

Anti-SAIC grows as people refuse to support their oppression
 • Centre spread

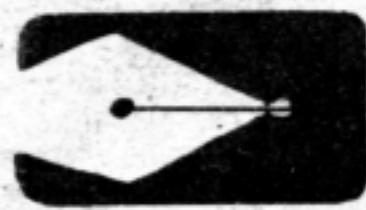


Trade Unions speak about their policy and organisation
 • See page 16



Cape Town labour Summit an historic breakthrough
 • See page 24

SASPU



NATIONAL

A SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS PRESS UNION PUBLICATION Vol. 2 No. 7 September 1981 Price 20 cents



Throughout Cape Town people protested against the forced removals of Nyanga

Detentions in Ciskei challenged trade union democracy

THE DETENTION of 205 trade unionists in East London by the Ciskeian authorities is the most serious challenge to the democratic union movement for some time.

This is said in a joint statement issued by six trade union groupings condemning the detentions as 'outrageous and completely unjustified' and the reasons given by the Ciskeian authorities as 'shallow'.

'It is unheard of that workers returning from a trade union meeting be arrested for singing freedom songs.'

The statement views the detentions as an act of intimidation.

'The real reason for the action lies in the refusal of the Ciskeian authorities to acknowledge the growth of a democratic union within a bantustan.'

'They do so because this represents a real challenge to the rulers of the Ciskei who were elected, not according to the wishes of the people, but in terms of apartheid policy.'

The statement condemns the action as a real threat to labour peace.

'It strikes at the root of establishing a democratic strong trade union movement able to operate within an effective labour relations system'.

Calling on other unions and employer groups to condemn the action and to demand the immediate release of the 205 detained, it says: 'Nobody who wishes to establish an effective labour relations system can tolerate mass arbitrary detentions for stupid reasons.'

The statement also condemns the management of Cobra Brass in Krugersdorp for refusing to negotiate with the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu). It calls for the reinstatement of the dismissed workers and for immediate discussions between the union and management to resolve the problem.

The joint statement was issued by the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU), the General and Allied Workers' Union, the South African Allied Workers Union, (Saawu), the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (CCAWUSA) and Hetelica.

Nyanga removal part of a larger problem in SA

IN THE same week that Chief Kaizer Matanzima, executive president of the Transkei, jetted into Cape Town to a red-carpet welcome from the South African authorities, close on 2000 squatters were bussed back to the Eastern Cape bantustans.

They had been staying in the bush for five weeks after evictions from single quarter hostels in Langa were stepped up at the beginning of July.

The actions of the state authorities must be seen in the light of its policies which have resulted in the forced relocation of over 3 million South Africans to the bantustans.

Various commissions have met and sometimes muttered about change, but the policy espoused by the Stallard commission of 1912 remains.

This states that 'the native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart there from when he ceases to minister.'

The 2000 squatters that 'departed' from the Peninsula had ceased to minister to the factories and businesses. Their labour had become useless and their worth to the capitalist system had expired.

With no attempt to disguise this, the government bussed the squatters back to the rural parts of the Transkei homeland. They were given provisions for the road which in-

cluded milk and baby food — an ironical twist considering how scarce those commodities are in most parts of the bantustans.

Earlier, 72 huts housing over 100 Nyanga squatters were burnt down by administration board officials.

Piet Koornhof announced that all non-squatters would require special permits to enter the area and police with dogs were brought in during the day.

Die Burger, mouthpiece of Afrikaner capital, commented on the 'nagging problem of squatters'.

'There will be grave misgivings about the way this problem of many months is dragging and whether really effective answers have been found to prevent a repetition'.

The core of the problem, it said, was that 'opportunities in their own areas are not being developed for them and their children'. Influx control should be applied more effectively, it said.

A few days later Koornhof announced that some squatters would be offered jobs, mainly at mines and factories in the Transvaal or Free State.

The Urban Foundation then stepped in and offered R10000 cash in the hope that the offers of employment and housing would start a process 'through which continued confrontation can be averted'.

Koornhof commented that many 'legal' blacks in the Peninsula lost



While Matanzima jetted in 2000 squatters were bussed to the bantustans



The squatters face no chance of employment in the bantustans.

• To page 2

See Editorial page 6

• From pg 1.

their jobs because employers took on 'illegal' residents who were prepared to work for lower wages.

A deputation of '13 prominent businessmen on behalf of 100 other prominent citizens of Cape Town' met with the city's Mayor to 'condemn' the treatment of the squatters, saying that the image of Cape Town had suffered enough.

Only 6 people responded to the offer of employment and the government reacted by raiding the camp and deporting the inhabitants.

The squatters face almost no prospect of employment in the bantustans. In their desperate position they are still beneficial to the South African ruling class. A large unemployed labour force can be

Nyanga squatters face starvation in the bantustans

absorbed in times of economic expansion. More importantly, they force down wages by competing with other workers for the few employment opportunities open to them. The bantustans are indeed the 'waste areas of capitalism'.

In Cape Town urban growth has occurred faster than houses have been provided. This has been partly because of the government's refusal to recognise the legality of the bantustan 'citizens' in the urban areas, and because business and industries have refused to provide

housing for the majority of people they employ. They said it would prove 'uneconomical' for them to do so.

Koornhof appealed to the private sector to provide more houses: 'There is no obstruction from the side of the government to stop employers building homes for their workers'.

He said he was convinced employers could make a great contribution by providing such housing and appealed to them to do so as the state was 'not capable of providing

all the housing needs of its citizens'.

The state has only recently intervened in the housing crisis. In 10 years no houses of reasonable size were built for blacks in the Peninsula. Three years ago the state embarked on a limited housing programme, building about 120 houses in 'black areas'. Since then about 600 houses have been built most of them being dwellings converted from the single quarter hostels.

The problem, however, is it is permanently employed workers who are able to afford these houses. Observers believe it is in the state's interest that only a part of the labour force is housed, ensuring both a steady labour supply to the factories and a division between privileged and underprivileged.

Widespread condemnation of JHB Detentions

IN A MASSIVE swoop in Johannesburg last week nine people were detained under Section 22 of the Internal Security Act.

Two of the detained, Mr Barnabas of the South African Allied Workers Union, and Caroline Cullinan from Cape Town were released after being questioned for a few hours.

There has been widespread reaction to the detentions of Cedric de Beer, Barbara Hogan, Auret van Heerden, Gavin Anderson, Barbara Klugman, Joanne Yawitch, Morris Smithers and Rob Adams.

In the early hours of Friday morning four more people were detained. They were Allan Fine, Robin Bloch, Stan Maseko and Mandla Mtembu.

In the swoop police raided offices of the Environmental Development Agency (EDA), Sached, and Actstop, a community organisation opposing Group Areas removals.

Cobra strike: 400 fired after lunch dispute

'POWER IS with us. At the moment the machines are not working. People must work together and not just say, "Power, power." I am grateful to the union for the work it has done.'

These words were spoken by a former member of the Cobra Brassware's liaison committee to a workers' meeting in Kagiso, Krugersdorp.

The meeting was called to enable 400 striking workers at Cobra Brassware to state their demands and to consider whether to continue their strike which had started on Friday 28 August. The union which represents the workers is the General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU).

The incident which precipitated the strike concerned the workers' lunch period.

A few days before the start of the dispute, a worker was caught stealing an article from the premises during lunch. In response, management refused to allow workers to leave the factory for lunch. Resistance to this decision became the basis for the strike.

Once the stoppage occurred, the most important demands were for recognition of GAWU, pay increases and repayment of pension contributions. Through recognition of their union, workers felt that they would be able to negotiate other demands more effectively.

The average pay at the factory is R1.50 per hour. Workers are now demanding R3.00 per hour in the face of low wages and a rocketing



Police kept a close watch on the Cobra strikers

cost of living.

The demand for pension contribution repayment is similarly based. Pensions actually decrease wages when they are sorely needed. Under the pension scheme, workers cannot receive their pensions until they are 65. They cannot withdraw from the scheme, and in the event of death, an employee's wife will receive only 60% of the pension.

Initially, Cobra management was prepared to negotiate — they backed down on the lunch hour demand. When negotiations between GAWU

officials and management finally collapsed on Thursday 3 September, the workers decided to continue the strike.

The police were called in and management conferred with them.

On Friday an ultimatum was issued to workers: 'Those who have not returned to work by Monday morning will be regarded by the company as having dismissed themselves.'

On the Monday morning, management offered a 50c an hour in-

crease to test the workers' resolve. The first batch of workers to arrive refused to work. They were locked in and then driven out by the police. Workers were instructed to disperse and return on Wednesday to collect their pay. About 30 workers remained at work.

On Wednesday 8 September, with negotiations in a deadlock, all 400 workers collected their pay and were dismissed.

Meanwhile, local residents' committees had issued a statement expressing solidarity with the workers.

"Women a powerful force" says Sisulu

WOMEN ARE more aware today than in the past, but their participation in organisation has declined.

This is the view of Albertina Sisulu whose banning order recently expired after 17 years of continuous restriction. She spoke to SASPU NATIONAL about her involvement in the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) and the FSAW's relevance today.

As a member of the FSAW she participated in the 1956 march of 20 000 women to Pretoria's Union Buildings in protest against the extension of pass laws to women.

'In the fifties, women's participation was higher than their level of consciousness whereas today people are more aware but participation has declined'.

Sisulu attributes this to the vicious government clamp-down on activities and organisations: 'Arrests, bannings and detentions are weapons that intimidate — people are scared', she said.

'Organisation is also hampered by the state's repressive action' she adds, 'and this is why women must organise in small groups. But action cannot be taken in isolation and the Federation's role is to bring the various women's organisations together'.

Sisulu explained why the FSAW was formed and its contemporary relevance.

'Today women are involved as equals with men in the fight for justice. But in the 1950's politics was for men only. Women of all races felt left behind and needed an

independent women's organisation through which they could act on their grievances.'

The FSAW formed as a non-racial federation to which women's organisations and clubs affiliated.

'The FSAW politicised and involved women by rallying them around common issues and this is still important', she said.

'The 1956 march was an organisational victory because the Federation was able to mobilise on a massive scale through its affiliated women's organisations', she said.

'Although we got word on the day that the government had banned the march, the Federation was still able to overcome this'. Women were told to split into inconspicuous groups of two's and three's at the bus terminals and stations and then use

different routes to the Union Buildings.

'It's far more difficult to organise on this scale today, 'she said, 'because the government's actions against organisations have increased'.

The protest against pass laws was followed up by 2 000 women offering themselves for arrest. Although most were fined and then discharged, some were sentenced to three months in prison.

The FSAW then rallied women around Bantu Education and the closing down of beer halls. 'The beer halls encouraged our men to waste money desperately needed by their families'.

'We removed our children from government schools and set up private schools in people's houses.

Parents support

In a statement released last Thursday, parents and relations reaffirmed their support of the detainees.

The statement read: 'We, the parents and relatives of the recent detainees express our support for those detained and state our conviction that they are persons of the highest integrity and the best motives.'

'We further condemn their manner of detention, in particular their isolation from any contact with their relatives or legal representatives.'

The executive of the South African Students Press Union (SASPU) and the editorial board of SASPU NATIONAL issued the following statement:

'We deplore the recent state clampdown which has led to the detention of the 12.'

'Once again progressive South Africans who have stood up for justice and change in this country have borne the brunt of ruthless state oppression.'

'But these people at least have the reassurance of knowing that the state's methods betray its own desperation and weakness.'

In Natal Mohammed Omar and Yunnus Hannif were detained on Thursday. It is not known under which section they are being held.

Fosatu starts worker education programme

F.O.S.A.T.U. has entered into a contract with the University of the Witwatersrand, through its Centre for Continuing Education, to establish a Labour Studies Course.

The course is designed to give active trade unionists a theoretical background to the social, economic and political dimensions of trade unionism and the working class movement.

The Unions believe that this is the first course of its kind to be offered to workers in South Africa. It is an important development in a country where educational activities are divided unequally on a racial basis. By pioneering this course the kind of education which is normally reserved for the sons and daughters of management is now available to workers.

600 Indian students expelled for Anti-Republic Day boycotts

HUNDREDS OF Indian high school students expelled following the mass Anti-Republic Day boycott of classes in May this year, have been refused re-admittance.

Six hundred pupils were originally expelled of which only 191 were allowed back.

The Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, expelled them and the battle goes on between him and parents who want their children re-admitted.

The unrelenting Krog has been called upon to resign as Director of Indian Education, but to no avail.

At present a test case is in progress. A Merebank father Mr Naidoo lodged papers with the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg calling on the Director to show cause why his daughter's expulsion from the Merebank High school should not be set aside. And judge President Mr Justice James has called on the Director to show cause why Chairmaine should be refused permission to attend any other school under the control of the Department of Internal Affairs Division of Indian Education.

Several deputations by parents and concerned bodies' attempts to talk to Krog have so far met with no success.

All expelled students were told to write a letter of apology to Krog if they wanted to be re-admitted. When school re-opened in July after the holidays, only a few students were taken back. The rest were told their expulsions still stood but they could re-apply next year for re-admission.

Naidoo said that his daughter's test case was in no way linked with the Reform Party. He said they wanted to claim credibility with the expelled students' case but he wanted to have nothing to do with them.



Flashback to last years boycotts ... the Westville struggle continues

Divide, demoralise and expell is admin strategy for activists

DISUNITY AMONG UDW students during the recent boycotts has been shrewdly manipulated by university authorities backed up by the state. Here a special correspondent examines the administration's strategies to deal with student dissatisfaction and political activists, with implications for the future.

Through out the UDW boycott, the university administration's approach and reaction to student unrest had been firm and directed. From the outset the authorities seem to have committed themselves to crush once and for all student boycotts and protests.

Two linked factors stand out clearly as to why such an attitude had been adopted.

Firstly, since 1972, the authorities

controlled most student activities.

Yet over the last two years the position altered considerably. Increasing organisation led to an intensity of student action and talks by visiting community and labour activists became a source of concern for both the state and the university authorities. Control, therefore, had to be re-established.

Secondly, the above activities were rapidly proving to be of acute embarrassment to the administration who foresaw a serious effect on the image of the university. Something had to be done to eliminate this.

A more sophisticated strategy for control emerged as the authorities kept in constant touch with Pretoria.

This strategy entails three distinct phases.

1. To create division:

It has always been the regime's tactic to create disunity; for instance, when people are engaged in mass action around a certain issue, the state's plan is to isolate the differing interests among participants and to exploit these to disrupt unity and to cause conflict among the people. In this way, the university authorities successfully disunited the student body in terms of semester students and full-year students, hostel-students and non-hostel students and so on.

2. To demoralise and frustrate:

Once disunity has been achieved, it is easy to go on to the next phase of

demoralising and frustrating students. For instance, physiology students had been asked to apologise for going on boycott and causing embarrassment to the lecturer concerned. Also hundreds of hostel students were asked to re-apply for admission after their accommodation had been terminated. Their applications were coupled with rigorous and humiliating interviews with the head of security and academic registrar, Mr Haystack.

3. To remove all 'agitators' and 'radicals':

In their step towards re-establishing control and thereby providing a long term solution, it becomes necessary for the authorities then to remove progressive leadership or in their words, 'well placed elements'. This is best done in an atmosphere of demoralisation. Rishil Buram's suspension from academic activity for the year was an act of provocation but the student body was not agitated into making a stand.

There are other ways in which 'leftist' elements can be removed.

The administration has stressed that marks are not the only criteria for the granting of DP certificates, but that "conduct" will also be taken into account. This means that admin in consultation with the various department-heads could refuse DP's to students whose conduct has been 'undesirable'. Secondly, there is the issue of admission considered on "merit". Since over 2 000 students have left campus this year, an over population problem with the influx of matric students, looms ahead if there are many reapplications for admission. Merit selection is easily manipulated to keep out unwanted elements.

The consequences of all this are tremendous. Political activities on campus could be destroyed for many years to come, reactionary elements and admin-stoolpigeons could take control, and frustrations can become misdirected.

Massive support for hunger striker

PUBLIC SOLIDARITY with detainee Derrick Naidoo who recently went on a 34 day hunger strike was expressed in a letter signed by over 2 000 people and 11 organisations.

The letter drafted by the Black Students' Society at Wits and sent to Naidoo read: 'We, the undersigned individuals are concerned and deeply distressed by the circumstances surrounding your detention that led to you embarking upon so drastic a step'.

'It is disturbing that in a supposedly civilised country, such extreme measures have to be taken to redress wrong'.

Derrick Naidoo, a Cape Town school teacher, was detained while on study leave in Durban on 18 July. No reasons have been given for his detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

He began a hunger strike on 21 July.

But it was only 21 days later when he was hospitalised that the Minister of Police, Mr Louis Le Grange, informed Naidoo's family of his hunger strike.

Demands by Naidoo's father for reasons why the family had not been told earlier were not answered, and Mrs Venetia Naidoo said: 'I had been taking food parcels to Caledon

Square each week and they were accepted as if things were normal.

The reasons for Naidoo's hunger strike are still unknown.

While the Minister of Police said Naidoo had advanced 'personal reasons' for it, Derricks father believes the strike was to 'highlight his detention — it was the only way open to him', he said.

On the 23rd day of his hunger strike, Naidoo's wife, Venetia was allowed to see him for the first time since his detention. But the ten minute visit was restricted to 'discussing only family matters', on security police instructions.

She said the presence of plainclothes policemen also prevented her from asking reasons for the hunger strike.

'But I can't believe he is doing it for personal reasons', she said. 'I think he is striking to protest at his detention without trial'.

On 20th August she was allowed a second ten minute visit, under the same conditions: 'I was not left alone with Derrick on either of my visits to him in hospital', she said.

During his hunger strike, Naidoo was not given access to his lawyer or doctor.

Despite a medical history of

kidney and chest complaints — confirmed by a spokesman of the City Health Department — and frequent requests for Naidoo's family doctor to see him, permission was not granted.

On 24 August, Naidoo ended his hunger strike.

Meanwhile at a meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia, organisations and leaders throughout the Witwatersrand attended a meeting to pledge solidarity with Naidoo and other banned, detained and exiled South Africans, as well as with the three ANC men sentenced to death in the recent Sasol-Booyens treason trial.

'The Eye' does not blur the issues

A **COMMUNITY** newsletter 'The Eye' is soon to hit the streets of Pretoria's townships.

'The Eye' will focus on civic issues of the communities in and around Pretoria, including rent, roads, electricity and housing. It will also cover worker news, their common problems and activities and projects taking place in the communities.

A spokesperson for the newsletter said: "Although 'The Eye' will concentrate on issues affecting the

everyday lives of people in Pretoria's surrounding townships, we will also publish 'outside' news to show how other communities have dealt with similar problems.

"But we will only be able to function with full support from the communities involved — we are relying on the various student bodies, trade unions and community organisations to contribute", he said. Asked why there is a need for such a newsletter, the spokesperson

said that the communities only had access to commercial newspapers which concentrate on sensationalism. 'The burning issues of the community must be highlighted to keep people in contact and give them a means to express common grievances', he said.

'The Eye' plan to bring out eleven issues a year for the communities of Mamelodi, Soshanguve, Mabopane, Garankuwa, Atteridgeville, Saulsville and other townships in and around Pretoria.

Workers fired over 'living wage' dispute

ALMOST 1000 workers at the motor component firm, Dorbyl, in Uitenhage have lost their jobs after the entire workforce walked out in June this year over low pay.

Workers rejected a new set of minimum wages fixed by the Industrial Council for the Engineering Industry which raised wages from R1,13 an hour to R1,36 an hour.

Workers are demanding a basic minimum of R2 an hour as a basic living wage.

Shop stewards and officials of the Fosatu affiliated National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers' of South Africa (Numarwosa) have met with management since April this year to negotiate new minimum wages. But

management has refused to consider the R2 an hour demand.

When workers at Dorbyl's two motor component firms decided to walk out in June, management fired all the strikers and started to recruit a new workforce.

Nine workers, including shop stewards have been charged in the Uitenhage Magistrate's Court and are out on bail ranging from R250 to R500. Five have been charged for participating in an illegal strike and four others charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Negotiations between Numarwosa and management have so far failed to resolve the dispute and workers have decided not to seek re-employment or re-instatement until

their wage demands are met.

Early in the strike, workers shouted down Numarwosa's organising secretary in Uitenhage, Mr Edwin Maepe, when he called on workers to return to work as the firm would not accept their demands.

Numarwosa has since said it will support the democratic decision of the workers not to return until their demands are met. But there seems to be little sign that the company will accept them.

Dorbyl has stated it cannot step outside the Industrial Council wage offer. But two motor component firms belonging to the same Industrial Council last month decided to break away from these levels and have agreed to a R2 an

hour basic wage — part of Fosatu's living wage demand.

The Swedish ball-bearing company firm, SKF Bearings, will pay R2 an hour from January next year while another firm, Borg-Warner, has agreed to pay rises that will reach R2 an hour by April, 1982.

The union has no seat on the Industrial Council for the Engineering Industry. It has one on the East Cape motor assemblers' industrial council which has agreed to a R2 an hour from January, 1982, after a strike at Volkswagen in June last year.

Dorbyl continues to recruit a new work force and it is believed they have replaced the dismissed workforce with women workers.

Fosatu and the Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation (UBCO) have organised community support for the workers and have called on the community not to take their jobs.

Fosatu members at Ford and VW have also threatened to boycott Dorbyl parts if the company continues to recruit scab labour.

Numarwosa secretary Fred Sauls said though he would not like to see a boycott start, 'if we are forced into this situation, the union will stand firmly behind its workers'.

Macwusa organiser, Government Zini, has said the union would consider boycotting Dorbyl parts in solidarity with the fired workers if Fosatu approached them for support. But no approach has yet been made.



Ms Fatima Meer (far right) leaves court with defence team from L to R — Ismail Mahommed, Clifford Mailer and Baptise Marco.

'Official Secrets' Student has charges dropped

CHARGES AGAINST a UCT student, Richard Wicksteed for allegedly contravening the Official Secrets Act were withdrawn by the state at a court hearing in Cape Town last month.

The state alleged that Wicksteed had possessed the minutes of a covert inter-departmental committee, and had failed to hand these minutes to the security police or to the authorities.

No reasons were given for the withdrawal.

The inter-departmental committee was established to counter last year's bus and schools boycott in Cape Town. It consisted of members of the security police, army and the Departments of Co-operation and Development, Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs. The committee was headed by an official of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information.

One of the committee's actions had been to distribute anonymous pamphlets on the Cape Flats last year calling on taxi-owners not to participate in the bus boycott taking place at the time.

Activist charged, rebanned

August has been a bad month for urban sociologist Fatima Meer.

Not only did the Appeal Court uphold the appeal of Natal's Attorney General against the Natal Supreme Court's judgement, which set aside the convictions and sentences of contravening her banning order and that of her son-in-law Bobby Marie, but a second year banning order has been served on her.

Meer was banned in July 1976 and prior to that had been banned for 10 years in the late fifties. Subsequent to her banning in 1976, she was detained for over four months at the Fort in Johannesburg. Her involvement in resistance goes back to her school days, when as a student of the Indian Girls High she was expelled for her participation in the passive resistance campaigns of the forties. She was the secretary of the Durban and Districts Women's League, an organisation of women active in the NC and NIC, and was one of the women who travelled to Johannesburg to the founding conference of the Federation of South African Women.

It was during the Treason Trial, where her husband Ismail Meer was one of the defendants, that she first started working at the University of Natal as a tutor. She carried on her studies and got a Masters in Sociology for a study on Race and

Meer was elected president of the Black Women's Federation (BWF) in 1975. The BWF was subsequently banned in 1977 along with 17 other organisations. She is also active in the Institute for Black Research, founded in 1973. The Institute has been responsible for many publications including Women without Men, Soweto — a people's Response, A Letter to Farzanah and Documents of Indentured Labour.

Her banning order confines her to the Springfield area and the Durban magisterial district. She is prevented from entering any other black areas but is allowed to continue lecturing at the University of Natal, for the sole purpose of instruction.

The upholding of the appeal by the Attorney-General of Natal means that Meer's conviction of three months provisionally sus-

pending for three years for attending a social gathering will be reinforced. This decision will also affect all other banned people in Natal as they will not be able to attend any gatherings of a non-political nature that exceed the number stated in their banning orders.

Ms Meer has three other charges against her still pending. One for attending a gathering and two for being out of the magisterial district.

UDW returns to class to rebuild unity

THE NINE-WEEK student boycott at the University of Durban Westville (UDW) is over with reports that over 2000 students have had to suspend their studies.

Students decided at a meeting to return to lectures because of the 'tremendous losses' incurred during the boycott which was sparked off by the university's refusal to reschedule the exams on June 16.

A resolution, which noted the broad-based nature of the struggle, said the student body was in 'no position to make any further sacrifices' because of the growing disunity and mass withdrawals.

The return to classes therefore is a bid to rebuild student unity through constructive programmes on campus and to carry on the

campaign for democracy.

Reports from campus indicate that fresh political activity is already underway to bring students a new maturity and are on a more sophisticated political level.

As one student explained: 'The losses we have incurred, we accept and will not dampen our spirit of resistance. Any struggle requires the making and accepting of losses. The lessons we have learnt from this experience will be used as weapons to further the struggle for a just, democratic society.'

The boycott was initially successful with an estimated 90% of the student body not writing the exams. Emotions ran high at the

time, especially when the new rector, Prof J J C Greyling, declared that 'this year is an all-out war and in these conditions even the innocent must suffer'.

All student meetings were banned from 9 June and a constant police presence was kept on campus.

The boycott was suspended for two days and then for a week further in an attempt to restore 'normality' so that negotiations with the administration could continue. However, university authorities refused to reschedule the exams, sowing seeds of disunity during the July vacation.

Letters were sent to students effectively dividing opinions on the boycott. The interests of part-time and full-time students were set

against each other, and hostel-dwellers were intimidated.

Demoralisation set in with bitter infighting over what course the action should take, and some students started attending lectures before the boycott was officially called off.

'The withdrawal of thousands of students and the disunity on campus were obvious losses we suffered as a result of the boycott', said another student. 'Foresight on our part could have avoided these losses, it is not only us to blame.'

He accused the administration of manipulating the situation to the detriment of all students. UDW will face problems next year with many students applying for readmission besides the regular in-flow of first year students.

PE timber workers strike against IC's min. wage

PORT ELIZABETH — Almost 200 workers at Federated Timbers here stopped work on June 16 in a demand for higher wages.

At meetings with management worker representatives demanded a minimum wage of R1,65 an hour. An Industrial Council agreement had set the minimum wage at 85c an hour.

Management informed organisers of the General Workers Union of South Africa (Gwusa) — an unregistered union closely allied with Macwusa — that the wage issue was non-negotiable as the union represented workers who were no longer employees.

The company was not prepared to reinstate the dismissed workers, but would re-employ them. However, new workers were taken on and production had virtually returned to normal by June 18.

A Gwusa spokesperson said the strike action did not have the approval of the union. He said: "There is a problem with workers who go out on strike even before demands are made to management"

On June 23 Federated Timbers management announced that most of the striking workers had returned to work. It was not certain whether they were reinstated or re-employed.

150 Workers fired for PE Solidarity Strike action

PORT ELIZABETH — The entire black workforce of 150 at SA Cape Fellmongers was dismissed after a walkout in solidarity with five dismissed colleagues on July 8.

Management told worker representatives that not all of the dismissed workers would be re-employed when recruiting for new workers began.

The workers were members of the Cape Town based General Workers Union.

Workers decided not to collect their severance pay, as this would mean accepting dismissal, and to demand unconditional reinstatement of all the workers involved

On July 11 the company's management said in a statement that it would consider re-employing all the striking workers, including the five originally dismissed. However, the company had employed 100 temporary workers, who would be employed on a permanent basis if the striking workers did not return by the following Monday.

Management refused to negotiate with GWU as it is unregistered, but negotiated with an elected workers' committee.

On July 13, 80 temporary workers were employed as permanent staff.



Tongaat Mill strike ... negotiating team from Sugar Refining Union. Mr Nelbandi is seated, third from right.

Sugar industry hit by strikes

TONGAAT — THE two-day strike at the Tongaat Group's four food and sugar plants ended without the workers' demand to be paid out their contributions to the superannuation fund being met.

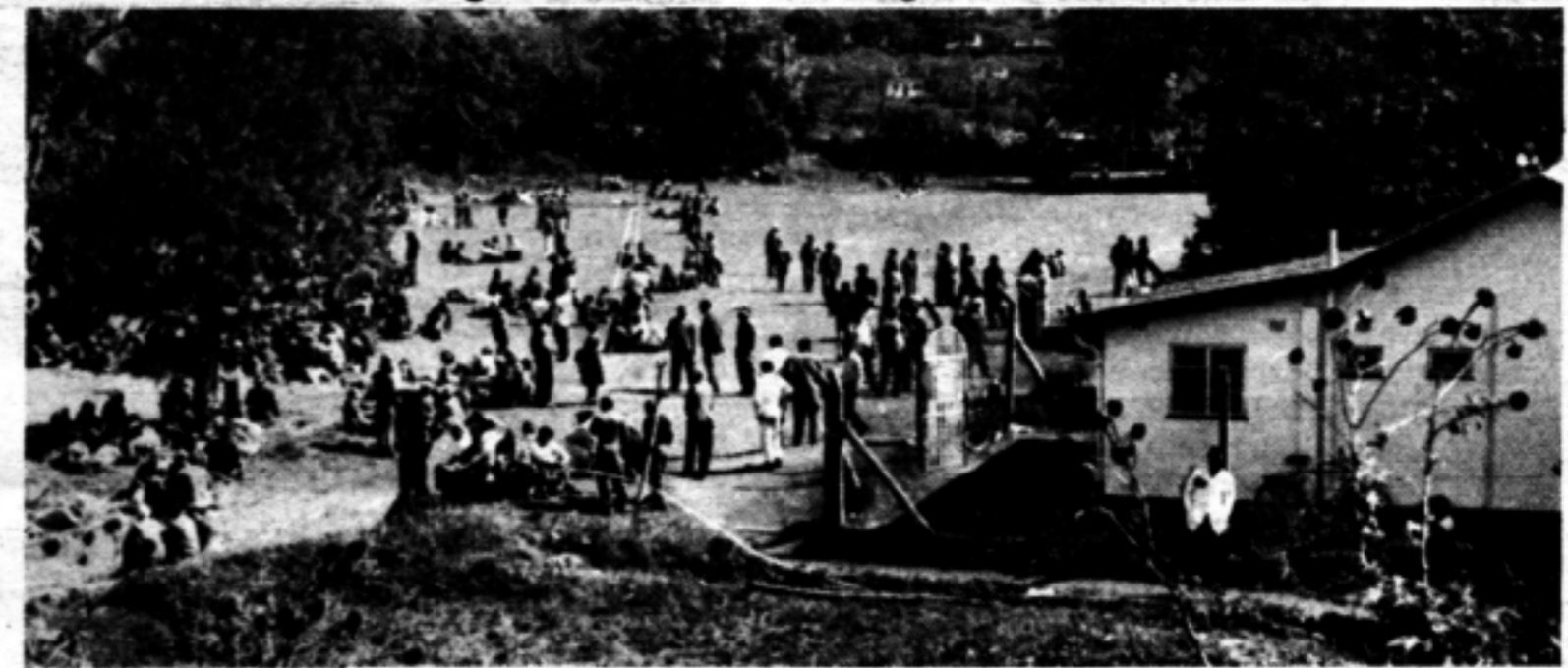
The work stoppage was the result of months of attempts by the workers committee to get management to talk with them about the issue of the superannuation fund.

Management had stated that the workers who wanted their contributions to be paid out would have to resign from the company and start afresh forfeiting bonus, leave and any other benefits.

The management refused to speak directly with the workers committee and insisted on negotiating with the Sugar Refining and Manufacturers Employees Union, a union which was set up last year for blacks in the sugar mills with R10 000 from the Sugar Association.

Soon after more than 2000 workers went on strike the riot police arrived. Management had denied that they called them in.

The workers were dispersed from



Striking sugar workers in the compound ... while union negotiates

outside the gates of another Tongaat Group factory, the textile plant called Whiteheads, with teargas and dogs after they had gone to ask the workers to join them.

All the workers returned the next day, and so the strike ended without any workers being fired.

On the first day of the strike two officials of the South African Allied Workers Union arrived to address

the strikers but were told by the police that they had no right to be there and they left after a police warning.

The strike of over 500 Indian and African workers at the Huletts Mill in Mount Edgcombe recently ended after a compromise agreement between the union and management had been reached.

The black workers demanded to

be paid out their contributions to the pension fund before the new Pension Bill becomes effective. The Bill will prohibit workers from withdrawing their pensions when they leave a job or are fired. Pension money will only be payable at retirement age.

The three-day strike was settled when the members accepted a compromise agreement that the money be transferred to a trust fund which will be controlled jointly by management and worker or union representatives. Most of the workers subsequently resumed work.

Selby Nsibande, the secretary of the Sugar Refining and Manufacturers Employees Union told SASPU that 'although the workers are not happy they have decided to report for duty and wait to see what will happen from here. They feel that their money is a lot safer in the trust fund.

The PRO for Huletts, Ron Phillips, said that while management appreciated the concerns, fears and problems of the workers they would be failing in their responsibility to their employees if they paid them out now. 'One of the responsibilities of management is the provision of old age, death and premature retirement pensions.'

Phillips said that although this was the second strike in the sugar industry in a week, the provisions of the new Pension Bill did not only affect sugar workers. He said there had been a lot of interest in the way Huletts had handled the strike.

The negotiations between management and the union went on for two days before the compromise was reached. On the first day of the negotiations Sam Kikine of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) arrived to negotiate on behalf of his members but was refused permission. Kikine claimed that he had over 50% of workforce members of the Sugar and Allied Workers Union.

Destitute workers not allowed to reap their crops together

SIXTY WORKERS from Union Co-operative Bark and Sugar Mill in Dalton, were denied access to the mill to reap their crops collectively.

The dispute between Union Co-op and its workers now enters its fourth month.

Workers had planted these crops before the dispute began and management said it would only give access to five workers at a time to reap the crops.

Workers pointed out that many of them had travelled 600km specially for this task and the limited access would mean some workers would have to wait up to 10 days for their turn. This would have posed accommodation problems and food costs.

Appeals were made to management to take a more reasonable stance, but to no avail.

"We have suffered enormous hardships at the hands of this management", said one worker. "Now meanwhile our families are starving and we are not allowed to reap our own crops without placing an added financial burden on ourselves."

All attempts by workers at Union

Co-op to apply pressure on management to open negotiations with, the representative worker committee have failed.

An approach by the powerful Sugar Millers and Employees Association to the Union Co-op management to open negotiations did not succeed either.

At the last meeting of the workers committee in mid July, a decision to stand united also accepted that workers would not get their passes signed off to find alternative employment, but would wait for the outcome of the court-case.

Most workers have only received R30 for the 16 week strike period. In the meantime Union Co-op has employed 400 casual workers.

A spokesman of the Sweet, Food, and Allied Workers Union, an affiliate of Fosatu commented: "The issue at Union Co-op is basically a demand for a living wage. If workers stop getting food rations, or getting subsidies for food rations, it means their present wages of R130 (which are way below the poverty datum line) are reduced to about R90. This indicates that the workers are involved in a struggle for survival —

and their solidarity reaffirmed that they will not be starved into submission. "If we are interested in building a stable industrial relations structure the mass replacement of workers when they have genuine grievances is not a move in this direction".

The workers have had to raise R4 800 damages for the first bout of legal action. The destitute workers who have been unemployed for 5 months were visited by people to collect the money. When they explained that they couldn't pay the money their possessions were taken.

One worker described the incident: "Four men arrived at my house. One was the compound manager. They wanted to get into my house. I locked my house and ran into a friend's house. When I came back they had broken into my house, leaving it open. All my furniture and kitchen stuff was gone. All they left was one bed".

This kind of action can be seen as a further attempt to demoralise already destitute workers. The case continues in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court.

SASPU NATIONAL

Crossroads Strategy Apartheid lives

TOTAL STRATEGY is dead, Apartheid lives!

The rise and fall of Total Strategy is perhaps best illustrated by the two stories of Crossroads, an area of human settlement that owes its very existence to the strange but logical policy of co-option and coercion.

Total Strategy Dies

THE STRUGGLE FOR CROSSROADS

People started settling in Crossroads in 1975. Two years later over 20 000 people were living in the area.

Most had come from camps, demolished that winter, such as Modderdam, Unibelt and Werkgenot. Only eight percent were from 'independent' bantustans.

By February 1978 the threat of demolition hung over Crossroads as well. But it was the dawn pass raid of 14 September, which saw the death of one resident, that made Crossroads a world issue.

'Save Crossroads' petitions began in Cape Town and the local 'Crossroads Support Group' grew in strength.

The stage was now set for the Koornhof example of Total Strategy par excellence.

Koornhof visited the camp that November and after four months of negotiations the well-known 'Koornhof deal' was concluded on 5 April 1979.

The world and the white liberal community breathed a sigh of relief: Crossroads had been 'saved'. The government had come to its senses at last.

The meaning of this 'salvation' was soon revealed.

Instead of bulldozers demolishing the tin shacks, the people would now move themselves of their 'own free will' — to the New Crossroads, a township still to be built by the Bantu Areas Administration Board (BAAB).

But not all Crossroads residents were blessed with this good fortune. Only those 'legally' in the Cape or with legal jobs were to stay. The rest were still condemned to the long drive back to starvation in the Ciskei or Transkei.

Such was the brilliance of the 'Koornhof deal'. By 'saving' Crossroads he deflected world criticism of government resettlement policy and earned a pat on the back from the local liberal opposition.

Moreover, the new deal split the once united community of Crossroads into those promised houses and those to be removed.

The P W Botha fraternity was able to continue along the road of 'reform' after Crossroads. A constellation of states was proposed, new agreements were made with the business community and some of the Wiehahn proposals were implemented.

The New Crossroads

THE PEOPLE OF THE BUSH

'Recently a 'new' Crossroads issue developed when state action against the several hundred people who set up shacks between Nyanga and Crossroads attracted widespread attention.

Most of the people came to the area from overcrowded barracks in Langa after being evicted from Hout Bay.

Administration Board officials and police were quick to act. Shacks and shelters were torn down in rain and below freezing temperatures — there was a public 'outcry'.

Then came Koornhof's offer — jobs for people in other areas of the country.

This offer was accepted by the groups who had set themselves up as representatives of the 'bush people'.

Total Strategy, it seemed, would once again have its way.

Yet despite *Argus* news reports of people 'streaming' in to accept the jobs, the 'bush people' stood united and firmly rejected Koornhof's offer. Their demands were not only for jobs but for the right to live and work where they chose.

Then came the dawn raid of 19 August when over 2 000 people were taken by truck to Pollsmoor prison. The shacks were destroyed and by 9 am the area was deserted.

The following day the people were loaded into busses and forcibly deported to the Ciskei.

The Crossroads example helped to expose Total Strategy as a failure. Apartheid had been revealed as the brutal and coercive system it is.

At Crossroads in 1979 Total Strategy succeeded only by mobilising 'liberal' support and by dividing the community.

Community Strength

This had not been the case at Nyanga where the state's coercive actions were not endorsed by 'liberal' opinions.

More importantly, the attempt to divide the 'bush people' failed because of the community's strength: Unity. But the challenge of the united community taking a strong stand could not be tolerated by the system — the state resorted to bantustans, the police and the media to crush this resistance.

The lesson of Nyanga: Unity is strength.

Only once trade union, community, women, youth and student organisations, are united rationally and democratically can the struggle against apartheid be effective.

Toe Till
Strategy



ENID BLYTON'S Noddy might be considered a little bigot by enlightened critics in the rest of the world, but in South Africa he's a subversive.

When Noddy fell foul of the censors some years ago, not many reasons were given for his disappearing from the library shelves. An obvious one would have been that Blyton's dull and unimaginative use of English could only be harmful to South African children — who have difficulty enough with the language, since most don't speak it at home.

But much more likely reasons were that South Africa's apartheid guardian felt Noddy was a bad influence because he had friends of every colour and because the Toyland 'golliwogs' didn't have to carry passes. Then, of course, he undoubtedly had homosexual tendencies. Remember when he shared a bed with Big Ears?

Now all this would have been excusable in the eyes of what the censorship bodies refer to as "the average, decent-minded, law-abiding, modern and enlightened citizen" but for Noddy's committing an offence considered very bad in South Africa: by being rude to Mr Plod, Noddy was guilty of insulting an officer of the law!

This is all speculation, of course, but no so far-fetched when you consider the reasons given for so many bannings of publications, films and entertainments.

The South African government passed the Publications Act in 1974. This gave legal respectability to state control over the media so that anything which might in any way threaten the interests of the state could be immediately suppressed.

To implement the Publications Act is a three-tier system:

- The Publications committees — which decide on desirability
- The Directorate: for administrative function
- The Appeal Board — for appeals against decisions of the Committee.

Publications, films or entertainments can be banned for any of a number of reasons:

Repent, Noddy, for you have fallen foul of the scissors men

- If they are considered offensive to the religious convictions of any section of the community.
- If they bring into ridicule or contempt any section of the community.
- If they are considered harmful to community relations.
- If they are considered a threat to the safety of South Africa.
- If they are indecent or obscene in any way, or offensive and harmful to public morals.
- If a publications committee decides a particular publication is undesirable, then the name of the publication is printed in the Government Gazette. The publication can be banned for possession or for distribution. Karl Marx's *Capital* was recently banned for distribution, which means it may not be sold over the counter in bookshops. Journals like the *African National Congress* and *Sechaba* are always banned for possession.

Publications can also be banned for possession and distribution, or dubbed "radically undesirable" and banned for all future editions. In the case of a first conviction, anyone found guilty of distributing an "undesirable" publication faces a fine of around R500 or a jail sentence of six months, or both. The sentences for possession are more severe.

While it is obvious that politically challenging films and publications are usually not passed because they are considered "a threat to the safety of South Africa", the reasons for banning non-political material are often completely incomprehensible.

An Unmarried Woman, a book about the effect of marriage failure and divorce on four women (the film starred Jill Clayburgh and Alan Bates), was found to be "calculated

to excite lust and to amount to a shameful treatment of sex". The four women characters, decided the censors, were pathologically pre-occupied with sex.

Although live revues and theatre usually escape with only a few cuts, recently a play called *Lord, Why* suffered a far worse fate. The play deals with the daily lives of black people in an urban township where poverty is rife and police harassment is shown to be a regular occurrence.

The Appeal Board commented that criticism of the Government or police was not undesirable unless it endangered the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order.

"The police force maintains good order and as such constitutes a cornerstone of the state. The police are brought into contempt in several parts of this public entertainment and consequently *Lord Why* was found to be undesirable."

In 1968 the then Police and Justice minister, Jimmy Kruger, complained in parliament of the bad influence Sidney Poitier's *In the Heat of the Night* would undoubtedly have on the morale of the white South African Police force:

"*In the Heat of the Night* was a film telling the story of a stupid white policeman who worked with a particularly clever non-white detective. These two always worked together to the detriment of the whites and to the advantage of the non-whites. If this is not something unjurious to race relations in this country, I do not know what is."

In the light of this statement, Noddy's relationship with Mr Plod takes on new meaning!

Thanks to Press Trust of South Africa

If you want to know what's going on in South Africa:



The student movement has always developed alongside other struggles.

WATCH THE STUDENTS!

THE STUDENT movement has played a leading role in keeping the spirit of resistance alive.

Year after year they have found themselves in the forefront of struggles — last year saw students boycotting schools and universities — this year it was the anti-republic day protests.

Each round has brought further repression — detentions, bannings, exile. Dan Montsitsi, Ephraim Mogale, Andrew Boraine, Sammy Adelman, the Cachalia brothers, Aziz Jardine, Wantu Zenzile are not victims, they are leaders, and their leadership has set the tone and the pace of the struggle.

In fact developments in the student movement offer a clue to understanding many of the confusing and contradictory aspects of the development of resistance in South Africa through the seventies and into the eighties.

It was in student ranks that internal political resistance revived at the start of the seventies. Looking for a way of politicising their fellow students, the early South African Students Organisation (SASO) activists appealed to their blackness to build up confidence in their ability to liberate themselves.

Black consciousness (B.C.) as this spirit of defiance and resistance came to be known, was a means towards involving black people in the struggle, but was not seen by the leaders as the form of liberation itself.

It was clear to them that it could only be a 'first stage' in the fight for freedom. It could involve people in the liberation struggle but could never be the liberation movement itself.

BC told people that they were oppressed and that they should and could fight oppression, but it told them nothing about why they were oppressed and how they could free themselves.

It became clear that people were oppressed so that they could be exploited, and that the removal of exploitation required more than the dismantling of apartheid. Workers had to directly combat their exploitation and break down the political oppression that made that exploitation possible.

By the time it was banned, Saso had come to see its role as preparing students for a part in the struggle of the working class to overthrow the structures of oppression and exploitation which dictate their lives.

Saso was ahead of the mainstream of BC thinking, which rigidly insisted that black people were black before they were workers and that the enemy remained white people. This ideological distinction — between activists who saw the struggle as one of the working class against exploitation and those who saw it in purely racial terms — was to grow into a fierce split between those who supported the non-racial 'anti-exploitation' principles of the Freedom Charter, and those who did not.

BC remained, and still is, the starting point for many. The '76 uprisings spread its essential message far and wide as thousands of students responded to the call of the SSRC to smash Bantu Education. This time students were providing the lead by engaging in mass demonstrations and open confrontation with the authorities.

For the first time in years the struggle reached such intensity that whole townships were politicised. Parents rallied in support of their children. Thousands left the country

for military training. In the course of the uprisings, the Soweto Students Representative Council became the Soweto Representative Council as students committed themselves to the liberation of their people and not just the abolition of Bantu Education. This can be seen in the worker stay-aways of September 1977 when close on half a million workers stayed away in support of student demands.

The student-led uprisings of '76 were the signal that a new era of resistance had begun.

Generations of people had been politicised and South Africa would never be the same again.

Consciousness is a product of experience, however, and the experience of '76 had been one-sided in crucial respects.

They overemphasised demonstrative activity to the exclusion of long-term programmes for social change. The lack of an overall programme meant that it was impossible to consolidate the struggles of '76 into solid and highly politicised student organisation.

Because there were no clearly defined strategic goals that students were being mobilized to achieve, strategy and tactics were almost non-existent. The boycott of schools and universities became an all-or-nothing affair — the complete and unconditional scrapping of the Bantu Education system. Once students were out on boycott it was impossible to maintain any coherent organisation since the unit of organisation, the school or university, had disappeared. Once set, the course was unchangeable, since there were no effective structures for deciding on implementing strategies.

In fact, strategy was impossible since no short term goals had been defined and no achievable targets

set. The issues had hardened. There was no turning back — too many people had died and suffered. Confrontation became the order of the day: the police the enemy, freedom the goal.

The price that the people paid was huge. Personally and politically, the cost was great. But the victory was consciousness and awareness that the system was not all powerful and that the people were strong. Still, it left the students in disarray, with no organisation and hundreds in detention and exile. The task of rebuilding the student movement was enormous and the repression extreme.

Already, however, activists were assessing their mistakes and the short-comings of the events of '76. They were realising the need for strategic goals which were within reach of the students given the strength of their organisation and the determination of their members. They had learnt that boycott is a tactic and not a principle, and one to be used only when circumstances dictated that it was the most effective tactic that they could employ.

The importance of organisation had been realised. Without organisation it was impossible to wage a planned and disciplined struggle, and without it the people could never become masters of their own liberation.

With these lessons to guide them — students all around the country set about building a movement of progressive students which could play its proper role in the struggle of the working class against exploitation and oppression.

At the same time, the white student movement was consolidating on the English campuses. Under the banner of democratic and non-racial struggle, white students were getting

down to the awkward business of deciding how they could make some real contribution to democratic struggle.

Looking inward, they developed a systematic critique of the university and the role it plays in South African society. This allowed them to identify exactly whose interests the university serves and to challenge those class interests from within the university.

Looking outward, the student movement identified with progressive struggles, offering support politically and materially. Ideologically the white student movement came to play a central role, and it was this ideological battle against the repressive regime that provided the common ground for black and white progressives to come together.

United ideologically but organising separately, black and white student progressives again set the pace for the struggle. Firmly allying themselves with the Freedom Charter, they pushed hard for the recognition of the class nature of the struggle, laying the emphasis on the struggle of the working class for freedom from exploitation, but recognising the need to fight the political measures through which this exploitation was achieved.

The 1980 schools boycotts showed this political maturity at work. No longer were students simply demanding that Bantu Education be scrapped and replaced by 'white' education.

They formulated strategic demands which captured the frustrations and grievances of pupils — broken windows, lack of text books, inadequate qualified teachers and victimisation. They formed SRC area committees and regional co-ordinating bodies. And they linked their short term demands to long

term goals, making it clear that they were not struggling for better education alone, but for a democratic society which would make a democratic education possible. They saw themselves not as leading the struggle, but as the student wing of the workers struggle.

These were three of the most important lessons of '76 — that boycott is a tactic and not a principle; that short term demands must be linked to long term goals and vice-versa; and that the struggle is a worker struggle against exploitation and political oppression to which students can contribute.

The student leadership in 1980 had also recognised that the politicisation of students and their organisation into effective grass roots bodies was the major task facing them.

This meant reaching out to students on issues which directly affect them and organising them around concrete demands rather than abstract principles. In this way, students would be able to develop their organisational and political skills through their own activity and experience, ensuring a greater depth of properly trained student leaders and activists.

This increased awareness of the need for organisation and training, as well as the need for strategy is reflected in the activities of many other progressive groups active in the factories and communities.

All over, democratic groups organising around grass roots issues are evident, treating these issues not simply as ends in themselves but as means to organise and politicise people.

The test for the strategic thinking of the student movement came in January '81 when students had to decide whether or not to continue with the boycotts or to return to school.

Many student groups were arguing that to return to school would be to sell out and give in, since none of the demands of the boycotts had been properly met. Others, however, argued that these demands could only be effectively fought for if students returned to school so that they could regroup for the next round of the struggle against gutter education.

After weeks of sometimes bitter debate, it was decided that students should suspend the boycotts, return to school, consolidate their organisation and clarify the issues for the next phase of struggle.

The 1981 Azaso conference was a further example of the greater political experience of the student movement.

With the experiences of the schools, bus, meat and rent boycotts to guide them, as well as their experience in the Free Mandela and Anti-Republic Day campaigns, Azaso sat down to assess its direction and policies. The results were a much clearer spelling out of how they saw their role in the struggle.

Ideologically, they made a clear commitment to the non-racial and democratic principles of the Freedom Charter. In their constitutional amendments, as well as in their resolutions they committed themselves to struggling for freedom together with other progressive organisations in the fields of women, culture, communities, and factories.

The presence of many activists drawn from these fields was evidence of the unity and co-operation which does exist between progressive organisations.

Triple Death verdicts for the Sasol trialists



Part of the massive crowd on the final day

his task being to eliminate people working for the 'system'.

On 6 August, the defence and state closed the case, without the defence calling the accused to give evidence.

Mr J Jansen, SC for the State submitted that all allegations against the accused had been proved beyond all reasonable doubt. He said: 'All the accused admitted in their confessions that they were members of the banned ANC. The fact that they joined such an organisation whose intent is to overthrow the State is tantamount to high treason'.

Unterhalter argued that for Tsotsobe to face a treason charge, he had to owe his allegiance to the Republic. He said this did not apply as the accused lost his South African citizenship when the Transkei became independent.

Jansen said the fact that Tsotsobe was Xhosa-speaking and as a result a Transkeian citizen did not hold because other Xhosa-speaking people belonged to the Ciskei. Mr Justice Theron later said that Tsotsobe did not qualify for Transkeian citizenship under the Status of Transkei Act.

After finding the three guilty of high treason, Mr Justice Theron said the three had a common purpose of furthering the aims of the ANC. He said they left the Republic separately, joined the ANC and underwent military training in Angola which included embracing the organisation's philosophy to overthrow the government by force.

Theron said Tsotsobe had stolen a car to use in the attack on Booyens police station; that he had attacked Uncle Tom's Hall; that he had planted limpet mines along the Dube railway line last year; and that he was also involved in the attack on WRAB offices in Diepkloof.

Theron said that Moise had, with others, planted limpet mines at Sasol II which blasted the installations causing a total damage of more than R3 million.

Soon after the guilty verdict was announced demonstrating started outside the court. Part of the public gallery erupted into song within the court and then marched into Church Square, assembled opposite the court entrance and sang freedom songs while waiting for the prisoners to be transported back to Pretoria Prison.

The next day, during a defence plea for mitigation in sentence, the head of the terrorism desk at Security Headquarters in Pretoria, told the court that so far damage estimated at R10 million had been caused by terrorism and sabotage acts this year.

In mitigation, a clinical psychologist said that the three men believed that their decision to leave the country and their later participation in ANC activities was a moral choice forced upon them by political conditions in South Africa.

On 19 August, Tsotsobe, Shabangu and Moise were sentenced to death. Mr Justice Theron said that the three men had committed the deeds with premeditation and 'with total disregard for the safety of members of the public'.

After the pronouncement of the sentence, the men stood up and faced the packed gallery with clenched fists and chanted a freedom song.

The police maintained a constant presence throughout the trial to control the large crowds



Mothers of the trialists after the verdict



jaw, which was then reset by a doctor. He said there were other incidents of assault including an interrogation during which he was hung head-down from a tree.

Detective Sergeant Otto denied this accusation and said that Shabangu had dislocated his jaw by falling on a staircase while being taken to the toilet. Other police officers also denied the allegations.

A district surgeon told the court that he had not found any marks on Shabangu consistent with assault, and that the dislocation of his jaw could have been caused by a fall on a staircase or by a blow.

Mr Justice Theron ruled that Shabangu had made the statements voluntarily.

During the third 'trial within a trial', Moise alleged that he was suspended upside down, punched and had his heels burned to force him to make a statement. He said his statement to the magistrate had been dictated to him by the police who told him to admit being sent to South Africa by the ANC with three other men to attack Sasol II.

Lieutenant van Antwerpen denied violence was used to make an accused confess. Van Antwerpen said that he had identified Moise and three others arrested on 26 October 1980 as ANC 'terrorists' by checking their reference books. He said it was in the interests of State security not to disclose how he had detected this and that a clause under the Internal State Security Act backed his refusal.

Justice Theron ruled that Moise's

statement to a Malelane magistrate was made voluntarily and accepted it as part of the court's records.

Later in the trial, after judgement had been passed, Theron gave reasons for not accepting the defence plea that statements made prior to the hearing be discounted. He had found the accused's statements of assault unreliable and said they had formulated stories to suit their lies.

During the proceedings, state witnesses included a nightwatchman who gave an account of the explosion at WRAB offices in Diepkloof, and a police sergeant who described the attack on Booyens police station to the court.

An ANC member captured in Matola gave evidence for the State. He was not named, for fear of

recrimination, in accordance with a court ruling, and evidence was given in camera. He alleged to have seen the accused men in an ANC camp in Angola, and said that he and Moise were among the prisoners taken during the SADF raid into Mocimboa do Castelo earlier this year. He said instructions to bomb Sasol II were given by the leader of Umkhonto we Siswe, Joe Slovo.

A defence request that security police be removed from the hearing because the witness may be intimidated by their presence, was refused. The witness stated that he was not afraid of anyone present in the court, and had never been intimidated by a policeman.

Later, a former girlfriend of Shabangu testified that he was part of the ANC's 'assassination branch'.

ANTHONY BOBBY TSOTSOBE (25), Johannes Shabangu (26) and David Moise (25) are to hang.

They are the three sentenced to death for high treason by Mr Justice Theron and two assessors in the Pretoria Supreme Court on 19th August.

The main charges against the men were of treason, attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and terrorism. All three pleaded not guilty.

The charges were sequel to attacks on Sasol II, Dube railway station, WRAB offices in Diepkloof, a house belonging to Constable Mahaule in Malelane, the attack on Booyens police station and the gutting of Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West.

As the trial got underway, the defence council Mr Jack Unterhalter, SC, asked the Supreme Court to rule certain statements the accused had previously made as inadmissible as evidence. Unterhalter said that when the men at first appeared in court before a magistrate 'there were many admissions made which, if accepted will be extremely prejudicial to the case. They almost amount to a plea of guilty'.

The three accused related how, after being detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, they had been brought before a regional magistrate without being accorded access to legal advice, and had no legal representation in court. Unterhalter said that Tsotsobe was ignorant of legal proceedings, and that the magistrate, by refusing to accept Shabangu's plea of 'Nothing to say at this stage', had got 'prejudicial admission'.

The case was dominated by three 'trials within a trial' to establish whether statements made by Tsotsobe, Shabangu and Moise prior to the trial were admissible as evidence.

This followed evidence given by Major Englebrecht of the Soweto Murder and Robbery Squad, who told the court that Tsotsobe had shown him various places, including Booyens' police station, Uncle Tom's Hall and Dube station, where attacks had occurred. He said that weapons and hideout bases were discovered during the 'pointing out'.

The defence council said that Tsotsobe had not given the information voluntarily and that evidence to be given by Captain Grobbelaar, a Soweto security policeman, related to Tsotsobe's actions after he had been subjected to violence.

Tsotsobe alleged that he had been assaulted in a Soweto police station's 'truth room', and five defence witnesses testified that a 'torture - interrogation' system was used by the security police on political suspects. The witnesses spoke of violence, intimidation and brutality they had suffered while being detained at Protea police station, and a Lieutenant Trollip was named several times in connection with the alleged assaults.

Trollip denied the allegations and said the co-operation given by suspects of the security police must be because of the 'friendly manner' in which they were treated. He said the witnesses were 'decidedly ungrateful to give such evidence following their courteous treatment by the security police.'

Captain Grobbelaar, head of the investigating team, said he knew of no violence used at Protea police station to force detainees to make confessions. He said that Tsotsobe had been entertained to a braai and beer in the veld near Soweto during the 'pointing out' of underground bases.

Mr Justice Theron ruled that Tsotsobe's statement had been made voluntarily and was admissible as evidence.

During the second 'trial within a trial' Shabangu alleged that he had been assaulted and tortured while being detained at Lebombo police station in the Eastern Transvaal. Shabangu said that a Sergeant Otto had punched him and dislocated his

'Anyone who fights racism, exploitation is on our side'

Joe Phaahla, the newly elected President of Azaso, spoke to SASPU NATIONAL about Azaso and its policies, principles and programmes for a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

SASPU: Can you give us some background to the formation of Azaso?

JOE: Azaso was formed in November 1979 at a conference organised by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

A preamble was adopted endorsing the philosophy of black consciousness (B.C.) as the rallying point. An interim executive was formed to establish branches at the various campuses and to draft a constitution.

But there was a problem because of difference in opinion as to which direction the organisation should follow.

At a second conference in 1980 the deficiency of B.C. as a rallying point was high-lighted.

The problem was both its interpretation and its failure to serve as an effective rallying point to organise all the oppressed. Up to the banning of B.C. organisations in October 1977 the philosophy had only managed to appeal to black intellectuals and due to different interpretations the philosophy was being misused by opportunists in their own interests. This was becoming clearly evident in that some people were reducing the philosophy to a mere rejection of whites rather than a positive assertion by the oppressed to free themselves from both racist oppression and exploitation.

This negative interpretation of black consciousness — as just a rejection of whites — had made room for black opportunists and liberals to lay claim to the struggle of the oppressed and the exploited under the guise of a rejection of white liberalism.

Thus Azaso had to adopt a broader but clearer approach defining the issues at stake which would accommodate the differences of interpretation and define the crux of the problem — the exploitation of cheap labour.

It was because of this that a new preamble was drafted for presentation at this year's congress. It was constructed to define the unity of the oppressed, not in terms of a philosophy, but in terms of the common desire to create a South Africa free of national oppression and exploitation.

SASPU: When was the congress called and what was the response to the new preamble?

JOE: The conference was held from the 24 — 26 July at Wilgespruit, outside Johannesburg. Both the old and the new preambles were presented and there were deliberations which

eventually led to the adoption of the new one.

SASPU: Would it be correct then to say that Azaso has moved away from the black consciousness approach?

JOE: No, I don't think that it is correct to generalise and say that we have moved away from B.C. It is true that we have rejected certain views and practices claimed by some people to emanate from B.C. But the fact that we have remained a black student organisation does in itself show that we have retained what we see as the positive aspects of B.C.

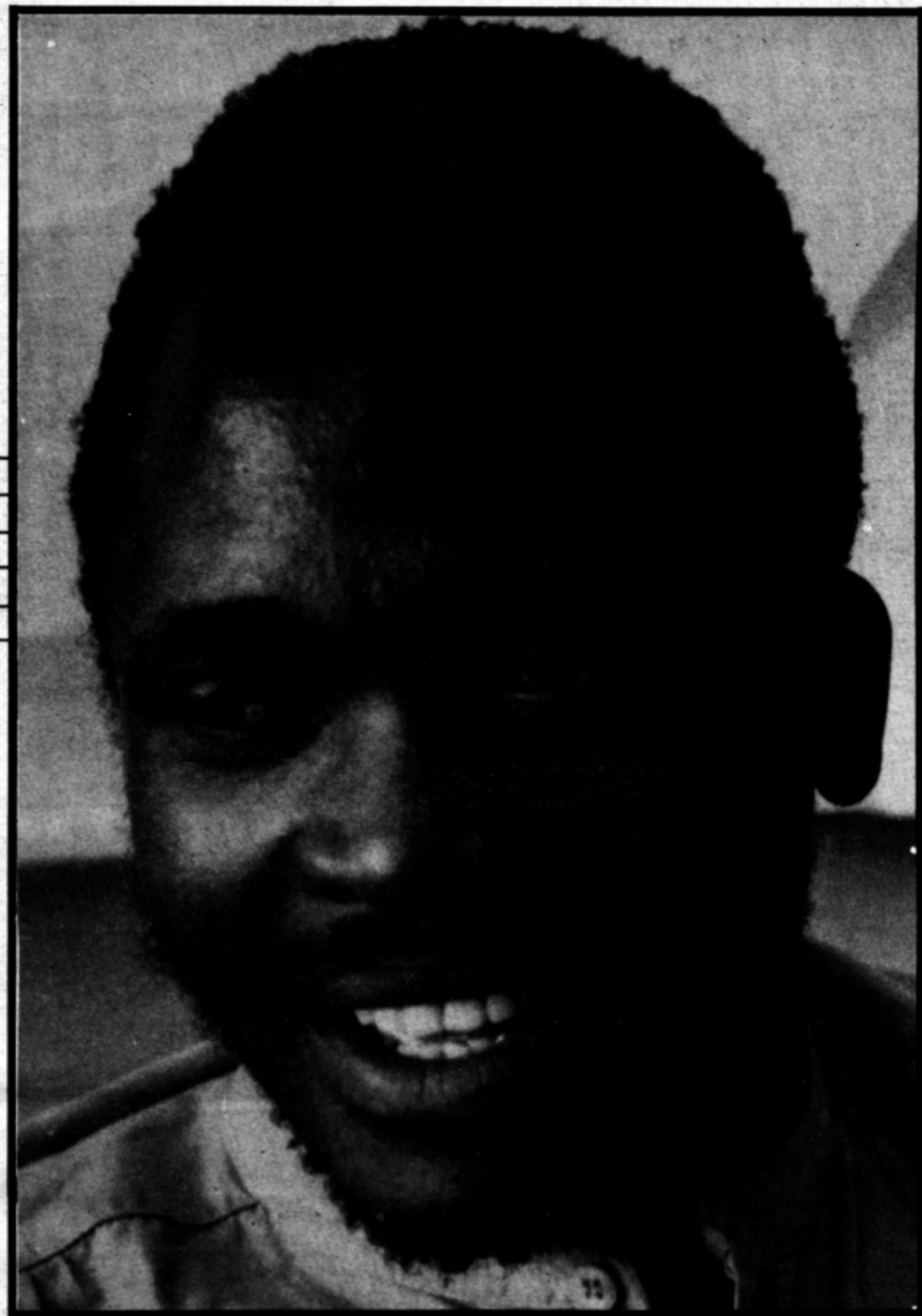
What happened was that the organisation transcended the narrow interpretation of the struggle as a simple rejection of whites by blacks. The struggle was instead seen as an effort by the oppressed and exploited to liberate themselves from racist exploitation. In other words racism was seen as a secondary problem which had been introduced to facilitate exploitation of the majority. It was further noted that exploitation knows no colour and therefore in as much as we have to organise ourselves as the politically oppressed, we have to bear in mind that the main problem is exploitation. This perspective of struggle would therefore, have to be reflected in our daily activities.

We recognise the fact that exploitation in different parts of the world manifests itself in different ways in order to induce a psychological justification for the misery which it creates. For instance in other countries, capitalist exploitation and imperialist expansionism manifest themselves in forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In our country capitalist exploitation has developed from British imperial colonialist exploitation to Afrikaner nationalist racist oppression in collusion with multinational exploitation. Because of these different manifestations of exploitation it has become necessary that people exploited and oppressed differently in different parts of the world should respond differently to bring an end to their exploitation.

In other parts of the world the struggle against exploitation has developed in the form of nationalist resistance to colonial domination. In others it has developed as a class resistance against internal exploitation — for example in the struggles against dictators and monarchs and workers struggles in different parts of the world, for example Britain.

Noting this, the response of the people of South Africa to their exploitation should be characterised



AZASO President Joe Phaahla ... students must play a supportive role.

by a particular format relevant to the racist manifestations of capitalist exploitation.

SASPU: What are your views on non-racial struggle?

JOE: It is because of the racist nature of exploitation in South Africa that we have decided to remain a Black students organisation. What is important is that we do not only struggle against racism but see beyond it and recognise that racism is just a secondary manifestation of the primary problem — the exploitation of person by person.

Because of our emphasis on exploitation as the main problem we are non-racial in our approach to our problems.

We therefore condemn white exploitation as much as black exploitation. While we condemn white liberalism, because it refuses to address itself to the major problems of our country, we condemn black liberalism to no lesser extent.

It is on this basis that we accept anyone, irrespective of colour, who commits himself or herself to the struggle against exploitation as an ally and anybody against this struggle as an enemy.

SASPU: What can you say was the main guiding principle in the adoption of resolutions and Preamble?

JOE: The main guiding principle at the congress was a commitment to

the creation of a democratic South Africa free of racist oppression and exploitation. All the resolutions adopted highlighted the non-racial approach and also reflected the realisation by students that the problems they have cannot be solved by them alone but can only be solved by unity of the students with the mass of exploited workers.

SASPU: We understand that the past president of Azaso, Mr Tom Nkoana, was taken to task for talking to SASPU NATIONAL. Is this true? If so what is your comment?

JOE: The allegation was that SASPU is a Nusas paper and since we have got no working relations with white organisations, this was seen by some individuals as a breach of policy.

Firstly, SASPU is not a Nusas paper. Second, it was pointed out that SASPU is one of the most progressive newspapers in the country which must be supported. People were reminded of our non-racial approach. It was reiterated that anybody irrespective of colour who supports the struggle is an ally.

Since we don't have media of our own, from time to time we have to use the available means to propagate our message — even the so-called liberal press is used, irrespective of the fact that their papers don't hesitate to attack progressive organisations engaged in the struggle against exploitation. The liberal press always distorts infor-

mation which doesn't suit its owner's interests in order to confuse the public and promote the interests of the exploiters.

SASPU and other progressive community papers always give a genuine account of the oppressed people's struggle. Therefore it should not only be preferred but should be fully utilised and materially supported.

SASPU: Present at the congress were members of some community and labour organisations. What was the significance of this?

JOE: The presence of community and labour union leaders underlined the importance which Azaso attaches to unity of all progressives. It is also significant that the activities of the students' movement are in line with the aspirations of the mass of the exploited workers.

SASPU: What do you foresee as the future relations between Azapo and Azaso?

JOE: There are differences in approach between us and we hope that, with time, Azapo will realise the limitations of its approach. It is unfortunate that people in Azapo have confined the struggle so narrowly to race and the myth that every black is a worker and every white a capitalist.

The story of a working class slum that never was one at all

A THOUSAND Pageview properties have been systematically demolished. A hundred more are doomed to be flattened. And only four have been declared slums.

Pageview properties have been demolished by the Department of Community Development regardless of their condition. So believes Winston Herzenberg, a Johannesburg councillor whose ward borders on Pageview.

It is wrong to uproot a community for ideological and racial reasons, he said in a memorandum to the President's Council, which is investigating the application of the Group Areas Act in the north-west Johannesburg suburb.

This wrong should now be rectified.

The remaining 1 000 men, women and children who have not yet been resettled under the Group Areas Act agree. They say they are now rolling up their sleeves to go into battle with the Department of Community Development.

Undaunted by the failure of both peaceful protest and urgent appeals to halt all evictions until after the President's Council makes its recommendations, residents are now formulating a fresh campaign to save their suburb.

A new organisation, the Friends of Pageview, was launched on September 16 to involve as many groups as possible in the fight against forced removals.

Says Soni Hari, a member of the Save Pageview Association, which is spearheading the campaign: 'We want to involve the wider community in our struggle.'

An advice bureau has already been set up, and the Legal Resources Centre has agreed to assist residents where their legal rights are concerned.

The Save Pageview Association also plans to involve the Department of Community Deve-

lopment in the campaign. Individual cases of hardship will be presented to the regional director for his advice.

Says Soni Hari: "People cannot afford to move out of Pageview — a largely working class suburb. Where must the money come from for the extra expense of living far from one's place of work? We don't know, so we're going to ask Community Development if it knows."

Not only the President's Council but also the Department of Community Development has shown renewed interest in the uncertain suburb. The minister, Mr Pen Kotze, visited the area six weeks ago and promised solutions that would satisfy most of the people.

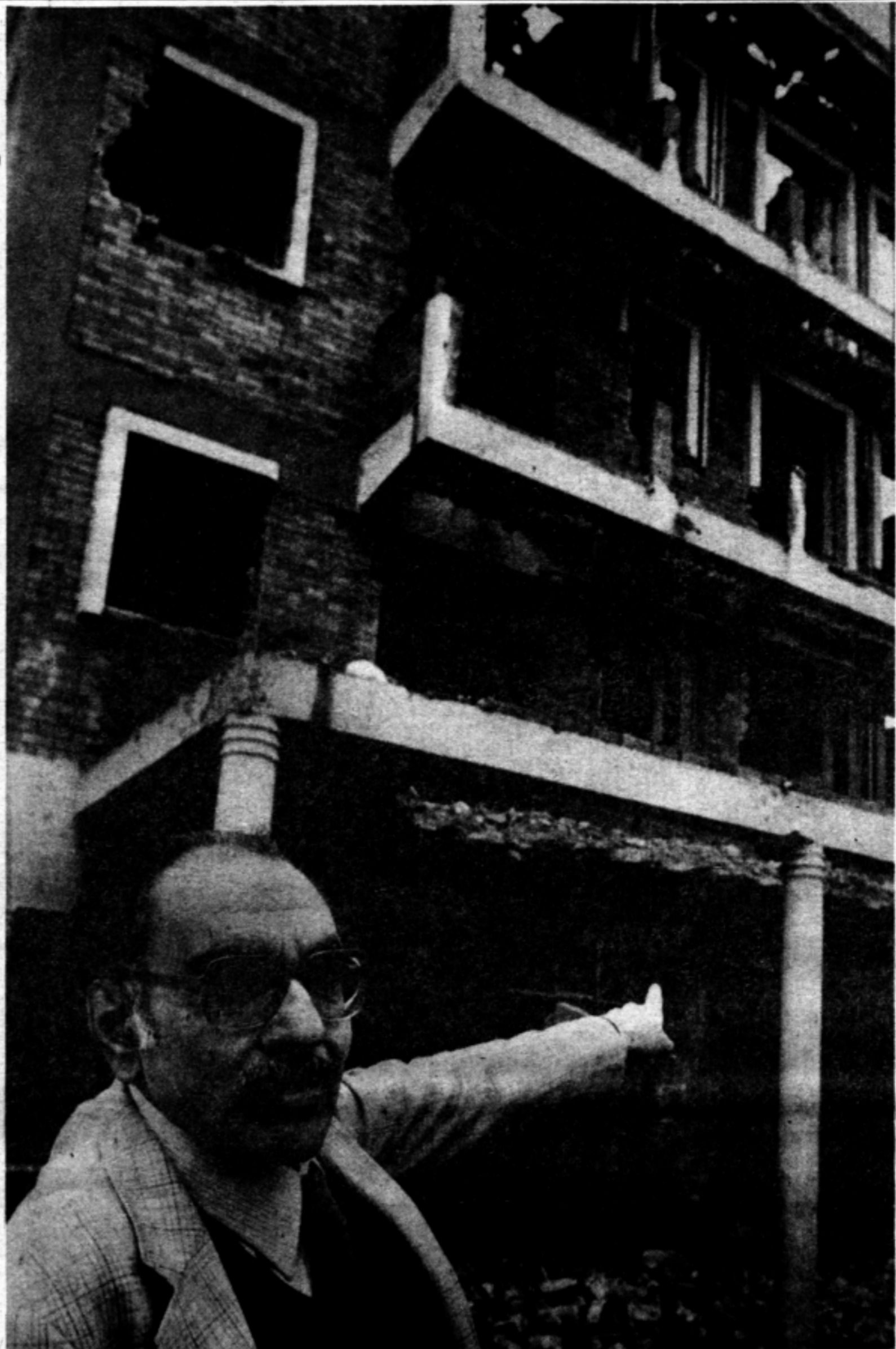
But the Johannesburg Central Business District Association (CDBA) believes the Government has no coherent plan for Pageview — a generation after it was declared a white spot under the Group Areas Act in 1956.

During an investigation into the feasibility of re-establishing Pageview as an Indian area, the association came across a letter from the Department of Community Development to the Johannesburg municipality — dated August 20, 1980 — which it believed proved no plan exists for Pageview.

The letter asked the council to purchase Pageview stands from the Department and to consider re-planning the area for about 300 low-cost houses.

Another Government representative, Mr Braam Raubenheimer, chairman of the President's Council's planning committee, believes Pageview is a slum.

This is not so, says Winston Herzenberg. From personal observations, he believes one-third of the original 1 100 Pageview homes may have justifiably been



Soni Hari, a member of the Save Pageview Association, points to 'ideological' demolition

declared slums, one-third could have been renovated and a third were in good condition.

He says Pageview residents have been reluctant to maintain their homes because of the question mark over their future, while the Department of Community Development's method of demolishing houses has demoralised the community and accelerated the process of deterioration.

When a house or flat is vacated, the roof, windows, doors and floors are removed in order to make the dwellings uninhabitable, he says.

The effect is to demoralise the people living alongside and encourage them to move to Lenasia.

He believes the R18-million used by the Johannesburg city council for the building of the Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg could have been more fruitfully invested in upgrading the area, including the strip of bazaars along Fourteenth Street which were shut down by the Department of Community Development.

His beliefs were bolstered by Johannesburg's health department, which disclosed last week that only four Pageview properties had been declared slums and totally demolished since the inception of the Slums Act of 1934.

The Government has said it has no objection to Indians living close to the Johannesburg central business district, but Pageview — which is 2km away — is too small.

Not so, says the CBDA. In its report, compiled by a group of consultants, the association has shown Pageview would be ideal for a medium to high density development for about 4 000 single people — young and old — students and young married couples for whom the family accommodation in Lenasia holds little attraction.

Drawing on overseas experience, the report shows high density development per se does not create poor living conditions.

Pageview now belongs to the Department of Community Development, which began expropriating property in the late Fifties as part of the Government's policy to create black spots and white spots.

The suburb was granted freehold title by Parliament in 1938, although most residents had economic reasons for occupying their homes on a leasehold basis.

Today, the Indian community still has a considerable investment in the area. Facilities used or shared by Indians include four mosques, five primary schools, a temple, seven major community halls, two local libraries, a private nursery school, five Indian cinemas, an Indian-owned hotel, sports fields, a crematorium and a clinic.

According to Islamic law and custom, the site of a mosque may not be used for any other purpose. As a result, the Johannesburg municipality re-routed a major north-south arterial so the mosques need not be demolished.

Says Winston Herzenberg: 'It would therefore be illogical to develop Pageview as a white area while these mosques continue to be used indefinitely by the Indian community.'

Logic, it would appear, has never been part of the issue.



Flashback to the pageview removals — Mrs Balbulia bitten by a police dog.



St Wendolins children look out at a bleak future.

After hundreds of years the community is forced to move

Pics by Tessa Colvin

St Wendolin people have nothing to smile about

A SOLID community of 30 000 residents at St Wendolins in Natal are being forcibly removed from the place they have occupied for over one hundred years.

St Wendolins Mission, the farm owned by the Catholic mission institute, is one of 157 areas in Natal that has been labelled a 'black spot' by the Pretoria government.

As a result the black population resident in these areas are to be forcibly moved and 'resettled' into the bantustans.

St Wendolins was zoned for 'Indian' occupation in 1960 and since last year residents were forced to demolish their strong well-built houses and resettle in box-like four room houses in the new KwaZulu bantustan townships.

Having lived together for more than 100 years the St Wendolin people have developed a strong community spirit. The plight of these people is clearly expressed by the way they have developed the area on their own — sufficient water-taps have been installed along the main tarred road, street-lights and telephone cables have also been installed and enough creches and clinics have been built.

Since the removals started, the community, through its Welfare Committee, sent a number of petitions to the Department of Co-operation and Development in Pretoria. There has been no reply to these petitions and removals are continuing.

In the petitions the residents expressed their strong desire to remain on their land which they occupied long before the Nationalist government came to power.

Forced removals have become commonplace in S Africa today. But few actions have raised as much anger as the 'resettlement' of the well-organised and self-sufficient community of 30 000

The residents questioned the government's motive of rezoning their area for our brothers who happen to be Indians.

Residents felt it was not justified that all the improvements they had made should be to the benefit of other people.

The residents said that they live as one 'family'. A united community they have cared for their orphans, widows and disabled and they fear this would not be possible in the resettlement areas.

To cultivate vegetable gardens for subsistence would be difficult in the

township because of the small size of the available plots. Old people, who never knew township life before, would find it hard to re-adjust to the new situation.

These removals will bring untold misery to the people. Family disintegration results pensioners and

the unemployed find it difficult to pay the ever-rising house rentals, in the face of the high costs of living. In the new townships residents fear that it will be impossible to keep some livestock.

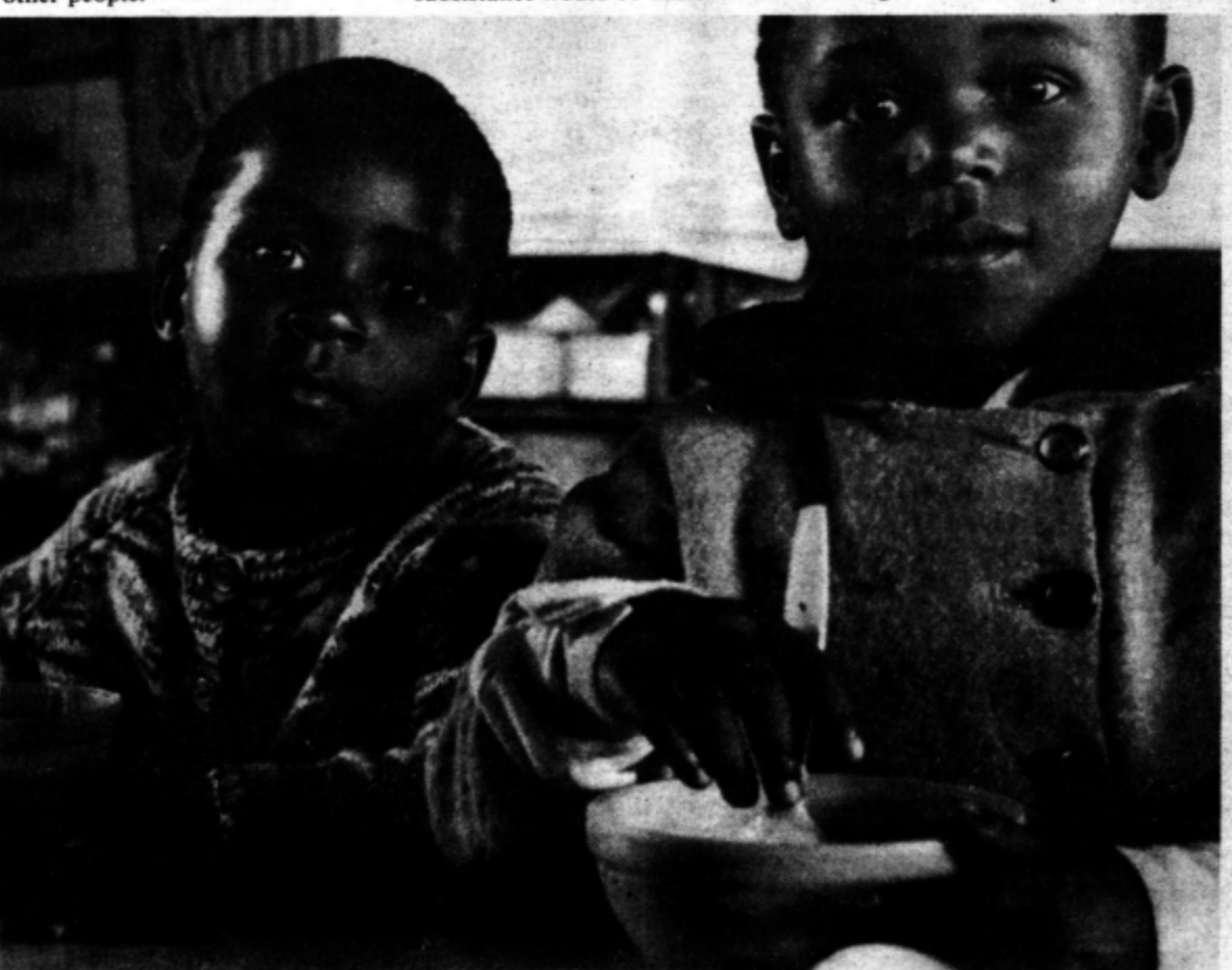
Meanwhile hundreds of children from the new remote townships of KwaNdengezi and KwaDabeka attend school at St Wendolins due to the shortage of schools in these townships. This means transport costs which is an added hardship to the parents most of whom battle to make ends meet already.

Organisations which have visited the area and talked to the people of St Wendolins, have come out in full support of the resistance of these people against forced removals.

Diakonia, a church body, the Black Sash, the Women for Peaceful Change Now, National Council of Women of South Africa, Institute of Race Relations, and Durban and Districts Council of Churches, have all been impressed by the well-established community of St Wendolins.

These organisations have also sent petitions to Pretoria requesting that the residents be left alone.

They could not understand why the government wanted to destroy 'unity and well-built spacious houses in view of the general shortage of houses throughout the country'.



Children of a 'black spot' ... to grow up in a Bantustan.

Thanks to Press Trust of South Africa

A vote for the SAIC is a vote for apartheid

ON NOVEMBER 4, the Government is to stage yet another costly puppet show — the South African Indian Council (SAIC) elections.

So-called Indians in South Africa aged 18 and older who do not register as voters are likely to face a fine of R50, or three months' jail.

The election is the first of its kind for Indians, although so-called coloureds have been put through a similar debacle with the Coloured Representative Council (CRC). This body proved the government's intolerance of criticism, and became evident that its only function was to bluff the outside world about the status of 'coloureds' inside the country.

Indian community leaders are urging people to boycott the SAIC elections, condemning it as ethnic, racist and a powerless showpiece. Anti-SAIC committees have been formed nationwide to counter what is tagged the "Sell Apartheid to Indians Campaign".

The chairperson of the Transvaal anti-SAIC committee (TASC), Dr Essop Jassat, claims that the SAIC has no real powers.

"The only concession that has been won by the SAIC in its 17 years of existence is that Indian men are now allowed to marry outside the country and then come back here to live. Before that they had to marry in the country," he says.

"Experience has shown us that so-called coloured involvement with the President's Council was futile. Meaningful change during these 17 years has taken place outside of the government bodies. The community organisations that take up issues like housing.

"The National Party believes only in white domination. Many people have been misled into supporting the Indian Council. Our argument is that the true leaders of the people are on Robben Island, but that we represent thousands of people in the communities. So the whole concept of the SAIC is abhorrent to us."

Anti-SAIC committees make it plain that merely boycotting the elections is not an answer in itself, but that it is one aspect of the overall struggle for liberation. Other aspects are problems like the Group Areas Act, housing, transport, medical and educational facilities and unemployment.

Dr. Ismail Cachalia, whose sons Azhar and Firoz were recently banned, says, 'First the Government put people into Group Areas. Then after 10 years they found that these people still had their heads above ground, so then they went for the education. They're trying to finish off the children's education, and in this way they try to finish off the nation.'

Anti-SAIC leaders are also calling for a national convention, similar to the one held in Kliptown in 1955 when people's representatives from



Progressives from all quarters pledge solidarity with anti-SAIC campaigners



Dr Essop Jassat



M J Naidoo



Dr Ismael Cachalia



Paul David of the NIC

all over South Africa drew up a blueprint for a non-racial and democratic society. This document, the Freedom Charter, is the basis of anti-SAIC committees' principles.

The Freedom Charter deals with aspects of life from land ownership by those who work it, to the right of universal free education and homes for the homeless.

The national convention, as envisaged by anti-SAIC committees, would include the leaders on Robben Island, those in exile, and parliamentary representatives. These people would discuss and decide on the country's future on terms acceptable to everyone, regardless of race or colour.

Anti-SAIC campaigners have organised mass meetings throughout the country, and are paying house-to-house calls within communities and are sending out newsletters. To date they appear to have the support of most Indian people in South Africa, as well as that of other oppressed groups and of progressive whites.

Indentured and passenger Indians first came to South Africa in 1860, and from that time opposition to white domination has existed.

In 1894, Mahatma Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) as a base for Indians to give concrete expression to their grievances and determination to resist.

Gandhi was also instrumental in

forming the Transvaal British Indian Association (TBIA) which waged a continuous battle against the legislative restrictions of the Asiatic Affairs Department. When the Asiatic Law Amendment Act (Which sought to register all Indians above the age of eight, along with finger prints) was passed, Gandhi immediately launched a passive resistance association which refused to obey the act.

The campaign was enormously successful — only 500 out of 13000 Indians registered, and on 16 August 1908 an angry crowd burnt 2000

registration certificates in Johannesburg.

In 1946, the NIC organised a massive protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill, which threatened the rights of Indians. Six thousand demonstrators marched through the streets of Durban, chanting: 'To hell with the Ghetto Bill'.

But the most famous defiance campaign of all was to come in 1952, when the South African Indian Congress (not to be confused with the South African Indian Council) joined forces with the African

registration certificates in Johannesburg.

National Congress not to take up the challenge of the Nationalist regime. Thousands of resisters country wide were arrested for defying discriminatory and oppressive laws.

More than 8000 people eventually served terms of imprisonment — but the defiance campaign had an electrifying effect and attracted world attention to the sinister policy of apartheid.

It is within this history of defiance that the anti-SAIC movement has taken root.

Thanks to Press Trust of South Africa

'Puppet bodies do no

OVER 500 people recently attended a meeting organised by the Natal Indian Council (NIC) at Durban's Kajee Hall.

The event was supposed to be a debate between the NIC's Mr M J, Naidoo and Mr Rajab of the Presidents Council on the issue of participation in government-created bodies. Rajab, however, failed to turn up.

The meeting went ahead, chaired by Mr Singh of the NIC.

Zac Yacoob of the Democratic Lawyers Association (DLA) said that Rajab had initially challenged Naidoo to debate the issue. He said it was obvious from Rajab's stalling tactics that he was never serious about attending.

Naidoo spoke, rejecting parti-

icipation in government-created structures. He said the question was one of tactics — if participation furthered the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa, then it would be desirable. 'But' he said, 'history has shown that participation in these structures does not help'.

Naidoo responded to an allegation that those against participation are hypocrites — for example, a lawyer has to take an oath of allegiance to the state. Naidoo pointed out that every facet of South African life is orientated towards Apartheid such as the Group Areas and Mixed Marriages Acts and labour legislation. 'Because there is no escape from this', he said, 'all one can do is

choose: by participating in bodies like the President's Council, one endorses the system; by rejecting them one endorses the struggle for a free South Africa'. His speech was unanimously supported by the audience.

Archie Gumede, of the Release Mandela Committee, spoke about the history of government-created bodies such as the Native and Coloured Representative Council and the South African Indian Council. He said that these bodies were established to whitewash the fact that the government was systematically robbing the majority of the people of their right to vote. He said most people are not fooled by these puppet bodies and stressed that the struggle was not against

'The SAIC does not have contact with the people



THE TRANSVAAL Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC) recently launched its campaign for a boycott of the South African Indian Council (SAIC) elections.

At a dynamic meeting at Lenasia's civic centre, the crowd of over 2000 unanimously supported a resolution calling for the abolition of SAIC and endorsing the principles of the Freedom Charter.

Dr. Essop Jassat, TASC's chairperson, said in his opening speech: "For us Lenasia is the Soweto of the Indians, and as in the Soweto elections, we would like to see a four per cent turnout here".

"Before the November 4th election", he added, "TASC intends to visit every town, city and dorp across the Transvaal to carry our message to the 40000 Indian families living in this region".

The atmosphere of the meeting, representing the largest crowd at an Indian political meeting for a generation, recalled the atmosphere of the 1950's, with freedom songs sung in Urdu and African tongues and frequent shouts of the slogan "Mabuye Africa". Pictures of Indian Congress leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Yusef Dadoo and the late ANC leader, Albert Luthuli were on display.

Speakers at the gathering compared the boycotting of SAIC elections to the ANC and Indian Congress defiance campaign of the 1950's, when people participated in non-violent resistance by demonstrating en masse against the introduction of pass laws to women.

Dr Jassat explained TASC's stand: "It is not an offence not to vote and this is our call to the people of the Transvaal — a vote for SAIC is a vote for apartheid."

The SAIC was condemned as a 'mere appendage of white power, unrepresentative since it is imposed and not elected'.

Dr. Ismail Cachalia, vice chairman of TASC, said: "Members of the council argue that at least the SAIC allows contact with the government", and was loudly applauded when he added; "This may be true, but they certainly cannot claim to have contact with the people."

It was alleged that the SAIC was a "stooge committee", a powerless body with only advisory status.

During the 17 years since its inception, it has not brought any constructive change in this country", said Dr Cachalia. "Instead, it was probably advising Parliament on how to impose its plans on the people when gutter education was being implemented, when our leaders were being banned and imprisoned, and when our people were being forced into

overcrowded conditions".

We must reject the apartheid system — which includes all the President's men", he said.

The "Ethnic base" of the SAIC was also strongly criticised by speakers.

Paul David of the Natal Anti-SAIC Committee said "Our demands for a just and free society are contained in the Freedom Charter, which is not designed for exclusive interests, but contains the aspirations of all South Africa's people."

He said the Anti-SAIC campaign is gaining nationwide momentum and urged people to take "progressive action" by participating in "democratic civil organisations" as an alternative to the "SAIC egg".

Before addressing the meeting, Albertina Sisulu, whose banning order expired at the end of July, was garlanded as "mother of the people" to the loud approval of the audience. After being restricted for 17 years, she said — "My pleasure at being unbanned will only be complete when all South Africans are free".

She alleged that bodies like the SAIC are a Government tactic to create the illusion of the Freedom Charter's demand that "the people shall govern". "The SAIC helps the Government in its attempt to fool the people", she said, "and we can voice our refusal to be governed by boycotting all mock councils".

Dr Ram Soloojee, described TASC's opposition as peaceful. "We ask the people not to vote", he said, "and the support at this meeting gives us confidence."

"Members of SAIC plead for the opportunity to differ, but we say democratic right is not the right to impose a dehumanising system on the people".

He claimed that SAIC members rejected the needs of the community while accepting "individual privilege", and his rhetorical question "does one give food to a glutton at the expense of the poor and hungry?" received an emotional response from the audience.

Amongst other union and community representatives who expressed support for the campaign, the meeting was addressed by Rita Ndzanga of the General Allied Workers Union (GAWU) and executive member of the South African Indian Congress and member of the Congress Alliance in the 1950's, Molvi Saloojee.

After the meeting had unanimously condemned the SAIC as a "racist body" and "agent of apartheid", and called for the establishment of a "people's organisation based on the Freedom Charter", Elliot Shibangu of GAWU led the singing of the national anthem "Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika".

Paul David of the Natal Indian Congress addresses an anti-SAIC crowd of over 3000 in Lenasia

not fool the majority'

'whites' but against the National Party.

Thozamile Gweta, President of SAAWU, was introduced by Griffith Mkenge, an ex-Robben Island prisoner. Gweta, speaking in his private capacity, noted the contribution of all those involved in the struggle for the 'South Africa of tomorrow', which he said would be free of discrimination, mass unemployment and other injustices. He said that the non-racial struggle was being fought in all areas of society and stressed that all progressive forces must co-operate and fight together.

Acting President of Nusas, Jonty Joffe, said that the NIC was a 'guiding light' for all democrats in the country who are struggling for

freedom and democracy.

When the meeting was opened to the floor, numerous people contributed. Many speakers were active members of community organisations and all rejected government-created bodies. A proposal rejecting any future challenges made by people involved in these bodies was unanimously agreed upon. The meeting felt that the publicity preceeding the 'participation' debate had merely provided Rajab with free publicity.

Several resolutions were passed unanimously, the first rejecting participation in the government's separate political institutions, which serve the state's strategy of divide and rule. The South African Indian Council election was condemned as

a method to obtain support for apartheid and the meeting called on people not to vote in these elections.

A second resolution that the meeting 'records its abhorrence at the government's oppressive measures such as detentions without trial and bannings', was motivated by the plight of Derek Naidoo who recently ended a hunger strike while in detention.

Further resolutions were passed regarding the removal of people from Durban's St Wendolins, a settled community over 100 years old, and the boycott of Wilson Rowntree products in support of the workers' struggle for recognition of their union.

The meeting closed with the singing of Nkosi Sikelele Africa.

Umlazi Water Committee fights increased costs

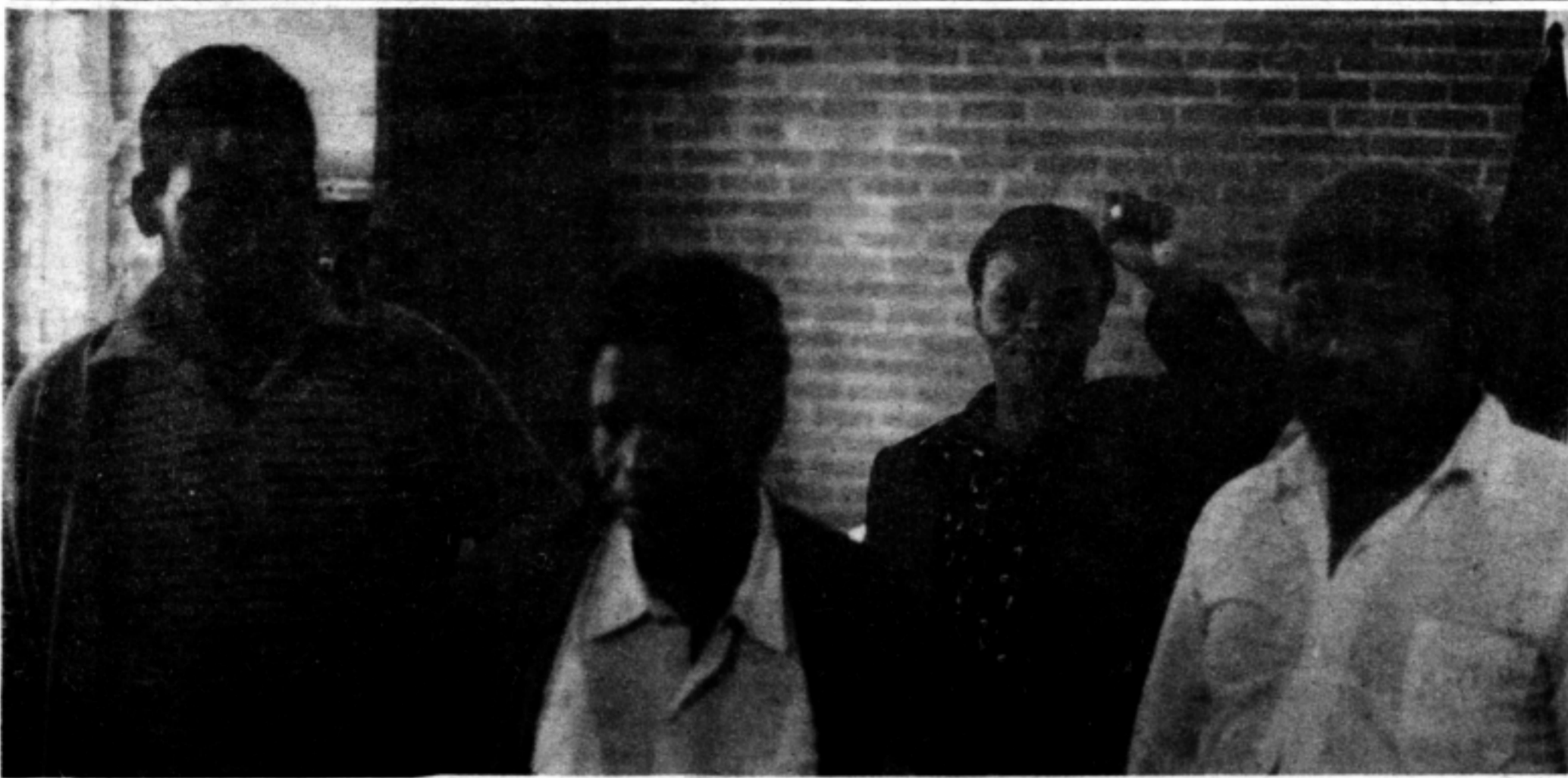
THE UMLAZI Water Crisis Committee has called for a cancellation of this month's community council elections. The reason they say, is most residents will not be able to stand as candidates or vote, having not paid their water bills. The water bill crisis in Umlazi started in 1977 when the authorities reversed a decision taken in 1964 and went back to calculating water bills in the meter system. Since then residents have been receiving water

bills that vary from R3 to R314 a month. The residents have complained about the system. A memorandum to the Township Manager was read at the meeting and the two main reasons given for the bills was defective meters and staff problems. Others included leaking pipes not being fixed. The memorandum states that no one is against the principle of paying but since the inception of the system in 1962 there was not a time when

people have not been plagued by high water bills. One resident complained 'when a neighbour switches on his tap all the meters in the neighbourhood start.' At a residents' meeting at the Umlazi Stadium Dr Frank Mdlalose said the reason for the water price were faulty meters, untrained and dishonest personnel and a serious shortage of staff. He said he would discuss the matter with the Department of Co-operation and Development. But, the memorandum states, there had been no report

back from Dr Mdlalose. The residents are now calling for the authorities to revert to the old system of 1964 when the cost of water was added onto the monthly rental and not the system where there is a flat rate and an additional one. N Mvuyane, the chairperson of the Water Crisis Committee estimated that about 75 percent of the residents had not paid their water accounts. None of these people would be able to participate in the

forthcoming elections. Out of 12 positions on the council seven were unopposed including the 'Mayor', Mr Solomon Ngobese. A low poll in the remaining seats is expected. There was a residents' association in Umlazi but with the banning of its leader, David Gaza, after his release from detention in 1977, the association ceased to be active. Umlazi is considered to be dominated by Inkatha who hold most of the seats on the community council.



Poverty wages for blind workers and other grievances led to unionisation

Saawu's blind workers fight against poverty wages

THE cane baskets, chairs and other products made by blind workers are familiar to many people. But few know about the low wages and harsh conditions endured by the blind workers who make these products.

Poverty wages for blind workers and other grievances have led to the unionisation of the workers at the Natal African Blind Society in Umlazi, Durban, and the formation of the South African Blind Workers Union — a SAAWU affiliate.

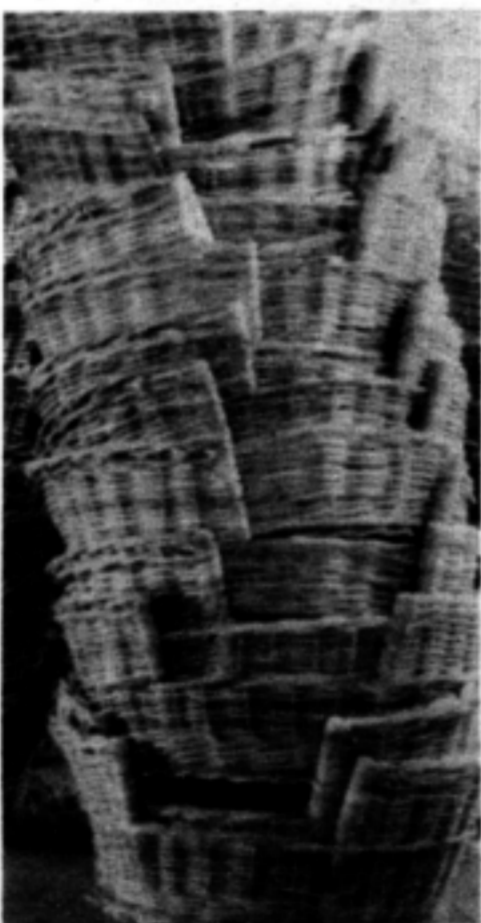
There are about 100 blind men and women working for Natal African Blind Society (NABS), a registered welfare organisation. As such it makes street collections for money or clothes to support its welfare activities.

Workers say that last year they collected R1 000 in a street collection but do not know what happened to that money. None of it seems to come to them and they even have to pay if they went any of the clothes, shoes or jackets that have been collected.

NABS is paying the workers very low wages. The blind instructors are earning R32 a week, while other workers are graded (Grade I: R15 a week; Grade II: R17 a week; Grade III: R19 a week). It is too little the workers say, and they struggle to survive.

They work an eight and a half hour day from 7.30 a.m. to 4.45 p.m., with 15 minutes for tea in the morning and half an hour for lunch. The lunch break is too short the workers say: because of their disability it takes them 15 minutes just to reach the eating place. That leaves them little time to eat and none to rest.

NABS puts heavy emphasis on productivity. Workers say that the manager, Mr Randall, has fired a number of 'loafers'. He also eliminated the afternoon tea break be-



Cane baskets produced by blind workers.

cause he said that people were coming late in the morning.

One worker depicted his exploitation this way: his job is to weave cane onto the frame of the chairs. It takes him about a day and a half to do one chair. These chairs sell for at least R20 with large ones fetching R45 or more. There is a great demand for these chairs and they never have any difficulty in selling them. But he is a grade III worker and is earning R19 a week.

The workers believe that NABS is doing well at the moment. There is a great demand for the products that they make such as school desks. They say that they have a contract to supply dog baskets to the police. Finished articles are piled up around the work-place as evidence of their productivity.

Yet things are very hard for the workers and their families. For



Blind workers earn poverty wages despite their high productivity.

those who live in hostels R1,50 is deducted for board and lodging. Many of the men are supporting families in places like Nongoma and Mapumulo.

For those who live in Umlazi there are extra costs to pay. The rent they pay is the same as everyone else's — R12,50 a month paid to the KwaZulu Government. The cost of sending one child to school takes two months wages. The workers say that they are living on bread and mealie meal and that the children are malnourished.

Evidence of any real 'welfare' activities at NABS are sadly lacking. Social workers from the Society have not been able to help the workers with their children's school fees. There is no specialised training of blind workers in skills such as braille reading. Instruction in how to make the cane products comes from experienced workers who have been with NABS for many years.

Workers have lost faith in the management committee which controls NABS. The Director, Mr H.B. Johnson, works at the Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB).

Other members of the committee are also employed by PNAB or the Department of Manpower. The full-time administrators of NABS such as the manager, Mr Randall, receive large salaries compared to the workers.

Because of the workers many grievances, Mr Randall attempted to establish a works committee with nominated representatives. The workers' response was to elect their own workers committee and to join SAAWU.

A confrontation was reached when Mr Randall attempted to increase the R1,50 deduction that was being made for the board and lodging of the hostel dwellers. The workers resisted the increase and went on strike.

As one of the workers said: "They take no notice of the workers. If they are sick or have no clothes it is not a problem. The worker must suffer by himself. He just wants my power to work but gets a donation in my name. They get street donations but we get nothing. They wanted to increase our board and lodging but we went on strike. A strike is the best language that they understand".

Azaso pres speaks out on burning issues for SA students

• From page 9

This approach is not only untrue but dangerous because it conceals the presence of black exploiters and liberals and rejects the presence of white democrats. However, despite the differences between us and Azapo we still hope to work with them in any progressive campaign which they may support.

SASPU: The word Azania was criticised at the congress, but Azaso has still retained it in its name.

JOE: The name Azania was questioned. After deliberating on it no one could say exactly what it means. It was accepted by Congress that the name should be retained because it is not the name, but the activities of an organisation which characterise it.

SASPU: Can you explain the structure of Azaso?

JOE: Azaso is an organisation for black students at the tertiary level of learning — universities, colleges and technical colleges — and also caters for black students at white campuses. Part-time students are also encouraged to join the organisation either through the nearest campus branch or by forming a branch in their area of residence.

Present at the congress were students from Turfloop, Medunsa, Wits Black Student Society, part-time students on the Reef, Natal Medical School and University of Durban-Westville. Because of some problems, students from Fort Hare, Zululand and the Western Cape could not make it to the congress.

SASPU: One newspaper report mentioned the break away from the 'macho image of B.C.'. How does Azaso see the role of women in the struggle?

JOE: The congress clearly recognised the dual nature of women's oppression and therefore endorsed the need for women to organise themselves alongside men in the struggle. Congress noted the oppressive nature of our society to women — from the homes, where they are oppressed by males, to the factory floor, where they are exploited more than males. The view that to be an effective force, women have to be organised separately, but alongside with their menfolk, was endorsed by our congress.

Joe is at present a medical school student in Natal.



Part of the crowd of over 500 that attended a Women's Day meeting in Durban

Women can no longer be ignored as a force

WOMEN CAN no longer be ignored as a force in the struggle for democracy and justice in South Africa.

This was the common message when thousands of people gathered at meetings all over the country to commemorate National Women's Day. This year marked the 25th anniversary of the march by 20 000 women to the Union Buildings to protest against the extension of pass laws to African women.

In the Western Cape nearly 2 000 people attended a meeting to pay tribute to the women and their leaders who participated in the 1956 march.

'From their determination and courage, we learn how to organise ourselves today', said one speaker.

A guest speaker from the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) appealed to women to unite: 'We must unite and work on a common programme of action.'

Let's work on tangible issues that affect women. We must not let our differences deter us from fulfilling our obligations to the struggle for a democratic South Africa'.

Another speaker said that the 1956 march proved that women are able to overcome the problems of their particular situations and participate in the struggle. 'A woman's place is in the struggle for a democratic South Africa', she said. 'Many women are kept out because they work long hours. Women are kept out by the idea that a woman's place is in the home and by the lack of facilities for their children. Laws prevent women in the homelands from going to meet others in the cities.

'Our task today is to draw in all women through our organisations' she said.

Messages and speakers from the Leyland and Wilson Rowntree workers and the South African Allied Workers Union saluted the women and the United Women's Organisation (UWO), which has supported the workers' struggle for higher wages and better working conditions.

Issues such as bannings, detentions and community problems were also covered. Banners bore the theme 'Izwe lethu' (a place to live) and the day's programme included drama, poetry and singing.

The meetings was planned to take place in Crossroads, but under threat from BAAB officials, the organisers had to change the venue to Elsie's River.



Albertina Sisulu spoke in Soweto

A spokesperson for the UWO said they believed that the meeting was stopped from being in Crossroads because 'that is where the people live — they did not want us to be with the women who are still suffering under the pass laws today'.

Police with dogs surrounded the building during the meeting and as the people filed quietly out at its end, police watched them from parked vans.

In Durban over 500 people attended a commemoration workshop.

Representatives from the UWO in Cape Town included Dorothy Zihlangu who gave a personal account of the '56 march, and Leila Patel read a message of solidarity.

Zihlangu said that it is important for women to speak out and fight for their rights, 'You who have no homes — speak; you who have no schools — speak; you who have no jobs — speak' she said.

She ended by saying, 'We opened the road for you and you must go forward'. This was echoed by Leila

Patel who said, 'By building a women's organisation we build a family — let us go forward'.

Ntsaori Mashaba of Soweto spoke on the problems that confront women workers such as maternity leave, sexual harassment from employers, lack of skills and low wages.

'Recognition of the oppression of women will not liberate us as the women's struggle is not separate from the broad liberation struggle for all the country's wealth to be shared amongst its people and the land to be returned', Mashaba said.

A presentation on the conditions and oppression of rural women emphasised problems of health and legal status.

Panel discussions raised community problems: rent, housing, inflation and the need for consumer protection.

The meeting resolved to 'unite all of South Africa's women around the principles of the Women's Charter and a pledge read out by the people present stated:

'We pledge to stand together in a common struggle:

- for the land to be returned to all the people in South Africa



The crowd salutes the women of South Africa

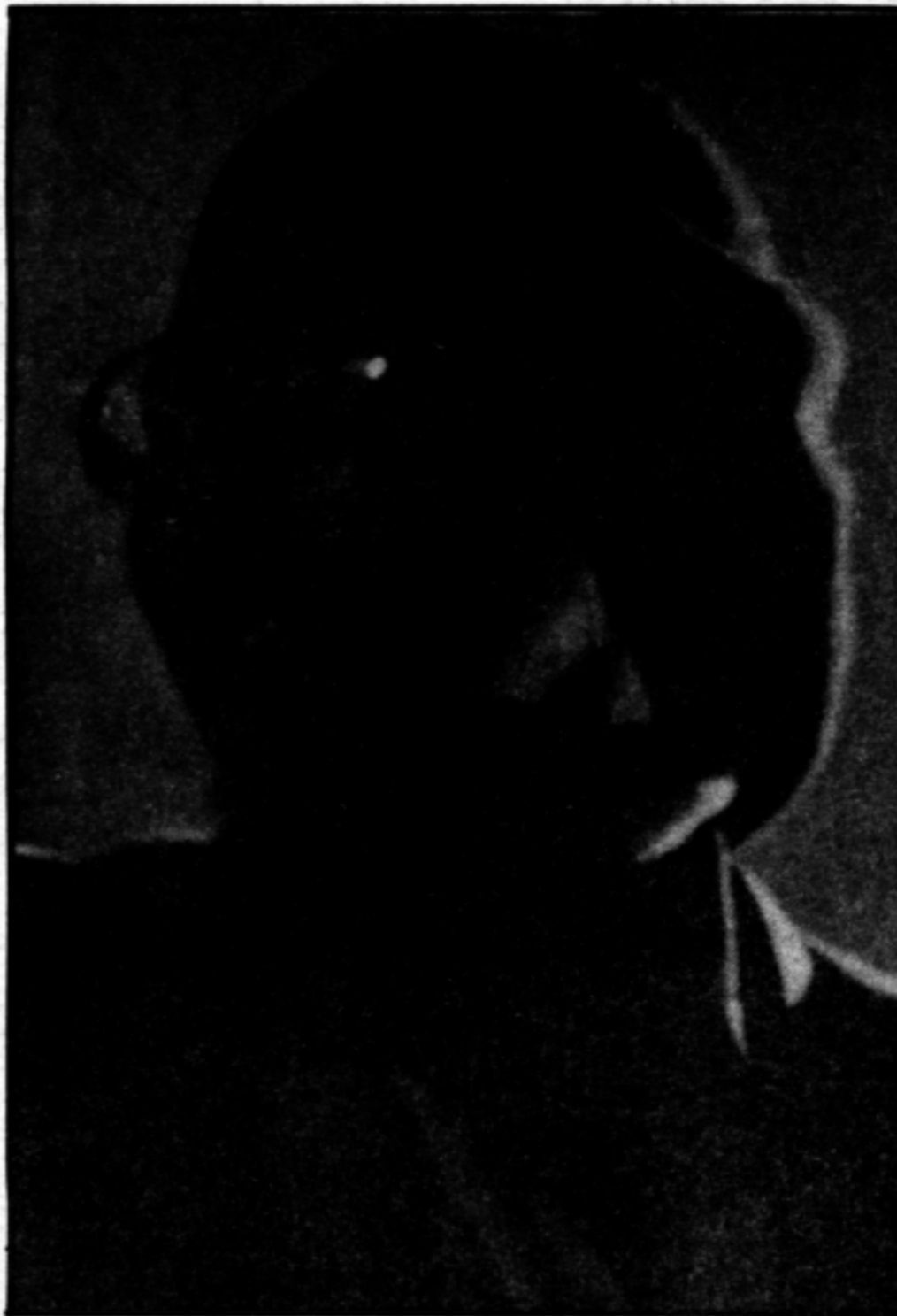
Sisulu draws lessons from the past

• From pg 2

But this didn't work because the government refused to register our schools.'

After the fifties the Federation operated in a 'kind of vacuum' because the other active organisations were banned.

'The FSAW itself has not changed — it is still a non-racial federation that aims to bring women's organisations together. It still operates



Mildred Lusea ... Chairperson of the United Women's Organisation



Amanda Kwadi

- for a living wage and equal pay for equal work
- for the right to form democratic trade unions
- for adequate housing for all at prices which we can afford
- for a unitary, relevant and free education system
- against the increasingly high transport costs
- against the pass laws and other unjust laws
- for a free and democratic South Africa'.

Commemorations in Johannesburg included a service at Khotso House attended by about 250



Ntawaki Maseko

people. One of the speakers, Daisy Kolombi of the FSAW said, 'You can tell Botha that this time we are going to win'.

A service in Rockville, Soweto, was addressed by Albertina Sisulu and others who had participated in the 1956 march. In Alexandra, people met to share an afternoon of speeches, drama, poetry and song.

Other services were held by the Congress of South African Students in Sebekeng, Evaton, and students at the National University of Lesotho at Roma also held a meeting to commemorate the march twenty-five years ago which made 9 August National Women's Day.

side by side with other organisations involved in the liberation struggle', she said.

Outlining the issues FSAW is involved in, she said that although issues of specific concern to women are important, other broader community and civic issues are also taken up.

'In the labour area, black women are exploited as women and as blacks — issues such as maternity

leave and equal pay are crucial', she said.

'Men have to be made aware of problems facing women and must accept us as equals. Awareness amongst rural women must also be increased and the FSAW can do this through organising in such regions.'

'But women should be involved in all issues affecting the people, such as the civic issues of housing, rent and education'.

GENERAL WORKERS UNION

'The exploiter is our common enemy'

SASPU NATIONAL TALKS TO FOUR PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNION GROUPINGS... SAAWU, GAWU, GWU AND THE FOOD AND CANNING UNIONS.

Q: What is the policy of the General Workers Union?

A: The General Workers Union (GWU) is a non-racial union aimed at organising workers in all industries. This means that the workers, who form the back-bone of every country's economy, have a sound voice which can't be ignored by the bosses and the state.

We do not organise along Apartheid lines — only the 'African' workers or only the 'coloured' workers — because workers have greater strength when they all stand united.

Q: Does GWU believe in democratic participation?

A: The union is not just an office to which workers bring grievances — it is an organisation of workers. Individual grievances are taken up in the complaints section of the union, but problems common to workers in the factory can only be solved through organisation.

The Union is the workers in each and every factory in which it organises. A Union is nothing without the organised strength of its workers. GWU aims at establishing grass-roots factory floor organisation.

The workers themselves democratically elect their own representatives and each factory committee is controlled by the workers who elected it.

The committee must listen to the workers' demands, take them to the bosses, and then report back to the workers. It must act as the mouth-piece of the workers. Before a committee is elected there must first be a solid organisation to unite the workers in the factory. Only then can victimisation be prevented and demands won.

A house without a foundation collapses easily. In the same way a committee which is not truly representative and resting on the workers will achieve nothing. But such democratic worker control is not exclusive to the committees. The Union — the organisation of all the workers together — must also be democratic and controlled by its members.

This is why we have a controlling committee consisting of two representatives from each organisation. This committee meets once a month and takes decisions on all matters affecting the union — staff, money, organising activities, union policy and so on. In between, a workers' executive meets weekly to make sure that the control of the union remains in the workers' hands — in this way the workers in each committee through their representatives, control their organisations.

This policy is in line with the general struggle for democracy in South Africa.

Q: In what industries does GWU organise?

A: The Union organises in all factories, as there is more that the workers have in common than that which divides them.

In our branches outside Cape Town, we mainly organise:

- dock workers
- transport workers
- construction and allied workers
- public services workers (hospitals, roads, electricity and so on)
- meat and allied workers.

Q: What is the Union's role in the community?

A: The members of our union live in the oppressed communities. Their lives do not end when they knock off work. They also suffer under the general political oppression and so are of necessity involved in politics.

This is why the Union's policy stands for democratic control by all the oppressed people over all aspects of their lives, and as such we co-operate with other organisations committed to the same basic democratic principles and aims.

This has been the basis for co-operation and unity with other worker organisations.

Q: Do you think there is a basis for unity with other unions at this stage?

A: The recent summit meeting of progressive trade unions held in Cape Town is of historic importance because the trade unions came together and took a common line to defend workers' worker democracy in all aspects of their struggle. We hope that this is the beginning of a strengthening of the workers' involvement and its role in the general struggle in South Africa.

It is only through democracy and hard, firm organisation that the struggle in each and every factory in every union and every community can go forward.

GENERAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION.

Q: What is the policy of the General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU)?

GAWU IS a coordinating body in the Transvaal to organise workers. Being a non-racial trade union, its membership is open to all workers white or black.

The union's policy is one of mass participatory democracy and collective leadership. The workers must understand what trade unionism is and, as members, participate in the leadership of the union.

A large membership is not enough on its own unless it is involved in the working of the union. The workers must be trained and conscientised so that they are not alienated from and can participate in the general working of the Union.

Q: When was Gawu formed and what industries is it organising in?

Gawu was formed over a year ago and has been growing rapidly — there has been a good response from workers. Gawu organises several industrial unions such as brush, copper, mining houses, cleaners, scooter drivers, petrol, transport.

Q: Does Gawu co-operate with some of the other general workers unions in South Africa?



General Workers Union Organisers. From L to R — Wilson Sidina, Mr Fundani, Moffat Matyeba, Howie Gabriels, DI Cooper, B. Ntsodo, and Zora Mehloimakulu.



GAWU'S Rita Ndzanga



GWU'S Rev. Magau



GAWU'S Elliot Shabangu

These unions must join to form a unified front and this is being done.

Many of the progressive unions are coming together — The summit has shown that we are moving step by step to that end.

Q: Do you think that the summit has laid the base for a unified progressive trade union movement?

At the summit it was clear that the independent unions had similar lines of thinking — the exploiter is a common enemy. The workers' unions must come together to counter the 'master' through strength — which is worker unity. Good relations exist between unions like Macwusa, Gwusa, Gawu and SAAWU and we believe in working towards unity. We need a progressive front to bring the various organisations together.

The resolutions taken at the recent summit prove that we are working towards such an alliance. For instance:

- A resolution to set up an ad hoc solidarity committee in the different regions.
- A resolution to negotiate on the plant level instead of in the confines of the industrial labour system. We see industrial councils and government commissions as part of a strategy to control unions — we can't work under this type of legislation.

The summit was attended by registered and unregistered unions. The registered unions have allowed



GAWU'S president Samson Ndou

themselves to be manacled, but the resolutions of the summit reflect a progressive standpoint.

We see the progressive unions as those which stand for true trade unionism. Union issues do not end with employment, but extend into the community. Workers are exploited from the factory to the home.

The state is against all progressive trade unions and still relies on the same means to deal with them as it did with SACTU in the past. For this reason we cannot register with the state.

Many of the unions who opted for registration did so without consulting their membership. A lot of workers, who found themselves in this situation, left to join progressive unions. For this reason, the leadership of these registered unions have realised that they run the risk of losing their members to progressive unions.

SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION.

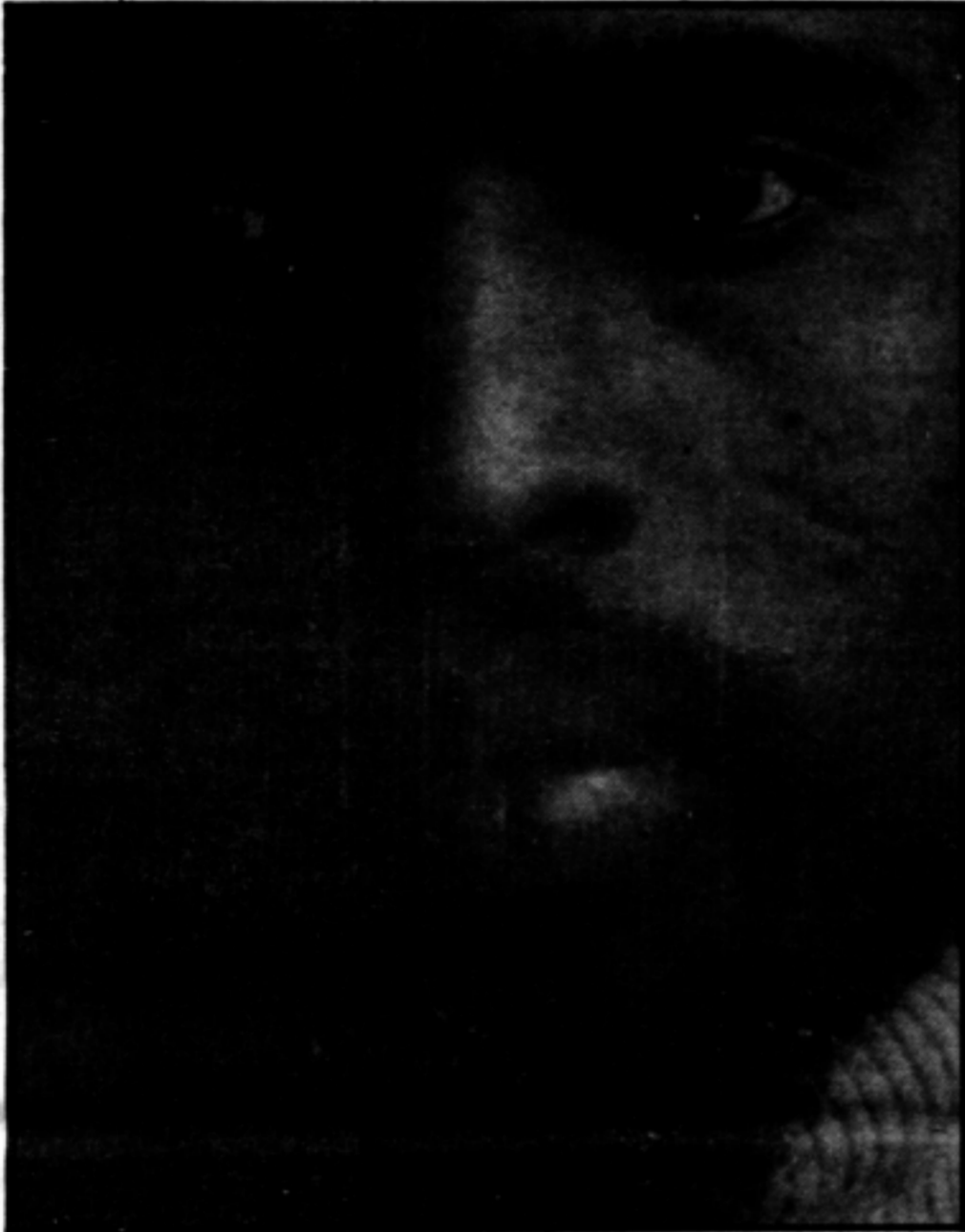
Q: What is South African Allied Workers Union's policy?

A: We are fighting for the democratic rights of workers. In view of the historical background of trade unions, we feel that if we are to succeed in attaining our goals we have got to include certain basic principles which will bring success.

Firstly, mass participatory democracy: we must practice active mass participation. Anyone can see that SAAWU is a worker controlled organisation which enjoys mass support. Our belief is that workers must feel that it is their union and that the leadership is just there to give guidance and assist them — the union has to work hand in hand with



The Food and Canning Workers Union and African Food and Canning Workers Union



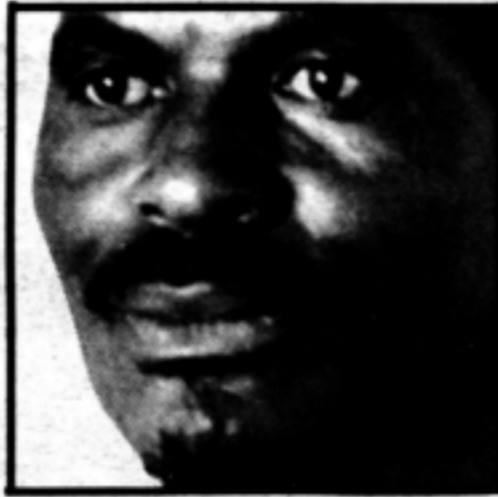
SAAWU president Thozamile Gqweta



GWU's Dave Lewis



SAAWU's Sisa Njikelana



SAAWU's Herbert Barnabas



GAWU's Sydney Mufamadi

counted as workers, not as whites. The same applies to black bosses who exploit workers. People must not be fooled just because they are black — they are exploiters.

Thirdly, collective leadership — everyone is a leader. We must work collectively as that is the only way we will stand against the storm. When our leadership was recently detained, nothing stopped because we work collectively. We are all leaders.

SAAWU believes in freedom of association. Workers must feel free to join or leave SAAWU. We are concerned with the plight of the worker not with the growth of the union. The government and management unions are mystifying the workers and therefore there is a scramble for members. The workers must join SAAWU on their own initiative — which they are doing.

SAAWU believes in genuine independence and self autonomy for trade unions. Because there is no democracy in South Africa at present, we need trade unions. And so when the government and management start poking around in a union by introducing controls, that is not democracy. SAAWU believes in self-sacrifice, selflessness and self criticism.

Q: What are your impressions of the recent labour summit held in Cape Town?

A: The summit was a giant step — it shows that there is only one main problem in South Africa — the exploitation of workers. Our goals will only be attained if there is unity and the resolutions show the willingness of various unions to come together.

Q: Has some basis for unity been created?

A: We were surprised to see that

in reality there isn't much about which we differ. On the common issues affecting the trade union movement in South Africa, we found that we have a lot of common ground — it is just a matter of sorting out our short and long term strategies.

Q: What are SAAWU's views on registration?

A: What came out clearly is that the registered unions have nothing in their hands that can be used to defend the registration system. Registration was just a compromise because they entertained fears of detention and bannings, among other things. When asked how they had benefited they could not provide a single example other than show the stumbling blocks which registration has placed in the way of the worker's struggle.

It is obvious that all the unions have common ground, but it is just a matter of sorting out the registration problem.

We do not know what will happen at the next meeting, but we did not say that unions must deregister. Registered unions must, however, try to reconsider the issue and discuss it with their membership. Then we will meet to decide what is to be done.

FOOD AND CANNING WORKERS UNION.

Q: What is the policy of the Food and Canning Workers' Union?

A: The policy of the union is to organise workers industrially. We organise in the food industry on a non-racial basis. This is not just a commitment to theory — in practice we are non-racial — as non-racial as we could be, bearing in mind that our members are amongst the lowest-paid in the industry. Over the last year whites have enrolled in the union, which for us is a new development since the '40's.

We believe in industrial organisation because we have found it to be effective. Where we have organised a sector of one industry it is that much easier to organise other factories in the same industry. For example we were highly organised in the fruit and vegetable canning factories.

The other important part or point of our policy is that we do involve our members as far as possible in all aspects of the union. Obviously we rely on strong organisation in the factories on committees that are effective in dealing with management. As far as possible the committees rely on their own resources rather than on officials of the union. We try to train and draw our officials from our membership and not from outside the union. We

emphasise that the union belongs to the workers and that the union is nothing without the workers and their solid support.

Q: What are your views on democratic participation of the members in all affairs of the Union?

A: As we have said we involve workers at all levels of the union. In practice — as with any other union — there are always problems with factory committees that have to be ironed out. On the whole I think we do have a high degree of participation by workers.

The controlling body of the union is a management committee which meets monthly, and the national executive meetings which meets 6 monthly and a conference which meets annually. At the monthly meetings we seldom have less than 80 — 100 participants aside from the official delegates. At our conference we are obviously more strongly represented because that is the occasion where all branches across the country are present.

Particularly important is that we involve workers in negotiations with employers. Nowadays we prefer to involve the whole factory committee at a given factory in negotiations with an employer. If this is not feasible at least a strong representation from each factory is required.

Q: Do you see the recent Cape Town 'summit' meeting of trade unions as creating the basis for unity?

A: The summit could have created the basis for unity but this remains to be seen.

The meeting was certainly a significant one in that the unions that did attend at all, since many of them, at the level of factory organisation and in various areas, are in open conflict with one another.

Nevertheless we were quite impressed by the willingness of all the unions to put the interests of maintaining a united front before their own particular interests.

The basis for further unity will be created if the unions can work out some agreement on tactics rather than broad statements of principle. In other words if the unions can agree on a tactic towards state control, registration, industrial councils, recognition agreements and other matters which are problems they have to face then I think there is a basis for unity.

But a great deal will hinge on future meetings and whether these take place or not.

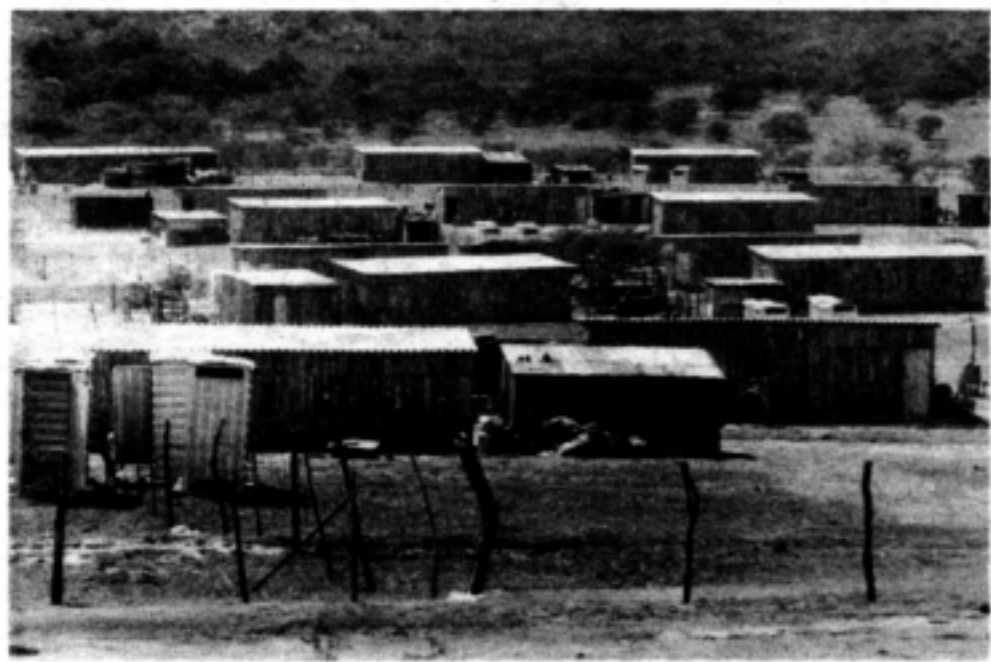
The only practical decision that was taken regarded the Ciskei. It seems that even in that regard there was ambivalence on the part of some unions as to what was decided.

Q: Why are there two Food and Canning Unions and what is the possibility of united action between them?

A: The Food and Canning Workers' Union was established in 1941 a time when the legislation and state set-up was different. The National Party was not in power. Our membership was multi-racial although the Union, because of its situation in the Western Cape, was predominantly 'coloured'.

The Union was subjected to a campaign of harrassment by the Department of Labour. There were repeated raids on the offices and threats of deregistration because Africans were being organised as members at some of the branches. These attacks coincided with the clamping down on mixed unions and the gradual steps towards

Dream come true turns to nightmare in Kammaskraal



KAMMASKRAAL — the newest dumping ground in the Eastern Cape — was to have been a dream come true for 955 people. Instead it's a nightmare. SASPU NATIONAL looks at the conditions under which these people are forced to live.

WE WERE told that the time has expired for us to live in Kammaskraal. We moved freely because we were told that our land is available at this place.

They also told us houses have been built for us. But on our arrival we found no houses, but canvas tents. We are threatened with removals even now.

Kammaskraal was to have been a dream come true for the 955 people who were moved there from the farms in Wooldridge and Alexandria in the Eastern Cape.

Instead it is a nightmare.

Half the families live in tents, there is not enough food for them to eat and money is running out because there are no jobs.

Their children are dying of starvation and men are being turned down for jobs on the mines — the only ones they can get — because they are too thin.

Kammaskraal is the newest resettlement area in the Eastern Cape.

People who live there say they moved of their "own free will".



Home is not what it used to be ... from houses to tents

Like most people who have been resettled they believed the promises that were made by the authorities, and so they moved freely.

The people believed that if they moved they would have their own land and houses.

When the trucks came to fetch them from Wooldridge and Alexandria, they thought this was the answer their problems.

The people of Wooldridge were the first to come after they had asked the Ciskeian government for land of their own. At Wooldridge they had lived on old age pensions and disability grants. Some of them worked on pineapple farms where they earned 60c a day. Many women relied on the R15 or R20 a month sent to them by husbands or sons working in town.

On May 9, 1980 Ciskeian officials came and told them they were going to be moved in three days time. They were promised plank houses and land of their own.

Nine days later about 85 families from Wooldridge were off loaded at Kammaskraal. All they were given was canvas tents and food for three days. Across the hill they could see the plank houses they had been promised. Not for you, they were told. The houses had already been promised to people from Alexandria.

The families from Alexandria worked as labourers on a chicory farm. When their employer died, new bosses took over and said they couldn't live there any more. They were told to sell all their stock. The only work they could get was as casual labourers earning 10 cents for each bag of chicory they picked.

A few "lucky" people had permanent jobs earning R15 — R20 per month.

They complained to a Ciskeian official and on the advice of a Ciskeian MP they sold their stock to the Ciskei Marketing Board. In June the GG trucks arrived to take them to Kammaskraal.

But a major dispute arose between the people from Wooldridge and the new arrivals. The young people from Wooldridge were angry that the new people were given the houses that they had been promised.

There was violence. It started with stone-throwing and ended with the death of a young man from Alexandria.

The elders from both sides got together and realised that the division helped nobody except maybe the authorities who had put them there in the first place. They came together, disciplined the young people who had caused the trouble and are now fighting a day to day battle to survive.

Most of the adults in Kammaskraal go without food for 3 or 4 days at a time. They keep what little samp they have for the children — mealie meal is too expensive.

There is a school — six classrooms for more than 400 children of schoolgoing age — but according to a social worker the children are too lethargic from hunger to learn.

There are no jobs in Peddie, the town closest to Kammaskraal. The only new jobs available are in mines who employed 2000 people from the Peddie district in 1980. But in November last year, 17 people

from the Peddie district were turned down because they were undernourished.

Food and household necessities are also a problem for them. Most of them get their food from the shops in Wooldridge which give them credit until their grants or money from relatives comes through. When they run out they buy again on credit.

People say that the debt is always greater than their income and when the shopkeeper refuses any more credit they are forced to sell their household goods and clothing to get food. "Even in times of death they are bound by their circumstances to go to the same shopowner who will buy the coffin for them", said an informant from the area.

And now there is a growing realisation that life was better where they were. People feel that the promises that they were made were a ruse to get them to move without too much fuss.

"We were cheated because they said there is a fine place found for us", one resident said. "We are starving more than we were in Wooldridge. We are living in tents, although in Wooldridge we had our mud houses".

Other comments were: "Our tents are stinking which causes diseases, and, "we are starving here because we are unemployed. But in Wooldridge we were not suffering".

The people of Kammaskraal wanted the government to help them — but it looks as though the government may be preparing to move them again.



There is little or no work at Kammaskraal

WHEN MOST South Africans think of the Ciskei — the so-called 'national state' next in line to be bestowed 'independence' by the white Pretoria Government — they think of poverty, unemployment, endemic malnutrition and teeming slum-like resettlement camps.

The Ciskei — once the site of battles between white settlers and Africans during the wars of dispossession in the 19th century and now a chain of ghettos locked in a barren countryside by the notorious pass laws and the authorities — is due to get its "independence" on December 4 this year.

It will be the fourth bantustan — Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda being the others — to be given so-called independence.

South Africa's bantustans have their origins in the Land Acts passed by the settler regimes in 1913 and 1936 when 13% of the total land area of the country was set aside for the black majority who constitute more than 70% of the population.

This land was divided up into 'homelands' for different tribal groups and are the only areas in which blacks are allowed to own land.

This was done to force Africans to leave the land they were occupying so that it could be made available to white settler farmers. These laws were also designed to create a large cheap wage labour force for mines, farms and industries.

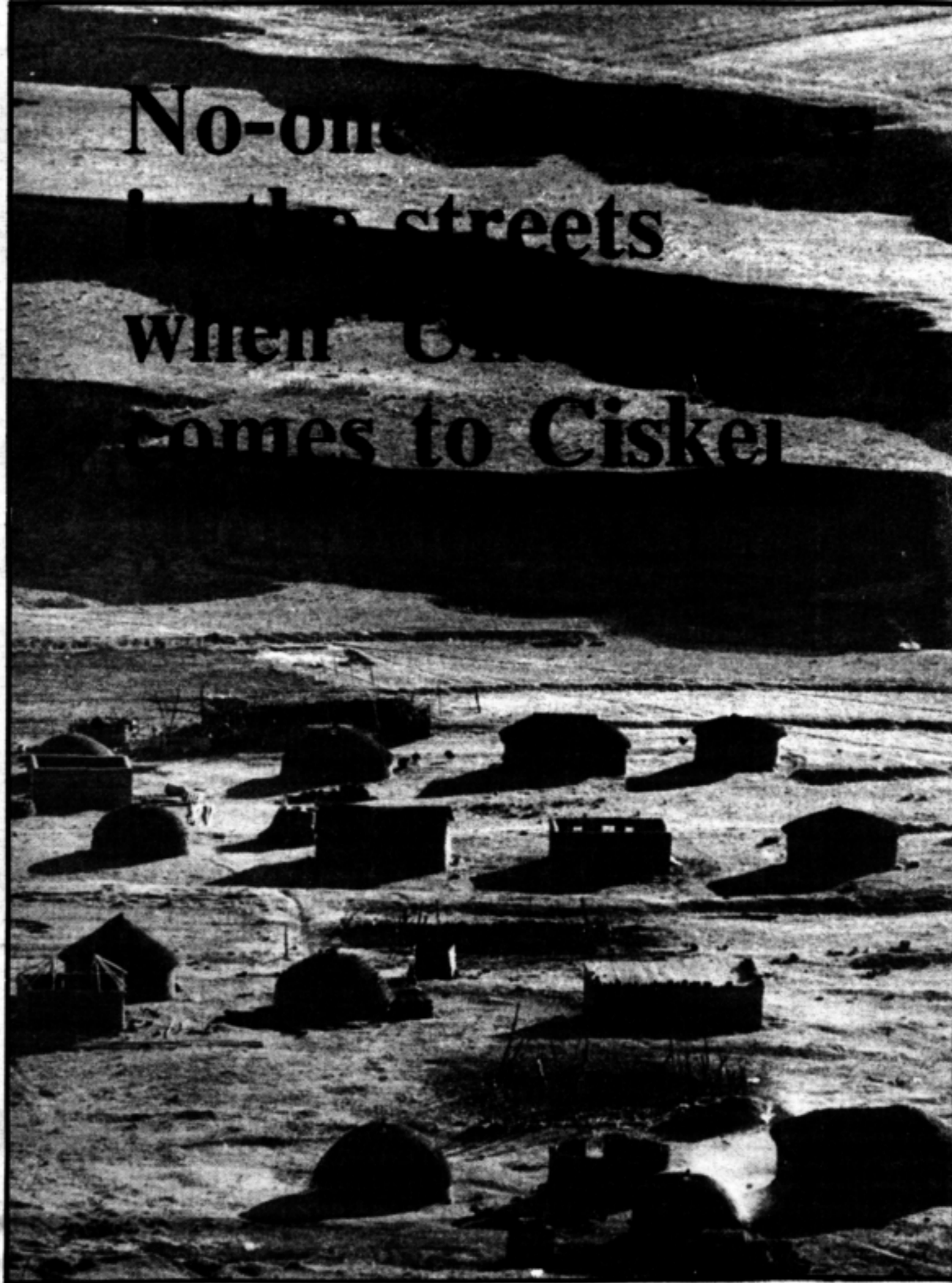
These bantustans are systematically being given their 'independence' by the Pretoria Government in an attempt to deprive the black majority of any South African identity and also to reduce the black population in the so-called white areas of the country.

All the bantustans are desperately poor and underdeveloped — their major export being unskilled and semi-skilled cheap labour in the form of migrant workers.

The Homeland system is also convenient for big industrialists and mine-owners to exploit labour. As the migrant workers are forced by law to leave their families in their arid and semi-arid bantustan areas, the industrialists pay them very low wages on the grounds that they do not have to support their families.

The bantustans are also dumping grounds for 'surplus people'. Hundreds of thousands of people who have been kicked off 'white' land are forcibly moved to massive resettlement camps such as Thornhill, Zweekedinga and Oxton in the Ciskei. These are largely barren, infertile stretches of veld where the occupants have to eke out an existence or starve to death.

The Pretoria-promoted and supported leader of the Ciskei bantustan, Chief Lennox Sebe, appointed a commission of inquiry to look into the feasibility of the barren bantustan gaining independence. The commission,



The land in the Ciskei, if not overcrowded, is infertile and drought-stricken

which included Sir Arthur Snelling, former British Ambassador to South Africa and Prof Robert Rotberg of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States, found that 90% of Ciskeians favoured a one-man-one-vote system within a united South Africa.

The Quail Commission as it was known after its chairperson, Prof George Quail, advised against independence unless certain conditions were met. These included:

- the holding of a referendum on independence
- the option of South African citizenship for Ciskeians after independence.
- more territory for the Ciskei.

A referendum was held late in 1980 and an "overwhelming majority" voted for independence. However, reports of intimidation and other pressures on voters by Ciskeian authorities — including a

speech by Sebe that those who did not vote in favour of independence would face possible imprisonment — have cast strong doubts over the fairness and accuracy of the referendum. Another dubious factor is that most Ciskeians in fact did not participate in the referendum. — they live outside the bantustans.

However, despite these discrepancies, the die is now cast and the Ciskei will become the fourth 'independent homeland' on December 4.

A brief look at the political and economic situation in the Ciskei illustrates how ludicrous the idea of an 'independent nation state' is.

It has little industry or agriculture. Two-thirds of the money earned by Ciskei 'citizens' is earned outside the bantustan by migrant or commuter workers. Most of this money is spent outside the Ciskei too.

Migrant and commuter labour is one of the two main features of the

Ciskeian economy. The other main feature is unemployment. About two out of every five Ciskeians of working age are unemployed — not even employed in subsistence agriculture.

Most Ciskeians involved in agriculture are involved in subsistence farming. However, the land is acutely overcrowded and infertile soil and continuous droughts make farming a hazardous venture.

Most 'farmers' survive on money sent home by members of the family who work in the so-called white areas of the country.

Moreover, only a quarter of the people living in the Ciskei have rights to any land at all.

As for industry, there are about 30 factories in the entire region. They employ a total of roughly 3 000 workers, most of whom work under very oppressive conditions. There are no minimum wage regulations and wages are as low as R9 a week.

Workers have no trade union

rights and the government is swift to act against any attempt to organise workers.

Most of the factories are owned by white South Africans or international companies. These companies are attracted to the region by the abundance of cheap labour as well as the tax and profit concessions offered by the authorities. Most of this profit is then taken out of the Ciskei.

A description of the career of Ciskeian leader, Sebe, is an indication of the state of bantustan politics.

From being an unknown education school inspector in the late 1960's, he became the first chief minister of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly in 1973. He beat the former chief councilor of the Ciskei, Chief Mabandla by just two votes.

Mabandla was then leader of the Ciskei National Party. Sebe did not even belong to a political party — he got his votes from tribal chiefs nominated by the South African Government.

Sebe had been groomed for the job for several years. This training included trips to Britain and the United States. In 1975, Sebe was found guilty of 'irregularities' in the 1973 Ciskei elections and as a result he was deprived of his seat in the Assembly. However, the Department of Bantu Administration — now the Department of Co-operation and Development — quickly appointed him 'economic adviser to the Ciskei Cabinet' with the same salary, free house and motor car.

Apart from these perks, there are other fringe benefits that go with the job. One is frequent overseas trips. In 1977 for example, Sebe visited Britain, Hong Kong, Japan, Israel, Taiwan and the United States.

Clearly, it is laughable to speak of the Ciskei as an 'independent nation state'. The economy is weak and wholly depends on migrant labour.

The regions' government relies on finance from the South African Government. Most Ciskeians in fact live outside the bantustan and many inside are unemployed, forced to remain there by pass laws and resettlement efforts.

Ciskei does not even have a single city or town to give it some semblance of an independent state. The only town with a sizeable infrastructure and economy, King William's Town, was to have been incorporated into the bantustan but after a "white" backlash (the people who matter to the Botha Government), the State announced that the town would not become part of the Ciskei.

On December 4, there will be extravagant 'independence' celebrations and thousands of rands will be spent to celebrate what is in effect another step in the dispossession of South Africa's oppressed and exploited masses.

Exploitation is the unions' enemy

• From page 17

segregation of unions which were undertaken in successive laws from that period onwards.

The decision to segregate the Union into the Food and Canning Workers Union (F and CWU) and the African Food and Canning Workers Union (A F and CWU) was taken purely to survive. It was not taken because the Union accepted in principle the division between the two. We believe that that decision at that period of time was a correct one it did enable them to survive. That is not to say that the (A F and CWU)

survived on the charity of the (A F and CWU). In fact at periods of time the leading party was the (A F and CWU) or African membership in areas like Port Elizabeth and the Transvaal. Some very prominent people emerged from these ranks.

Our policy has always been that we wish to have one union without any distinction of race, and the fact that there has been two unions officially has not prevented us from acting as one union. We hold meetings together, we approach the bosses together and do not do anything on the one side without

consulting the other.

Some of the employers with whom we deal are not even aware that there is a distinction. Where it has become an issue we have insisted upon agreements that this is an agreement with the F and CWU and the A F and CWU which we jointly refer to as the Union.

That was done in the case of Fatties and Monis and subsequent agreements as well. We also try to operate outside the Industrial Conciliation Act which means that we are not forced to segregate by any law.

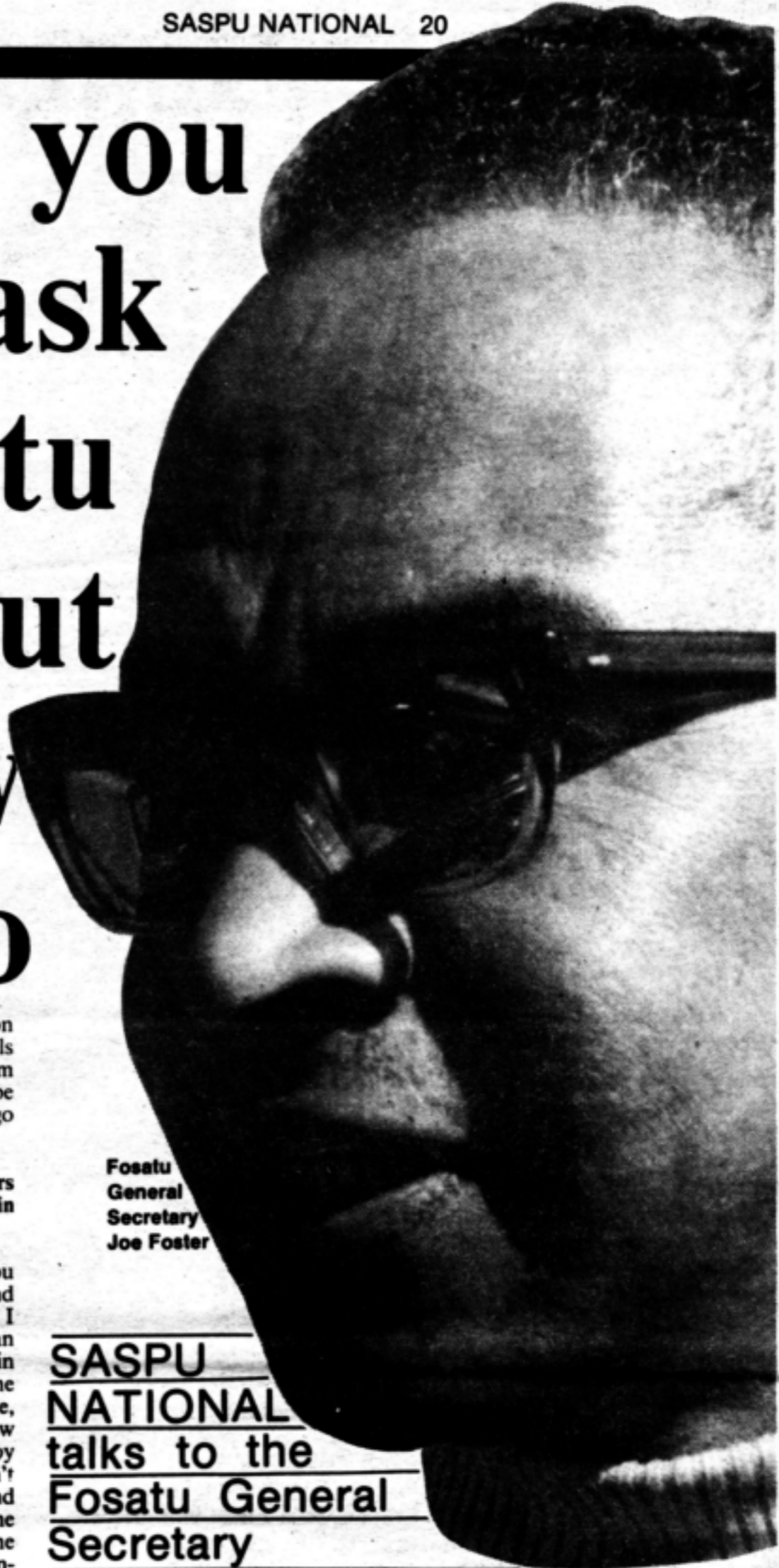
Regarding the possibility of a united union — this is obviously what we want. To unite the unions we can do one of two things: we can form one registered Food and Canning Workers Union or one unregistered F and CWU.

This decision is obviously an extremely difficult one. To register the African Food and Canning Workers at a time when progressive unions are fighting more than ever against the present terms of registration would seem to be completely wrong.

Nevertheless to deregister the A F

and CWU is in fact a far more difficult thing to do than for a union to refuse to register at all because it would mean reversing something that was set in motion almost 40 years ago — in completely different conditions obviously — for better or worse. But the fact is it was set in motion.

What we decide to do is a matter which will obviously be discussed at our conference in the near future. It will also hinge to a great extent on what position other unions are taking up and what support there might be for us in our predicament.



Fosatu General Secretary Joe Foster

Everything you wanted to ask about Fosatu policy — but didn't know where to go

SASPU NATIONAL talks to the Fosatu General Secretary

Q: What is Fosatu's position on registration?

A: The position as far as registration is concerned is that Fosatu has never seen registration as being a principle. We do not believe that trade unions should be made to register — they should just be allowed to operate.

But where we see we could use it to reach our objectives, then we will use it. For example before our union amalgamated with the national union, (Numarwosa), we were registered.

Registration never affected us. We were organising the workers on the shop floor and we had our meetings. We never bothered to go to the labour department. We would only go if it was necessary. I think since 1972 I've been to the labour department maybe four times.

All the registrar wants are returns and membership fees — there are no real problems.

Q: So there are no real controls?

A: No. The controls are there on paper but nobody bothers us. If any member objects or says there are irregularities and so on, the registrar is supposed to investigate. But it's very seldom that it is done.

One thing I can tell you is that if this new bill becomes law I'm sure the unregistered unions are going to be persecuted — then the state will make an effort to go and find out what actually happens. At present our books are open — people know where the money comes from — the funds we get in — but nobody knows what the position is with for example the General Workers or Saawu for that matter — I don't even know if they give their members financial statements. But I'm sure the state will definitely then go and see their books. At present they don't have the power to do so.

Q: What you're saying is that for the time being at least — registration is the only viable option in terms of the state onslaught?

change the decision of the Registrar or we will go to court.

Q: So you will deregister if the Supreme Court upheld the racial clause?

A: Ja, look if it is necessary to deregister, I don't think there will be any hesitation by Fosatu on deregistering. I mean we've said we are not going to accept racial registration.

Q: Is that why you see registration as a tactic and not a principle?

A: As far as we're concerned re-

the white unions didn't organise on the shop floor — they sent officials to the IC to negotiate minimum wages. We don't think it should be like that — the officials should go with the worker representatives.

Q: So you think that it is workers who are actually negotiating within the IC's.

A: I'm not clear about when you say the workers should go and negotiate. When we negotiate I accompany worker reps as an official of the union — but to pull in a bunch of shop stewards with the employer and say 'there you are, now negotiate' — shit I mean how can it work? The bosses employ experts while the workers haven't had that much time to prepare and you expect them to know about the economy and the profits of the company and so on, and have an in-depth argument with the employers. But I don't go and negotiate on my own — the workers are involved.

Q: Was the decision to participate on the industrial councils taken by the union as a whole?

A: It will be taken by the union as a whole — but as I say Fosatu hasn't yet formulated any policy on this.

Q: Do you think workers are in a strong enough position to strike?

A: Well workers are striking every day.

But one thing — this is a personal opinion — because of the lack of any real and proper political organisation in this country more people are looking to the trade unions and expecting the trade unions to double-up and also be a political organisation. My feeling is that the trade union cannot be a political party — a trade union has specific goals — higher wages and better working conditions. But in striving for those objectives you are also politicising your workers. But a trade union cannot fight rent increases, only a different type of organisation can.

Q: The question of politics seems

gistration is not a problem to us. The people at university, the intellectuals and academics make it a problem not the workers. If one goes back into history you will see that the unregistered unions have been trying for registration since '73. Now that the laws have been amended it is being reflected.

Q: What is Fosatu's attitude to the industrial councils (IC's)?

A: We haven't formulated any policy on this issue. We had a seminar on industrial councils but nothing concrete came out of it. The point is that within Fosatu there are unions which belong to it who in actual fact work for the industrial councils.

Others are opposed to it. The chemical Industrial Council was a complete balls up and one couldn't go into it. But on the other hand if you look at the motor industry IC, it has worked out fine. We have had no problems.

Personally I feel that IC's could be used to set a minimum in the industry but then the unions should

Strikes are never won, but they are also never lost

A: The point is this — we are not in a position of strength, let's face it. Look at the percentage of the labour force which is organised — I mean it's peanuts man. You can't fight the state and the employers at the same time.

We need to be strongly organised to fight the employer. Where's the strength to take on the state? This is what they're trying to do. They don't seem to understand.

If they want to register they must understand this. What the hell is wrong with it? Once we've organised, then we can say 'get stuffed'. People say we're organised and strong when in actual fact we are weak.

Q: If Fosatu is refused non-racial registration, will it deregister?

A: Some of the unions who applied for registration were given registration on a racial basis, and we have appealed against that.

That is the Registrar. The next step is to appeal to the Minister and if the Minister upholds the decision of the Registrar we will go to the Supreme Court.

At the time we said to the Registrar we are not willing to accept racial registration. His argument at the time was that he had to take the Act as it stands. We argued that race is not an interest in determining whether union should be registered or not. He granted us this registration on a racial basis.

Q: If the minister refused to grant non-racial registration, will Fosatu deregister?

A: Well then there is still another step to take — to go to the Supreme Court.

The Minister must now either

Not yet in a position of strength

still be allowed to negotiate with individual employers over and above the minimum wage.

There is nothing you can do legally to compel an employer to pay more than that — you can't.

Once this issue is resolved it would be in our interests, to form industrial councils for certain industries.

Some unions in the old days like

to have come into the union debate quite solidly. Can you comment on your position?

A: Look you can't divorce politics from economics. I mean obviously you may not have taken that decision but the workers have taken the decision and they are the union — then automatically your executive

and officials become involved.

Q: Are union officials better equipped to handle the dispute?

A: You see one has also got to be very careful because of the law — I mean its a crime to incite people to go on strike — and as an official you are put in a very tricky position — you have to play it very carefully. I mean getting people motivated and yet be in the position where nobody

see the state as merely a tool of the bosses?

A: Obviously I do. But who is the enemy? The bosses are the enemy — and these are the people one should actually direct attention to. And some people feel that our salvation is in getting rid of oppression. I mean we want political rights. There are many countries up North here where you have political rights and yet look at the position the workers find

The controls found in registration are only there on paper

can point a finger and say 'You said we must go on strike'. So I mean one talks about the question of who takes the decision — I believe it's the workers.

Q: An interesting polarity exists in these two statements: Oscar Mpheta said that strikes are never lost whereas Taffy Adler said that strikes are never won. What's your view on this?

A: Well it depends entirely — I mean strikes are never lost — I mean the Leyland issue for example — you can say the strike was lost in that we didn't achieve the objectives you originally set out to, for example higher wages. On the other hand you could say we've certainly won a helluva lot. I mean people have gained tremendous experience — not only the workers at Leyland but the community at large. So you can say on the one hand strikes are never lost and on the other that they are never won.

Q: You said earlier that you can't fight two battles at one time. Do you

themselves in.

One should in fact strive for a complete change in society and surely not just a change in government. So everybody gets the bloody vote — so what's that going to change? Not a damn. I mean Matanzima has proved this — look at Kenya for example — that in actual fact is not what we are striving for.

Q: Fosatu sometimes uses ambiguous terminology. Do you think working class politics is confined to the factory?

A: Well, politics touches everything. You can't say politics is confined to certain issues.

Q: What do you see the state's attitude towards Fosatu as being?

A: One thing I know is that they don't like us. But I don't see us as collaborating because we are registered. If one for example takes the teaching profession — could one say that because teachers had remained in their posts although they were

The naked truth about rape in South Africa

BY THE time you have read this article, it is possible that at least one more woman in this country will have been raped. An estimate is that one woman in S.A. is raped every two minutes.

A conventional interpretation of rape is that victims secretly desire and provoke their attackers, who have irrepressible sexual urges. This is ludicrous when we consider that victims range from babies to old women.

When we examine the nature of the act, a 'crime of passion' motive also becomes no more than a convenient excuse.

The legal definition that rape is the unlawful intercourse of a man with a woman without her consent, is another misinterpretation of fact.

Rape can only be understood if it is seen for what it is: an act of violence inspired by a need to dominate. It is not an isolated crime, but an act in keeping with the position of women in society.

Both men and women have

- Only one rape in twenty is reported
- Rape or attempted rape of a staggering 1 886 women occurred in the Witwatersrand — Vereeniging area in the first four months of 1980
- In Soweto alone over 500 women were raped between January and the end of May 1980
- In the Cape Peninsula there is a rape every 21 minutes
- In the townships a woman is raped every 8 hours
- A woman cannot charge her husband with rape.

certain socially determined roles. The 'blue for boys' and 'pink for girls' syndrome is a social attitude that dominates the childhood years.

Men are socialised to believe that 'masculinity' and 'success' are prime goals. The stereotype male is aggressive and dominating, believing it is his role to initiate any sexual activity.

Likewise, women are socialised into a 'feminine', passive and submissive role. This role is perpetuated by the media. Women are shown (and expected) to be sexually unobtainable, yet sexually

desirable. In order to sell products, women are objectified by the media so that they are seen, not as people, but as objects or commodities.

This social framework indicates that rape is the ultimate form of a man's assertiveness, and the ultimate forced submission of a woman — rape is an act of domination.

While the crime involves a sexual act, it is primarily an act of violence and brutality. This is why feminists urge the law to treat rape as a case of assault. This is a more realistic view of rape, and is consistent with the fact that rape is not exclusively a woman's issue. Homosexual rape is particularly common in institutions such as prisons.

Rape occurs in every community, regardless of class or racial structure. But, the majority of convictions are of lower-class black men. Why? Because white middle-class men are often in a position of power (e.g. as an employer) over their victims and have the added protection of a biased legal system. The women involved in such cases are also less likely to report the rape.

In fact, most rapes in this country are not reported, for reasons such as shame and fear of retaliation. A victim reporting a rape is examined and interrogated by unsympathetic male doctors, policemen, lawyers and judges — she is forced to relive the humiliating experience.

Many women have found this more traumatic than the rape itself. In court, the woman is treated as the accused, and the rapist's lawyer's cross-examination makes her



appear in the worst possible light. Intimate details of her sex life can be used as evidence to weaken her case.

Suggestions that she provoked the case by what she was wearing, or by being out alone, are common.

The legal system, which insists on conclusive proof of rape and regards the woman's testament as worthless, ensures that very few rapists are convicted. Also, it serves to multiply the victim's trauma and degradation. (A police pamphlet advises rape victims: 'DON'T change your clothes').

A woman is, to a large extent, regarded by society as not really adult. It is assumed that she needs protection, and her inferior social status implies that she is an inferior being. Such factors have helped to generate a collection of myths that substitute the facts of rape. These myths are as common among the medical and legal authorities as they are among the general public — including rapists.

MYTHS:

- **Rape is a crime of passion:** Rape is not an act of lust, but an act of violent aggression.
- **'Nice' girls don't get raped; women provoke rape.** Rape victims range from babies to women in their 80's and 90's. Any woman is a potential rape victim.
- **Rape is unusual:** Women are intimidated and there is a conspiracy of silence surrounding rape. About 90% of rapes are not reported.
- **No man can rape a woman who doesn't consent:** Rapists use psychological and emotional violence as well as physical violence. Victims don't consent — they are

terrorised into submission.

● **Rapists are insane:** Studies show that rapists are rarely psychotic, and most are entirely 'normal'.

● **Women fantasise about rape and secretly want it:** Does anyone want to be violated, brutalised, humiliated and degraded? Fantasies are within one's control and give pleasure, whereas rape is a real and violent act beyond the individual's control. It is marked by fear — not pleasure. Women do not fantasise about rape.

● **Women say 'no' when they mean 'yes':** Women are capable of taking decisions and responsibility — this relates to individual integrity.

● **Women cry rape to get back at a man:** Studies reveal that only 2% of all reported rapes are false.

● **Rape occurs between strangers in a dark alley:** About 75% of rapes occur in a home between people who have met before.

● **Men cannot control their sexuality:** Rape is an act of violence and domination. Besides, humans can control sexual urges.

The 'punishment' ethic of the present legal system relies on prisons as the solution to crime. At best, the rapist is temporarily removed from society.

But attitudes of aggression and the need to dominate are reinforced — heterosexual rape is often replaced by homosexual rape.

Rape is the result of a sick society desperately in need of treatment. The cure is to reorganise society's rigid definition of sex-roles.

Rapists are not 'born', but are created by a society that carries the rape ethic in its social, political, economic and cultural institutions.



Foster speaks out on Fosatu policy

under a government department that they are collaborators — I mean they are making the system work — should teachers all down tools and say now look we're pulling out and won't subject ourselves to this system.

Personally I think that these working for it are the collaborators — they go in there with the specific purpose of making the system work and the others again merely use it to put across their message of education — and the same with registration.

Obviously Lucy Mvubelo's attitude towards registration is completely different to our attitude. I mean they are out and out collaborators as far as we are concerned.

Q: Has there been any real change as regards labour on the part of the state?

A: No. Why do you think the government has amended the legislation? Events overtook them.

Everybody was forming trade unions — the unions were negotiating agreements — they were obliged to change the definition of employee to bring these people in. General Workers put out strong statements opposed to registration but now they say that under certain circumstances they will register — this comes out in the last four lines of their statement.

Q: Do you think that unions should try and avoid confrontation?

A: Are we strong enough to take on a position like that? For example, at the recent conference, the meeting condemned the concept of 'home lands' completely. Then the people say a delegation must go and see Sebe — that's giving him credibility. If we don't want to send a delegation we must come up with an alternative — which we did. We said let's tell our members that we will stop handling anything coming out of the Ciskei. Why didn't they accept that counter-suggestion? Because they are not organised. They claim to be

organised but they are not. Dave Lewis says we must smash the puppets and the show will stop. How the hell is the show going to stop — they'll use other puppets — I mean they've got spans of puppets man.

Q: Community organisation seems to be developing a lot — for example with Ford last year.

A: If you look in actual fact at what happened at Ford — this Botha for example — didn't even belong to the union. He was elected chairman of Pebco — right? What happened then is Botha's foreman objected to him being away from work so often because he was taking up issues and so on.

Botha then resigned of his own accord. None of the workers knew about this. When they got home that evening the whole township was flooded with these pamphlets that tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock we're going to strike unless Botha is reinstated. And that's how the thing started. The people didn't have the right facts, and the decision was



taken for them.

Q: On occasions Fosatu has been accused of arrogance towards community organisations.

A: Well that's completely wrong. You see the only reason that people think this is so, is because Fosatu took a policy decision that it will not affiliate to any party/political organisation. We felt that there is no political party presently here in SA which we could align ourselves with and as such we will stay out of it until such time as there is a political party — a workers party for example —

that one could align themselves with.

People have misread this completely and said we want to divorce ourselves from everything and so on. I mean bullshit — rubbish.

Q: You say workers party.

A: I just brought in a workers party because if there is a workers party Fosatu would probably align itself with that although not necessarily, a workers party.

Q: Is Fosatu opposed to 'national' politics?

A: Would I be opposed to it? Ja, obviously.

Q: Do you see the South African Liberation movements as nationalists?

A: Ja, well one is not so sure.

Q: But for instance I think that a lot of unions have adopted the old popular slogans and mould. But

THE LATEST increases in the bread price follow a pattern established by the government over the last decade.

In countering the public outcry that has followed each increase since 1970, when the price of white bread went up from 10c to 11c a loaf and brown rose to 9c, until this month, when the equivalent prices rose 33% to 40c and 40% to 28c respectively government response has been the same.

"The people need not spend more on bread," it maintains, substantiating its view with the fact that brown bread usually cost what white bread formerly cost: "Let them buy brown bread; they won't have to spend more..."

What the Minister of Finance, Owen Horwood, and his predecessors, have failed to acknowledge is that already more than a third of the country's consumer population cannot afford the refinement of white bread. And since each bread price increase obviates the government's need to increase the bread subsidy, what in fact happens is that workers bear the brunt of the costs.

The other favourite government ploy is to whimper about how much more they'd have to spend on bread subsidies if the price is to be maintained.

In 1971, the then chairman of the Cafda executive committee, Dr Oscar Wollheim, noted: "I predict that in the next 12 months the Medical Officer of Health will have a great number of diseases and many more cases of malnutrition to report." This comment followed a price increase.

When certain supermarket chains cut prices drastically in recognition of the plight of the poor (and in attracting business to their stores), the Wheat Board threatened these shops with prosecution, saying that they had no right to undercut suggested minimum prices for bread.

And recently, the current chairman of the Wheat Board, Carel Cille, noted that it was always the intention of the board to increase the price of bread in accordance with the increased price of wheat. Quite ironic, really, the so-called desire to let the economy of the country run the free market supply-demand



State sees bread price increase as just a matter of common cents: "Let them buy brown bread"

But for the people who depend on bread as a staple food the question is one of survival. During the past decade white and brown bread prices have more than tripled.

course, while heavily protecting the interests of certain groups e.g. farmers — by having strictly controlled marketing mechanisms, such as the agricultural boards.

Undoubtedly, the tolerance level of government action in raising prices has increased. In January 1971, 20 municipal workers in

Robertson, Cape, were dismissed for striking for higher wages because of the bread price increases. That week, Kroonstad, Welkom, and Bloemfontein stores sold loaves of bread at 1c each "until the government takes some action on the price," shopkeepers were quoted as saying.

Clear divisions emerged at that time between the authorities and the

workers — black and white. The SA Confederation of Labour, which claimed to represent 200 000 white workers, criticised the government for fixing a minimum price.

The government's line, representing capital, has been: "You can't continually subsidise a commodity if that commodity later becomes cheaper than other

competitive commodities. Then prices start to become ridiculous..."

At the end of January 1971 the Labour Party, Nusas and the Black Sash launched a campaign to boycott bread.

Two price increases later, in 1974, when white bread was 16c (13c) and brown bread 13c (11c), newspaper editorials were taking this line: "Cheap bread is simply a security measure in this country where hunger among the masses means a threat to the peace."

This particular increase came at a time when South Africa's revenue from gold was R840m, a cool R340m more than it had been the year before.

The 1976 bread price increase (white 20c, brown 16c) led *Die Burger* to write in an editorial: "An emotional value attaches to the concept of bread which is even greater than its nutritional value and the increase of 25% will shock people in all walks of society, even those who are not so fully dependent on bread as a staple food."

When, in April 1977, Hendrik Schoeman, then Agriculture Minister, noted: "The farmer will have to be remunerated in such a way that he can stay in his business. This is the price the SA public will have to pay if it wants to be assured of sufficient food supplies in the future." He captured the government message.

Between then and now, the price has risen three times, each rise bringing with it a spate of public protest. South African Council of Churches ombudsman, Eugene Roelofse noted this as "a manifestation of power politics on the economic front".

Ironic when one considers that when the government came into power in 1948, one of its major platforms was to provide white bread. It's party slogan was "white bread for white people."

And now, 33 years later, the slogan of apartheid concerning bread is "...it's among the cheapest in the world." This may be the case, but then, it is logical to extend this statement to labour, morality, image and credibility: all among the cheapest in the world.

Swept out

OVER 300 workers at the Regina Carpet Factory in Pinetown stopped work for a day over a demand for higher wages.

The demand for a wage increase was to counter the sharp rise in the cost of living due to the increase in the price of bread and the expected increases in transport costs. The workers returned to work after the management agreed to negotiate with them.

Mr Obed Zuma, the secretary of the National Union of Textile Workers which is affiliated to Fosatu and represents about 100 of the workers, told a Durban evening paper that the strike was halted by the intervention of the union.

"The workers were unrepresented until they sought our help. We got in touch with the employers who agreed to hold talks over grievances", Zuma said.

The Public Relations Officer for the Romatex Group, of which Regina is a member, Mr Seton Thompson, told a morning paper in

S A's workers: a record of labour disputes



Durban that the management had agreed to discuss the workers' wages with the liaison committee but only after the workers had returned to work.

Wage victory

OVER 100 blind workers in Durban downed tools in support of wage increases.

Members of the African Blind Workers Union, employed mainly as basket and cloth weavers at the Natal African Blind Society in Umlazi won a R1.50 increase a week after a one day strike.

The highest paid worker was receiving R36 per week and the lowest paid R18 per week.

Taken to task

FIFTY-EIGHT workers who were charged with illegal striking at Coates Brothers at Isipingo were acquitted after the magistrate found that the whole labour force had not stopped work and that there was doubt as to the identity of the people who had taken part in the alleged strike.

The dispute started over the dismissal of one worker for allegedly

refusing to do certain tasks. The workers called for his reinstatement and the recognition of the South African Allied Workers Union in place of the liaison committee

Mr Sam Kikine, the secretary general of SAAWU said at the time that management should speak to the union as 'we have almost 100 person membership here.' The general manager, Mr D P Jordaan, said that there was no question of speaking to SAAWU or engaging in negotiations. The dispute started on January 26 and the workers were acquitted on July 31.

RepcO ripped

PORT ELIZABETH — About 160 workers at Repco motor component factory went on strike on June 24 after three fellow workers were dismissed and the company refused to recognise the Motor and Component Workers' Union (Macwusa).

Management dismissed the striking workers but continued to hold talks with the union, which it said it would recognise if Macwusa became part of the Industrial Council.

With the strike into its third week, the workers held firm on their decision not to collect pay owing to them — to prevent them being regarded as having dismissed themselves, and decided to continue the strike until they were reinstated unconditionally and en masse.

Management proposed on July 7 to take back 50 of the workers over a period of two days, and others as vacancies arose. It also said the company would recognise Macwusa if the union produced an audited certificate proving that half the workers at Repco were paid up members.



Jackel cover of 'Render unto Kaiser' by Richard Wicksteeed and Barry Streek.

Render unto Kaiser by Barry Streek and Richard Wicksteeed (Ravan Press, 377 pages R9,95).

AS A documentary study of events in the Transkei homeland since 'Independence' in 1976 **RENDER UNTO KAISER** powerfully dispels any myths about the viability of homeland 'independence'.

The book chronicles the matter in which Kaiser Matanzima and the new Transkei elite have gained massive power and privilege at the expense of people forced to become citizens of the impoverished Bantustan by the South African Government.

The first chapter details the methods used by Matanzima, in collaboration with Pretoria, to crush dissent while maintaining a facade of democratic rule.

Bannings, Banishments, Detentions, and coercion were used to undermine the democratic aspirations of the people of the region.

Issues dealt with in the book include:

- The extent of the Transkei Government's financial dependence on Pretoria;
- The size, strength and tactics of

Authors Render unto Kaiser his just deserts

In this book review SASPU NATIONAL looks into a recent study of the Transkei since 'independence' in 1976, and how the Matanzima Brothers gained privilege at the expense of others.

the Transkei army and Police Force;

- The laughable antics of the Transkei Government trying to gain international recognition for the territory's 'independence';
 - A look at why dagga farming is so important to the lives of so many people living in the region;
 - An examination of the corruption which has permeated all levels of the Transkei administration;
 - An account of how the territory's most powerful — and popular leader, Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, was ousted by the Matanzima Brothers.
- RENDER UNTO KAISER** draws

important conclusions concerning developments in Transkei since 1976.

Homeland independence (Transkei was the first Homeland to become 'independent') is the method used by the South African Government to deny all political rights to blacks in South Africa.

The region remains an overcrowded labour reserve in which the vast majority of people suffer from worsening levels of hunger, ill health, outright repression and unemployment.

Pretoria has ensured that Transkei remains politically and economically dependent on it by

creating a collaborationist class of privileged people to rule the territory. This class consists of co-opted chiefs and headmen, on the one hand, and an inflated civil service with access to trading licenses and other such perks on the other.

Resistance to the Matanzimas' regime is increasing as a natural backlash to the poverty and oppression experienced by the people living there. This resistance and instability is a threat not only to the Matanzimas, but also to the whole South African system.

Thus the South African Government is attempting to stabilize the homelands through the

constellation of states plan. One of the aims of the plan is to attract business people to set up operations in the Transkei to try and alleviate the massive unemployment.

But Transkei's infrastructure is so inadequate, its administration so corrupt and its political situation so unstable that few companies are likely to take up the offer. Thus the cycle continues.

RENDER UNTO KAISER points to the increasing clashes between armed militants and the Transkei security forces which, coupled with popular discontent in Transkei and the groundswell of resistance in the rest of South Africa, show the political objectives of homeland independence to be a dismal failure.

The function of controlling South Africa's labour supply remains, but is becoming ever harder to implement as more and more people leave the homelands 'illegally' to seek the work they so desperately need. In addition, the demand by the people of the Transkei for political participation in a united South Africa has proved impossible to stifle.

In short, say the authors, the people of Transkei demand jobs, food and democratic government, not homeland 'independence'.

Fosatu is sort of working towards its own goals.

A: Ja, well we know for example that we will be considered as enemies. I mean in that we will also be wiped out — but we believe that we must plant the correct lines. We don't mind being small and so on — as long as we keep on plugging our lines. I can't see that the national liberation movement is striving for the same type of society as us.

Q: Do you think that apartheid should be perceived as the immediate enemy?

A: I mean we should attack the apartheid system. OK but we must be careful not to create the impression in the workers that look apartheid is the problem — workers mustn't run away with the idea that look we smash apartheid and then our problems will be solved.

Q: What would you say is the role of the intellectual in the trade union? The accusation has been levelled at Fosatu of having too many intellectuals in it.

A: I feel that intellectuals have a role to play — one could make use of them you understand. But some intellectuals don't seem to understand. They've got text book knowledge and they study all these things and they jump to certain conclusions and so on and they come and they want

to force down their opinions — it doesn't work like that.

Q: People have said that the decision to register wasn't the issue, the issue was how the decision took place. They say the decision had been taken by intellectuals within Fosatu.

A: No, that's bull — that may have been with other unions but certainly not in Fosatu. Fosatu's decision was taken and was referred back to the unions and the unions discussed it amongst themselves, and from there it came to a central committee where the workers in actual fact reported back what their different unions had decided, and then and there we decided.

We wouldn't for one minute allow any f... intellectual to dictate to us what to do — and this they know.

This is the difference we feel for example with other unions where intellectuals may be able to manoeuvre because they've got no opposition like Freddie Sauls and

myself who have been in the trade union movement a long time.

Q: Who makes the decisions about participation in the IC's?

A: Workers will make the decisions — its a genuine workers decision — even I for example, don't make any decisions here. I mean I will just put the thing to the blokes — they will decide. I'll give them the pro's and I'll give them the cons, and even if I see that they are making the wrong decision I won't oppose it — I will tell them I believe that they are making the wrong decision for these reasons but if the decision is made we will carry it out. It has happened on numerous occasions where history has proved that the advice I gave was correct.

Q: What is Fosatu's attitude to other unions?

A: We feel if people want to belong to other unions, its their

prerogative. A problem Fosatu has is that it does not attack other unions as part of our policy. However there is dissatisfaction with this policy and we are considering changing it at the next central committee.

Q: On occasion Fosatu has been portrayed as sectarian — would you like to say something about that?

A: Perhaps this is how people may portray us. Most probably our method of operation and so on — but I don't think that we are in actual fact sectarian. The only thing we say is this that we will not allow any outside organisation to take over the struggle. If one takes for example what happened with the Food and Canning Union in Worcester where the labour party eventually took over the bloody struggle and here at Fattis and Monis where the union was prepared to reach an agreement with the bloody company and Hassan

Fosatu's Joe Foster opens up the issues for debate

Howa of Sacos said no we're not going to watchamacallit.

You reach the stage, its because the union allows the thing to get out of hand.

Q: Is that why Fosatu didn't support the meat strike and the Fattis Monis boycott?

A: We did support them. I was one of the first blokes to go and address the Fattis and Monis workers in the watchacallit here. We spoke at their meetings. We support them financially as well — we made a donation and so on.

Q: As regards the summit or 'unity talks' would you say some basis for co-operation has been laid?

A: I don't think so... we didn't discuss the real issues — we said look there are issues which affects us on the factory floor — which needs to be discussed. And if we had raised those issues then we would have wrecked the whole bloody conference, you know. If there is a second time round I believe we're going to come to grips with the real issues which are facing us you know.

The only issue which we disagreed on was the question of the Industrial Council. Fosatu is not prepared to enter into a resolution. Because we have not within Fosatu, decided on the the issue. It shows we're not at one with this issue how can we just go into it?



Historic labour summit ... trade unions get together to plan the future.

Unity at Cape labour talks

THE CAPE TOWN 'summit' meeting of all major trade unions during August was an historic occasion.

At the meeting independent trade unions made a major step towards a unified response to industrial relations legislation in South Africa. There was a marked shift from the regional chauvinism that has marred past attempts to unify organised labour.

This was the first time that so many of the independent union groupings had come together. Both the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), normally reticent to meet with the new militant unions, and the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union (MACWUSA) which has consistently refused to participate in meetings where FOSATU is present, attended the summit.

The resolutions taken are an important indicator of organised black labour's response to the present industrial conciliation machinery — and could influence industrial relations legislation as well as union reaction to such legislation.

At the beginning of the year the Food and Canning Workers Union attempted to bring the major union groupings together. An agenda was planned at a preliminary meeting which included:

- state interference in the internal affairs of unions
- negotiation procedures



Unions work out common strategy.

- the banning and detention of workers
- pension funds
- other laws affecting workers

Other meetings followed to plan the unity conference. FOSATU requested that all unions submit written opinions on the agenda's items before the meeting, and later said they would not participate in discussions on unity until there was co-operation on the shop floor. Then MACWUSA refused to participate in any talks at which FOSATU was present.

The South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), appealed to the labour movement to adopt a co-operative strategy.

Finally, plans for the unity 'summit' went ahead and all major

unions were invited. All these unions agreed to attend, perhaps because failure to do so might risk them standing outside the main current of the independent union movement.

Moreover, the constructive attitude of the participants indicated a real desire to discuss common problems which had been prevented in the past.

The unions that attended the meeting were: SAAWU; FOSATU; MACWUSA; GWU (General Workers Union); CCAWUSA (Commercial Catering & Allied Workers Union of S.A.); BMWU (Black Municipal Workers Union); CUSA (Council of Unions of S.A.); CTMU (Cape Town Municipal Workers Union); Vereeniging Aid Group; GAWU (General & Allied Workers Union); GWUSA (General Workers Union of S.A.).

Resolutions adopted by participating unions at Summit

The trade unions present at the meeting all agreed on the following statement and resolutions.

- **Resolution — Industrial Council:** The meeting rejected the present Industrial Council system as an acceptable means of collective bargaining. The meeting recommended that unions that are not members of Industrial Councils should not enter any Industrial Council and requested that participating unions refer this back to their respective unions for endorsement. The unions agreed to support each other in the event of any union resisting participation on the Industrial Council.
- **Resolution — Ciskei:** The meeting noted the severe difficulties created for workers by the homeland authorities and in particular by the current situation in the Ciskei, where union members and officials are subjected to severe harassment and constant detentions. The meeting resolved to send a delegation to Chief Minister Sebe to express our extreme displeasure at his anti-union stance, and to obtain assurances about the security of the workers after so-called Ciskeian independence.
- **Resolution — Banning and Detentions:** The meeting resolved to continue resisting banning and detention in any way possible and warned that continuation of this practice could only worsen the already deteriorating industrial relations situation.
- **Resolution — Solidarity Action:** To give effect to the resolutions at the meeting the unions resolved to establish ad hoc solidarity committees in each region. These committees would discuss and initiate solidarity action arising out of our co-operation.

The meeting also resolved to convene again by November.

What the resolutions mean for the IC System

TENSION THAT existed between the various trade unions was overcome by a drive towards conciliation at the recent labour 'summit'.

This was evident in the resolutions taken by the meeting. Common ground was established between unions previously regarded as 'moderate' such as FOSATU and CUSA, and the other unions.

Most importantly, the issue of registration took a backseat as the unions re-established their first principle of worker control over the management and internal affairs of their unions.

The resolutions (boxed) speak for themselves.

• The union movement called for registration to be nothing other than a technical measure — for example

that it simply entails the posting of a constitution and for financial records to be available to members for investigation.

Worker control of unions, free from state interference, would allow for worker unity between unions which have been divided over the issue of registration.

• The industrial council resolution significantly reflected widespread rejection of the council system. Even CUSA, FOSATU and CCAWUSA, unions which in the past had tentatively indicated acceptance of the industrial councils, agreed on the resolution. Acknowledging the reformist purpose and effect of the system and the dangers it poses to factory-based workers controlled by the system, the resolution opened the

possibility of forming a solidarity front against the industrial council system.

• The conference called for a delegation to be sent to 'Chief Minister' Sebe following the bannings and detentions by the so-called Ciskeian government of union representatives, particularly of SAAWU workers and officials.

This practical approach broke with the long-standing ultra-left position which tries to deny the existence of the bantustan's repressive state apparatus because it 'does not recognise them'.

• FOSATU suggested the setting up of local cross-union solidarity committees. This is a progressive step to genuine worker organisation based on co-operation and unity.

But such committees, which will hopefully provide solidarity between workers and officials, will take time to develop and will probably not materialise before November — the proposed date for the next session of inter-union discussions.

The summit closed with the unions accepting a proposal to meet again before November.

It would be unfortunate if the momentous achievements and the spirit of unity created at the summit were not practiced by all the unions that identified with it. For genuine union unity to develop and grow, it will take concerted effort and commitment by the unions to put this unity into practice.

Any union grouping that fails to

attend the next meeting in November would deny the enthusiasm shown towards solidarity and could risk stepping outside the independent trade union movement.

Most importantly, the success of the summit depends on the unions taking the resolutions back to their members for open discussion and getting a mandate from their workers for the next meeting.

It would after all mean little if 'unity' is no more than irregular and amicable discussions between officials.

Unity, like strength, is built on the ground and not in the air.