

Violence erupted at a recent Federation of South African Women's demonstration against Soweto rent increases

Confrontation at demos as rents rocket to all-time high

MASSIVE demonstrations and violent confrontation has greeted a nation-wide increase in township rents

Communities in all four provinces have responded in a massive show of organised opposition to the unreasonable rates they are being forced to pay for inferior housing

Demonstrations against the huge rent increases — in some cases as much as 300 percent — have led to clashes between angry residents and police. In most cases the implementors of the increases — the government created community councils — have been forced to back down.

In Soweto, thousands of people turned out to voice their opposition to rent increases imposed by the Soweto Council leading to demonstrations in which at least one person died and many were injured.

In Durban, entire communities have rallied to the call put out by the Durban Housing Action Committee to boycott rental payments. The city council was forced to back down.

Township residents in Port Elizabeth nine months ago refused to pay the increased rates. Despite continued harassment they are still standing firm in their protest.

The story is the same all over the



Federation women lead the way

country — in Bloemfontein, Vosloorus, Sharpville, Pietersburg, Cape Town and elsewhere.

What these dispersed areas are protesting against is:

- rent increases of up to 300 percent
- community councils which have not liaised with the communities before rent increases.
- evictions when rents are not paid
- inferior housing
- prestige schemes by the council to boost their own images and which benefit only a few, and
- the housing shortage.

"Away with Community Councils," is the common cry. As a resident of Phoenix said, "we want representation from people who have lived and suffered with us — not community councils elected on a six percent poll or state-nominated local Affairs Committees."

This feeling has been reinforced by the rapid growth of independent rate payers associations. The bodies differ from the community councils in that they are based on firm grassroots support.

Because of this they have been in the forefront of the battle against rent and rate increases.

Decisions to act have been taken by the communities as a whole. Mass meetings of a many as 2000 people have decided, with the elected committees, on what form their resistance should take.

The Lebowa government was forced to drop rent increases by the popularly elected Seshogo Village Committee.

The Committee claimed that "rent increases are totally unjust because wages are so low and were not increased too."

The Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC), a body elected by residents who have labelled the government-created LAC's as "irrelevant" has twice forced the Durban City Council to postpone rent increases.

Thas Sigh of Phoenix claims that thousands of people are starving there. "Here we worry about rent first only later can we think about clothes and food. And yet the City Council and the Local Affairs Committees discuss multiracial swimming pools, tarred roads and the lack of robots."

The Zwide Residents Association has led the people of Zwide in a total rent boycott which has lasted for



Soweto says no to rent increases

eight months.

One resident has not paid his R33, 11 monthly installments since October last year because "I feel that I should not deviate from the decision taken by the residents. Unless the board reduces the rent to R18 a month we shall boycott."

In Soweto over 1 000 people led by the Federation of South African Women and a number of independent ratepayers' associations attended to confront the "mayor" of Soweto, David Thebehali, to force him to withdraw the rent increase.

The protest coincided with the Soweto Community Council "freedom of the city" award to Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development.

The demostating crowd which later grew to 6000 carried banners which said "Thebehali is killing us".

The independent ratepayers' association have been distinguished by the massive popular support they have received. This is in marked contrast to the largely discredited state-appointed community councils.

Residents have learnt that it is

only through unity and hard struggle that success will be achieved.

Although individuals have harassed and intimidated by administration boards, when the community has rallied to their support the board have been powerless to act.

A Women's Action Committee in Cape Town came together and stopped a woman from being taken out of her house.

"They broke the locks and moved the furniture back into the house from the street. The residents then guarded the house from the police.

"When they refused to leave her husband was put jail. But the people fought and got him out."

The rent increases and the protests have not been confined to the urban areas.

At Mandlo Township near Vryheid, which is a resettlement area falling under the KwaZulu Government, thirty-five thousand people owe more than R200 000 after boycotting a rate increase which came into effect in January last year.

Only 1,5 percent of the 2000 plot owners in the township are paying the increase rates, raised from 84 cent a month to R6,40 a month.

Ten out of the eleven members of the township committee were forced to resign, but a special residents committee failed to persuade the the KwaZulu government to scrap the increase.

The former "mayor" of Mondlo, Mr Paul Nhlapo who was blamed for the rent increase, now lives in fear of his life after being shot twice by an anonymous sniper.

Struggle against the rent increases and for better housing echo the demand that there "be housing, security and comfort for all."

Many protesters have quoted the Freedom Charter: "All people shall have the right to live where they chose to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security."

Its all inside

Borraine responds to Gatsha jibes • pg 3

Tents and tin privys in 'typhoid town' • pg 12

Tempers flare as rents rocket • pg 13

Crazy nights with the Jazz Maniacs • pg 14

Abnormal sport in race ridden society • Back page

Ghandi's party is alive and well and organising in Natal • See Centre spread

2 dead, 16 injured in Bloem student unrest

Since the beginning of the year two Bloemfontein students, J Sejake and J Makokoto, died as a result of gunshot wounds and 16 people have been wounded, police sources have said.

At one stage in the schools boycott there the entire police force in the northern Free State was placed on alert after police opened fire on rioters in the black township of Batho. Two women were reported injured by the Acting Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Free State.

He also claimed that cars were set alight and that passing vehicles were stoned. Black schoolchildren, he said, were on the rampage, and a few stonethrowers were held for

questioning.

A police statement said: "Pupils have barricaded the roads and stoned vehicles. An unidentified black has been found with a bullet wound in his leg."

All bus services into the township were stopped.

A white national serviceman was seriously injured when he was attacked by a group of blacks who hijacked his military vehicle. Police, who followed the vehicle into the township, opened fire on the group when they attacked.

These incidents followed a massive boycott of schools by Batho students in protest against Bantu Education.

The boycott started when they

protested against the detention of one of their teachers, who was subsequently released and then redetained.

One of the students commented: "The struggle took shape and the students resolved that they no longer wanted Bantu Education."

"It is an inferior type of education calculated to make blacks good servants of the white minority rulers of our beloved land", he said.

Police stopped marchers protesting against Bantu Education. The police baton charged the students and two students were shot during the demonstrations.

Both of these students were given "heroes funerals" where large demonstrations took place.

During the boycotts a Parents Committee was set up by school inspectors and social workers. "Bantu Education is not much different to white education. Students should go back to school because to abolish Bantu Education is a long-term process," they said.

But the students rejected the body, calling its members "quislings and puppets" and they continued the boycott.

A black policeman, Detective Sergeant Kwatelo was attacked by black youths. He was assaulted and his pistol taken.

Another black policeman, Constable Selisa was seriously assaulted by a group of youths. He was set alight by the youths and he

later died in hospital.

A third, Detective Sergeant Majaka had his home gutted after it was set alight.

Students in Bloemfontein are reported to still be boycotting schools with the support of their parents.

• The bulk of the text received from our correspondent in Bloemfontein cannot be published in terms of South African police and publications laws. This article was limited to information acknowledged by the South African Police.

Westville gets its first SRC after eight years of struggle

The eight year struggle for an independent SRC at the University of Durban-Westville has ended. In a highly contentious election held four weeks ago an SRC which will be governed by a constitution drawn up by students was elected on a 42% poll.

This is seen as a victory for progressive students. No SRC has existed on the Westville campus since 1972 when students voted to boycott all extra-mural facilities of the university. The boycott was in line with the Natal Indian Congress rejection of state-created institutions.

In 1978 a group of students decided that it was important that the facilities of the university be used to mobilise and politicise students. They attempted to set up an SRC which was independent from the university administration. Administration refused insisting that an SRC could only be formed if it was prepared to serve under the control of and with a constitution formulated by admin officials. Durban-Westville students rejected these conditions.

A constitutional committee was set up by progressive students in 1979 to draw up an SRC constitution and pressurise admin to accept it. They managed to mobilise a great deal of support on campus and at the beginning of 1980 won a successful orientation week (one of the first student organised events in eight years).

Their hard work and mobilising capacity forced the administration to accept the constitution drawn up by them and elections were scheduled for June. Due to the school boycott they were cancelled and finally held in September.

The constitutional committee sat with a fair degree of criticism for organising and pushing for an SRC. They were called sell-outs and collaborationists. A section of the student population called for a boycott of the elections.

Twenty candidates stood for the fifteen available places in the SRC. All stressed that participating in state-controlled institutions did not imply acceptance of them. Participation in the SRC was a tactical move to enhance the struggle they maintained. "Depending on the material conditions (the level of organisation and consciousness of the student body) we have to develop the best means to accomplish the objectives we set out to achieve," said one candidate.

Due to the splits which emerged on campus following the SRC elections the SRC called three elections the SRC called three mass-meetings at which the issues were thrashed out. At the last meeting a compromise resolution was passed by the great majority of the students which in the struggle. The first election of the SRC newspaper warned against the dozens of the "state exploiting the contradictions

and differences amongst groups on campus" to further their own ends.

Messages of solidarity have been received from many quarters. George Sewpersadh, the Natal Indian Congress President, praised the Westville students for the creative way in which they resolved the potentially damaging splits on campus. A survey after the meetings also showed that a far greater number of students had confidence in the newly elected SRC than at the time of their election.

The SRC has dedicated itself to struggling for a democratic South Africa. As the President stated in the SRC newspaper: "In the struggle for a democratic society our people have learnt two important lessons ... that it is only through struggle that we will achieve victory and the only effective way to struggle is through unity".

"We as students must contribute to the struggle for a just and democratic society. As a sector of our people we have our own grievances against the education system which have led to the mass boycotts of education institutions. Although the importance of the student struggle cannot be denied, it is the struggles of the workers at factories and the communities that is fundamental to the creation of a democratic society. Thus the role of the students is to both forward their grievances against the educational system and to actively contribute to the broader struggle for a democratic society".

months ago.

The delegation, led by Senegal's foreign minister Mr Moustapha Niassé, has already been to the UN General Assembly this session.

But it decided to shelve its demands pending the outcome of the UN mission to South Africa.

Mr Minty noted that the strongest reaction to sanctions was coming from the British government. Swapo's supporters had to exert pressure on Whitehall to get effective action, he said.

The British foreign office would not comment this week on the outcome of the UN mission. However, officials pointed out that the mission's leader, Mr Brian Urquhart, had not agreed with reports that talks with South Africans had broken down.

Taking the Paris conference line, Swapo is making maximum propaganda use of the 14th anniversary of the UN General Assembly's revocation of South Africa's mandate to administer the territory.

Their campaign will climax with a mass public meeting here on December 10 — UN Human Rights Day — addressed by Swapo's president Mr Sam Nujoma.



JOHN GULTIG — NUSAS PROJECTS OFFICER
"When 40 odd parcels sent to 3 destinations on 2 different dates go missing one is surprised. When the booklets are banned by the State a few days later — before they have been distributed — one becomes suspicious. But when an airport official says, "It happens everyday..."!!!!

The strange case of the Nusas handbook which went missing before being banned

Somebody at SAA has a secret craving for student publications, or so it would seem when a major consignment of NUSAS publications bound for the various affiliate campuses, disappeared mysteriously while in transit.

The consignment bound for Johannesburg, Durban and P.E. consisted of 100's of copies of a trade union dossier, a student benefits handbook and a poster, that NUSAS hoped to sell on the campuses during October.

But October has come and gone and the consignment which was given to SAA on the 8th of that month, has like the Lusitania disappeared without a trace.

Frustrated NUSAS office bearers at the various centres have been fighting, threatening and pleading with all manner of airport bureaucrats to find a clue. To no avail, and now airport authorities have thrown up their hands and confessed, "We don't know where

they are!" Also, security police sources at all centres have denied siezing the consignment.

Meanwhile as if the loss of their year end media blitz was not enough for NUSAS, the Publication Directorate banned all the absentee publications, despite the fact that none had ever seen the light of day on any of the campuses.

Particularly surprising is the banning of the student handbook, a rather innocuous collection of student benefits from A to Z and oddities like sprouting granola.

The committee gave as its reason for banning a section on contraception which the committee said, "would encourage 'sexual promiscuity'".

NUSAS have appealed against the banning and a decision should be known by next week. Meanwhile they have also put in a claim for R3 500 to SAA for the publications that "flew their own way and not SAA".

UN told to declare Namibia independent under Swapo leadership.

Namibia should be declared independent immediately, and should be admitted to the United Nations under Swapo's leadership.

This was suggested by Akporode Clark, Nigerian representative at the United Nations, at a special meeting recently of the UN Council on Namibia.

He also proposed that the Security Council adopt obligatory sanctions against South Africa in addition to the arms embargo already in force.

Mr Clark's suggestion coincided with an announcement by Swapo that black Africa will be calling for mandatory sanctions against Pretoria within weeks.

The Swapo announcement came after news that the UN mission to South Africa had failed to reach agreement on a ceasefire date with Botha's government.

Swapo has now launched an offensive to stop Western powers from vetoing a boycott.

Briefing diplomats and journalists in New York, Swapo's chief representative, Mr Shapuuu Kaukungwa said the Western peace initiative was now "indisputably dead."

"The talking is over," he said. "It is now time for action."

The South African regime was neither serious nor sincere, he said. It did not want a peaceful settlement in Namibia, and would have to be forced out.

Nr Abdula Minty, the Anti-Apartheid Movement honorary secretary, said fresh sanctions demands would be made this month.

He is a member of the special delegation which will take the demands to the African group in New York from the Namibian solidarity conference in Paris two

Kaunda told to watch it

Kenneth Kaunda's government will have to introduce programmes to serve the interests of most Zambians if it is to survive, according to the Kenyan Daily Nation.

Commenting on the president's announcement of a thwarted coup attempt, the Daily Nation said the govern-

ment was faced with serious political and economic problems which in the past it had done little to contain.

"Whether his government survives will depend mainly on whether it can begin to have programmes which will be seen to serve the interests of most Zambians."

Nusas President replies to Gatsha allegations

"Chief Buthelezi's time could be better spent critically evaluating the role of his own organisation during the mass campaigns of resistance this year, rather than make petty comments about police infiltration into NUSAS," said Nusas President Andrew Boraine this week.

He was replying to the latest attack made by Buthelezi on the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) when the chief addressed the quarterly meeting of the South African Black Alliance (SABA) in Port Elizabeth last week.

Buthelezi, referring to Nusas, said that it was bad enough to be infiltrated by police agents but "to be run by them for years is much worse in the sense that they dish out

money to black organisations, in the name of white radicalism."

"Watch out for these so-called white radicals, particularly within Nusas circles," he said.

"There are some of us who have so far escaped being assisted financially by the special police of South Africa under the guise of white radicalism" the homeland chief said.

In reply Mr Boraine said he found it strange that the chief could talk so easily of financial assistance from the special police when Inkatha's reply to the Release Mandela Campaign and its total and ruthless opposition to the nation-wide schools boycott labeled it so patently as servants of the State.



Gatsha Buthelezi ... yet another attack

"Riot police were used in the Transvaal, E Cape and W Cape to quell the protests of students. In Natal, Inkatha impi's did the job. The widescale intimidation by these people actually led to a court order



Andrew Boraine ... not concerned.

being sought by anxious parents to protect their children from Buthelezi's army," he said.

Inkatha obviously does not have to bother about police infiltration — what need is there to infiltrate an

organisatin that does the States dirty work for it?"

Boraine maintained that it was common knowledge that these organisations who stand in genuine opposition to Apartheid — "progressive organisations working for a non-racial and democratic SA" — will have to live with police infiltration as well as other forms of state oppression such as bannings and detentions.

"The real issue is not whether organisations are infiltrated or not," claimed Boraine. "It is the reason why they are infiltrated and how they are able to overcome this obstacle — which is no more than an accepted hazard for South African progressives — that is important."

DESPITE the fact that Nelson Mandela has been in jail for 16 years, his spirit continues to influence thousands of people, and his unseen presence strides South Africa like a colossus.

This was said by Paul Davids, member of the executive of the Natal Indian Congress and of the Natal Free Mandela committee, at a packed meeting held at Wits to commemorate October 11, the International Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners.

Davids told his audience that men like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathadra, Dennis Goldberg and others were, in the final analysis, in the Government's prisons for their ideas. And ideas, he said, could never be contained by bars.

He said that a focus on the ideals of these men was a focus on the historic Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955, and the Freedom Charter that emanated from it.

"We join with our people in this country by declaring that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood enjoying equal rights and opportunities", he said.

"That is why Mandela and all the other political prisoners must be released. I waste time if I take the classical line that the government should release political prisoners because a show of mercy and clemency is a show of the extent of its own power and strength and its own advancement.

"Both sides in the conflict in our country are equally powerful — the government forces in their armoury and the African National Congress in its numerical support and the support of its ideals. The government offers a place in the sun for a privileged few. The African National Congress offers a place for all South Africans, black and white.

"Therefore reality must be faced and the two sides must talk as equals. Zimbabwe offers the immediate reason why this talking must take place urgently. We all want peace. The majority of us want freedom, justice and peace, and we rededicate ourselves in the fight for freedom, in our faith in the justice

Mandela spirit still a colossus — Paul David



Flashback ... mobilized behind Mandela release call

sought by the Charter, and the peace which both will surely bring."

Davids said that October 11 had been remembered as a day of solidarity since 1963, when the United Nations passed a resolution calling for the urgent release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

The resolution was adopted soon after the leadership of the ANC was arrested. They were convicted of Sabotage in 1964 in the famous Rivonia trial, or, as Justice de Villiers called it, the Operation Mayibuye trial.

But, said Davids, the ANC had only embarked on its programme of sabotage after years of peaceful and non-violent protest against the ever-increasing flow of discriminatory legislation passed by successive governments.

Formed in 1912, it gained widespread recognition in 1952 when, together with the South

African Indian Congress, it started a campaign in defiance of unjust laws.

But after the Nationalists rushed through Parliament the Public Safety Act and the Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act, which provided savage penalties including whipping for anyone who protested or incited others to do so, the Defiance Campaign was suspended.

Meetings were forbidden in many areas. Leaders were forbidden to attend meetings. Some were even banished from their homes. Hundreds of the leaders were charged and jailed for their part in the Defiance Campaign.

In 1954 the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats (which included white Democrats) and the South African Coloured peoples Organisation jointly agreed to sponsor the Congress of the People which was

intended to be a meeting place for representatives from all over South Africa to speak out their demands and aspirations so that they could be expressed in a single document.

On June 26, 1955 in Kliptown, while scores of security police were searching, confiscating, quizzing and photographing all 3000 of the delegates present, the Freedom Charter was accepted clause by clause.

"What a fantastic conference that must have been", said Davids. "Delegates from all over South Africa setting down on paper the kind of South Africa they visualised for all. The opening lines of the Freedom Charter set the tone for the rest of the document:

"We the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know: That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white"

"It categorically states that South Africa is one indivisible entity for all its citizens — black and white.

Davids said that two youngsters, Msima Sexwle and Naledi Tsiki of the famous Pretoria Twelve talked poignantly recently of the influence of the Freedom Charter on their lives. Like so many youngsters who have been convicted of offences involving activities of the African National Congress they believed in the society envisaged by the Charter.

"This risk I must take and in taking it I must face fully all the issues which it raises. Force is a material issue and must be discussed on material lines."

Sexwale and Tsiki were now political prisoners, and the court found in their case that their attempt to overthrow the State involved violent means, said Davids. While I



Paul David at Wits

talk of these two in reverent terms, I do not and it does not mean I advocate the use of violence and force in South Africa. To discuss the question of violence, its rights and wrongs may expose one to the accusation that he favours it.

It therefore had to be pointed out that the Africans in the Republic were unarmed, that the government and its repressive forces were fully armed, largely as a result of the efforts of its unholy partners, America, England and France and to a lesser extent West Germany. In addition to being fully armed, the government troops were not likely to revolt against government orders.

Davids said the growth of the Republic's armed forces was linked with the growth of the opposition presented by the African National Congress in its national liberation struggle.

The campaign for the defiance of unjust laws kindled the militant spirit cradled in the hearts of black men. They were prepared to make the sacrifice and the leadership showed them the way by their own personal sacrifice.

The state's response to the Congress of People and the Freedom Charter showed in no uncertain terms that it was determined to crush all opposition. General strikes of a political nature as against purely economic strikes abounded everywhere. And the States response was repression.

And then in 1961, said Davids, came the decision to take up arms.

"Every single peaceful demand was turned down," he said. Doors shut in the peoples' faces. The government would not negotiate.

The peoples' peaceful protests were met with bullets. No negotiation not even on things like the hateful and humiliating passes for men and women, not even legislation which made the African an alien in his own land. Let the late Edgar Brookes, that renowned Liberal himself turn

Cape youth detained after school boycott

AN undisclosed number of Western Cape school children are still in detention and all the Peninsula's African schools remain closed following a prolonged boycott of classes.

Some of the pupils, who have been in detention for the past month under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, are now being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

They are Oupa Lehulere, 20, president of the Students' Represe-

ntative Council of Fezeka High School; Kent Mkalipi, 20, the SRC vice-president, Bongani Mpondo, Vuyisile Mzaza, Peter Hendrickse and Vusumzi Mbetha.

Lehulere, Mkalipi and four other pupils, Gladstone Mandla Buti, 20, Lonwabo Hashe, 20, and two youths appeared on October 16 in the Athlone Magistrate Court on three charges of sabotage.

A seventh pupil, Cynthia Nduna, 20, had her case postponed in absentia.

The pupils were ordered to remain in custody until after the case was completed by the Attorney-General "in the interests of the security of the state and the maintenance of public order".

The case was transferred to the Worcester Regional Court on January 26, 1981. The accused will thus have spent five months in jail before their case is heard.

On October 13 and 14, the police directorate of public relations confirmed the detention of four girls

between the ages of 15 and 17 under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

They are Nokuzola Dniso, 15, Mildred Mazhama, 15, Lilian Msuthu, 17, and Alton Sobuwa, all of Cape Town. They were detained with Carol Plaatjies, 14, and Nancy Qika, 14, who are also held under the same act.

Two other township school children, Ayanda Maloni and Kenneth Dantile, are still being held after police broke up a meeting at a church building in Guguletu.

Mandela's spirit looms larger than ever

• From page 3

the question in his own mind as he says:

"Can we hope to achieve freedom for all men in Africa. Even if we were sure of ultimate success, have we the right to keep millions of men waiting through long decades for deliverance? The increasing use of migrant labour means the destruction of family life, with untold harm to men, women and little children. All the apparatus of statutes suspending the rule of law, security police, the harrowing of prisoners and potential witnesses, must year by year lessen the cherished tradition of freedom and justice. And all this we are not at present able to overthrow."

And that said Davids, was exactly the same situation that Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki Kathrada, Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoale-

di, Mlangeni, Wilton Mkwayi and many other found themselves in. They resisted what they felt to be evil. An erosion of civil liberties, being rendered landless, cast into reserves to be merely the resevoir of labour and of course the dumping ground of the unemployed being trodden over at every twist and turn by a small minority.

Davids said that in South Africa today, thousands of scholars were out of school refusing the inferior education and facilities foisted on them. Only 650 students out of 4000 at Fort Hare. The argument that a little education is better than non at all did not hold too much among the youth.

In the worker field, the largest umbrella body for unregistered trade unions, was growing in strength. Activity amongst workers has ben heightening, ever since the 1973 Natal strikes rocked the country, he said.

Bus boycotts, rents and housing compaigns sports compaigns we are well supported and the people were engaged in some sort of struggle



Percy Quoboza at start of 'freedom' call

involving an issue which affects them.

Progressive professional associations had been formed. Certain medical unions for example were demanding justice in the Biko enquiry and were accusing the Medical Association of being partial to the doctors who treated Biko. Lawyers had formed the Democratic Lawyers Association and it now

affiliated to the International Commission of Jurists

Womens day had been observed in many parts of South Africa. The womens' herioc struggle and the contribution of Dorothy Nyembe and Lilian Ngoyi, Vera Ponnen, Dorthy Shanley and Mrs Naiddo were recalled.

Nusas was urging white students to remain in the country to contribute their skills and add their voices to the demands for change. Nusas was of the view that opposition had to be voiced not against black/white conflict but against the economic basis of inequality in South Africa, said Davids.

During May, June and July of this year hundreds of people were detained following school boycotts and some were still in detention. As far as was known not one of those detained had been charged for his or her role in the boycotts.

"At the same time" said Davids, "mass removals still go on, raids for passes, residential permits and endorsements out of urban areas,

repatriation still go on. Glenmore in the Ciskei still remains an idle promise

In the 80's we have heightened conciousness and commitment among blacks. They refuse to accept oppression.

What I see is the same situation as the 1950's era The state then unleashed its repressive forces. Today the repression is not so blatant. Detentions are in terms of Section 22 rather than Section 6. Fewer bannings of persons.

"Yet meeting were banned and now outdoor meetings are prohibited. The number in the armed forces increases. Call up is more regular and the initial compulsory period in the army has been increased. Call up is to be extended to Coloureds and Indians," said Davids.

"The stage is not set for what is Great Archbishop Hurley called a conciliation"

"What the government wants is peace. The majority of the people in our country cry out for Justice. There can never be peace without justice.



12 000 PE students stand firm after six months out of school

THE total boycott of township schools in Port Elizabeth enters its sixth month this week as more than 50 000 students stand firm against apartheid education repeating demands for a single non-racial education system.

And this month the numbers swelled when 12 000 lower primary pupils left their classes following calls by the Port Elizabeth Student Committee (Pesco) to join the boycott.

This week pamphlets were distributed in the streets of Kwazakele, Zwide and New Brighton urging students to continue with the boycott action.

"Four years after the gallant students of Soweto declared war on the evil, oppresive and discriminatory education, the main causes of dissatisfaction remain save a few cosmetic changes," the pamphlet says.

"Once again students all over South Africa are on the warpath, this time with renewed strength and determination. They have vowed never to return to classes until their demands are met."

The demands are:

The abolition of seperate education and the introduction of a single non-racial education department.

The opening of all teaching institutions to all students.

• Equal per capital expenditure for all students irrespective of race.

• Equal facilities for all.

• Equal salaries for all teachers regardless of qualifications.

• The release of all detainees arrested in relation with the school boycott.

It says students have resolved not to go to classes until concrete steps are taken by the actual appointment of a commission to workout a blueprint for a universal free and compulsory education.

This was a non negotiable condition for the return to school.

Students have rejected any intervention by community councils, homeland governments, and the heads of "ethnic departments" such as education and training, co-operation and development, Coloured and Indian affairs.

Only the authentic and democratically elected representatives of the students and parents committees could negotiate on behalf of the students.

"Just as in 1978, the students have been confronted by certain difficulties in their quest for a just a proper education," the pamphlet called coloured brothers -- nothing is further from the truth. This is a

"The present protest is viewed by some ignorent reactionaries as Xhosa boycott, some say it is a coloured issue since their lead was taken by our so-called coloured brothers -- nothing is further from the truth. This is a protest by all oppressed students against an unjust system."

The government had unsuccessfully tried to divide the parents from the students. At the same time the boycott was being threatened by certain "misguided academics".

"The students reaffirm their commitment to fight for one education for all and call upon the students from Sub A to form 5, undergraduate to postgraduate, all technical and commercial students, part time and full time, diploma and other wise to bring to a halt immediately all academic activities."

Meanwhile the state is not yielding inits attempt to crush the boycott. Detentions and police raids continue almost daily in the townships.

Twenty people were detained this week including nine students and Cosas chairman, Mr Tango Lamani.

The department of education an training refuses to recognise both the parents committee and Pesco and persists in "negotiating" piecemeal reforms with the discredited Community Councils in an attempt at bolstering their standing.

The reforms include improved facilities and provisions to extend the academic year to enable students to write exams.

When the Community Coucil chairman, Norris Singapi tried to put these reforms to a meeting of parents, he was jeered by students and forced to cancel the meeting. (He was then stoned and chases down the street outside).

On October 14 high level discussions were held in secret, attended by key security police and military personnel.

Among those present at the meeting held at EP Command were the chief regional director of education, D Owens, Brig A Potgieter; the head of the anti-Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brig E Van Rensburg; the head of the anti-insurgency unit, General Vic Verter; and Colonel Piet Goosen from the Security Police headquarters.

Magistrates courts have also been handing out stiff sentences for those charged with arson, attempted arson and alleged intimidation.

Among those recently sentenced are:

• Two 15 year old male students have been sentenced to an effective five years for attempted arson. Damage estimated at R10.

• Mbulelo Mhlego, 18, jailed for an effective 2 years for allegedly intimidating lower primary pupils in Zwide.

• Vusumzi 'Speedman' jailed for an effective three years for allegedly intimidating students and teachers at Zwide.

PE busworkers reject attempt to co-opt their union

One hundred coloured employees of Port Elizabeth Tramways are demanding the right to resign from their union, the Port Elizabeth Bay Workers' Union (Pebwu).

The demands follow action by black workers at PE Tramways who refuse to join the management supported in-company union, the Bay Busworkers' Union. They demand the right to join the independent black Transport and Allied Workers' Union (Tawu) and have begun court action after claiming the company was victimising employees who refused to join the in-company union.

In papers before the court, Tawu said that the Tramways general manager, Mr Carl Coetzer had told workers earlier this year that those who refused to join his company union would all be fired. Six employees said they had then been given notice of dismissal after refusing to sign application forms for the in-company union. They added that the only inference possible was that they were being dismissed for refusing to join the union. Returning offidiats are still being filed.

The latest action by coloured bus drivers at the Perl Road depot however highlights growing dissatisfaction by workers with the registered union, Pebwu -- a mixed union for coloured and white workers.

A petition, drawn up by 100 coloured employees has been sent to the Pebwu organisers demanding tht the union recognise that they had terminated their membership of the union and that union fees no longer be deducted from their salaries.

At a Tawu meeting this week, coloured employees who have resigned from Pebwu threated legal action if the company continued to deduct union fees from their salaries.

The 100 employees have in fact already joined Tawu which is affiliated to the newly established BC oriented Council of South African Trade Unions (Cusa).

Pebwu secretary, Mr L Marx refuses to discuss the resignation of his members and their threats to take legal action.

According to the local Tawu organiser, Mr Sonnyboy Lupondwana, the employees who are now members of Tawu, sent a petition to

Pebwu an the company on October 7, demanding their right to secede from the unionand the cancellation of all stop order payments.

General Manager, Carl Coetzer insists the company has not received notification from employees wish- ing to leave the unions.

In any event, he says the company will enforce an Industrial Council closed shop agreement concluded with Pebwu which prohibits Tramways from employing anyone who is not a member of the company recognisd union, Pebwu. But at the same time, Coetzer -- known for his crude an transparent tactics -- last week attempted to make a deal with Tawu.

He told Tawu interim chairman, Mr H Francis that PE Tramways were happy to pay the salary of a secretary for the union for the first six months. He told Francis there was absolutely no intention o victimising or dismissing busmen who were Tawu members.

Busmen attending a Tawu meeting called to consider the proposal unanimously rejected the offer and said they would appoint their own secretary. The busmen described the proposal as a shrewd move by Coetzer to manipulate the union and asked what would happen after the six months period when the company stopped paying the secretary.

They said the proposed secretary is a Mr J Makasi who is already employed as secretary of the in-company "sweetheart union", the Bay Busworkers Union.

Mr Makasi is not qualified to handle our affairs because he has never been either a bus driver or a conductor," said one speaker. "He was brought out of the blue from the bundu by Coetzer and forced on us to b a secretary of the sweetheart union we are opposed to."

But speakers welcomed Coetzer's apparent "change of heart".

"We are at least happy that Mr Coetzer is now willing to meet and listen to our grievances. It is time for that now before the whole situation explodes in his face. But still we have to approach these meetings with caution in case he pulls the wool over our eyes and we find ourselves back in square one," a speaker added.

The meeting decided to elect representatives to meet Coetzer.

Not all the President's men

THE exclusion of black South Africans from the decision-making bodies that control their lives has been a central focus of resistance in this country.

Since 1976 these struggles have been so intense the besieged South African state has had to re-structure the way it rules to avoid ultimate loss of power.

And that is the catch: the South African state is definitely steering away from Verwoed/Vorster-style politics, NOT in order to reform the system from within — as some wishful thinkers would believe — but to entrench their power more firmly by subtle means.

This is the essence of P W Botha's total strategy: to change the face of oppression, not to destroy it.

The formation of the President's Council is no different from other thrusts of total strategy. It is a policy designed to give the appearance of change, without fundamentally altering the balance of power — except insofar as it affords more power to a co-opted and increasingly oppressive black middle-class.

The President's Council was one of a number of proposals by the Schlebusch Commission into the Constitution

The Council would be divided into a Constitutional Committee, a Committee for Economic affairs, a Planning Committee, a Committee for Community Relations and as many other committees as the State President would decide.

The Council's function would be to advise the State President on any matter referred to it by the State President or may in its own discretion advise him on any matter (excluding draft legislation) which in its opinion is in the public interest.

The Commission pointed out that there "should be the widest possible consultation and deliberation with and among all population groups"



Pres council head Alwyn Schlebusch

with regard to any constitutional changes and that the people appointed to the President's Council should be "recognised by their respective communities as their leaders". It is generally accepted that one of the most important functions of the council will be to recommend further constitutional changes to be embodied in legislation during 1981 parliamentary session.

The exclusion of blacks led all "opposited" groupings (including P.F.P.) to reject the council in its present form — except for the coloured "Freedom Party" and the N R P.

Moreover, the council is heavily dominated by whites and the heads of the five committees are: three Cabinet Ministers — Punt Jansen, Schalk van der Merwe, Braam Raubeheimer — Nat party M P Dr Dennis Worrall and U P E rector, Prof Ernst Marais. The council is to be headed by outgoing Minister of Justice Alwyn Schlebusch.

Thus the council is in firm Nat control.

Obviously, P W Botha's President's Council has backfired and he is saddled with a white elephant of little credibility, or standing in the black community, which lacks the legitimacy to initiate proposals of any worth. His only option is to find ways of introducing blacks on to the council — a prospect which has been hinted at in certain circles.

Looking at the President's Council in its present form it is fairly easy to recognise it as another ineffective cosmetic change, designed to entrench apartheid in the guise of reform:

- By setting up a structure supposedly designed to allow blacks access to policy decisions, which at the same time excludes Africans. The National Party reinforces the suspicion that they are determined to try to co-opt coloureds and indians, at the expense of democratic rights for Africans.

- The members of the council are not elected by their communities, but appointed by the State. So only people acceptable to the National

Party will be nominated.

- The state is imposing its solutions without attempting to win support by showing a willingness to consider other solutions.

- The President's Council is dominated by whites and the National Party, far cry from a body which represents "black opinion".

It is uncanny that it is so easy to see through the President's Council. Perhaps it is necessary to probe deeper to uncover the real motivations underlying its formation. The clue must be sought in the way that P W Botha is altering the traditional exercise of power by centralizing power around the Executive

Thus the wide powers of the Cabinet and the National Party Caucus have been reduced over the past year. This is partly due to the fact that Botha has to overcome resistance from the right and is now channelling crucial decision-making power into five key Cabinet Committees: Internal Affairs, Social Affairs, Economic Affairs, Financial Affairs and the State Security Council. The latter is chaired by P W himself (with Magnus Malan, Fanie Botha, Louis Le Grange and Mike Geldenhuys as members) whilst the others are supposedly chaired by P W's closest allies. Moreover the number of effective heads of departments have been cut from 39 to 18, while P W himself is Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Minister of National Security and national as well as Cape leader of the Nationalist Party. P W is also able now to appoint 12 members of parliament (without election).

This shift of power from the legislative to the executive from the Cabinet to the President/Executive, ties in closely with P W's increasing reliance on parcels of "experts" such as social scientists, industrialists etc. to advise him on policy decisions.

Why is P W centralizing power around himself and the Executive?

In order to bring about the reforms necessary for the maintenance of the status quo, he has to smash the right-wing and defeat the conservatism of certain sectors of the electorate.

Also the present assault on the system by the masses in South Africa requires that power be centralized to meet that challenge. So P W is trying to stave off both the left and the right by centralizing power and setting up an even more authoritarian system of government.

This is where the danger of the President's Council lies. The advisory powers of the Council will be fully utilised by the bodies that are now responsible for making policy decisions. As such the council will not be a show-piece, to be patiently listened to and then ignored (as in the Verwoed/Vorster era) but will be used to further the interests of Botha's reformist policies.

And to work effectively to co-opt that elusive black middle-class.

It no longer matters that the Council has no legislative power, because it has greater access to power via the Executive in the form of Cabinet Committees etc.

Nor is it necessary for the President's Council to have mass support, but only the support of moderates. The council need not be responsible to an electorate because power now comes via another source. The council is going to play a truly advisory role by advising P W on how best to implement a form of rule which in the guise of reform will be used subtly to entrench oppression. The question of African participation, although an important one, can become a red herring if it serves to obscure the move towards a totalitarian system of government of which the council inevitably forms a part.

Mavi's union seeks a solution — thousands without work after JHB municipal strike

IN JULY this year, one of the most significant acts of worker resistance took place in Johannesburg. 10 000 municipal workers struck after a group of artisans at Orlando Power Station had been fired for demanding equal wages with their white counterparts.

The strike demonstrated the massive support for the Black Municipal Workers Union (BMWU), led by Joseph Mavi. BMWU was established in opposition to the Union of Johannesburg Municipal Workers, which was granted Government recognition during the strike.

Despite BMWU's total support among municipal workers in Johannesburg, the council refused to recognise it, favouring instead the "stooge" union which had applied for registration. The council would not meet the workers' demand that it recognise and negotiate with the BMWU. Instead it hired buses to transport fired workers back to the homelands.

Almost all the strikers were contract labourers from the poorest areas of South Africa's rural ghettos.

These defenceless workers, out of jobs and with no possibility of re-registering for work in the city, have resorted to other means of staying alive.

In an interview with SASPU NATIONAL, Joe Mavi speaks about the problems he and his union have encountered.

Mr Mavi, what has happened to the fired workers that have been sent to the homelands?

• The homeland leaders are quiet about what is happening to their people. Some workers are in Johannesburg looking for jobs. If they are here and they are getting jobs on their own, they should be allowed to be registered. Like myself, I cannot be employed — they have my references downtown.

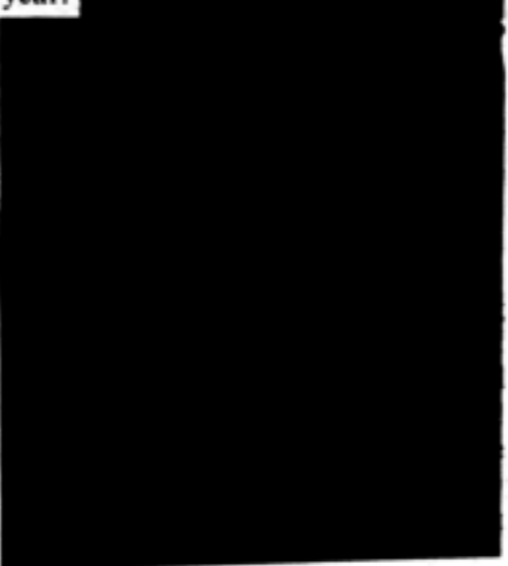
Is the city council taking these workers back?

• They won't take the people back. Like now, in the transport department they are busy recruiting new drivers. Meanwhile there are drivers that need to go back into their old jobs. What will the council do if the court says they must give back the jobs? What is going to happen to these people who are being employed now? Are they going to lose their jobs?

How were these drivers dismissed?

• On July 1 they promised the [redacted] tes. You see you are supposed to be paid extra if you are a "one-man-operator" — an allowance. There are some who work in teams — "two-man-operators" — who don't get this allowance. Now often these men work "one-man-operator" shifts without getting the allowance. They [redacted]

drivers would have to work for 21 years before they could get what a white driver would get in his first year.

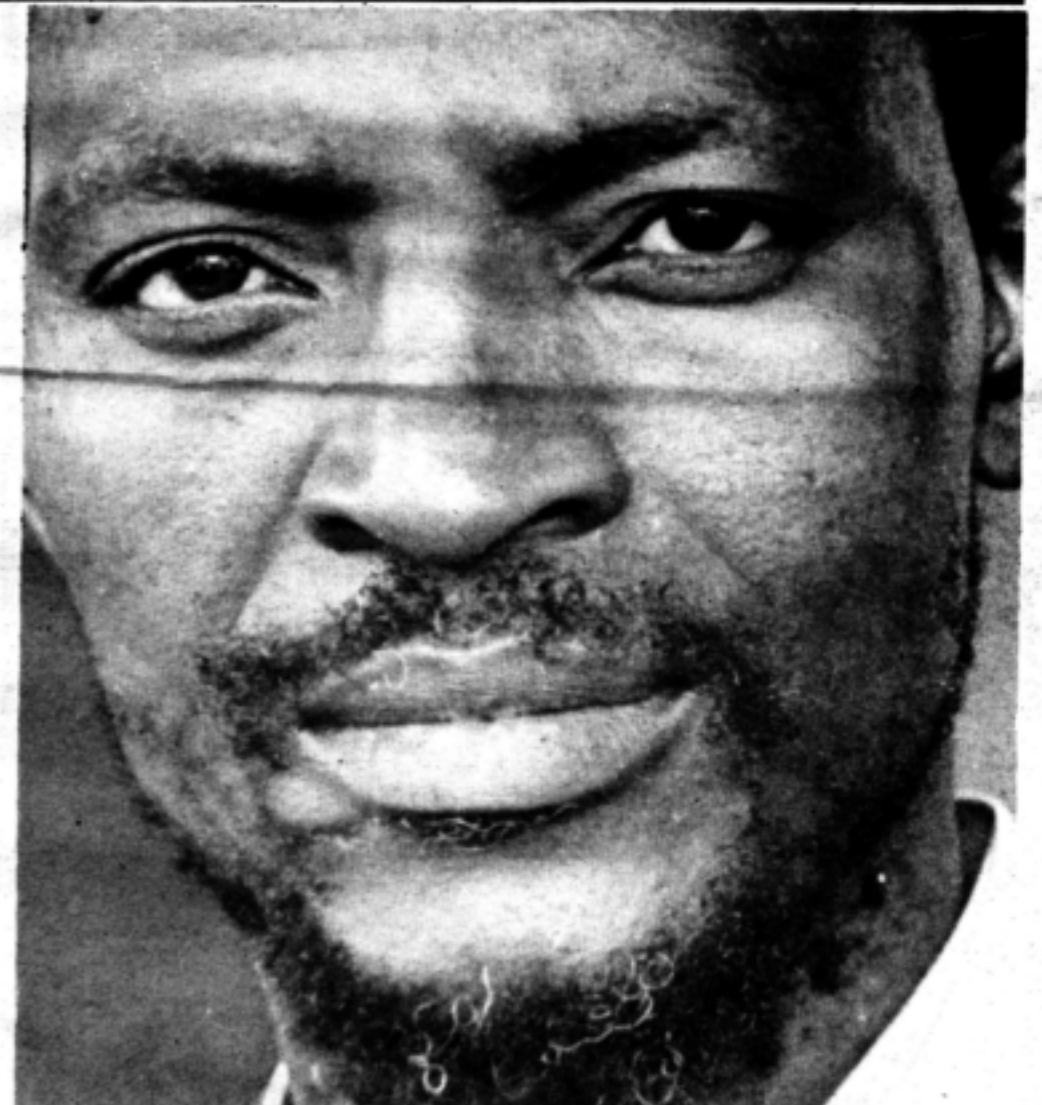


What is the attitude of the municipal workers now? Has your union membership been affected?

• They are paying their subscriptions, so they are still members of the union. The only people who aren't paying are those that aren't working. Our constitution states that while you are out of work you are not required to pay subscriptions, but remain a member. The union enjoys support from all the members — those employed and out of work since the strike.

What percentage of the municipal workers support the BMWU?

• We have total support.



BMWU president Joe Mavi

What does the municipality think of your union?

• Well ... our treasurer Mr Mlangeni has been given notice from October 3. This man is presently employed there. We see no reason why the council should fire this man. He is working, he is not interrupting anything. Yet he has been fired. It's really a fight now — the city council has decided to fight us. It is no more a factor of a breakdown in negotiations between employer and employees. It's a fight, a physical fight. The council won't have our people employed in any department. They are our people and they are the responsibility of the union. One

worker, the one who went to the Selby compound during the strike, has tried to get his old job back, but they won't have him in any department.

Is the union going to take any further action?

• The matter is in the hands of our lawyers. We have to wait until the courts make a decision. We cannot intervene, but the city council continues to act. There are no negotiations going on. Any negotiations going on are between our lawyers and those of the city council. While we wait, it is our responsibility to feed the people.

SASPU **NATIONAL**

Westville victory

We greet the SRC victory at the University of Durban-Westville with optimism, as it represents a milestone, not only in Westville's history but in the history of student struggle in general. It is a clear demonstration of the necessity for persistent organised struggle against the administration and the benefits of a democratic programme towards the establishment of a popular organisation.

SRC's are instruments through which students can engage structures of domination. Organisation enables students to transcend the confines of mere protest activity as it gives them the capacity to mobilise on a firm and democratic footing. SRC's can initiate long-term projects with the knowledge that they have a mandate and support from the campus. They also provide continuity between successive generations of students.

A boycott of SRC's should always be questioned in the light of these advantages. If an SRC can be used to challenge the education system and the administration it clearly does not support the institution.

The struggle and victory at Westville is a firm footing from which to engage the system.

Mass mobilisation

Progressive organisations around the country are challenging the system's attempt to implement rent increases. This is a culmination of a long battle by organised opposition to attempts by the state to separate the "desirables" from the "undesirables". Rents is but one of many methods used by the state to isolate groups of people who can afford to stay in urban areas — the people who would form the much heard about black middle class.

Community support

There are two significant reasons why opposition to the rents increase is so important. Firstly, by taking up the issue, communities challenge the system which controls and manipulates them not only within the "group areas" but in every sphere of life. Secondly, organising against increased rents creates an awareness among the people of the undemocratic nature of South Africa and encourages them to form themselves into democratic organisations through which their aspirations and struggles can be channelled.

New methods of control

It is interesting that, apart from the rents struggle, people are organising themselves against related systems of control and domination. The battles against bus fare increases, unequal education, for wage increases and trade union rights are all significant as democracy has to be fought for in all walks of life. Communities are no longer prepared to accept the condition of an undemocratic economic and political system. The changing face of domination, new methods of control and political justification are all being rejected by the people. The massive snub of the Presidents' Council scheme is a case in point. A political facelift founded on changing economic circumstances has not fooled the people. They have rejected the incorporation of a small group of the oppressed to maintain the wholesale exploitation of the majority. There are attempts to :

- recognise select trade union
- provide limited parliamentary representation for a minority.
- provide better jobs for a select few.
- grant residential concessions to some.

All of these attempts amount to a buying off of a limited group at the expense of the many.

For while these seeming concessions are being granted we see that:

- people are being moved out of urban areas, and
- shunted back to the homelands, where
- the land cannot support families, and where
- people are shuffled around to the needs of the labour market, and are
- forced to work under appalling conditions for low wages, or
- without employment people are left to starve.

It is for these reasons that the majority of people throughout South Africa reject, unequivocally and without hesitation, participation in bodies that grease the wheels of domination.

The History Lesson...



Dear Sir

It is with great pleasure that I write to you and thank you for your valuable newspaper. It is good to see such a newspaper which publishes the truth about South Africa, instead of just reporting the lies that the government newspapers and the other press do.

In our situation it is important to know all about what happens to the rest of South Africa: If we left it to the commercial newspaper, for example, we would think that nothing happens in the Orange "Free" State or places like Inanda and so on.

But I was sorry not to see news of our brothers in Namibia and Zimbabwe and the struggle in the rest of Africa in Saspu National 3.

Keep up the good work.

"Relieved"
Durban

Dear Saspu National
I must respond to the article titled

Letters

"Fed Woman Rips Gatsha" that appeared in your October edition.

It seems that it is currently in vogue for people to hurl abuse at Chief Buthelezi. It is not surprising, however, that redundant politicians try to use Chief Buthelezi as their whipping boy in order to get publicity and put themselves in the limelight.

Chief Buthelezi is living proof of their redundancy and one need only look at the vast local and international support which he commands. It is people like him who represents a future free of bloodshed and anarchy.

We can easily live with your feeble attacks, time will show us who is prepared to stand up as a force to be reckoned with.

"Undaunted"
Howard College

• Indeed, history will prove unequivocally who has the support of people of this country! It is interesting to note, dear brother, that it was Gatsha who spent R30 000 on a pilgrimage to London — singing for his supper.
— Eds.

Dear Saspu National
I was thrilled to see your feature "Compounds of Horror" in your third edition.

At last students have seen the necessity of investigative journalism. — Exposés of this sort are desperately needed as so much horror lurks beneath the surface of apartheid where the press seldom looks.

I hope that other papers will follow your example.

Graham Barker
Johannesburg



'A nice little book to have around.'

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some articles

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Learning the lessons of tomorrow on the streets of today

WHAT THE BOYCOTTS TAUGHT ABOUT EDUCATION

Societies tend to run on conflict. Put a small group of people with particular interests in charge of anything larger than a card game and you'll get conflict.

People will challenge those controlling interests because they clash with those of the majority.

The two are roughly proportional — the less democratic, the more conflict; the more democratic, the less conflict. Which is not to forget, however, that some of those minority interests are always ready to stab democracy in the back.

Conflict doesn't have to be the name of the game, and while democracy is no guarantee against conflict it's definitely the place to start.

Small wonder then, that our education system has been and continues to be a source of ongoing conflict. The controlling interests in any society need to have people believing in their way of doing things.

People's views of the world must coincide with the way that the controllers are running the world. Otherwise they may not agree to work like slaves to produce wealth they never see again.

So they make sure that the radio, the TV, the schools and even the churches and the parents all interpret the world for us in a way that is pretty convenient for the ruling classes. Which is not at all convenient for the other twenty-three or twenty-four million South Africans. So they resist.

They resist because their education is bad. In plain and simple terms, classrooms and facilities are bad; and your prospects once you've finished school are worse. So people want to improve both — conditions in the schools and prospects after school.

The two can never be separated. You can't have a democratic education system in an undemocratic society, for the simple reason that education is meant to convince pupils and students that our undemocratic society is right.

That because of the existence of a "plurality of nations" the majority of the people should exercise no effective political rights. That access to land, freedom to travel,

permanent residence and worker rights, all mechanisms of control over the working class, should be so.

And while our syllabi propagate and attempt to justify an undemocratic system, the radio networks, newspapers and advertisers are bombarding the parents.

The purpose is the same. To try and convince the people that the system is not only right but could not be any other way.

We've seen how tolerant the government is of newspapers which are critical of the system. Over one hundred student publications are banned each year, and in 1977 the World newspaper was banned.

In short, the system is about as ready to tolerate a critical education system as it is critical journalism.

There's a contradiction involved here. Education is a process of making people think. Most schools try their hardest to ensure that students don't think and question, but the mere fact of teaching them half-baked versions of history or giving them a taste of biology or literature, raises their natural desire to inquire.

And as soon as they do begin to probe, students find their education irrelevant and inadequate, and when they ask themselves why, they understand very quickly that education is a means of oppressing an already oppressed class.

But a means of oppression which is also a means of resistance because of it's built in Catch 22 — the fact that it makes people think and question that understanding.

The educational structures, then,

are designed to prop up the system but become at the same time, a means of its overthrow.

Boycotting students made this very clear when they stressed the fact that they were concerned not only with short-term demands but long-term goals as well.

The immediate demands of students during the boycotts were concrete grievances which students demanded be set right. But the satisfaction of these demands would not remove the causes of the education crisis.

These lie buried much deeper in the foundations of South African society, entangled with the roots of the cheap labour system which has made South Africa both an investor's paradise and a time-bomb waiting to explode.

Boycotting students don't just want classrooms with windows and libraries with books. They want to be taught subjects which are comprehensive and relevant, which liberate their minds rather than confining them.

These demands for an improved and meaningful content to their education constitute the medium term demands of black students. Ultimately however these demands can never be met in a society founded on oppression and exploitation, and so the struggle for democratic education becomes, at one and the same time, part of the struggle for a democratic society.

Students sought continually to broaden the base of the schools boycott. They had learned the lessons of 1976 when the protests were seen as involving only students

and concerning only educational grievances.

While student protest plays an important part in that struggle it is only a part, and so students had to start addressing themselves to other component parts of that struggle and the crucial roles they play.

Hence 1980 saw a new acknowledgement of the importance of community and trade union organisation, and a greater emphasis on joint action with parents and teachers.

Student groups started to link up with broader political action in the form of bus boycotts, the red meat boycott, the Free Mandela Campaign and community struggles over issues such as rent.

The formation of associations of parents, teachers and students ensured community support for the students and provided organisations which would take up issues such as the meat and bus boycotts and in some cases, consolidate themselves into civic associations.

Broadening the base of student protest was an essential strategy during the boycotts.

The problem now is how do the students continue to operate from such a broad base outside of the pressure and intensity of the boycott? It's hard enough to keep students occupied and organised let alone to expand those activities into other fields.

The answer lies in keeping the right perspective. It is not the task of students to undertake or initiate trade unions or community organisations.

At various points students may

find it useful and necessary to link up with such activity and play a supportive role, but they must be wary of trying to lead such activity.

Instead they must concentrate on consolidating their organisation among the schools, evening out the differences in organisation, consciousness and political skill in different schools and regions.

Their focus must move on from conditions and facilities in the schools to the content of education: what is taught and how it is taught. And, more importantly, what should be taught and how should it be taught.

Alternative education material must be devised and made available so that a systematic programme of meaningful education can begin in the schools.

This would take the student struggle one step forward, to a point where it not only rejects the current "education for subordination" but actively breaks it down and replaces it with "education for liberation".

This new understanding and knowledge will soon start to spill over into other areas of struggle as students leave school to work and shift their energies to trade union and community organisation.

Teachers and parents as well must start to challenge the system and not simply reject it. They have the right and the power to challenge the education authorities and to demand improvements based on the criticisms and demands of the students.

The changes they are able to squeeze out of the system are hardly likely to revolutionize our education system, but they can increase the scope and potential for student activity.

The education system is not going to change quickly or easily, but the struggle for democratic education is an important and educative one in that it helps expose and weaken the controlling interests which lie behind the oppression that students and workers and women and peasants and all the other oppressed groups in South Africa suffer.

As such, the struggle for a democratic education is at one and the same time, part of the struggle for a democratic South Africa...

ITS LEADERS have been repeatedly detained and banned. Its followers have been harassed, jailed and beaten. Yet the Natal Indian Congress remains in the forefront of the struggle for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Events over the last few months have shown the massive support that exists for the NIC.

In the wake of the detention of several of its leaders, the organisation held a meeting on June 11 which drew a crowd of between 4 and 5 thousand.

During the meeting, which was addressed by Helen Joseph, Archbishop Hurley and Archie Gumedi, an ex-executive member of the ANC, the crowd showed its solidarity with the detainees by singing "We shall Overcome". The NIC has a proud history of active and protracted resistance to oppression.

It was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894 as a political organisation within which South Africa's Indians could fight against discriminatory laws and for democratic rights.

Under Gandhi's leadership the NIC effectively organised the Indian people and launched the Passive Resistance campaign at the turn of the century.

Hundreds of Indian volunteers defied the iniquitous laws of the Transvaal and the Natal government and were sentenced to imprisonment.

The departure of Gandhi from South Africa led the Indian people to rely on 'representations' and 'deputations' in the hope that the government of the day would give sympathetic hearing to their grievances.

But the white government turned a deaf ear to the pleas of a voteless minority and if promises were made they were seldom fulfilled.

Soon a new leadership was to emerge among the Indian people, which was to replace the moderate and predominantly merchant class leadership.

In 1938 a group of young people formed the Liberal Study Group in Durban. Indian members of this group challenged the moderate leadership of the then Natal Indian Association, and they established the National Block in the organisation.

In the Transvaal the militant Nationalist Block was led by Y M Dadoo. In Natal the militants captured the leadership of the Natal Indian Association which was a merger of the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial-Born and Settlers' Indian Association.

The militants of the Natal Indian Association were, among others, Dr Monty Naicker, George Poonen, Dawat Seedat, M P Naicker, George Singh, A K M Docrat, Manny Pillay, S V Reddy, H A Naidoo and E I Moola. The Natal Indian Association broke up in 1941.

The militants continued to challenge the moderate leadership of A I Kajee and Mr P R Pather in the Indian Congress.

Many of the young militants organised the Indian workers into militant trade unions. The workers in the sugar, municipal, rubber, transport, tin, biscuit and other industries were organised into strong trade unions.

In 1943 the Nationalist Block formed the Anti-Segregation Council to oppose the Pretoria Agreement of 1943. Under the agreement the moderate Indian leaders agreed to voluntary segregation in residential areas.

The Kajee/Pather leadership believed that if the Indian people agreed to abide by residential segregation it would prevent the

Will the party Ghandi started let harassment, bans, detentions and violence gag its tongue?



NOT IF THOUSANDS OF VOCAL NATAL INDIAN CO

government from passing legislation to compel residential segregation, and at the same time the government would allow businesses to operate in non-segregated areas.

A fierce struggle developed in the NIC between the moderate wing led by Kajee and Pather, and the progressive militant wing led by Dr M G Naicker.

The latter had the firm support of the Indian trade unions and the Indian working class. The old leadership, despite a lack of popular support, refused to hand over the reins of leadership to the new progressive leaders.

Eventually a successful court action was brought against the executive of the NIC compelling them to call an annual conference in terms of the constitution. The action was initiated by Dr Monty Naicker, Dr B T Chetty and A K M Docrat.

The old leadership was defeated at the congress and the new leaders took office at a mass rally attended by over 35000 people at Curries Fountain in December 1945.

In 1946 the Smuts government passed the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, a forerunner to the Group Areas Act.

Indians were deprived of the right to acquire and occupy property anywhere they chose. It also offered Indians four white representatives in Parliament, to be elected by the Indians under a separate voters role.

Indians were also to elect one member to the Provincial Council. This could either be a white or an Indian.

In January 1946 the South African Indian Congress met in conference in Cape Town. It unanimously resolved to resist the act and called on the government of India to break off diplomatic and trade ties with South Africa.

A Passive Resistance Council was formed and over 2000 Indians subsequently served prison sentences for defying various racist laws.

The campaign of the Indian people received widespread support from progressive forces in the country and abroad. On March 31



Helen Joseph, ex-secretary of the Federation of South African Women, applauds a Natal Indian Congress speaker.

Archie Gumede, address

1946, over 6000 people marched in a procession down West Street in Durban protesting against the act.

Speakers at this demonstration included Dr GM Naicker, president of the ANC, Mr HI Dhlomo for the ANC and Mr LA Smith for the APO, an organisation representing the Coloured community. The meeting endorsed the decision of the NIC to launch a Passive Resistance Campaign for the defeat of the Land Tenure Bill.

Indian resisters from Natal and the Transvaal occupied an empty plot of land at Congella, on which they pitched camps and remained there until arrested.

At first the police ignored them, and white hooligans and government supporters attempted to use violence against the resisters. Every evening thousands of people

would gather around the resistance camp in a show of solidarity with the resisters.

Feelings ran very high when many of the resisters were assaulted by whites and their camps burnt down.

The NIC continually issued appeals to the people to remain calm and not to be provoked to acts of violence. It was only when the campaign became very violent that the police began arresting the resisters.

The Indians' passive-resistance internationalised the South African situation, and the Indian Congress pioneered the campaign to isolate South Africa from the international community. The government of India imposed economic sanctions against SA, and withdrew its high Commissioner from SA and raised the issue of the treatment of Indians

at the United Nations.

The NIC, under its new leadership, sought to establish contact with other democratic forces in the country. Working links were established with the African National Congress and in 1947 a pact of mutual consultation was signed by Dr Xuma of the ANC and Drs Dadoo and Naicker of the Indian Congress.

The Xuma/Dadoo/Naicker pact was the first formal pact between the national organisations of the Indian and African people.

The Indian Congress worked for the creation of a broad united front of all the oppressed national groupings in South Africa.



CONGRESS SUPPORTERS CAN POSSIBLY HELP IT!



an ex-ANC executive member, s an NIC meeting



Indian women have always been a powerful force in the NIC.

The Nationalist government came to power in 1948 with the declared aim of "suppressing the communists" and repatriating the Indian people to India.

The Group Areas Act and the Suppression of Communism Act were among the first legislated by the government in its all-round assault on the people's rights.

The ANC and the South African Indian Congress joined forces to take up the challenge of the racist Nationalist Government. In 1949 the ANC adopted the Programme of Action which called for active mass resistance to oppression.

When the Suppression of Communism Act was piloted through parliament the NIC and the ANC condemned the Act and fully supported the mass protest of the CPSA against the Act.

When workers demonstrating

against the Act in the Transvaal on May 1 were shot down by the police, both the congresses called for a day of mourning for those killed, and also as tribute to all those people who had died in the struggle for liberation of South Africa.

June 26 was set for the day of mourning and the people were called to stay at home and not to work.

The government, ignoring the protests of the people, banned the Communist Party of South Africa and went on to ban and gag a number of leaders of the Indian Congress, including Dr YM Dadoo, MP Naicker, Debi Singh, Cassim Amra, and many others.

In July 1951 the National executive committees of the ANC and the SAIC met to discuss the political situation in the country and agreed to embark on a mass campaign of defiance.

Six laws were chosen to use to rally the people behind the campaign. The congresses demanded the repeal of the pass laws, the Stock Limitation regulations, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.

A joint planning council was appointed to co-ordinate the efforts of the Indian and African people.

The ANC, supported by the SAIC, wrote a letter to the government and demanded the repeal of unjust laws not later than February 29, a day on which mass meetings and demonstrations were to be held around the country to protest against 300 years of oppression and exploitation in SA. This letter was a prelude to the defiance campaign.

The ANC letter of demand to the Prime Minister was followed by a letter from the SAIC which traced the position of the Indian people and also of other oppressed national groups in the country and demanded the repeal of discriminatory laws.

On April 6, mass demonstrations were held throughout the country. Mass rallies were held in Durban, Johannesburg, and in the Cape.

Following the demonstrations the two congresses met in Port Elizabeth on May 31 1952. This meeting established the National Action Committee to direct the campaign of defiance.

It also established a national volunteer board. Dadoo, Moses Kotane, JN Marks and DW Bopape

registered as first volunteers. The date for the beginning of the campaign was set as June 26 1952.

The first batch of volunteers in Natal was led by Monty Naicker after a mass rally held at Red Square in Durban. Thousands of people marched with the resisters to the Berea Road railway station where the volunteers were arrested for entering a whites-only waiting room.

Other volunteers defied the curfew laws. Over 8000 people eventually served terms of imprisonment.

The defiance campaign attracted world wide attention. At the UN several Asian countries demanded the inclusion of the South African racial question on the UN agenda. The world body condemned the South African policy of apartheid and demanded action against the government.

The ANC-SAIC alliance was soon to be joined by the Coloured Peoples Congress and the Congress of Democrats, an organisation of white democrats. The NIC formed part of the ANC-led Congress Alliance. As such it was actively involved in all of the campaigns of the alliance.

The NIC together with its sister organisations in the alliance, launched the Congress of the People Campaign in 1954. Members of the Indian Congress and the congress branches actively canvassed for demands of the people in order to draw up the Freedom Charter.

The Congress of the People was held in Kliptown on June 25 and 26 1955. Over 3000 delegates from all over the country attended the conference to discuss the people's demands for a new South Africa.

The demands were enshrined in the Freedom Charter which was unanimously adopted at the congress.

The Freedom Charter was adopted at the annual conference of the NIC, TIC and SAIC and became the official programme of the Indian Congress.

In 1956 many of the prominent members of the Indian Congress were arrested and, with many others, charged with High Treason. Amongst other things the state alleged that the Freedom Charter was a communist document and the Congress Alliance was a communist organisation seeking to overthrow the state by means of violence and with the assistance of foreign powers. The accused were eventually acquitted.

In the early 60's many members of the Indian Congress, and its entire leadership, were either arrested, gagged, forced into exile or became victims of police harrassment. Many were thrown out of work and lived under miserable conditions.

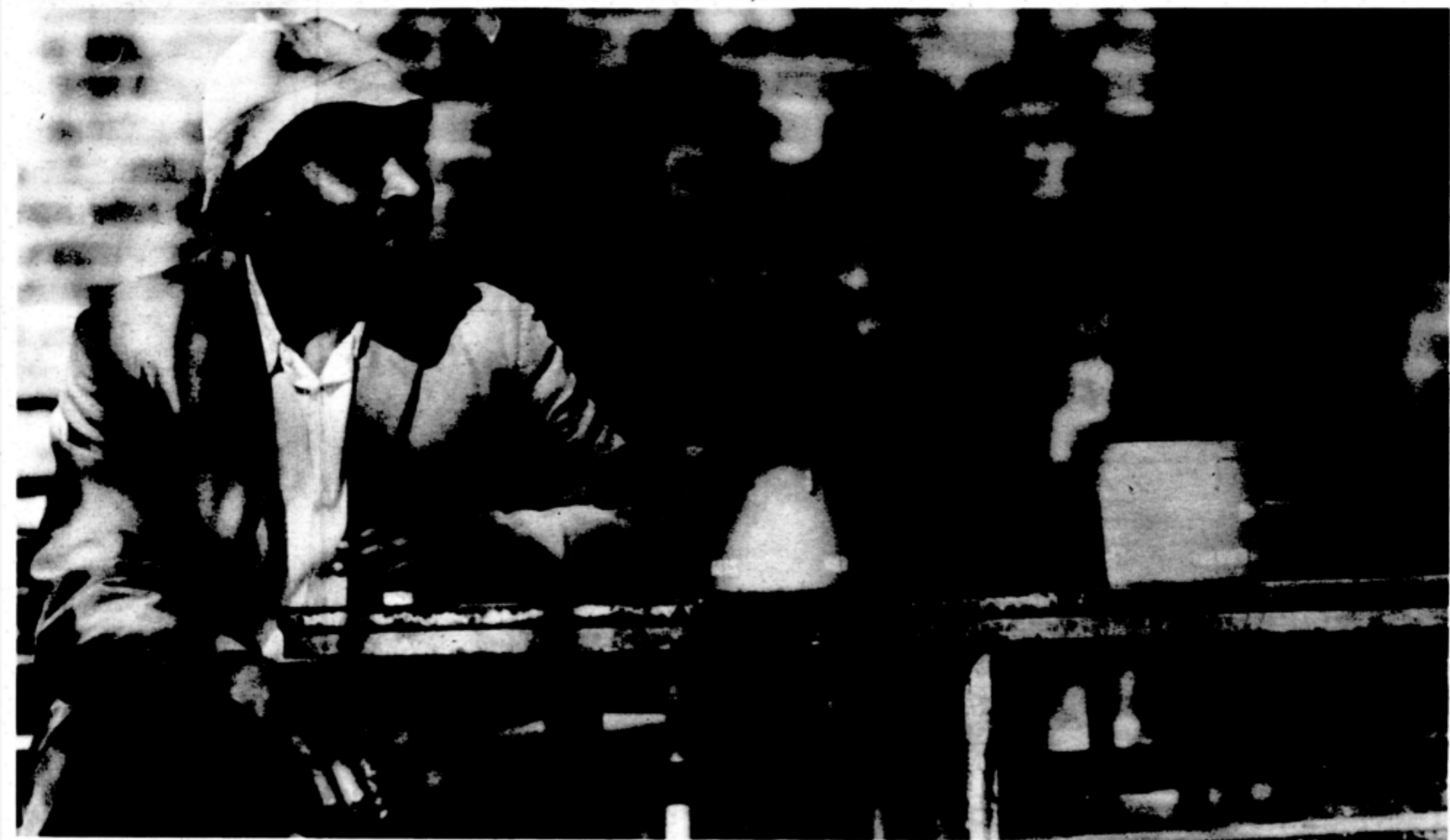
The government made it impossible for the Indian Congress to function as a legal organisation. The Congress offices were forced to close down.

During this period, the Congress having been silenced, many blacks jumped onto the bandwagon and claimed the leadership of the people, whose true leaders were either languishing in jail, gagged or forced into exile.

Many were quick to accept positions in the South African Indian Council or Local Affairs Committee institutions.

In 1971, in a series of mass meetings held throughout Natal, the Indian people called for the revival of the NIC and condemned the government created institutions and leaders.

Leaders like Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpersadh and AS Chetty were mandated to revive the militant Indian opposition under the banner of the NIC.



Quiet moment in a small shebeen ... the new laws will help only the big time operators

The little shebeens: Where no-one claps for legal boozing

THE ideal Soweto shebeen should be a dining area, kitchen, storeroom and two toilets — one for the ladies and the other for the men.

So say Lucky Michaels, chairman of the Soweto Taverners Association.

For this gentleman, manager of the sophisticated Pelican nightclub this may be easy. Not so for the majority of Soweto liquor sellers who are forced to operate under one who are forced to operate under primitive and poverty-stricken conditions.

Mr Michaels is heading the initiative to have shebeens legalised. In theory this may be admirable — in practise it may mean many small operators will have to close down.

This is because the planned legislation carries with it some very large disadvantages least of which is a R600 annual licence fee. And then a business licence for the premises ... and a clean criminal record.

The cherry on the top is the stipulation that the shebeen must be on premises that are owned and not rented by the operator.

All these totally ignore the actual situation in which most liquor sellers find themselves — a situation in which they work illegally.

In Soweto and probably in most other townships, many of the shebeen operators seem to be women in the business because there is no other way to support their families.

The mass of legislation that controls the lives of blacks in this country comes down heaviest on women who bear the tripple burden

of being female, black and working class.

Women, as permanent minors, cannot own their own houses. Their presence in urban areas is dependent on a relationship with a man.

It is little wonder, that selling liquor is preferable to starving in a homeland — or in the backyard of a white household.

This is why Thandi runs a shebeen — out of necessity rather than choice. She was deserted by her

husband in 1976, has no Section 10 rights and has three children to provide for.

After her husband left her. The job that Thandi could find was as a domestic servant. She rejected it because, she says: "R40 a month is too little, who can look after the children?"

On a good weekend Thandi will make up to R30. She says she is never without money, but often finds it hard to make ends meet. She

doesn't enjoy selling liquor. "I am up from Friday morning through to Monday night and what kind of life can that be for the children?" But this she feels is her best option.

The recent moves to legalise shebeens have fundamentally threatened Thandi and scores of women like her.

She is illegally in Johannesburg and her house is still registered in her husband's name.

She cannot afford the proposed R600 licence fee nor for alterations necessary to turn her husband's house into business premises.

For Thandi and those like her, the legalisation initiative can only serve to create a hierarchy of wealth and power that will increasingly push out those in a more vulnerable position.

Attempts by the state to control the liquor selling business in areas like Soweto then becomes part of the strategy to co-opt a black middle class at the same time as ensuring that all those whose stake in the system is limited, are wiped out.

The hazy case of Mr Tindleni's committee

SILAS Tindleni is a man with very definite views on community issues. But he's not so definite about the organisation he represents.

Controversial Mr Tindleni is chairman of and spokesman for the Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga Co-ordinating Civic Council (CCC).

He has been a school teacher since 1942 and is at present studying for a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Cape Town.

According to Mr Tindleni the CCC was launched at a mass meeting in 1975 when the people rejected the Urban Bantu Councils. "They were tantamount to advisory bodies", he said. At the meeting a 13-man and two-woman executive was elected and it has not changed significantly since then. Mr Tindleni said that the Administration Board wanted to join the UBC but that until recently no harassment had been experienced.

When asked for details about his organisation Mr Tindleni's replies were vague and unspecific. The CCC, he said, maintained no offices and

funding was arranged on an ad hoc basis. According to Mr Tindleni 50 cents was collected from each house when a group of Nyanga residents had to be defended in the Supreme Court recently.

Other issues tackled by the CCC, he said were housing, rent and education. Two years ago the CCC executive saw the Secretary for Education, Mr Rossouw, and pointed out that there were no teacher training schools or vocational schools in the Western Cape for blacks. Mr Tindleni said that the authorities were responsible but only after a very long time.

Turning to the demands of the boycotting students he felt that these too, would be met in the main, although only after some delay. He regarded the education boycotts as an extreme action but thought it justified under the circumstances. Mr Tindleni said that he agreed with the demands of students and that it was merely on the question of strategy that he disagreed. He felt that the books had been provided,



Silas Tindleni: Very definite

the school were built and these facilities should have been taken advantage of.

The boycott had gone on for too long and had become counter productive, he said.

On the question of full citizenship, for blacks, Mr Tindleni said that CCC saw South Africa as a unitary state. "we regard ourselves as South Africans and totally reject the Homelands system, whether consolidated or otherwise".

He said that the 99 year lease system was "not too good but better than nothing" in the areas that it had been granted.

When asked his opinion on suggestions that military conscription be extended to blacks, Mr Tindleni said that he totally rejected the idea. He said that blacks were "treated as babies" in South Africa people could not be expected to defend a country in which they were "merely tolerated".

Recently Mr Tindleni came under strong criticism from, among others, the Bus Committee for joining a delegation to Pretoria to discuss the Cape bus boycott. Other than Mr Tindleni, the delegation consisted of Mr John Rees and Mrs Daphne Wilson, National Director and

Western Cape Chairperson respectively of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The delegate met the Minister of Transport, Mr Heunis, and the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, to point out the dangers inherent in the state clampdown on unregistered taxis. Both ministers remained adamant that they could not turn a blind eye to the use of illegal taxis. They would also not permit their officials to carry out their duties unarmed.

The policy of the Bus Action Committee has been one of non-negotiation and Mr Tindleni was criticised for attending the talks without obtaining any mandate from his constituency.

Mr Tindleni replied that he did not need a mandate because he went in his capacity as an associate member to the SAIRR. Further, he said that the anonymous group of people who "call themselves the Bus Action Committee" had not played any significant role in the boycott.

Unions dispute community Alliance

THE recent unrest in the Eastern Cape has spotlighted growing worker struggle in South Africa.

This shows the increasing awareness of the need to combine factory-floor issues with broader community issues.

This is reflected in the conflict between the two unions organising workers in the Port Elizabeth Motor Industry.

One union, The United Automobile and Rubber Workers' Union (UAW), affiliated to FOSATU, was recognised by Ford some years ago.

Recognition was channelled through the Government Liaison Committee system. The union has remained weak on the factory floor.

The other union, the Motor Assembly and Component Worker's Union (Macwusa) was formed after a breakaway from the UAW.

The initial conflict was over the UAW's handling of last year's strike. UAW was criticised for not negotiating strongly enough during the strike. UAW's president, John Mke acted as an interpreter for management during the strike, a move condemned by workers, which reinforced accusations that the union was pro-management.

During the strike the Ford Action Committee had strong worker support. It appeared to play a crucial role in winning worker demands.

Chairman, Mr Dumile Makhanda, has said: "Mr Mke failed to negotiate effectively with Ford management about annual bonuses and reinstatement after the strike, but the Action Committee did it successfully."

The Action Committee subsequently formed Macwusa, with Mr Makhanda as chairman. Macwusa has strong links with Pebco, a civic association formed in mid-1979.

Although Macwusa was formed as a result of UAW's poor handling of the strike, there appears to be more fundamental conflict involved. This is over the issue of community involvement in workers struggles.

Macwusa argues that they want the unions to be involved in community issues, Makhanda believes that it is not possible to separate a worker's work life from his home life.

UAW argues that unions cannot be involved in community issues, but rather that their role lies in the factory.

The issues of community support for factory struggles and workers support for community struggles has featured much in the recent unrest throughout the country. Community support for the Fattis and Monis workers and the meat workers in Cape Town as well as worker support for the bus boycotts have been crucial for those struggles.



Iron jaws of a house-eating monster ... a state bulldozer in Pageview

WHEN popular cries for housing became so shrill that even the deafest state bureaucrats are disturbed by the din, government trundle out a favourite muffling mechanism: the housing queue.

The success of the "queue" depends on its subtle mixture of part-dream and part reality. A number of houses — just enough to look convincing, but not nearly enough to solve the problem, are built amidst loud public ballhoo.

Those not lucky enough to live in one of these houses get their names entered on a list. And on that list they remain, year after year, patiently waiting their turns.

The method is widely practised in Latin America. It is also very popular in South Africa. But in South Africa, the mechanism is breaking down. People are taking the law into their own hands, risking whatever punishments may await them, to form squatter movements and to occupy land.

In various parts of the country, most notably the Western Cape, people have resorted to setting up shanty settlements on privately hired ground.

In Johannesburg, blacks have rented homes in "white" groups areas. They have fulfilled the legal requirements for contracts between landlords and tenants, but have broken various racially-based provisions.

The response of the government has been overwhelmingly punitive. Shanty towns and squatters have been threatened.

Until recently the inevitable response was the marshalling of state bulldozers to the scene.

The legal definition of "squatting" has been stretched to

Stark choice for hundreds of homeless: Housing lists or bulldozers

limits unimagined by any dictionary compiler and severe legal penalties await anyone involved in squatting.

Black tenants in "white" areas have been subjected to constant police attention, court appearances fines and evictions.

If black South Africans have deserted the housing queue it is certainly not because they expect the government to look sympathetically upon their illegal self-help housing schemes.

It is because their hopes of getting a home by simply waiting have faded beyond all recognition.

During the years of waiting the housing difficulties have become compounded. People have braced themselves to living in fear of the law — but living at least with a roof over their heads.

The Group Areas Act has demanded the rehousing of

hundreds of thousands of people. The state has had to provide housing for 700 000 people just to create separate racially based residential areas. How then could it pay attention to those others on the housing queue?

In recent years the State has attempted to justify Group Areas Act removals as "slums clearance". There have been numerous counter-arguments to this:

- Case studies — for instance in Johannesburg's Pageview and Cape Town's District Six — have revealed wide-spread destruction of solid, habitable homes.

- The Indian community of Transvaal is notably wealthier than that of Natal. Yet it has been in the Transvaal that Indians have been particularly rigorously uprooted.

- The Group Areas Act has created more slums than it has cleared. The pre-occupation with uprooting settled people rather than providing for the natural growth of communities has led to unimagined overcrowding.

- Overcrowding is one of the main yardsticks in defining a slum. In Lenasia an estimated 1 900 were without housing in 1979, living in garages and outbuildings. Yet housing priority was to be given to 920 Pageview families, most of whom were being moved involuntarily.

- Resettlement has also led to the State turning a blind eye to appalling slum conditions within established

black areas, and excluding people living under such conditions from official estimates of housing needs.

Kliptown, just South of Johannesburg, which must rate as the worst slum in the city, stood largely untouched by housing authorities, when Pageview was declared "white" and was drained of its Coloured residents.

Most families in Kliptown had not more than one room to live in. They shared taps and toilets in their yards and depended on night-soil removal. They went without electricity.

For years almost all Kliptown residents could get a home in neighbouring Eldorado Park. Only in the last two years has this area begun to be cleared for improvement. Substantial parts of it still stand unchanged.

- In certain cases the State has been accused of actually building slums. This is a cry that has been repeatedly raised by residents of Lenasia's Thomsville community who live in two-roomed units created by the State in the early 1960s — without electricity, with communal taps and toilets.

- Inadequate attention — and in some cases no attention at all — has been paid to such normal planning aspects as population growth and migration.

Indeed, a recent Supreme Court judgement could have the effect that migration will be considered an unreasonable expectation for Coloured and Indian South Africans.

Actstop, a Johannesburg tenants organisation, has pointed to the irrationality of ignoring the link between the need for manpower on the one hand and housing on the other.

Many tenants who have defied the Group Areas Act in living central Johannesburg, have done so because this was the only place that needed their labour.

Black leaders and even opposition members of parliament have been unanimous that the housing situation will be imposed to solve while the Group Areas Act remains. It has been seen from the experiences of the white community that tremendous resource, State and private, are required to fully house a community. If this is so, even under the most advantageous conditions, then Black communities know they have no hope while they are severely restricted.



Coming Soon!
The struggle against JHB removals ...

Inanda: The lull after the storm



Tents and tin privvys dot the hillside in the shanty town of Inanda.

THE shining metal pit privvys that dot the Inanda hillsides near Durban are alone no longer. Deep green ribbons thread their way around the toilets. Tents, green tents, free, green Co-operation and Development tents.

Occasionally the green pattern is fudged by a blotch of brown. Wattle and daub, plywood sheeting shacks are steadily going up.

It was bizarre enough to see the lonely toilets spring up in this town, now recovering from a massive typhoid epidemic. It was as if Dali had been employed as planning consultant to the state.

But now one is confronted with the beginnings of a shanty-town — seemingly proceeding with the approval of the Department of Co-operation and Development.

Following Inanda's recent epidemic, there was a mad official scramble to develop "site and service" areas. The Urban Foundation was drawn in and is now preparing a report for the government which will be the basis of the planning brief for the eventual township.

What going on inside those silent green tents in the 'typhoid town'?

The U.F. has its own site manager, who is housed in a rather tatty wooden structure. Chatty fellow. From Tanganyika. "I came south with the winds of change", he says.

He speaks Zulu and his idea is to get people to build their own houses to as reasonable a standard as their means will allow.

He wants to target certain sites and get these to act as catalysts. He wants to get moving. He seems to realize the danger of delay, for the people will be harder to motivate as the weeks pass.

But he's waiting for the UF committees to pass the budget he needs. Then he can buy trowels, picks, spades and levels, which can be loaned out. Then things will move.

What is the Department of Co-operation and Development doing, one asks? Oh, they hand out tents and things. The "things" are ambiguous. What else is Co-op and

Dev doing? Very little, it appears.

More and more families are being resettled. But there appears to be no movement towards building schools, leisure areas and clinics. Inanda appears to be in a lull.

No building standards appear to have been applied at the "site and service" area. The shacks being put up there are duplicates of those in the rest of Inanda, just a little more ordered and a lot more crowded.

With no self-help or upgrading, only the rather ad hoc patchwork UF approach, the area looks set to becoming another shanty town.

Ordered for control, built by the residents at their own cost, with no facilities and few services, Inanda is at present in a limbo-like position.

Quite what the authorities are up to is difficult to assess. One thing is definite: they are completely cut off from the community they are planning for. This comes as no surprise if one considers their past record.

Yet, the fact that they have

changed their approach and attempted "site and service" had led some to speculate that their community contact might also become more sophisticated. It hasn't. The Urban Foundation would appear to be performing that role.

The only attempt at communication has been via a committee on which sit various landlords and the Verulam Chief Magistrate.

This committee is increasingly held in suspicion by the residents, who consider it to be run by the very people who oppress them.

"Communication" consists of calling mass meetings which are addressed by various committee members. The only other communication medium is the neighbourhood grapevine — and Inanda is rife with rumours, only some of them true.

To take one example: When people move to the "site and service" area, they are given a day's rations. Rumour has it that this is a

monthly handout. Not so. But the stories encourage some to move.

The role of the landlords is an ambivalent one. On the one hand they are exploiters and hold positions of power. Yet because of this they have access, albeit limited, to the authorities and can and do use this on behalf of their tenants.

Thus, the tenants must rely on them, not only for land, but for assistance in a broad range of other matters.

Rogers Ngcobo typifies this position. He was an Inkatha leader who claimed to represent the Inanda people in the Kwazulu Assembly.

He has recently taken to attacking Inkatha at public meetings in Inanda, his favourite theme being to question where Inkatha membership dues go to. Why, he asks, have they not been used to build community facilities in Inanda?

He has urged people to stop paying their membership dues, and he claims to no longer be in Inkatha.

This new populist line possibly indicates that Mr Ngcobo sensed a deep and growing resentment by the mass of the people.

It could also point to serious rifts soon within Inkatha at the community level.

SUPPORT for the Cape's bus boycott remains high with the buses still running empty as the campaign goes into its fourth month.

Despite extensive harassment and government and City Tramways co-operation, the courage and organisation of the communities has not lessened.

The attempts to break the boycott have been described by a member of the Bus Action Committee as a "frightening line-up of State power, consisting of Road Transportation inspectors, police and the courts".

One of the most consistent ploys by the police and bus company has been the clampdown on illegal passenger transportation. At the start of the clampdown, various unsubtle and unofficial methods were used — such as the dropping of pamphlets and bus drivers wearing plainclothes to entice passengers.

But then the tactics of the would-be boycott busters changed: police and members of the Road Transportation Board, heavily armed with semi-automatic weapons, began indiscriminately harassing people offering lifts to others.

Queues of commuters were forcibly prevented from getting into cars and the drivers of pirate taxis,

All aboard? Not on Cape busses

whether they accepted passengers or not, were arrested and handcuffed and their cars impounded.

Magistrates' Courts began finding people without permits guilty for charging passengers — often fining them up to R200.

A plea by the South African Institute of Race Relations that the vigorous enforcement of the transport laws be relaxed until the boycott was sorted out, was sniggered at by Chris Heunis, Minister of Transport, and Cabinet colleague, Louis Le Grange, Minister of Police.

After the initial police action, the pirate taxi movement seemed to be crushed, but the boycott was not: people walked instead. Yet pirate taxis do continue to operate at great risk. After an initial outcry in the Press when the first cars were impounded, that issue was dropped but people are still being stopped daily on their way in and out of the townships.

Court cases of those charged are heard at the rate of about 20 a week. Using the presumptive clause in the Transportation Act — that if any passengers are carried by anyone, the onus is on them to prove that they have not accepted payment — virtually all were found guilty.

One driver told of how he had been travelling with his family, when the police stopped him, searched his pockets, found some change and charged him with illegally conveying passengers — who were later described as "unreliable witnesses".

The fact that many of those found guilty are unrepresented — being unable to afford lawyers or not aware of their rights — while several with legal representations have been acquitted, is cause for even greater concern. Those charged have told of how they have been refused the right to contact a lawyer and threatened with imprisonment.

But the boycott goes on — and has even led to a degree of co-



Windscreen of an unregistered taxi, allegedly shattered during a police swoop.

operation between the legal taxi drivers and the pirates. While the legal taxis claim to be doing the people a service and supporting the boycott, they are also making a profit — charging about five cents less than the City Tramways' fare. But the pirate drivers are forced to accept the situation — often letting the legal drivers pick people up at the stations but then running them into the townships or working only in off peak hours.

Under the circumstances, a taxi permit is very difficult to obtain: people have accused officials of being unwilling to issue them and the legal drivers of being jealous and

unhelpful, not to mention the cost — about R600.

There is little alternative but to take the risks and run illegally and because of the high level of community support, people are willing to do so. The buses remain empty.

But the harassment and daily humiliation for those on the receiving end are not without spin off.

Commented one community leader: "All that the State is doing is making the people angrier, increasing their solidarity, feeding their political awareness and delaying the search for a solution."

Resistance to rising rents — a thorn in the side of Durban City Council

NINE out of ten Durban Indian and Coloured householders did not pay their rents in October. These people joined a rent boycott so huge even the leaders of community housing action groups were astounded.

The immediate cause of the boycott was an up-to-15 percent increase in rents by the City Council, implemented despite vociferous protest by the mass of the people in the housing schemes.

Public meetings and representations through the people's community organisations went unheeded by the Council. Only when the boycott blew up, did the Council take note of — and back down very smartly.

Naturally, the issue has received some coverage in the media. But, true to form, it is largely focussed on "newsy", sensational items." Even where the media have attempted "background stories" they have largely obscured the issue.

Phoenix and Newlands are barren, sprawling townships on Durban's northern periphery. Built on steep hilly land once part of the wealthy North Coast sugar baron's

estate. They are tucked away from the White Durbanites sight. But as one travels north on the Inanda road after turning off the Outer Ring Road one sees in the distance hundreds of white rectangular blocks spotted across the hillsides.

At this distance the monotony is not apparent. In fact, some might find a "romantic" artistic quality in the view. But as one gets closer, one sees the reality: the monotony of Council housing.

The Durban City Engineers who were responsible for the town planning thought a coat of white paint would hide the drabness and the failure of the scheme. For it is a failure — whether one sees economic, planning or social criteria.

These failures have a direct bearing on the rents issue. In a memorandum from the Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC) to the city council, high rents were due to:

- The high cost of land — in some cases it appears that a price higher than market value was paid for the land.



Mass support at a recent rent protest meeting



Jubilant reigns in response to a unanimous decision to boycott rent increases

- The poor choice of land — in both Newlands East (53 percent) and Phoenix (about 50 percent). Large tracts of land are unusable for building houses.

- The high construction cost due to the poor quality of the land.

DHAC is an umbrella, co-ordinating committee, comprising several residents' community organisations, including the Phoenix Rent Action Committee (PRAC), Phoenix Working Committee (PWC), Chatsworth Housing Action Committee (CHAC), Asherville Housing Action Committee, Sydenham Heights Housing Action Committee, Newlands East Housing Action Committee and Merewent Housing Action Committee.

The rent issue proved that DHAC and its affiliates have widespread grass roots support, yet the City Council has, until very recently, ignored this fact.

They chose to deal with the Local Affairs Committees (LACs), toothless advisory groups regarded by the communities as sell-outs and stooges.

Yet when the boycott took effect, the Council immediately retreated. Its management committee deferred the increases for four months and voted R600 000 to cover the deficit. This was an important, if small, victory.

DHAC faces the task now of making the people see the victory in perspective.

It has won only one small battle. The increases are to be implemented again in February.

They need to prepare now for the looming confrontation. DHAC stresses: "Remember! The boycott has been postponed! But the rent struggle continues!"

Yet it is still a victory. DHAC has

proven that the people are united. They have stopped the rent increases for four months.

More importantly, they have forced the council to recognise DHAC and its affiliates.

The council now intends forming a sub-committee to look into the rent structure and DHAC has been invited to participate.

There is some debate within DHAC whether to do so. However, this is an excellent opportunity to demonstrate clearly to the council that the LAC's are dummy institutions and that the people's representatives in the DHAC groups are the only ones to deal with.

PRAC and the Newlands East Residents Committee have conducted a survey of their areas. The situation it bears out is a bleak one.

The survey showed that in Phoenix, 44 percent of the household were living below the Household Subsistence Level (HSL). In Newlands East, 47 percent, were below the HSL.

In Phoenix 82.3 percent of household heads earned less than R250 per month. In Newlands the comparable figure was 57.5 percent. In Phoenix only 30.6 percent of household heads paid less than 25 percent of their income in rents, while over 20 percent paid more than 50 percent of income in rent.

The rent paid by a Phoenix resident includes interest and redemption charges made by the Department of Community Development.

The City Council adds on "other charges" for services, for administration costs, for insurance and for "irrecoverable rent". And in addition there are the normal consumption charges for water and electricity.

A person earning less than R150 per month will pay the Department

of Community Development 5 percent of his/her income in basic rent. But he could pay out up to 50 percent in his rent because of additional charges made by the city council.

Each financial year the city council estimates its costs and bills the residents via the monthly rents. When there have been deficits, the Corporation General Rate Fund has absorbed these.

But this year the council decided to increase the rents instead, following a deficit of R1,473 million.

This may seem a huge sum, but is insubstantial when one compares it with the R2 million deficit on swimming pools and R1.5 million on white transport, both of which the council absorbed.

DHAC rejects the Council's methods for offsetting the deficit. It calls for urgent attention to be given to a reduction of the Council's "other" charges.

- Although the boycott has been called off for four months and the rent increases suspended, tenants do not know how much to pay.

Their rent slips for October include the new increase.

Since no resident knows precisely what percentage was added to this bill, they cannot deduct the appropriate amount and pay the balance.

The Council has written to DHAC threatening to take "normal action" against rent defaulters. It also stated that it would deal individually with tenants who had "particular difficulties in settling overdue accounts".

DHAC had demanded that new rentals slips be issued before people be expected to pay. The group to be willing to take the Council to court should it pursue "normal action" against tenants.

Workers put the squeeze on bosses at pineapple factory

OVER 400 workers — the entire Collondale Cannery workforce — stopped work and left the premises of the East London pineapple processing factory on August 27.

Their reason was that they wanted an explanation for the retrenchment of five colleagues, one of whom had recently been elected chairperson of the committee of the African Food & Canning Workers Union (AFCWU). At the time of the work stoppage 354 of the workers were members of the union.

Before they stopped work, the workers sent their newly elected union committee to discuss the retrenchment with management who refused to talk with them.

Management said they would only talk with the liaison committee — a form of representation which the workers reject.

Workers then gathered in their canteen and refused to work until explanations were given for the retrenchment. Management told them to "return to work or get out". They then left the factory.

On returning the next day, they found officials of the Department of Manpower and security police at the gate. Again management would not talk with the workers. The security police told them they had five minutes to get to work or go home. They went home.

When on the Friday they came to collect their pay, they were told they were dismissed and could reapply for jobs on September 8, 10 days later.

The workers decided not to collect their pay, not to accept dismissal and not to apply for re-employment.

On September 8, riot police in several vans were outside the factory. The workers had planned to negotiate, but now did not do so.

On that day and on succeeding days, management took on new

workers and later claimed that production was back to normal.

The retrenchment was seen as clear victimisation, for never before had only a few workers been retrenched, and never at the start of the pineapple season. Further, their leader had a responsible job and eight years of service.

The workers have resolved that either all go back or none at all.

The food and canning workers of East London (over 1000 members) adopted the following resolutions:

- To call for the reinstatement of all the workers.

- To call for a boycott of the products of Collondale Cannery until everyone is reinstated.

- Not to handle any of Collondale Cannery's pineapples at the other factories.

Collondale products are under the labels, Western Pride, John West and Sainsburys.

Once again management have shown total intransigence in negotiating with democratic workers' committees and have again shown the inadequacy of the entire system of worker representation.

Until management comes to terms with the reality of non-registered trade unions and their organising promise of democratic worker representation, conflict regarding this issue will continue escalating.



1 A vital jazz that is uniquely South Africa

Crazy nights in the slum with Zulu Boy and those Maniacs

OH, MAN, IT WAS GREAT. YOU PAID A BOB AND DANCED ALL NIGHT. STAND BY FOR THE STORY OF THE JAZZ MANIACS...

IN THE 1930's the slums of Johannesburg produced a band that played what were possibly the first pieces of indigenous jazz to come out of Africa.

The band was called the Jazz Maniacs and was started by a young man known as Solomon "Zulu Boy" Cele. Perhaps more than any other group of musicians, the band created a vital jazz that was uniquely South African.

They did this by taking the working class African music that had been born in the slums of Egoli, mixing it with imported American swing, and arranging it into sophisticated orchestral pieces.

At its heights under the leadership of Wilson "King Force" Silgee, the band was a legend in the townships of South Africa. A 15-piece swing unit that had to keep double appointments at the township halls so as not to disappoint fans it also had enough variety to white middle-class audiences in Johannesburg's night clubs.

To really understand the significance of the Jazz Maniacs one must look at the story of how the band began. To do this one needs to go back to the first decades of this century.

They were violent and harsh years for the black people of this country. In the wake of the notorious Land Act of 1913 thousands of people flocked to the towns in search of work in the white-owned mines and factories.

In the towns the local authorities and the employers of this cheap labour force did little to house their workers and a serious shortage of accommodation arose. Slum landlords hastily built shacks of brick and tin and let them out to blacks



2 • Pics by Wilson Silgee



3 King Force Silgee

desperate for accommodation at exorbitant rents.

The most densely populated slum areas that resulted were in Doornfontein and Prospect Township on the fringes of the city centre.

It was here and in similar places like Marabastad in Pretoria that South Africa's own tradition of jazz has its roots.

Unemployment and exploitation wages ensured that slum dwellers were always on the look out for other ways of making a living. Women began brewing and selling beer at shebeens, and held wild dance parties that sometimes lasted all weekend.

It was this environment that provided the conditions for a form of working class jazz to take root. Many creative young men stifled by the boredom and exploitation of the industrial world began to teach each themselves simple skills and offer their service to the shebeens queens.

This is how Wilson Silgee describes the times: "Marabi; that was the environment. It was either organ but mostly piano. You get there you pay your 10 cents you get your share of whatever concoction there is and you dance. It used to start from Friday night right through to Sunday evening. You get tired you go home, go and sleep, and come back again, bob a time each time you get in. The piano and with the audience making lot of noise. Trying to make some theme out of what is playing."

The musicians that played in these shebeens and marabi joints were the pioneers of South African jazz.

"Zulu Boy" Cele was one of them, a popular marabi pianist in the Doornfontein slum yard shebeens.

Like his American counterparts Count Bassie and Duke Ellington, who also began their careers as performers at rent parties, he began to experiment with a bigger band.

Stop Press

In Johannesburg, ex SSRC member Titi Mtenyane was released from detention. He was detained along with members of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in December last year.



Titi Mtenjane

He was released in April with the Cosas detainees but was redetained the following week under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

When asked to comment on his detention Mr Mtenyane said: "It's been a number of years since I've had Christmas at home."

In August 1979 the People's Space opened to a fanfare of publicity and high ideals.

Its aims: to nurture local talent and to stress "honesty, dedication and relevance" in "a theatre whose art emerges from our greater society and is made for it". Its plan: to take production on tour in the Cape Town area and to provide transport for audiences to the theatre. Its policy: to present plays which challenge social and political conditions in South Africa.

How much of this have we seen, and how much are we going to see?

In a year, the People's Space has mounted 22 plays. 12 were plays by South African writers and 7 were new plays by black South African writers. But this in itself hasn't made for "honesty, dedication and relevance". The People's Space has been badly organised and fragmented, creating for itself a confused and confusing image. Why?

Firstly the people behind the People's Space made mistakes which could have been avoided.

- The People's Space was so enthusiastic that it opened before the Old Space (housed in the same building) had officially closed. They should have taken time to plan and organise, to stabilise a committed company and to work out a systematic policy.

Whatever happened to the people at the people's space?

- The bus to transport productions and audiences, which should have been a priority has only now been acquired. So a major function of the theatre is viable for the first time.

- It is difficult to justify a production like Chinchilla, a glamorous and costly play which stood as monument to irrelevant frivolity during the time of the schools boycotts and the Cape Flats unrest. If the People's Space is to live up to its name, there is no point in productions of a high theatrical standard that have little meaning for the community which the theatre serves.

- Morya Fine, the administrative manager, recently toured the West End in London considering plays for production at the People's Space. Is this really necessary?

Of course there have been financial problems. The People's Space, like the Old Space, has been denied a subsidy by the government

which justifies a (R3 million annual budget to the CAPE Performing Arts Board — which Cape overspends on items like R500 wigs for restoration comedies.

It is a fact that experimental theatre doesn't make money, and good box office often means horrible theatre — witness the packed houses for PYJAMA TOPS, a silly sex farce, at the Baxter.

Rob Amato, the chairperson of the People's Space, has put a lot of his own money into the theatre. They have had a R15 000 subsidy from Anglo American, and have now applied for a R70 000 grant from the Urban Foundation. Perhaps the theatre should forget fund raising from business organisations and accept the need to work with a company that supports itself by other means — like the Serpent Players in Port Elizabeth, who produced THE ISLAND and SIZWE BANZI IS DEAD.

But the real problem goes deeper.

What ARE the priorities of the People's Space? Are they theatrical or social? Is the objective to produce aesthetically and dramatically appealing theatre based on European models, or is it South African theatre motivated by a commitment to social change?

Rob ("I remain a liberal") Amato states that he doesn't believe in a single vision; theatre must be "varied, rich and complex, because the world is that way." True enough. But philosophy won't make the People's Space work effectively. Why not leave elaborate productions and overseas imports to the big commercial theatres and concentrate on what we've got and what we can make.

When the theatre reopens in October after a three month break, there will be some new directives. Every production must be cheap and portable to tour in the Hi-Ace bus. "Serious content" and "relevance" will be required of the plays. (No more Chinchilla's).

Hopefully things will improve. But Rob Amato's fine ideals must come to terms with concrete reality. Until the People's Space takes an uncompromising and consistent stand and sticks to it, its public will remain sceptical.



Jazz Maniacs rehearsing at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, 1945

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In the early 1930's a number of musicians from the Cape began to form bigger combinations and play American swing. The most famous of these was a group led by Peter Rezant and called the Merry Blackbirds. Inspired by their example, Zulu Boy decided to form his own band and the Jazz Maniacs were born.

He collected a number of musicians many of whom were later to become household names in the musical world of the townships.

"They were fellas who grew up in the ghetto, a lot of marabi stuff being played and so when they took up band playing we used to play dance numbers actually but then the beat we put into it would be the marabi beat, that's how they got popular. People were used to that kind of rhythm."

From the start the band was unique. According to Todd Matshikiza writing in the music column for Drum, "Zulu Boy was the kind of musician who wanted to bring music to those who danced to it and if people danced to the new swing sound, loud, forceful and big, the same element was present in Marabi." And he was not antagonistic of American swing, but saw in the use of more instruments the possibility of developing African jazz ... Marabi ... into an orchestral form so that



The band refused to submit to the exploitation of the recording industry

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music of African origin would find its place side by side with imported dance music." And this music reflected the ghetto origins of the musicians who formed the Jazz Maniacs.

The band always refused to submit to the exploitation of the recording industry and preferred to play to live audiences. However they did cut a record on one occasion and this was called Izikhalo Zika Z Boy — The Lament of Zulu Boy.

This is what Jacob Moeketsi, the veteran pianist for the band, has to say about it: "I mean the type of composition that a man puts down is very much determined by his environment you know and it's a pathetic composition to me Izikhalo. His mother was poor very poor. He lived in City and Suburban just behind the pass office you know."

"Of course we used to get more money by playing in the nightclubs but we didn't forsake our people for that. Financially it was the nightclubs but then we felt we were happier when we were with our people." This was the position that Wilson Silgee adopted when he was leader of the band.

By this time Zulu Boy had died a mysterious and violent death. His body was found on the railway line near Pimville station and murder

was suspected.

Despite the tragedy, the members of the band decided to carry on. In the tradition of the great New Orleans funeral bands, they marched Zulu Boy to his grave, went home and unanimously elected King Force as their new leader.

Silgee was a tough and uncompromising leader and under him the band maintained the popularity that made it such a powerful force on the South African Township music scene of the 1950s. At this American swing was becoming increasingly popular amongst both white and black audiences and the band which had by now become totally literate in music began to expand its repertoire of swing.

"At times, especially at Christmas it was a risky time for us. At times we played at four nightclubs. We'd unpack our instruments at the last nightclub into the car, rush to the first. From there it's just with instruments in the car. Rush time. It was all fun with us."

But those action-packed days of success for the band could not last forever. By the mid 1950s a number of forces were combining to ensure that the band began to disintegrate. The white musicians' union in Johannesburg began to pressurise the management of white night clubs

BOOGIE BOUNCE
 No. 62 10th Av - Alexandra
 On Sunday, 4th Oct., 1962
 Music by Big Big Stars and the JAZZ MANIACS REUNIT
 Who do you love and how long do you stay only dance a hour and five at that
 Admission: ADULTS 2s.6d
 CHILDREN 1s.6d

to limit the employment of black dance bands. At the same time violence in the townships was restricting business at the dance halls.

The growth of mbaqanga as a form of commercial recorded music put pressure on band members to form smaller recording groups and this caused serious splits in the group. The blow came when King Force left the band, and soon after it finally split.

The event marked the end of an era in South African music.

"The other bands started to break up too. You see this is through the era now. Swing faded away and then they started this modern jazz music. Now these old guys weren't interested in playing modern jazz and they thought they should pack their horns ... that's why these big bands broke up around here"

This is the view of Duggy Slinger, the veteran trombonist of Soweto who played briefly for the Jazz Maniacs before the breakup.

After the band died, leadership in the development of South African jazz forms passed over to younger musicians like Dollar Brand, Johannes Gwanga, Kippie Moeketsi and Hugh Masekela, to mention only a few. But these jazz giants of today owe their grounding in music to the big band era that the Jazz Maniacs epitomised.

Dollar Brand in a recent interview paid tribute to the big bands that started him off on his career in this era, playing occasionally for the Jazz Maniacs, whose pianist was his brother Jacob Moeketsi.

But most of all, the Jazz Maniacs must be remembered for the crucial role they played in keeping alive marabi, the working class African jazz of Johannesburg slums, and passing it onto a younger generation of musicians.

King Force Silgee highlights this point when he says "If you listen to that Mannenburg, if you listen to it, that's marabi straight."

Beware of dangers of shopsteward co-option

A RHODES sociology lecturer, Dr Marianne Roux, has repeated a warning made earlier this month that full-time shop stewards were open to co-option by management unless certain conditions were rigorously observed by the independent trade union movement.

She was responding to a letter by the General Secretary of the international Metalworkers' Federation in Geneva, Mr Herman Rebhan, which hit out at Dr Roux for warning that the employment of full time shop stewards need not result in progressive union activity in the Eastern Cape motor industry.

Two East Cape motor giants, Ford and Volkswagen, have recently announced the introduction of full time shop stewards in their motor plants.

Shop stewards are union representatives elected on the factory floor and one of their main jobs is to communicate members' grievances to management as they arise.

The black union movement have argued that it is essential for employers to recognise union shop stewards as most worker unrest originates

from factory floor grievances. It is therefore necessary for workers to be represented by a strong union at this level.

At Volkswagen 2 000 employees this month elected three full time shop stewards at its Uitenhage plant. Full time shop stewards at Ford however have not yet been elected by workers. Interim shop stewards have been appointed to the full time posts and full election will take place in January.

The move has been hailed by unions and some employers but certain academic observers including Dr Roux have warned that the system could recoil sharply on the companies and the unions. They believe full time shop stewards could be identified with management because they are still paid by the company.

Dr Rebhan strongly disagrees with this view. He said if this was true then it came as "one heck of a surprise to the scores of thousands of shop stewards in the auto industry worldwide."

"Each and every one of them continues to be on the company payroll, and many of them have offices and secretarial and other

facilities paid for by the company". In an interview today Dr Rebhan did not appear to have read a complete paragraph before "bursting into print".

"Had he read on he would have seen that some of the conditions he sees as appropriate to the election of full time shop stewards are mentioned," she said.

She said: "My article did not condemn outright the existence of full time shop stewards but indicated the dangers of co-option into a management and an alienation from the workforce if the stewards are perceived as agents of the bureaucratic union rather than the elected representatives of the men on the shopfloor."

"Perhaps it is the reference to this last danger which has stirred his ire — if so he should look carefully at the tragic fragmentation of the labour movement and ask himself why."

Dr Roux again stressed that certain crucial conditions would have to be observed to prevent the potential for stewards to be co-opted by management.

They were:
 • The maintenance of a close identification by stewards with the genuine interest of workers which could be best achieved by their being paid as workers and not as "a protected salarite"
 • The election of shop stewards by the workers at the actual plants which they serve.

Charged taxi drivers appeal for support

CAPE Town Bus Boycott Support Committee has launched a fund raising campaign to pay fines imposed on drivers who have been convicted for carrying their fellow-commuters without permits.

In a statement issued recently, the committee said the black communities of Cape Town took the decision to boycott City Tramways, because of the unreasonable increase in busfares four months ago.

"Transport costs form a considerably large portion of the average black household budget," said the committee, "there is no alternative but to use the City Tramways, a private company which has a monopoly of bus transport in the Cape. When City Tramways raised their fares in June, the only means of protest the community had was a boycott of buses, and the arrangement of alternative transport."

This resulted in a clampdown by police and the Road Transportation Board, and many people were arrested and charged for 'illegally' transporting passengers. In many cases their cars were impounded, and fines of R200 were imposed —

fines which were far higher than those normally imposed for such offences the committee said.

The boycott still had complete support in the black townships, and individuals were continuing to provide transport services at considerable personal risk. Drivers were being harassed or arrested daily in a two week period, said the committee, over 40 were charged for not having permits to transport passengers — whether or not they were in fact being paid for the services.

"Clearly, the State is acting in a highly repressive way in an attempt to break the community's solidarity. We call on people to offer financial assistance to enable the drivers to pay their fines of up to R200.00. We need to raise approximately R5,000 and we appeal for as generous a contribution as you can afford" it said.

The committee asked that Contributions be sent to: Bus Boycott Support Committee c/o S.R.C. Desk, Students' Union University of Cape Town.

Postponed Sacos meeting switches now to Jo'burg



More policemen than spectators at the opening of the Varachia Stadium

THE ANNUAL Sacos conference, which was to have been held in Port Elizabeth in July this year, will instead take place in Johannesburg in November.

The meeting was postponed when a blanket ban was placed on all political meetings.

It will differ from previous Sacos conferences in that prepared papers will be delivered and discussions will be held making the conference more productive.

Mr Morgan Naidoo, President of the SA Amateur Swimming Federation, will deliver a paper on sponsorship in sport.

He will focus on the discrepancy between sponsorship received by Sacos affiliates and that received by the multinational bodies.

Discussions of the Human Sciences Research Council's findings on sport in South Africa will be discussed. All bodies of Sacos refused to cooperate with the HSRC, and Mr Hassan Howa, the head of Sacos, turned down an invitation to advise the commission.

Sacos rejected the HSRC's premise that changes could be brought about in the sporting arena, maintaining its stance that "there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society". Sporting changes, it says, would have to be linked to societal changes.

Sacos policy on the usage of sporting facilities at ethnic universities will be formulated. At this stage the question of whether non-racial bodies should use these universities' facilities has not been settled by Sacos.

A re-application by the South African Soccer Federation for membership of Sacos will be considered.

The SASF, headed by Norman Middleton, was kicked out of Sacos for taking part in government-created institutions. Mr Middleton, who was a member of the now defunct Coloured Representative Council, still draws a salary from the CRC.

A new format for the Secretariat of Sacos will be proposed by the SAASF. They suggest that portfolios be created to cover different areas of Sacos activity. An international organising secretary, for example, is suggested.

The conference will take place on November 1 and 2 in the Bosmont Maddress Hall, Bosmont.

Normal sport? To me, it's still abnormal

South African sport has changed a lot in the last five years. But has it changed enough?

Sacos' Paul David speaks about the evils of racial sport in South Africa.

SPORT is vastly different today to five years ago.

Many white controlled sports bodies say they are fully intergrated. The government too has argued that sport in this country is played on a non-racial basis.

Yet there are many white bodies expelled from world organisations and only a handful retain international affiliation.

To gain international acceptance sporting organisations have wrongly claimed that they are truly representative of South Africa in that their teams are selected during normal games, and consequently, on merit.

But what is normal sport and what are merit selections?

Is it normal to be selected on merit when performance and not colour is the sole criterion for selection? Is sport normal when people of different colour sit on the same stand use the same playing fields or play with or against each other?

I suggest that for as long as we have the apartheid system, "performance" can never be judged objectively.

At best it is the performane of those who have the best opportunities and facilities. Obviously then, the performance of white sports people will be better. This cannot be called normal sport.

To understand the fight for the eradication of this system and the struggle for equality in sport, let us look at the role played by the South African Council of Sport (SACOS). The 1950's can justifiably be

called a memontous decade. Resistance to unjust laws reached an unprecedented level. The congress of the people materialised in 1952 as natural consequence of mass campaigning.

This Congress recorded that South Africa belonged to all who lived in it — black and white. It pledged, among other things, that ... "recreation shall be the right of all."

A new awareness and militancy had seized people. In 1958 when the aspirations of the people were being voiced in the Treason Trial, concerned sports people in the South African Association called a conference of sporting organisations to examine South Africa's racial policies as they affected sport.

The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) was formed as a result of this conference — and it started exposing how the Nationalist Party's apartheid policy affected sport.

In the 1960's when the State's repressive machinery was let loose, Sanroc was one of the organisations that went into exile.

In 1970 an ad-hoc committee was formed at a conference called to discuss problems confronting sports people in our country. This committee convened a meeting of nation, non-racial sports organisations which led to the formation of Sacos.

Since 1973, Sacos has gained international support and has a powerful ally in the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa with which it has observer status.



Paul David, exccimember of Sacos ...

recreation shall be the right of all

The Supreme Council has relentlessly campaigned for South Africa's isolation from the international sports arena. It is this against this backdrop that changes being conceded by the government in South African sports, must be seen.

But this isolation policy is not an end in itself. It is merely a strategy to normalise sports in this race-ridden country.

Sacos itself has been wrongly accused of undermining South Africa internationally. Yes, we might have undermined white privilege. But we find nothing wrong with undermining such privileges abroad, to ensure that they are shared in our country.

Sacos sees sport as part and parcel of our social background. Sport is not a separate entity. It is part of the reality of a social and political milieu.

The strategy of isolation is not designed merely to punish whites. It is designed to create the climate within our country conducive to change.

Sacos attacks the very root of the problem. In its campaigns it wears out the granite structures of apartheid itself. Only when all oppressive

and discriminatory laws are abolished can there be equal opportunities and merit selection.

This is why Sacos has called a moratorium on tours to and from South Africa.

Whites must work with us to consolidate our position in this country. This is not too much to ask. If no playing for South Africa is a sacrifice, is it all that great? Twenty-three countries deprived their athletes of the opportunity of taking part in the Montreal Olympic Games, all because New Zealand was going to participate — and New Zealand plays with apartheid. There was not a murmur from those brave athletes and if there had been you would certainly have heard it.

And herein lies the challenge to the white youth today. Join us in the struggle for a non-racial society in which sport can be played normally. Working together can only serve as an education for all people suspicious of each other. We can work together to achieve the demands of the Congress of the People:

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

Recreation shall be the right of all."

The above was based on a speech by Paul David in October this year.