane, appeared briefly in the Pietersberg Regional Court last month on Terrorism Act charges.

This followed five months in detention for them and 12 other members of Cosas, most of whom were released a week before the court appearance.

In an apparent state blitz on Cosas in November last year executive and regional committee members were held after a

country-wide police swoop. Those detained included the entire national executive.

All were held under the Terrorism Act.

In December last year Mr Mogale was taken to hospital with 'superficial injuries' when he 'tried to escape', according to the police. They said they handed a dossier on the alleged escape attempt to the office of the Attorney General. The Attorney General however denied ever receiving the dossier and no charges to the effect have been handed down.

In the court appearance Mr Mogale and Mr Makunyane were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The case was postponed to June 24 at the request of the defence council. The state alleges the two promoted the objects of communism and the banned African National Congress between October 1977 and October 1979, with the aim of endangering the safety of the state.

They are also alleged to have unlawfully distributed pamphlets entitled 'Being Black in South Africa Today', and

'Declaration of War' in 1977 and another publication called 'Mayibuye' in 1979.

Other charges include recruiting youths for military training and as supporters of the ANC, encouraging the formation of youth clubs to promote unrest and uprising and to instruct the youths in acts of sabotage.

The two are also accused of producing and possessing a stencil called "Come let us unite and defeat our oppressors" for the production and distribution of pamphlets. They allegedly

possessed banned publications entitled 'ANC speaks' and 'South Africa No Middle Road'.

They also allegedly established the Communiste Advancement Movement (CAM) in 1979, with the aim of furthering the objects of communism.

A large crowd of mostly Turfloop students gathered outside the court. They responded to shouts of "Amandla" from the accused as they left the court. The people who packed the courtroom sang freedom songs.

Pityana resigns from council

MR WILSON Pityana, uncle of the exiled Mr Barney Pityana and banned Pebco executive member Lizo Pityana, has resigned from the Uitenhage and Dispatch Community Council.

Mr Pityana said he had heard rumours that his filling station business was being threatened with a boycott during Uitenhage black civic association (UPCO) meetings.

'I cannot take the chance and defy this organisation,' he said. 'My business comes first and it needs my undivided attention.'

Mr Pityana said he had hoped that his service in the council would be beneficial for the people, but instead it had an adverse effect on his business.

'Although our aim is to serve the people and put things right for them where we possibly can, it is an obvious fact that a great percentage of the community - especially the young - do not approve of the community council system.'

'They're very much against the organisations that are associated with the Government and as a result of my being with the

council, attempts have been made to boycott my filling station.'

News of the resignation was held by the council's rival body UPCO as 'a major victory for black people in the struggle for civic rights.'

Mr B Paulos, chairperson of UPCO, said: 'I have always regarded Mr Pityana as a responsible man, and I could never understand how he served with such a futile organisation. It is also surprising why it took him so long to realise the futility of the government-created organi-

sations like the community councils.'

Mr Paulos said that his organisation had always strived to pressurise the community councils to resign, but he denied that a boycott of Mr Pityana's filling station had actually been implemented as claimed by Mr Pityana.

'There were plans to boycott the filling station, but only next month. Obviously, with Mr Pityana's resignation, that has to be called off. He has shown the people how futile the organisations are.'

In his letter of resignation Mr Pityana also claimed that the Government had failed to provide finance for cultural projects.

Mr Pityana predicted that other members would also resign as a result of the frustration caused primarily by the Government's reluctance to spend the money budgeted for the black townships.

'Even if you mean to work for your people, you cannot feed them on unfulfilled promises,' he said.

If the Crossroads squatters met Dr Piet tomorrow,



April 1979, a beaming Dr Piet Koornhof greets the Crossroads squatters

would they shake his hand again?

FLANKED by a delighted crowd, the white man stepped forward, grasped the black woman's hand, and pumped it up and down vigorously.

Cameras clicked. Thousands of breakfast table readers would the next day peer at photographs of cabinet minister Piet Koornhof beaming broadly as he shook hands with a Crossroads squatter.

Not many would miss the significance of the pictures — grateful residents of a squatter camp which had suddenly leapt to world prominence, were thanking a verligte politician for saving their homes from the bulldozers.

That was one year ago.

Could the same euphoric picture be snapped today, twelve months after the Koornhof peace plan? The chances seem slim.

A Crossroads leader is facing fraud charges. Accusations are flying — of official intimidation, lack of liaison, faction fighting, broken promises, even murder.

What went wrong?

To understand the problems of the last few months, one has to understand that ever since the community started life in 1975 — reputedly when officials rounded up families from various scattered camps and told them they could build shacks in the bush at a place called Crossroads — there has always been a strong sense of 'we do it our way'.

For the discards of apartheid managed to enjoy certain freedoms from apartheid's restrictions — they made and enforced their own rules, built their own homes, ran their own schools, co-operatives, sports clubs and community councils.

The Koornhof plan ended all that. For in saving the Crossroads 'illegals', the minister handed them over to a government bureaucracy, the Western

Cape Administration Board, the same officialdom that controlled the well regimented townships of the peninsula. And Crossroads did not like regimentation.

Dr Koornhof's plan to save Crossroads centred around a new township — 'Crossroads 2' — to house all Crossroads residents except criminals and vagrants.

But before a township could be built, it was necessary to know how many people it would have to house. A 'survey' was proposed and the survey was the start of the problems.

Since the people of Crossroads had never known anything but trouble with officialdom before, they were reluctant to co-operate with a survey which

would name them, place them, nail them down — and which could, they believed, be 'used against them'.

As a result, the survey was less than a success. The number of people said to live in Crossroads still varies — depending

upon the source, between 23 000 and 40 000.

A journalist working for *Die Burger* complained to Dr Koornhof during an interview: 'Claims are made that much fraud took place during the survey. Many names were placed on the list of people who weren't really there. It was naturally impossible for officials to ascertain who was telling the truth.'

One day in the Karoo

The second cause for discontent began not in Crossroads, but several hundred miles away, in the middle of the Karoo where one day in August a traffic officer stopped a Crossroads man as he drove past — and found 19 forged travel documents on him. Police investigations began into a 'permits' racket. One thousand people made statements to police.

In January this year, six Crossroad residents, including the executive committee chairman, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, were arrested on fraud charges. They were accused of stealing passbooks, permits and travel documents.

A security policeman, Warrant Officer J P F van Wyk, told the court that potential witnesses had told him they would be 'dead men' if ever they came to court. They had been threatened and intimidated and many had fled. The situation was so bad at Crossroads, he said, that police did not dare go in, except in groups.

The next day the court heard accusations that 'Kommandant Ngxobongwana' was a member of a local vigilante group who had attacked a rival group, called the 'Peacemakers', killing two of them.

A state witness, Mr Ruben Mvana, told the court that Ngxobongwana — who had several months earlier threatened to beat him up at a public meeting — had assaulted him

with a sharpened piece of iron.

Mr Ngxobongwana took the stand to deny any involvement in the assaults or the killings. And a policeman admitted to the court that there was no proof.

The plans for Dr Koornhof's new township were revealed in January. And at first glance, they looked marvellous. The new township, to be called Nyanga Two, would contain 16 662 brick houses with asbestos or lead roofs, verandahs, and wind breakers. Road would be tarred, electricity, sewage and water would be laid on, there

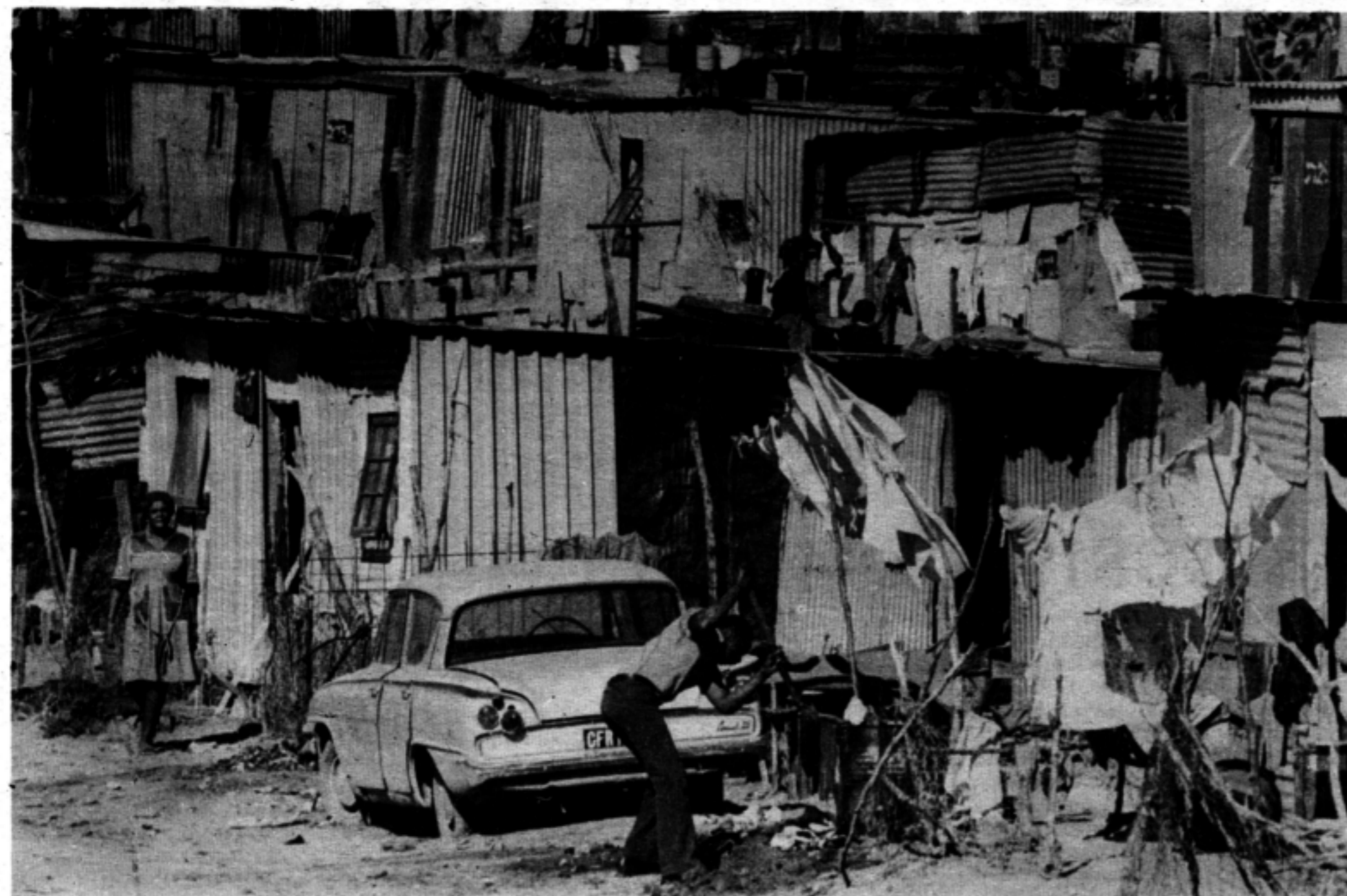
would be shops, sports facilities, schools, parks and a community hall.

But if officials thought the plans would please the squatters, they were wrong. Crossroads leaders queried the number of houses offered — the original proposals were for 2 575 houses, they said.

The rent was too high, they argued. In an interview with the *Cape Times*, committee members said: 'The rents for these houses are R24,61 for a one-bedroomed house and R34,71 for a three-bedroomed house. Many Crossroads people are unemployed, most have problems trying simply to feed and clothe their families. We cannot afford such high rents.'

The Secretary of Community Development, Mr L Fouche, announced that 'Nyanga Two' was meant for Crossroads residents 'amongst others'. There was only one way to interpret that phrase, squatter leaders felt — Crossroads residents would have to compete with township blacks for the already reduced quota of houses. And such competition could only lead to antagonism between the squatters and the township people.

A crucial point of the Koornhof proposals was that the Crossroads squatters would be 'made legal' by being offered 12 month temporary residence permits. But during early February, Crossroads executive members revealed that residents who went to the Western Cape Administration Board offices at Nyanga to have their permits extended, were being questioned by security police.



The Old Crossroads . . . shacks galore, but the spirit was there.



The new Crossroads . . . hardly begun, but problems aplenty

A number were given three months rather than 12 month permits, and told they would be 'investigated further'. Others were reportedly told to send their families back to the homelands first if they wanted permits.

A public meeting was held where residents said they objected to going to the Nyanga offices if they were to be 'intimidated' there.

Many of them saw the police presence as a 'trick' — a ploy to create more criminals, the category Dr Koornhof had stressed would not qualify to live in the new township.

On February 28, the Crossroads executive presented a 14 point memorandum to the Chief Commissioner of the Western Cape, Mr Timo Bezuidenhout, stressing the breakdown in rela-

tions between the authorities and the squatters, and demanding that police be withdrawn from the Nyanga offices and replaced by 'impartial' observers.

Police didn't move far

For a moment it seemed the memorandum had succeeded, for the security police did indeed move out of the Nyanga offices. But they didn't move very far — just to the nearby Mannenburg police station, where they continued their investigations.

At first Mr Bezuidenhout agreed to the presence of a neutral observer at the offices, a Black Sash member, Mrs Noel

Robb, who was nominated by the squatters. But a few days later the committee was told that Mrs Robb had been rejected by the WCAB executive, and another observer, an Urban Foundation worker, would take her place. The Crossroads leaders objected to his presence, complaining that they had not been consulted about him.

In the last Government Gazette in March, Crossroads was finally 'deproclaimed' an Emergency Camp and 'proclaimed' a township. The difference was more than purely semantic. It meant that Crossroads was finally and completely handed over to the Administration Board. There were fears that the non-racial atmosphere of the shantytown, where anyone could — and did — visit without permits, would be ended.

As a *Cape Times* editorial said: 'It would be a tragedy if the bureaucracy, the permits and the faceless officialdom that apply to other black townships were to destroy the inter-racial contacts that are so valuable, because they are so limited, in this apartheid-ridden country.'

There was another objection to the new 'township' status. Previously, rents — which amounted to R7 a shack — were paid in the Divisional Council office across the road from the squatter camp. Now residents would have to go all the way to Nyanga to pay rent.

A mobile rent collecting office was suggested. But the Chief Inspector of the Administration Board, Mr S P Pietersen, rejected the idea. Mechanised cash registers were

used to collect rent, he said, and these could not be accommodated in a mobile office.

The Nyanga offices were used to collect rent from all townships in the Peninsula, he said, and there was no reason why a special one should be erected just for Crossroads.

On the last Sunday of the month, a mass meeting was held where squatters demanded that Dr Koornhof see them once again so that they could tell him about their 'extreme dissatisfaction' at their treatment by the Administration Board.

Speakers at the meeting said they were 'treated like children' by officials, that their objections and queries were brushed aside and that arrangements were made without consulting them.

'Dr Koornhof is the person who put us in touch with the Administration Board: we had never dealt with them before. We had grave reservations about co-operating with these people, but he said he hoped there would be co-operation between us,' one of the residents said.

At a Crossroads Executive Committee meeting held later the same day, it was proposed that if Dr Koornhof did not respond to their requests, they should refuse to co-operate further, so that he would not 'gain credibility' by claiming he was acting with their support.

Chief Commissioner Mr Bezuidenhout denied that there was any communications breakdown.

Just want to help . . .

'I'd like to emphasize that it was mentioned in Dr Koornhof's original statement that the Administration Board would eventually take over the administration of Crossroads and that has been adhered to. I just want to help where I can and they know that,' he said.

The constant friction began to sap Crossroads' strength. As one resident described it: 'Tensions have increased and surface divisions have begun to emerge so that what was Crossroads' greatest strength — its unity and spirit in the face of repression — have begun to dissipate. Differences of opinion grew up both in the community and in support groups as people were asked to co-operate in plans to divide their own community.'

Can Dr Koornhof solve the problem? Can a Nationalist minister committed to working within the framework of the system that created the problem, ever hope to solve it?

He himself provided an answer, in an interview with *Die Burger*, which indicated that his 'solution' still hinges on the homelands policy which gave birth to Crossroads: 'Crossroads must not be seen in isolation. Squatting is a phenomenon which occurs all over the country and the world. The problem can only be solved if sufficient work and accommodation is provided in the black states. We must strengthen our hands.'



ZAPU's Joshua Nkomo . . . his people are unhappy

Zapu unhappy about how they're treated

A dispute has arisen between supporters of Mr Mugabe's ZANU (PF) and those of the Patriotic Front (ZAPU).

There have been reports of people complaining to Patriotic Front President Mr Nkomo of violent attacks on them. And it is believed that ZAPU have complained to Mr Mugabe that not enough is being done to prevent these confrontations.

Dissatisfaction has also been expressed by ZAPU about the way in which the independence celebrations were organised. It is felt that whereas all ZANU's allies were invited to the celebrations, some of ZAPU's closest supporters, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other Eastern Bloc countries were not invited.

Earlier it was believed that the Pan African Congress of Azania had been invited while the Moscow-backed African National Congress of South Africa had not. The ANC was however on the official invitation list and was represented by President Oliver Tambo and Secretary General Alfred Nzo.

The Soviet Union, which had requested a delegation of 15 was limited to three people. The low-key delegation, headed by the Secretary of the CPSU Resbakistan Branch, was escorted by a security guard, which was increased to a number of security personnel after it was found that

the Soviets had had consultations with Mr Nkomo.

ZAPU officials have further expressed their disappointment at the positions given to ZAPU in the Cabinet and Senate. They feel that the four Ministerial posts they received have all been undermined through the elimination of certain portfolios.

Mr Nkomo's position as Minister of Home Affairs no longer has control of the police force, security and intelligence, which now fall under the authority of Emmerson Mununagua of ZANU (PF) who has been Mr Mugabe's security advisor for the past few years.

Local government and district commissioners have been allocated to Mr Eddison Zvobgo of ZANU (PF).

The other three ministerial positions are all minor posts. Mr George Silundika of ZAPU who used to be the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has now been made Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. Mr Clement Muchachi has been made Minister of Public Works while Mr Msika, who is Minister of Natural Resources, is no longer in control of the mines.

ZAPU were first to put up 14 candidates for the Senate, but did not get a single position. All the ZANU (PF) nominees including Garfield Todd, were appointed despite their late nominations.

Cubans to move out of Angola?



Cuba's Fidel Castro

SOURCES in Angola claim that there is a certain possibility that Cuba will withdraw its support to certain African countries.

At present there are 19 000 Cuban troops in Angola as well as 8 000 Cuban civilians working in various capacities. This represents an enormous cost to the Cuban Government which may no longer be able to sustain this aid.

At present, the Cubans are still mostly involved in helping to combat the opposition forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita. However, if a settlement was reached in neighbouring Namibia, the pressure on the Angolan army would be considerably reduced, enabling Cuban forces to be withdrawn.

Cuba has recently been showing considerable caution in meeting demands from African countries for doctors, teachers and specialists. And observers believe that there are good reasons for withdrawing its aid

Zipra forces' return halted

THE repatriation of ZIPRA guerillas from Zambia has apparently been halted.

Reports from Zimbabwe say the first 2 000 ZIPRA guerillas to return to Zimbabwe were not allowed to return with their heavy weaponry.

The 8 000 guerillas that Mr Nkomo had held back in Zambia as a security precaution are said to be one of the best

equipped units in Africa. Weapons, such as SAM 7 missiles, 'Stalin Organ' rocket launchers, radio transmitters and so on, were confiscated from ZIPRA by Mr Robert Mugabe in his capacity as Minister of Defence and placed in the National Armoury.

ZAPU officials claim that the conditions for the return of the remaining 6 000 people are unacceptable.

Pityana quits BCM in its death throes

REPORTS from London over the past few weeks indicate that the small organisation of black consciousness individuals in exile which calls itself the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania is all but dead.

From its formation in mid-1978 until what appears now to be its last gasps, the BCM has been unable to rally more than a few scattered individuals around the world and no more than a meagre R10 000, according to reports from London.

Frustrated by its ineffectiveness, the BCM's guiding light, black consciousness figure Mr Barney Pityana, resigned at a secret meeting in London at the end of last month.

At the same meeting BCM's regional representative based in Botswana, Mr Harry Nengwenhulu, was — according to the reports — sacked from the organisation. It has not been established why or what the grounds were for disagreement.

However it is believed by informed sources in London that the BCM personalities are being frustrated and hamstrung by the fact that the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa enjoys virtually all the recognition and respect of foreign funding organisations.

Informed sources say that

BCM as an 'organisation' and some black consciousness individuals have approached the ANC for talks.

The attitude appears to be that if they wish to join the movement they could do so, but there would be no 'amalgamations' or 'alliances'.

Sources in London say that the existence of a few individuals linked together by little more than an official letterhead could hardly be considered an organisation, let alone a rival or 'third force' in exile-based liberation politics.

Another minor splinter group that has received some attention in London is a group that calls itself the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrco). Led by former Soweto student, Khotso Seathlolo, the group apparently has a 'military wing' based in Nigeria.

The BCM is believed to have tried to promote Sayrco in Britain.

Mr Pityana, say London sources, is apparently concentrating on his studies for the time being.

He has been replaced as secretary-general by Mr Basil Manning.

Machel moves Dos Santos in Cabinet reshuffle



Reshuffle . . . Dos Santos (left), Machel (right)

SPECULATION still surrounds Mozambique President Samora Machel's Cabinet reshuffle last month.

President Machel described the reshuffle as the most important act of government in Mozambique since the former Portuguese colony became independent in 1975.

He said that the changes aimed at ending 'irregularities' in the state of Mozambique and its ruling Frelimo Party. He called it an 'offensive against infiltration, bureaucracy, incompetence and negligence in the state apparatus'.

The most notable aspect of the change was the move of Planning Minister Marcelino Dos Santos from his position in the Cabinet to the Frelimo Party

structure itself.

Dos Santos, previously regarded as Frelimo's Second-in-Command, is known to favour closer links with Moscow. He has always been one of the most dynamic and popular figures in Mozambique. Machel simply described the move as the transfer of power from the Cabinet to Frelimo itself.

Sources in Mozambique, however, say the move of Dos Santos actually signifies a definite break by Machel from Dos Santos' pro-Moscow direction. Independent Mozambique has received significant aid from the Soviet-Bloc countries. The move is seen as signifying a marked shift from this relationship.

Still no security for most



Finding a home in Apartheid society . . . in search of a deposit.

In December 1978 the Government announced the 99-year leasehold scheme which would promote home ownership. This scheme enables building societies to offer loans to black people who want to own homes, whereas previously the 30-year leasehold scheme, which was instituted in 1975, did not provide adequate security. So far 184 leasehold titles have been registered under the new scheme. The possibility of people owning homes under this scheme is restricted to a few wealthy people.

The reasons for this are that the average monthly household income in the Reef area is R150,99 and the estimated monthly expenditure is R188.

So the majority of people in this area are not likely to have the necessary deposit and initial layout which goes to paying for site surveying (estimated at R300) and water and sewage connection fees.

'ILLEGALS'

Nor is it likely that people in this income bracket will be able to repay the loan, usually estimated to be 25 percent of one's income. Someone earning R200 per month would have to repay a loan at R50 a month.

● Resettlement of people who do not qualify for urban rights to the homelands where they fall under the responsibility of homeland governments. This means that the unemployed and those without urban rights (sometimes termed 'illegals') will be 'repatriated'. These people are thought to pose a potential threat to stability in urban areas.

Prior to the announcement of the reprieve in Alexandra an interim liaison committee was established by a group of concerned residents. Their aim was to persuade the government to preserve Alexandra.

After the reprieve was announced an election for a Liaison Committee was held. This election took place within two weeks of the reprieve being granted.

Since their election the Liaison Committee has supported key aspects of government proposals which deal with the creation of the black middle-class mentioned before.

The Liaison Committee has publicly stated that the 99-year leasehold scheme suits Alexandra residents better than freehold as it will enable more people to be housed in this way.

Alexandra has a history of freehold rights, being the only black area outside the homelands to have these rights. There are at present 432 freeholders in Alexandra.

They have also supported the government's drive to rid urban black areas of 'illegals'. The Liaison Committee warned 'illegals' that there would be no place for them in Alexandra and

that they had better make plans to move.

At present the Liaison Committee acts in an advisory capacity to the planners. They are also investigating municipality structures. They will then make a proposal to the Minister, Piet Koornhof, who will then approve the municipal structure that they come up with. Koornhof has promised Alexandra that

it will have full municipal status.

The Liaison Committee works at present to give authority to the plans that the Government has. The Government has been able to make use of the support that the Liaison Committee had immediately after the reprieve was announced and has been able to get them elected while their support ran high.

Solidarity on housing

OVER a thousand people packed the Avalon Cinema in Northdale recently to give the Pietermaritzburg Combined Ratepayers and Tenants Association Action Committee full support in its fight against increased rates and rents that affect the Indian and 'coloured' communities.

The overwhelmingly successful mass protest meeting attended by members of the Indian and 'coloured' communities was described by one speaker as a rare occasion in the history of Pietermaritzburg when so many people had met to show their solidarity on an issue.

FIGHT

A representative of the 'coloured' community, Mr H Engel, said: 'We in Woodlands, Eastwood and the city centre are with you in this fight. We are proud to be associated with you and together can show the rest of the country that interracial harmony is not difficult in Pietermaritzburg.'

The meeting was called as a result of the high increase in rates for the 'coloured' and Indian communities compared with the whites. General discussion at the meeting focussed on

the belief that the voteless people of the country would continue to be exploited for as long as they are denied the right of direct representation on decision-making bodies.

Speaker after speaker discredited consultative bodies like the Local Affairs Committees (LACs), the South African Indian Council (SAIC) and the proposed Coloured Persons Representative Council (CPC) as being 'totally ineffective and puppet organisations.'

A description of the LACs as 'Local Amusement Centres', by one speaker was greeted with loud applause from the audience. Another speaker called for the abolishment of these bodies because they are symbols of the black communities' unequal status in society.

DECISIONS

The Pietermaritzburg City Council came under fire for not attending the meeting, although they were invited. A speaker said that the mayor and city council were guilty of a 'heinous political crime' in not being present at a meeting where they could 'learn what happens to people on whose behalf they make decisions.'

Speakers unanimously agreed that it was the 'dreaded' Group Areas Act that was the starting point of the communities' hardships. Dr M M Motlala accused the municipality of exploiting the situation that had arisen out of the restrictions of the Act. He said people had their homes taken away from them and were forced to live in municipal houses where they are faced with continual rent increases and high land and housing costs.

NETWORK

Mr Mike Govindasamy of the Chatsworth Housing Action Committee said that the effects of the Group Areas Act is to bring people under the control of the Department of Community Development which in turn enmeshes them in a network of legislation that directly influences their day to day existence.

He cited an example of a Durban family who restructured part of their municipal home which they had occupied for a number of years.

'The family immediately received a summons to appear in court under the Illegal Squatting Act - if convicted this family

faces a fine of up to R500 or 12 months imprisonment or both. These are the results of acts that we are told are there to protect us.'

DIRECT

Mr Govindasamy told the meeting to strive for direct representation on law-making bodies, the abolishment of the Group Areas Act and to demand that municipal houses be sold at cost. He added that there was a provision in the Housing Code which says that Local Authorities, without the Administrator's consent, may grant a rebate of up to 40 percent on rates. He urged the Action Committee to petition the City Council not to overlook this particular provision.

At the end of the meeting a unanimous resolution was passed giving the Action Committee a full mandate to act on behalf of the people they represented.

It called on the Action Committee to take whatever steps it believed necessary to work towards an equitable rating system and a reduction in the present high rates that various individual property owners were paying.

It said that in a memorandum

to the city council the Action Committee should highlight certain points. These include the continuous rent increases in council homes. They also demanded that:

* Council homes be sold at cost prices.

* Mini-circuit breakers be scrapped as municipal tenants and other small consumers will be forced to pay up to 30 percent more a month for their electricity.

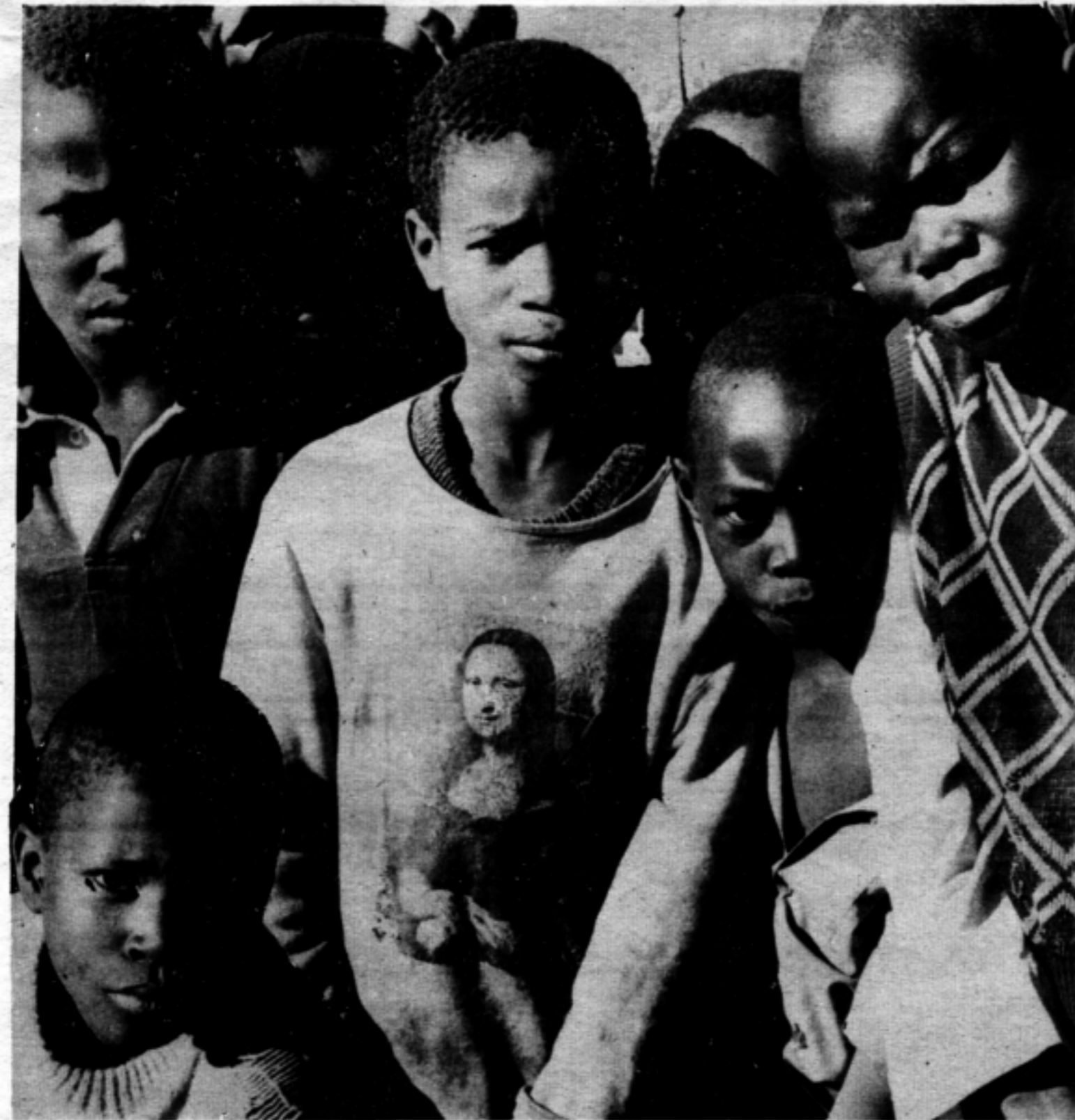
* Civic amenities and other recreational facilities, similar to those in white areas, be provided in all other residential areas.

RESOLUTIONS

The resolution rejected bodies like the SAIC, LADS and the proposed CPC as being 'totally meaningless' and demanded that direct representation on a one-man-one-vote basis be instituted.

It gave the Action Committee a further mandate to explore all avenues, to work together with other organisations and individuals to set up a provincial or national body to bring about equity in civic matters confronting voteless communities.

Fingo reprieve sparks off row



The Reprieve of Grahamstown's Fingo Village has led to conflicting statements from different parts of the community, with some maintaining that it was the work of the Community Council and others that it was in fact community action.

SASPU NATIONAL investigates.



Fingo Village . . . conflict over the reprieve of a community

Tenants get better deal

FINGO Village community council chairperson Mr G Nduna says he is grateful for the township's reprieve but is not satisfied because of the loss of title deeds.

This was also said by a prominent church minister: 'The 99-year leasehold offered in the place of freehold is robbing the people of their title deeds.'

The 'people' referred to are 230 landowners in Fingo Village — the descendants of the original Fingo who were given freehold title last century by Queen Victoria in reward for their role in helping the Eastern Cape

settlers in fighting the Xhosa.

The landowners are a small percentage of the population of Fingo Village. The other residents are mainly lodgers, estimated at 6 000 in 1970. They live crammed in leaking and broken shacks. In one case there are over 200 people on one stand.

The lodgers had chosen to stay in Fingo Village because, unlike the other local black townships, it is in easy walking distance of Grahamstown and shacks are strictly controlled there.

The Government plan to remove Fingo Village was to give the landowners sites in the Mkanaskap Township with 99-year leases. The tenants were to be given the option of moving to Glenmore and travelling 90 km a day to get to work and back. It is unlikely the tenants would have moved with the landlords because of the strict control of shacks in other townships.

Although this group stood to lose most by the removal of the village, their voice has been drowned by the infighting at the top.

ON February 2 this year, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr P Koornhof, deproclaimed Grahamstown's Fingo Village from a 'coloured' area back to a black residential area.

The move, which came after more than 10 years of uncertainty about whether the village will be resettled, sparked off infighting amongst the community élite.

The conflict has centered around a thanksgiving ceremony, organised by Fingo Village's Ratepayers Association (FVRA) — a body representing the 230 property owners of the village.

Soon after Koornhof's statement, chairperson of the FVRA, Mr B B Zongani, announced plans for the ceremony.

'We are holding it as an expression of gratitude to God in rewarding our efforts and to thank the central Government for its decision,' he said.

The service was planned to be held in the Methodist Church and three ministers of different denominations agreed to officiate. Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei and Transkei's Kaiser Matanzima were invited to speak at the service.

The FVRA proposals were criticised by chairperson of the Grahamstown Community Council, Mr J. Nduna, who said the service was premature.

'It is far too early to hold the celebrations. We still don't know what is going to happen about the title deeds, the 99-year lease system and those who have already sold properties.'

In response, the FVRA said the service was not premature. Vice-chairperson Mr V. Nkosinkulu claimed that Mr Nduna, in defiance of the call by FVRA, had sold his property to the Government.

The implication was that this is why Mr Nduna opposed the

ceremony.

Mr Zongani's reply was that he will still go ahead, although as yet the terms of the reprieve have not yet been spelled out.

Mr Nduna also charged that the ceremony was being held for political gain. Claiming that 'our churches should not be involved in politics', Mr Nduna called on the minister's fraternal to withdraw. The call was successful and the FVRA was left without a venue.

But plans for the ceremony still went ahead. Appeals were made to white farmers for donations of food for the service but the response was non-committal.

From 6 a.m. on the morning of the service, cars with loudspeakers toured Fingo Village advertising the new venue which had been kept secret until then.

A piped band of one of Grahamstown's prestige white schools marched through the streets for more than an hour. A crowd of children followed them to the venue — an open field where the loudspeakers had been set up in anticipation of the large crowd.

Two laypreachers addressed the meeting and money was collected to cover legal costs of trying to get back the title deeds which people had lost.

Mr Zongani claimed the meeting had been successful and that 500 people attended. One local newspaper however reported only 150, and another said there were 90 — and they dwindled to 40 by the end of the service.

It is unclear who the Government supported in the ceremony. According to Mr Zongani, the organisers had received congratulations from the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development and the chairperson of the Eastern Cape Administrative Board.

Students dispute council's "we did it" victory statement

'CONFIRMATION is hereby also given that the removal of Fingo Village was reconsidered on the strength of the representation made by the Grahamstown Community Council,' reads a telex sent by Dr Koornhof to Mr G Nduna, chairperson of the Grahamstown Community Council.

Some Grahamstown students however feel that the reprieve of Fingo Village was not as a result of the work done by the community council. 'The reason people were not removed, was because of their resistance,' said one student who wanted to remain anonymous.

He pointed to a 1975 official referendum on Fingo Village which shows quite clearly that residents did not want to move. Despite this officials had erected a tin house town — Silvertown — next to the village.

These houses were to be a halfway house for Fingo Village lodgers who were to be removed to Glenmore.

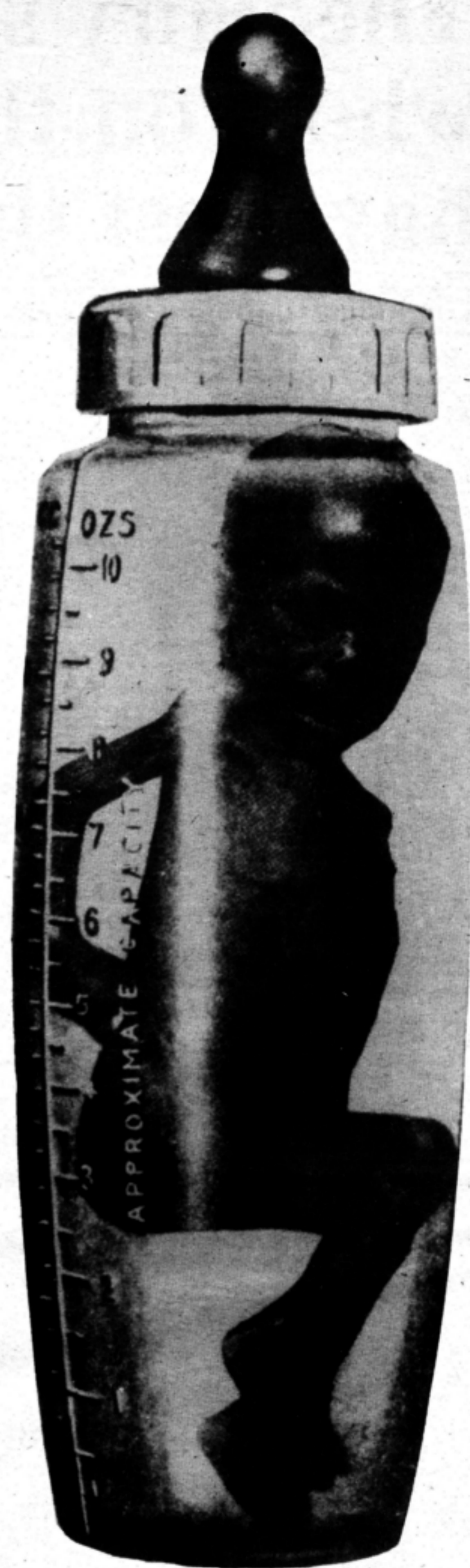
When the nationwide resistance in 1976 spread to Grahamstown, these plans were shelved. The tin shacks were filled with squatters from Grahamstown's rubbish dump and rent defaulters from other local townships. Some of these people were moved to Glenmore last year.

The student said the Government now realised the danger of trying to move the whole of Fingo Village. He added that he also found it strange that the community council was said to be behind the reprieve when there was an allegation that the chairperson had sold his property to the Government.



A child's playground . . . a derelict village

The child's source of life turns into a killer



MILK — the giver of life to the child — may also be the reason for the death of thousands of South Africa's children.

Medical experts point to bottle-feeding as one of the major causes of early deaths of children in the country.

Where mothers have chosen powdered milk mixed with water and fed to their babies in bottles instead of the milk from their breasts, serious dangers to their children's health have resulted.

For bottle-feeding, if not done correctly, can lead to diarrhoea and dehydration and finally to death before the age of two years, medical experts say.

Many thousands of children die every year in South Africa. In some rural areas as many as 200 black children out of every thousand may die before they turn one year.

Rural areas are worse off than urban areas, but even in urban areas the number of black children dying before the age of one year is high.

In some urban areas the number of deaths amongst young children is almost as high as in rural areas. In Soweto, about 40 children out of every thousand die before the age of one year. This is twice as many as in Johannesburg's white population.

BOND

Medical experts say that breast-feeding is much better than feeding with a bottle. Children who are breast-fed quickly build up a strong bond with the mother. Breast-milk, they say, provides all the nutrients required by the young child. Mother's milk is of germs, and is always ready and available. It also contains antibodies which help the child fight any infections he might get.

Children who are bottle-fed get more infections and are less healthy than bottle-fed infants.

Mothers who cannot breast-feed have to use artificial milks. There is nothing wrong with that, say the experts, if it is really necessary and if it is done properly. But many mothers who should be breast-feeding their babies are feeding them with bottles. This is because a number of pressures have been put on mothers which influence them to bottle-feed their babies.

There are many problems with artificial milk the experts say. It is expensive and some mothers add more than the necessary amount of water to the milk so that it lasts longer.

In this way the child may become malnourished.

In many areas communities are not able to get clean water.

GERMS

Also, germs get into the milk if it is kept standing for a while, and so many children may get infections — such as diarrhoea. Flies or dirt may get to the teat of the bottle and this may also lead to infections.

To keep bottles germ-free, the milk has to be made and used immediately. If it is not all finished at one feeding, then it should be stored in a fridge.

Most people are too poor to afford a fridge and the milk cannot be safely stored.

After feeding the bottle should be sterilised before it is used again, because it may become contaminated by germs. The bottle should be boiled in water — but this too may be a problem — it takes time and is expensive, especially where there is not much fuel.

Medical experts are concerned about why bottle-feeding has become so common. The artificial milk industry is a big and powerful one. The companies are there to make money.

Bottle-feeding is promoted as the 'natural' way of feeding a baby. An example is an advertisement that says: 'We help

babies grow into people —

The advertisement appeared in a recent edition of a publication produced by medical students. Billboards, posters and pamphlets picture a happy, smiling child and attempt to influence mothers to use the products advertised so that their

babies too will be smiling and beautiful.

Some of the advertising is subtle in another way. One company produces a number of 'health education' posters — all of which have the company's sign displayed. This influences mothers to think that the



Company really is concerned about children and their health. In some places the company's employees have worked as health educators and dress in uniforms similar to those worn by nurses, while they speak to mothers. This makes people think the company is concerned with health, and that their products can only be good to the child

Pamphlets advertising these products have been left in hospital waiting rooms, clinics, and pharmacies. Some of these have fill-in slips which entitle people to free samples of particular products. Samples are given out at clinics or hospitals, and influence mothers to make use of these artificial formulas. Another method of advertising has been the sponsoring of baby shows — a chance to be associated with 'healthy' children and also to hand out free samples.

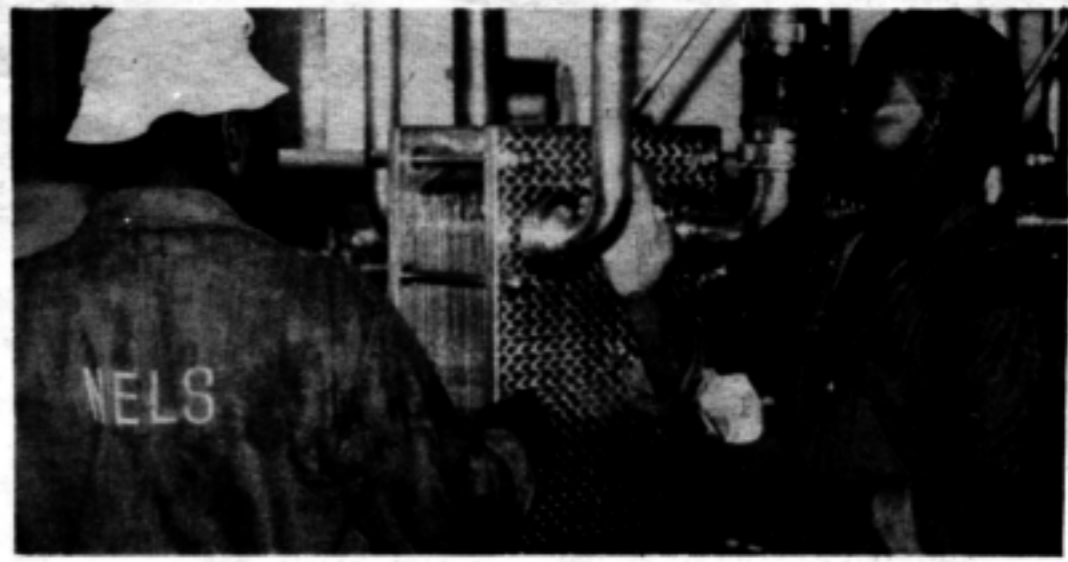
The medical profession has done little to control the activities of these multinational firms. Some companies often sponsor publications, conferences and even prizes in child health at a number of medical schools in the country. These activities serve to improve the image of

the company in the eyes of the medical profession and make the profession less likely argue about their other promotional activities.

Recently some manufacturers have 'agreed' to stick to certain codes of advertising, as laid down by the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Childrens Fund. Observers, however, believe that the interpretation of this code by the manufacturers differs from that of the international organisations. The observers believe that the promotion of these infant formulas should be watched and documented. They say that readers who know of promotional activities aimed at encouraging bottle-feeding should contact them through this newspaper.

What is clear, the observers say, is that the companies are part of a system which encourages the making of profits, even if the health of the people suffers. To them, making money is more important than promoting health medical experts say. It is just one symptom they say of a diseased society — one which puts greater value on the making of money than on health.

The dairy strikers who won the war have lost the peace



The longest labour row in Reef history ends with a payout — and a setback

ONE of the longest labour disputes on the Witwatersrand in the past few years appears to have ended in a setback for the workers.

Although 24 ex-employees of Nels Dairy received R25 000 in an out-of-court settlement, none got their jobs back and irregular employment practices have continued, say union officials.

Nels Dairy is run by the Nel family. From as early as 1967, workers have levelled complaints about their conditions and hours of work. In 1967 Mr Piet Nel, who was then in charge, made some moves towards solving worker grievances after workers had made complaints about their conditions and hours of work. But Mr Nel's moves were mostly at an individual level.

As the firm grew the number of employees increased but real wage levels, although not dropping below the 'minimum wage' mark, remained low.

By 1974 the workers were beginning to complain about their wages. Consciousness and organisation developed.

In early 1975 they demanded to be paid weekly and that they be given the right to negotiate about wages. Following a workers' meeting, management sacked some of the leaders of the effort.

Not long after the workers went on strike. They prepared their vehicles, loaded the milk — and then refused to deliver. This strategy meant that no leadership could be pointed out and the dairy was crippled.

DISMISSED

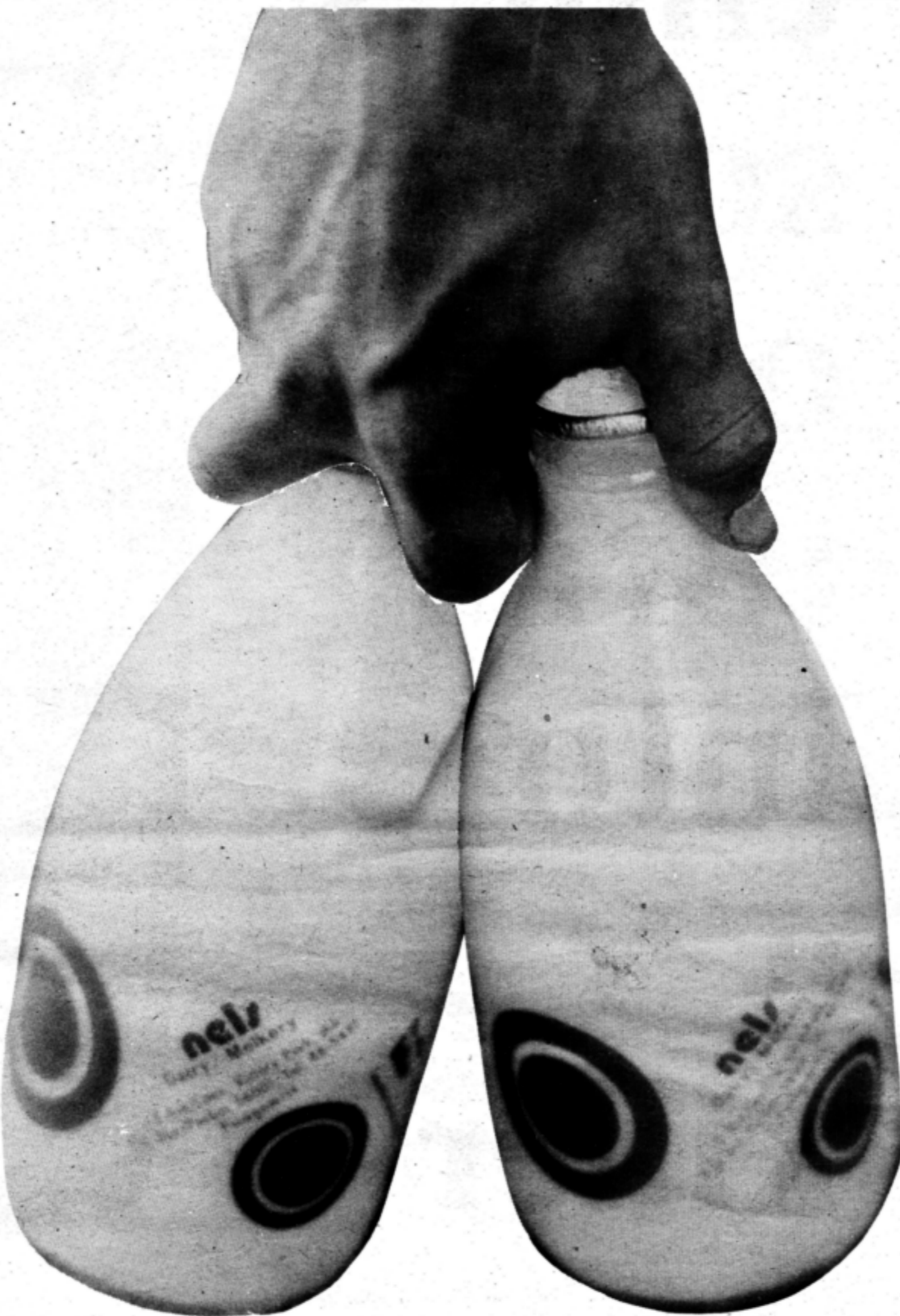
Management accepted certain demands but immediately after the settlement more workers were dismissed. Many of them were contract workers and they were endorsed out of Johannesburg.

The following years saw few efforts being made to do anything about the dissatisfaction of the Nels workers. By 1978, their grievances had multiplied and reached crisis proportions.

Mr Philip Mogwe, chairman of the Nels Union Committee, described the workers' grievances:

- * Management refused to give them new overalls.
- * They refused to listen to complaints, particularly about low wages.
- * Overtime was worked, but never officially noted.
- * Workers were expected to carry large sums of money without protection.
- * Eight Union supporters were sacked after they refused to be transferred to Shamrock Dairies.
- * Illegal deductions were made from workers' salaries.
- * Union members and those who wanted to start a works committee, were victimised.
- * Management obstructed attempts to form a works committee.
- * Fines were levied on workers for unofficial 'offences'.
- * The pension fund was 'useless'.

The first applicant in the workers' case, Mr Joseph Mabaso, was employed as a delivery driver by Nels from 1953. He said that 'the vast majority of black employees... have been unhappy and discontent with the conditions of employment'. He said that one of the managers, Mr Jannie Nel, had called



several meetings but it was 'not possible for black employees to advance their grievances, as Mr Nel allowed no discussion — he gave orders to those present'.

Two petitions, the first signed by 90 and the second by 260 workers, were presented to management. They called for the formation of a works committee. In September 1978, Mr Nel summoned Mr Mogwe to his office and told him he was 'not interested' in a works committee. However, under Section 7(a) of the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act, Mr Nel was in fact obliged to establish a works committee.

At this stage the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union, of which 250 Nels employees were members, had been dealing with the matter for several months with little success. The union focussed its attention on the works committee and illegal deduction issues which meant that worker action was forced to shift from strikes, to attempts at bargaining with management.

The union immediately sought a legal remedy — it did not push for the reinstatement of workers who had been sacked

— instead it filed an interdict to prevent further victimisation (a court order to Nels stopping them from firing anymore workers for being involved in works committee organisation).

In reply to the workers' charges, Mr Jannie Nel denied making illegal deductions and said that every worker who had problems or complaints had access to him or other directors. He claimed that workers had been dismissed because they became involved in 'union politics', disturbed the 'peaceful atmosphere' and 'disregarded democratic procedure'. He asked why men like Mr Mabaso had been working for his dairy for so long if they were unhappy.

DISSATISFIED

Mr Mabaso said that 'on account of South Africa's peculiar historic, economic and political development there are many factors which influence a black employee's decision to remain with an employer even if he is dissatisfied'. He said that most of Nel's employees were contract workers who could easily be endorsed out of the area, that their hours were too long for them to seek other

employment and that there was much unemployment and jobs were difficult to find.

He went on to deny Nel's claim that workers were 'treated humanly' and mentioned that black workers seldom approached the Dairy Trade Management Board with their problems for a good reason. — 'we regard it with great suspicion as Mr Hans Nel senior is a past chairman'.

The Supreme Court eventually granted the workers an interdict but legal action, as a long-term remedy was doomed simply because of the position of contract workers. This was shown by the fact that Mr Nel began calling in workers whose contracts were about to expire, asking them whether they supported a works committee and then not renewing the contracts of those who said they did.

The workers began to feel that strategy outside of court action was needed. However, the union advised them to wait, 'otherwise they would lose their organised strength'. In the meantime, new contract workers at Nels were told nothing of the dispute and worker unity became frail.

A number of meetings between workers and management took place between October and December. Mr Nel, with the co-operation of Labour Department officials, attempted to choose his own committee. The nominations of several union members were simply ignored — Mr Nel chose all his own supporters although they were in the minority. The meeting became rowdy and union members decided to leave. But Mr Nel closed the door. After further protests, the meeting was finally dissolved.

In January last year Mr Nel summoned Mr Mogwe and others into his office and informed them that he would dismiss 'each and every worker' who supported the establishment of a works committee.

Another major grievance arose on March 23 when a representative of Old Mutual met the workers to discuss their pension scheme. It was discovered that the workers' request for a book containing a record of their contributions to the pension fund had been vetoed by Mr Nel. Mr Mogwe was the workers' spokesman at the meeting. A few days later he and Mr Samuel Mokoena were fired. Mr Nel told them that they were being fired because they were leaders, and told them to collect their wages.

The next day — March 27 — the workers went on strike.

SETTLEMENT

Colonel Bothma of the African Police negotiated with workers and promised to help them solve their problems. Three days later he intervened after rumours that 20 people were to be sacked. It seems his actions were effective because there were no dismissals at the end of March.

Nevertheless by May 9, 1979, 18 more employees had been fired.

Mr Mabaso suggested that the real reason for their dismissal was their support for the establishment of a works committee.

On February 20, this year, R25 000 was awarded to Joseph Mabaso and 23 other applicants in an out-of-court settlement. However, the lawyers of the workers received R10 000 in fees and thus each worker was only paid about R600. The conclusion of the conflict was the workers feel a failure — not only did they get little compensation, but many of them have been blacklisted and cannot find other jobs.

Victimisation has not ended at Nels Dairy. On February 27 another worker, Mr Jairus Mosime had a brief discussion with Mr Mabaso. Mr Hans Nel senior called him in and, according to Mr Mosime, said to him: 'For 13 years you were good in your job. You gave us no trouble, but now you have spoken to Joseph Mabaso. I don't want you here anymore.' He was then sacked.

Three others have been fired because they supported the formation of a works committee.

* It should be noted that the information in this article is drawn chiefly from the affidavits of the case. Legally, therefore, it can only be considered as allegations.



Children throng in the grounds at a graffiti covered Transvaal school

Victory for boycotters as state takes step back

• From page 1

that 'white' education was no better because 'black education domesticates, white education indoctrinates.'

The students had seen beyond 1976, Mr Nkondo said, and that if the State wished to say that it was agitators behind the boycotts, then it could do so.

'Any system based on oppression forces people into positions of opposition. These people are referred to by the State as agitators. They can call them that if they wish,' Mr Nkondo said.

Unlike the education boycotts of 76/77 students have displayed a rigorous organisational discipline and direction. From the beginning the boycott has had a strong political and community emphasis.

A week before the first students came out, placards were posted on the fence at the Wynberg offices of the Department of Coloured Affairs with the message, 'Our parents are forced to work because the bread price has increased. School books are not free. Rents and rates are increased. They have no say. Solidarity workers, students, parents.'

It was for this reason, student leaders are saying, that students at all times maintained solidarity with their parents — the workers — and why demands and attacks on the education system included such statements of solidarity with workers and parents.

'The struggle now moves into other areas,' one student told Saspu NATIONAL.

Last week a meeting was held in Cape Town, between the Minister of Coloured Relations and Indian Affairs Marais Steyn, and a Natal delegation comprising members of the Parents Support Committee led by Dr Jerry Covadia vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress.

The non-violent nature of the boycotts and the unwillingness of the students to confront the police showed that students were aware that they were not capable of bringing about major changes and taking on the might of the State themselves.

including:

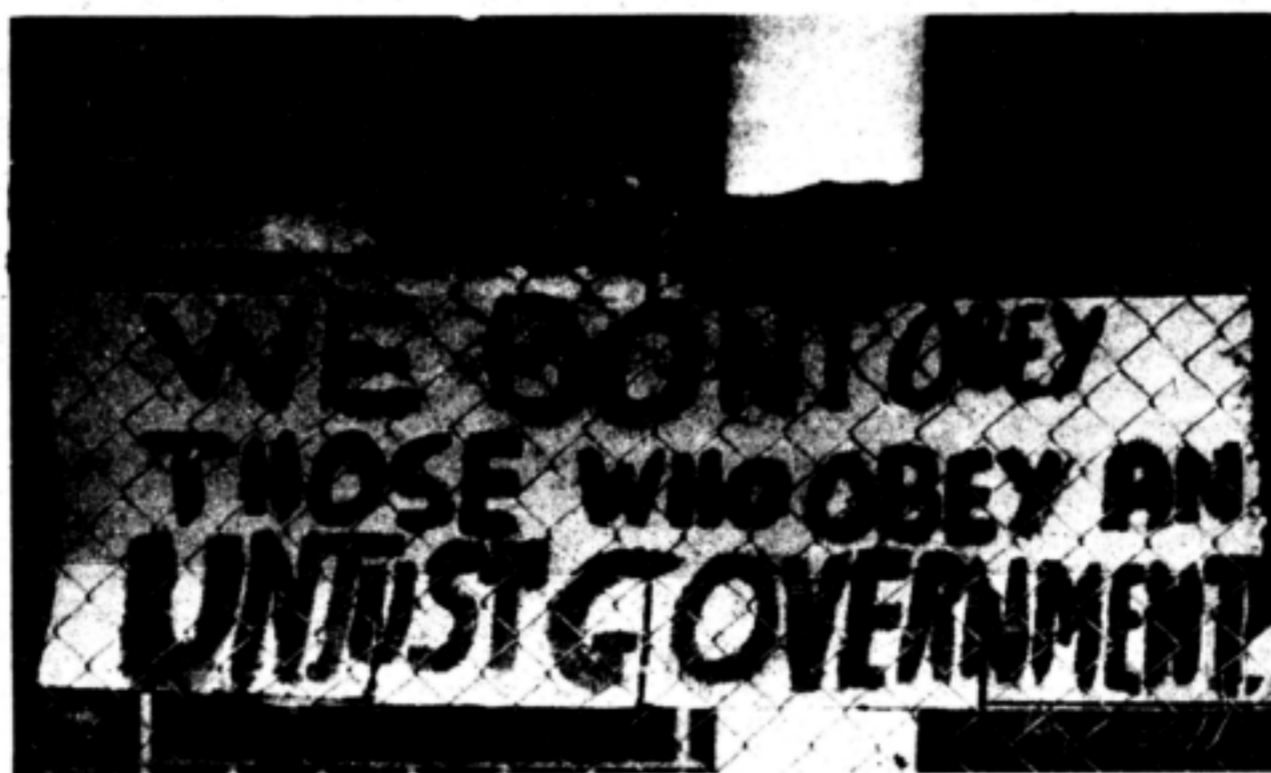
- No interference with SRCs at educational institutions.
- Unbiased textbooks to be distributed to students free.
- Free and equal facilities such as school buildings and their maintenance.
- The abolition of repressive security systems within universities, and restrictions on police activity at schools.
- Security for African students at the Natal Medical College.
- No victimisation of anyone connected with the boycott.

Whereas in 1976, immediate confrontation with the police led to an escalation of violence,

students being killed and a setback to student organisation through detentions and bannings, 1980 has demonstrated that limited protest against specific structures of domination increases the organisational strength of students while specific victories are won giving rise to new struggle, student leaders are saying.

Students have said that it made no difference what plan Mr Botha came up with, the system had not changed.

Free and compulsory education, they say, has not been introduced, and as such the reasons for struggle still exist.



Mr Coetzer tells why Nusas is a filthy smear

MOST NUSAS leaders were in cahoots with the African National Congress — and the Progressive Federal Party, a Nationalist MP said recently in Parliament.

Brandishing a copy of NUSAS's booklet 'Exposing Total Strategy' — which is banned both for distribution and possession — the MP, Mr Hendrick Coetzer of King William's Town, said that the Nusas leaders who were in cahoots with the ANC were in the vanguard of the PFP attempt on South Africa.

His reading from the booklet — and the inferences he drew from it about the PFP and ANC-inspired Nusas leaders — led to a sharp exchange between the Government MP and the PFP front benches.

Mr Harry Schwartz (PFP, Yeoville) suggested that Mr Coetzer should be arrested — he was committing a criminal offence just by possessing the banned booklet.

Mr Coetzer, who was speaking during the second reading debate on the budget, was ordered to withdraw questions about how far the PFP had been infiltrated by the ANC and which members of the PFP spoke and acted for the ANC.

He then went on to say that 'most of the NUSAS leaders are in cahoots with the ANC and other treasonable organisations.'

Later, he said in his speech: 'I have here a pamphlet from Nusas under the title 'NUSAS Theme 1980: Exposing Total Strategy'. It is a filthy and smearing affair which encourages the youth ...'

Mr Schwartz: 'I think it is a banned document.'

Mr Coetzer: '... not to get involved in the defence of our country and encourages the youth to ... the present system ...'

Mr Schwartz: 'They should arrest him when he walks out of here.'

Mr Coetzer: 'The honourable member will find that very funny.'

Mr Schwartz: 'You are committing a criminal offence.'

Mr Coetzer: 'The member must defend the pamphlet because it involves him. This pamphlet urges, at the same time, the youth to reject the present system and order in our country.'

Mr Schwartz: 'What are you doing with a banned document?'

Mr Coetzer: 'The member for Houghton (Mrs Helen Suzman) and the member for Pinelands Dr Alec Boraine) tactically approve this kind of Marxist, revolutionary behaviour.'

He was, however, ordered to withdraw this reference to Mrs Suzman and Dr Boraine.

Mr Coetzer then quoted from a newspaper report which said NUSAS students at the University of Natal had rejected the banning of 'Exposing Total Strategy' and the NUSAS president, Andrew Boraine, had said that the organisation was in touch with their lawyers about it.

'I wonder how long it will be before the members for Houghton and Pinelands will come to the defence of their chicks. I cannot help but ask myself a further question.'

Mrs Suzman: 'You will only get a silly answer.'

Mr Coetzer: 'How far does the total strategy of some Prog members stretch for the overthrow of law and order in this country?'

Relief fund set up to aid sacked tyre workers

A RELIEF fund committee has been set up by workers dismissed during the strike at General Tyre.

The committee plans to provide financial help for the workers and their families, and will try to get the workers their jobs back.

The South African Institute of Race Relations has started a fund-raising campaign, while organisations such as the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) and the South African Council of Churches

(SACC) have been approached to assist in publicity and fund-raising activity.

Pebco is to negotiate with General Tyre management on behalf of the remaining 25 fired workers who have been out of work for five months.

The General Tyres strike started on November 14 last year after General Tyre had fired two workers three days earlier. The 625 workers that struck were told that they were fired and had to re-apply for jobs by December 7.

Of the 50 or so workers who were not re-employed, 25 have been unable to find new employment because of bad recommendations from General Tyre, the relief fund committee claims.

According to the chairperson of the committee, Dr Patutu Ntamo, should the Pebco negotiations with management prove unsuccessful they will appeal to other factories to employ these people. The workers feel that they have been unreasonably treated, as their

services were terminated during negotiations and not on the factory floor.

Of the entire work force of General Tyre that struck all were taken back except for those that management accused of being 'instigators'. Saspu National asked General Tyre Industrial Relations Officer Mr Van Heerden whether the workers would get their jobs back. He said that they would not but said he would not disclose the reasons.

The Art of Exile Politics

WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONALISM, POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND ART?

THE following interview was given to the Belgian journalist Ger Halberzot in Europe during 1976. Its earlier publication was delayed by the forced closure of the journal for which Halberzot then worked.

The reason for publishing the following extract is that it should stimulate discussion and criticism amongst those people — writers, painters and musicians — who find themselves caught between the history of Europe and the history of Europe's explosive 'backyard' and dumping ground, the Third World today.

MUSIC: PERFORMANCE AND PROPAGANDA (From an interview with Gilles Nana, Nigerian born composer and activist in Paris)

Ger Halberzot: People often complain that music can't be a successful political tool, because it can't give you events, I mean, you don't get a story or see pictures of things happening. Gilles, what is your opinion of this?

Gilles Nana: Well, first, we must make clear what music you mean. There's no sense in running together say ethnic musics, jazz and the European tradition just because only one word exists for them. A massive political weight rests on each one, and massive differences separate them — I don't just mean the uses they have been put to, by different classes and so on, but also what these same classes have not allowed to happen in the music of their societies.

Ger Halberzot: Do you mean class power somehow makes some musical developments impossible?

Gilles Nana: Well of course! It affects everything else, it lets exploitation develop all the time, and stops resistance developing at the same time, so why on earth should any art escape its effects if all of life doesn't?

Ger Halberzot: You're saying music is defined more by what is left out of it, by what it hasn't been able to do, than by what it has done?

Gilles Nana: Yes... music today is a matter of gaps, a field of absences, just like the proletariat as the bourgeoisie sees it (laughs). But if you speak to bourgeois composers about the materials they're using, you'll get the impression it's so smooth, nothing's missing, the next step is obvious, nothing's contradictory about it. And this is of course one face of ideology.

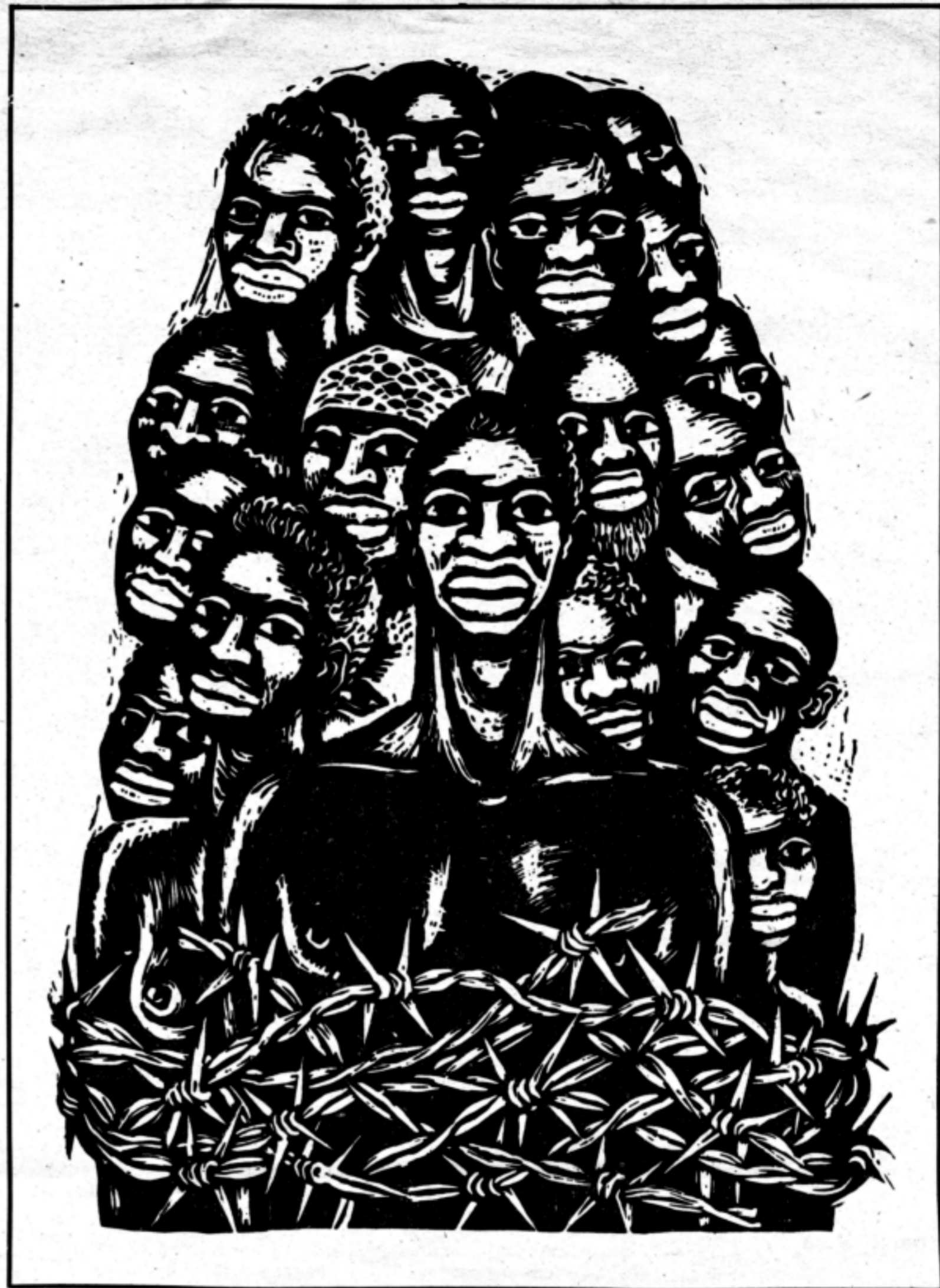
Ger Halberzot: Can you make this clearer?

Gilles Nana: Look, our class societies are like pipelines filled with petrol — let's call this petrol contradiction. We know it's at the heart of exploitation, but is always undergoing changes. This spiderweb of contradictions can begin exploding anywhere, any time — But the contradiction is also black and white, inside and outside, comrade and enemy... It's the power to divide and exclude, to divide again, and exclude more

and more. This is such a fact of life that it needs no explanation; what needs explaining is the man or woman who does intellectual work and who does not immediately and everywhere see the world in this way. I often say to myself: History has it you're a militant and a musician. This means sufficiently privileged to travel and study — But I find in Europe another ghetto, a strange one where artists and intellectual workers put themselves until the rules of the ideological game in these metropolises allow them to think that what they do is good or fits into some valuable tradition. — I quickly saw that the power holders, the ideologists and financiers have done a dividing job — academics are given their 'serious music', jazz is given to the nightclubs and 'ethnic music' is left for eccentrics and anthropological specialists. And of course each category has its appropriate form of journalism and working between them appears senseless to the well educated European.

Ger Halberzot: How do you fit yourself into this?

Gilles Nana: My first task is to see how I can cross these codes — They are the outcome of repression and one must bring the facts that the common sense ideology of music tries to hide into full view — Preferably in one's work, and not in writings about this work, because some day someone will tear your label off and put their own version on, while the work stands there indifferent and helpless. This happened to constructivist painting under Stalin, and happens to Brecht today under the bourgeois. So what I try to do is to make a genuine dialectic between the surface of a musical language and what that surface hides — like the shining surface of a lake hides the things that are on the bottom. This is a dialectic because neither part ends up covering or swallowing the other — my works do not begin with some finished product in mind. They rather arise from everything that happens when you try to sew together all the threads that the historical and ideological guillotine of history has cut apart. It's like interpreting a dream — sometimes the material is comical because two things otherwise totally different are pushed together. Each part of the available historical material today has hundreds of corridors built into it which you can follow when trying to make



something new. Anything is possible except pretending that your work is the final version of all the tendencies in the material. This principle, of turning inside out what ideology and common sense have tried to present as a closed circle, I learned from Brecht, it governs my attitude not only to the European musical past but also to the relations between European and other music. I ask myself: Is the one the repressed form of the other? And if it is, how can I present this relation of repression or mirror-imaging to my hearers?

Ger Halberzot: But this could result in a kind of capitalist museum in which all musics come together to be displayed on shelves.

Gilles Nana: Yes, but only if you lose sight of the social forces that make different styles, and forget that contradictions exist between them which have not been resolved on the social plane. — I'm not talking about the facile reconciling of 'Western' and 'exotic' music — I'm happy to accept this world museum once one ideology stops dominating all others. But now I want to see what potential one kind of music has for making friction against another, for splitting it down to the core, to the core of stubborn ideas that change slowly if at all in any art which has a long tradition. Ask yourself why not every style is possible at any one time — say Beethoven's in 1960, and the answer will tell you why an African music and a modern West European music can't co-exist without a mass of problems, in the same space. It is these problems which I want to clarify if not solve — the same goes for knowledge. Marx's ideas could not have come about in the fourteenth century, but and this is the important paradox,

they can become and are effective in the equivalent feudal societies today. — The same might apply to certain styles in art and literature etc. This is the interesting dialectic which runs through intellectual work today.

Ger Halberzot: What is the main sense in which your work is political?

Gilles Nana: Obviously, not just because of the texts I use. We know that the most conservative musical materials, those pickled in ideology have had texts grafted onto them, and were then called political. — Stalinist example once more. What is truly political in art is the need to free conditions under which it is produced, the forms, materials and their use, the public function of these things — to free them from the ideological content that is from everything that has made music or writing deny or contradict reality or, I should say, deny the reality of contradiction — in itself history. The past has welded artistic materials to political lies in hundreds of subtle ways — it's almost like the way you deceive yourself when dreaming only this dream has been real, the history of real deceptions, of real power to silence the truth, often silencing it in death. To separate what is usable from what is ruined needs an intimate knowledge of history and technique. I would say impossibly intimate, something you can never be sure of really having, something that makes you take account of everything in a suspicious way. Possibility is the most difficult kind of awareness — one can never know whether a work is an error before you do it — you only see errors afterwards — only later, that you know you've made them.

Ger Halberzot: What European composers most interest you?

Gilles Nana: Berg, Henri Posseur, above all Luigo Nono (pause).

Ger Halberzot: Some might say three typically European members of a narrow avant-garde.

Gilles Nana: Yes, and two communists and a sympathetic fellow traveller. What is avant-garde anyway? You cannot challenge a dominant ideology by seeking refuge in it, you must work to innovate, and this is not only a social struggle but a scientific one too, a struggle against language. — Brecht is once again a good example. (Translated from the French).

Stop press

PEBCO LEADER FLEES

BANNED community leader Mr Thozamile Botha arrived in Maseru last week to an enthusiastic welcome from other South African political refugees.

Mr Botha was a leading figure in the recent strike at the Port Elizabeth Ford plant and was chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation until February when he was served with a banning order.

CAMPUS MEETINGS BANNED

A MASS meeting called by the students' representative council at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, to support the 'Free Mandela' campaign was banned last Thursday.

A second meeting, in support of the international "day of solidarity with the peoples, workers and students of South Africa" was also banned.