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# SASPU NATIONAL

A SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS PRESS UNION PUBLICATION VOLUME 4 NUMBER 3 SEPTEMBER, 1983 PRICE 20c



From all over South Africa people poured into Cape Town's Rocklands Civic Center to take part in the mass rally to launch the United Democratic Front. The speakers and patrons (seated) were surrounded by the spirited audience.

## United Democratic Front blasts off at mass rally

ON AUGUST 20 more than 12 000 South Africans converged on Cape Town to launch one of the strongest groupings South Africa has ever seen — the national United Democratic Front. Not since the Congress of the People in 1955, where 3000 delegates drew up the Freedom Charter, has there been a gathering on this scale of people opposed to apartheid. 'Now is the time!' declared Dr Alan Boesak, the man who suggested forming a united democratic front a short seven months ago.



Three of the key figures at the national launch of the United Democratic Front: (from l. to r.) Helen Joseph, who was given a standing ovation by the crowd; Archie Gumede, who was elected as one of the three UDF presidents; and Alan Boesak, whose call seven months ago for a united front against the government proposals led to the formation of the UDF.

More than 1500 delegates and observers from 400 organisations came together with thousands of supporters at the massive people's rally in the Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain. 'Our common stand is that we reject the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills in a national and representative voice of the masses,' said Frank Chikane, opening the launching. Out of the event emerged a unity of people from different clas-

ses, races, religions, and regions. Supporters from all corners of the country and from all walks of life swamped Cape Town. Unionists from the Transvaal cheered alongside community organisers from the Cape. Church people from Natal sang with activists from the Orange Free State. As one, the people at the rally re-affirmed their belief in the UDF's goal of a 'single non-racial, unfragmented South

Africa'. 'This historical occasion demonstrates for all to see that South Africa is one country,' said UDF president Archie Gumede. Under the banner of the United Democratic Front, nearly 1.5 million South Africans will actively oppose the government's constitutional and Koornhof plans. False pamphlets were spread across the land in an attempt to

stop the rally. UDF supporters were questioned by the police. But still South Africa saw its largest, best-disciplined and most organised people's meeting elect three presidents, six vice-presidents, and a national executive. With chants and songs, the gathering hailed its leaders. The state media hardly covered the event. The government refused to comment. In the white parliament a few kilometres

away, MPs argued about words. But after seven months of hard work, the UDF is now one of the most powerful political forces in South Africa today. Speaker after speaker stressed that UDF's power lay in its unity, its broad base, and its democracy. They also pointed to the hard work ahead. 'To slogans must be added sweat, labour and careful thought,' Archie Gumede told the crowd. The plan now is for regional UDF branches now to draw up proposals for a Programme of Action. The OFS and Eastern Cape interim committees are also to be fully constituted as regional UDFs. The rally's resolutions are to be taken back to local level. The UDF now faces the challenge of elections to Koornhof's new community councils and a referendum on the new parliament. If the grouping retains the level of organisation and enthusiasm shown at its launch, the government will have reason to worry.

# Sisulu and Kwadi are due in court

TWO EXECUTIVE members of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) are in jail awaiting charges under the old Suppression of Communism Act.

Albertina Sisulu and Amanda Kwadi were arrested by security police a few days before National Women's Day when they were both to address many meetings.

Albertina Sisulu is the highly respected president of the Transvaal United Democratic Front, on the executive of FSAW, and the wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu. She was to address the national UDF-launching, but will not be able to as her application for bail was refused.

Amanda Kwadi is also on the FSAW executive, and is a leading community worker.

Sisulu was charged with Thami Mali, and Kwadi with George Moilola, secretary of the Krugersdorp Residents Association, and Father Samuel Isele, a Lutheran priest. No charge sheet has been presented yet, but Sisulu and Mali are to re-appear in court on 17 October.

Albertina Sisulu's fourth banning order expired last month. Fifteen years of her banning orders were spent under house arrest. In addition she was detained during the 1960s and spent many months in solitary confinement.

Amanda Kwadi has also been detained under security laws many times. This is the first time either woman has been charged under these laws.

Kwadi and her co-accused appeared in the Krugersdorp Magistrates Court, whilst Sisulu was switched at the last minute to the Johannesburg Magistrates Court.

It is unclear when the next court appearance will be.

## Banned unionist's charges press on

JUDGEMENT IN the trial of a Port Elizabeth trade unionist charged with breaking his banning order and possessing banned literature was postponed to August 15.

Dumile Makanda, former chairperson of the Motor Assemblies and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa), allegedly contravened the order by visiting his brother in Kwazekhele on October 8 last year and was allegedly found with stickers — distributed by the ANC — bearing the names of Joe Qqabi, Solomon Mahlangu and 'People's Hero — the Silverton Three.'

Makanda's lawyer, Pius Langa, asked the magistrate to acquit Makanda because the area he was restricted to had 'no demarcated boundaries and was not legally promulgated'. The state had failed to produce a map of the townships which had been approved by the Surveyor General and, despite postponements to give the state time, the map had not been produced because this would favour Makanda, Langa told the court. On the stickers charge, Langa said Makanda shared a room with a brother who was a Fort Hare student, and a sister who was a matric pupil.

## Turf 2 get 14 years

TWO FORMER Turfloop students who have been on trial since the beginning of the year were sentenced to an effective total of 14 years imprisonment on August 12.

Peter Ramaoswane Mokaba was sentenced to six years, and Jerome Joseph Maake to seven years after they were found guilty of charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts.

Mokaba was convicted of having collected data for the ANC and promoting unity between organisations with similar aims as the ANC.



Mewa Ramgobin meets banned Winnie Mandela the day after his unbanning

# Banning orders - fifty down twelve to go

RECENTLY UNBANNED people have spoken out firmly against the government's banning policy and immediately recommitted themselves to fight against apartheid.

All banning orders automatically expired on July 1 in terms of the new Internal Security Act. The Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, rebanned 10 people, leaving about 50 free from their restrictions.

Rev. Beyers Naude, the former head of the now banned Christian Institute, was the exception, since he was the only person already banned under the new law.

The unbanned people spoke out first and foremost for those that had been rebanned.

Mr. George Sewpersadh, for example, expressed solidarity of the Natal Indian Congress for those still banned.

'Every increase in repression results in the determination of the people to lift the cause of racialism from the brow of South Africa.'

'The escalation, both in intensity and scale, of the opposition, is a clear indication that we are rapidly moving towards the creation of a united democratic South Africa, where banning orders and all forms of repres-

sion will not be tolerated,' said Sewpersadh, president of the NIC.

Mr. Mewa Ramgobin, a founder member of the NIC who had been house arrested or banned for 17 years, said he would never feel free 'as long as human beings remained unfree'.

Mr. Ramgobin told how he had received the country's first parcel bomb at the time of the 1973 Durban strikes.

'It exploded in my office while my three children were present. I nearly died, but I guess I had a hell of a lot more to do and I chose not to die.'

'Not having died, within ten days of that explosion I was served with a banishment order by security police, expelling me from Durban to the magisterial district of Inanda, where I presently live,' he said.

The others who were rebanned were Winnie Mandela, Johnny Issel, Dumile Makhanda, Maxwell Madlingozi, Florence Mkhize, Rowlie Arenstein, Mathata Tsedu, Achmed Cassiem and Immanuel Nathaniel.

Modika Tatsa, a young Sowetan who had been in police custody since 1979, was released from prison and house arrested in August.



Rebanned Beyers Naude

# Charge SP for PE shot, inquest told

THE PORT Elizabeth inquest court has been asked by counsel for the family of a youth who died three months after he was shot by a security policeman to determine whether the shooting amounted to an offence by the policeman.

Mr R J Martindale for the parents, also asked that Constable Templeton Luthi of the Port Elizabeth security police be charged with culpable homicide or assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, for the death of Mr Sonwabo 'Lolose' Michael Dlamini, 19.

Dlamini was shot by Constable Luthi at a house in Kwazekhele on June 6 last year, and died at the Livingstone Hospital on September 16 last year.

Luthi told the court that following a report, he and Captain C J Roelofse and a Sergeant B Tungata had gone to Kwazekhele to arrest Dlamini and another youth who were suspects in the burning of several schools in the townships.

He said he knew Dlamini who was pointed out to him by an informer at two separate meetings of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation.

Mr W Breytenbach, who represented the Minister of Police, submitted that there had been conflicting and contradictory versions given by witnesses for the state and those of the defence.

He submitted that Luthi's evidence was acceptable and asked the court to find he had acted in an emergency.

## W. Cape activist sentenced to 1 yr

HEADLEY KING, a prominent Western Cape activist, was sentenced to an effective twelve months imprisonment for taking part in the activities of the banned African National Congress.

The court found King had participated in the activities of the ANC by receiving documents and money, submitting reports and introducing Michael Coetzee to the ANC.

Passing sentence in a court room packed with friends and relatives Mr Burger said: 'It is not the aim of the courts to destroy a person but to show mercy.'

'His conduct should be seen in the atmosphere of youthful idealism. He is the product of the prevailing circumstances and the living conditions of other people.'

# House arrest clamp on freed Tatsa

A 28 YEAR-OLD Soweto man, Modika Tatsa, has been banned and placed under house arrest after spending three years and eight months in prison — two of these in solitary confinement.

He was first detained in December 1979, shortly after police questioned him about his best friend who was missing and was held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act for more than six months.

Tatsa was due to come to trial in July 1980 when charges against him were dropped.

'We received a telegram saying he was coming home, but we waited and he didn't come. Then I went to John Vorster Square and they told me he had been re-detained', said his father, Mr Petrus Tatsa.

While being held under Section 6 Tatsa was called to give evidence against Rafael Nkumalo and Raymond V Dluvo, who were facing charges under the Terrorism Act.

He refused to turn state witness and was given a three year sentence. The magistrate argued that his refusal to testify was as serious as committing a crime under the Terrorism Act.

Nkumalo and Dluvo were later acquitted.

On appeal, Tatsa's lawyers said, 'The sentence is startlingly inappropriate and is so severe as to induce a sense of shock'. The three year sentence was reduced to one.

Tatsa was due for release on March 22 1982 but was re-detained as he left prison.

THE VENDA government has paid out R 150 000 in an out-of-court settlement after the death in detention of Rev. Isaac Muofhe.

This is believed to be the largest settlement in a case of its kind in South Africa. It follows a claim for damages filed by Muofhe's family against the commander of Venda's National Force.

Muofhe was a leading figure in the

'We were very happy that he was coming home. I drove out to the prison to fetch him with my daughter. As we entered the prison, my daughter saw him and jumped out of the car to meet him.'

'Then we saw he was with plainclothes policemen. He looked terrible. He didn't speak. He stared

like someone in shock. Then he was in the car and they drove away', his wife said.

Now, after spending three years and eight months in prison, Tatsa has been released — only to find more restrictions on the other side of the prison cell.

## Venda pays for Muofhe death

Venda Lutheran Church and a prominent community leader. He died within 40 hours after being detained on 10th November, 1981.

The verdict aroused considerable interest since it was the first time a South African inquest court found

security policemen responsible for the death of a detainee. It also focused international attention on Venda, the little known third-born of SA's homelands.

Rolf Deffenbaugh, sent by the Lutheran World Federation to observe the trial said 'despite the findings of the Chief Magistrate of Venda in the inquest proceedings, and despite the overwhelming pathological evidence, the trial court in its judgement of acquittal breathed not a word of reproach or caution against the security policemen, nor did it express sympathy for the family of the deceased nor concern about his death.'

## Detainee shot at point blank range

PARIS MOLIFI Malatji, the 23 year-old youth who died in custody at the Protea police station on July 5 was shot at point-blank range in his forehead.

Pathologists, Dr Hillel Shapiro and Dr Dennis Kemp who conducted the post-mortem found that the muzzle of the pistol which killed Malatji must have been pressed against his

An unnamed policeman has been suspended from duty, and a departmental investigation has been ordered to establish whether standing orders on the guarding of suspects had been complied with. Police regulations stipulate that no firearms should be present during the interrogation of detainees.



12 000 people packed the national launch of the United Democratic Front

# 'We'll build unity in action'

THE UNITED Democratic Front could become the greatest and most significant movement in more than a quarter of a century, said president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Allen Boesak in a rousing address to over 12 000 people at the UDF rally in Cape Town last weekend.

'The UDF is not merely a gathering of individuals, but represents organisations deeply rooted in the struggle for justice and in the hearts of our people,' he said.

Boesak told the cheering crowd that apartheid was now faced with 'the most politically conscious generation of young people determined to struggle for a better future.'

'We are here not to beg for our rights but to claim them. We want all of our rights, we want them here and we want them now!', he said.

## Sisulu's view of the UDF

IN AN interview with SASPU NATIONAL days before her detention, Albertina Sisulu called for the unity of all oppressed South Africans under the banner of the United Democratic Front.

Sisulu, who is now in jail awaiting charges under security laws, has since been elected president of the Transvaal UDF, and together with Oscar Mpetha and Archie Gumede also president of the national UDF.

'All must unite under the UDF because it will provide a forum for all. Any differences between people can be worked out in the UDF,' she said.

'The UDF is not Charterist, but believes in a non-racial, united, free and democratic South Africa.

'What is needed is united action under the UDF.'

Sisulu called for UDF supporters to go to the masses and explain what the front was about. 'We must make people understand. We must come down to the level of the people and explain our aims and objects, so they will unite with us in action,' she said.

'All organisations in the UDF will still have their own conferences and programmes. But they must also explain the UDF to their members so that they can all be part of it.

Sisulu also called for hard work: 'We want everybody to get down and work hard for the freedom of South Africa. We cannot take these new laws sitting down.

'We might not be able to stop the government from passing these oppressive laws, but we will never stop opposing them. That is our duty,' she said.

Speaking of UDF's non-racialism, he said that people should not be judged in terms of race, but in terms of their 'faithfulness in the struggle for liberation'.

Opening the conference, Transvaal UDF vice-president Frank Chikane said that pressure from the people had caused a crisis in apartheid, and the government's Koornhof and Constitution plans were a response to this.

'All peace-loving people in South Africa in South Africa must put their hands together and walk side-by-side to fight against the government's proposals,' he said.

Archie Gumede, one of the three newly elected national UDF presidents, told the gathering the UDF was a front uniting organisations of differing viewpoints to fight the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bill.

'Our tasks today are to organise people and show them the way to freedom. To slogans must be added sweat, labour and careful thought,' he said.

He warned against rash action and adventurism, and called on UDF supporters to act conscientiously and with determination until we overcome.'

Gumede also warned against acting in isolation. 'We are all interdependent, but some organisations suffer from the sickness of believing they can act alone,' he said. The UDF was willing to link up with others not at the launching.

Another speaker, Samson Ndou of



Zopo Molefe



Terror Lekota



One of the UDF presidents Archie Gumede



Opening speaker Francis Beard

## Messages of support come from world over

Chanting and cheers greeted the messages of support for UDF read out at the front's rally in Cape Town.

Besides the messages from affiliated organisations, messages have also streamed in from all corners of the world expressing support for the aims and objectives of the UDF.

A speaker at the UDF launch also said a message of support had come from Nelson Mandela and his cellmates in Pollsmoor prison.

The South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) sent a message of support to the UDF rally. They expressed their 'active support and solidarity with the people of South Africa' and of the efforts to form a UDF in opposition to apartheid.

Swapo identified itself with the UDF because they, too are struggling against apartheid.

The Holland Committee on Southern Africa said: 'The UDF represents for us not only a challenge to the infamous constitutional reforms, but the resurgence of mass-based non-racial resistance to racial oppression and economic exploitation in South Africa.'

The Norwegian Council for South Africa - representing 21 national, political, Christian and humanitarian organisations - congratulated the UDF on its national conference, and saluted its opposition to the government's constitutional proposals.

Other messages came from the International Democratic Lawyers Association, the Danish Labour Movements Solidarity Fund, the Irish Labour Party, the Irish Congress of Trade Union, and others

the General and Allied Workers Union, said the government's new plans were part of an on-going process of domination and exploitation by one class of another, and had to be opposed.

'Changing society is the responsibility of the workers because they have the power, but the workers' struggle goes beyond the factory gates,' he said.

'All our organisations face very different tasks and problems, but they are opposing a whole system which is responsible for each and every problem.

'We need powerful, mass-based political organisations capable of waging a political struggle on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited.'

## The boycott at the Mount

STUDENTS AT Cape Town's Mountview Secondary School returned to school on August 23 after a five week boycott to win the reinstatement of expelled and suspended students, and the removal of their principal.

The decision to return to classes is provisional, depending on the Department of Education and Training's response to a motion unanimously carried at a parents meeting on Sunday August 22.

Central to the motion was the demand for the unconditional reinstatement of the four expelled students and the sixteen suspended since the boycott began.

The parents' meeting also called for the Director of Education to appoint a new committee to investigate the undesirability of Mountview's headmaster, Mr P. Snyders, and to give him compassionate leave until the investigation is completed.

It also called on the parents and school committee to support the students in their reasonable expectation that they receive the best education in an environment devoid of strife.

Although students have returned to class, they say it is still too early to tell if the boycott is over.

Support for the Mountview boycott has been widespread in Cape Town.

On August 18, a Day of Action in support of the students — the second in a week — took place in Cape Town schools.

This had even stronger participation than the first Day of Action on August 11, in which eleven schools had been involved.

Programmes included sit-ins, alternative education workshops and mass meetings. At the University of the Western Cape, 2 000 students held a day-long solidarity boycott.

Another speaker was Helen Joseph, former Federation of South African Women leader, who is listed and may not be quoted. She was introduced as 'the mother of the struggle', and given a five-minute standing ovation.

Recently unbanned President of the Natal Indian Congress, George Sewpersadh, said South Africa's history would no longer be determined by 'a few people in high places and of wealth.' It would now be determined by the masses.

Aubrey Mokoena from the Transvaal Release Mandela Committee and a member of UDF's national executive, recalled those detained, banished, on trial, imprisoned, in exile or who had died.

Cosas has called on all students to support the students at Mountview, and also at Wongalethu in Mdantsane. The organisation expressed full support 'for the demands of the students and parents for the reinstatement of the unfairly expelled.'

Cosas said it suspected that the Coloured Education Department favoured the principal's behaviour towards students. 'Whilst the problems have been an unpopular principal and the expulsions, the department's solution is deadlines and ultimatums.'

In what has been seen as a move to curb support for the Mountview students, exams at coloured schools have been brought forward. Senior certificate students at Mountview itself were warned to be at school by August 22 or be refused permission to write their finals.

**THE GENERAL** and Allied Workers Union (Gawu), which in the past received very little publicity, is making significant strides in the labour field.

The past two months have seen Gawu involved in important talks with management at four factories.

Two of these companies fall under the National Iron and Steel Industrial Council which is under the heavy sway of SEIFSA, one of the strongest employer organisations in South Africa.

At Italcrome Gawu has won several victories.

●Due to worker-union pressure management agreed to meet worker demands for adequate protective clothing.

●Italcrome refused workers a wage rise, claiming that slow sales were losing the company profits. Gawu eventually succeeded in getting the company to let the union auditors inspect its books.

●This would establish whether

# Gawu makes substantial gains in steel industry

Italcrome was indeed running at a loss, and whether it was such that a wage rise could not be effected. Gawu is now setting up a team of auditors for the investigation.

●Management has also agreed to allow some workers on written request from the union to attend union classes. This will be treated as paid education leave.

At West-Rand Engineering in Krugersdorp workers staged a one-day strike in June. They demanded:

●Recognition of Gawu by management.

●Wage rises, apart from the June-July Industrial Council rise.

●A system whereby some 'WARNING FORM' had to be signed, eg. when a worker was late or absent.

●That they be paid back their contributions to a burial fund set up for workers in the firm.

Gawu officials arrived at the factory and sought negotiations with management. When management saw that Gawu represented the majority of its workforce, it had little option but to allow the union onto its premises and start negotiations.

Management had favoured a Works Council system, but the workers rejected it and opted instead for a Gawu shop stewards commit-



Gawu General Secretary Sydney Mufamadi

tee. In the face of this, management was willing to discuss conditions of employment and also agreed to hold talks for recognition.

Gawu told management that workers were dissatisfied with the burial fund and wanted to resign from it. Agreement was reached that an equitable method of paying

workers back had to be worked out.

The 'WARNING FORM' question was set to come up again in later talks.

A stalemate was reached on the wage rise issue. But both parties left it open and resolved to look into it at subsequent meetings.

When workers learnt that management had agreed to meet Gawu they went back to work the following day.

Gawu has just won the reinstatement of a worker at Salmac Stainless Tube. This case also paved the way for further talks on working conditions and wages.

The worker, Joseph Buthelezi, went off ill and later heard that he had been fired for not reporting his illness within three days.

After two days of talks, Gawu was able to show that Buthelezi was unfairly fired, and he was re-instated unconditionally.

Gawu is now investigating workers' conditions at the firm as it feels that Buthelezi's case is just the tip of the iceberg.



Barlow workers — striking out against retrenchment

# Metal workers thrown into 'bin of poverty'

RETRENCHMENTS and low wages have led to a large number of strikes on the East Rand in the last month.

Many of these have been in the metal industry. According to the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu), which organises in that industry, such disputes must be seen in the light of the current recession.

At such a time, says the union, it is easy for a company to maintain profits by reducing its workforce. 'The company does not care about people, only about money', said Moses Maikiso of Mawu. He added it was 'not acceptable' to the union for people to be 'thrown into the dustbin of poverty.'

'It is the duty of the company to see that people are employed.' He pointed out that retrenchments were causing more suffering than ever. People in the rural areas had become more dependent on the wages of family members working in the cities because of the drought.

Retrenchments cut off this support, increasing hardship in the rural areas. Mawu believes retrenchments should be subject to negotiations between bosses and workers. If workers cannot prevent retrenchments, they should at least have a say in deciding how they should be implemented.

In many cases the workers would prefer to operate a stagger system.

One of the largest disputes on the East Rand has been at the Barlows plant in Kew.

There, 450 — 500 workers struck from June 28 to July 16 in support of a demand of a 50c an hour wage increase. Shortly afterwards, they downed tools again when 12 of their fellow workers were dismissed.

The 12 had been involved in the earlier wage dispute. Management



Victimised B & S workers still out after ten months

claimed they were 'strongly suspected of having been involved in acts of intimidation, violence and damage to fellow workers' property' during the stoppage.

According to workers, however, the 12 were not given a proper disciplinary hearing. When management began to rehire workers, Mawu entered into negotiations with management over the rehiring procedure to be followed.

The union may still take legal action over the dismissal of both the 12 workers and the other 450.

At a B & S steel furniture company in Brits, a dispute over dismissals has been underway since October 7 1982.

In June of that year, 35 percent of the workforce was organised by Mawu. There was no recognition agreement and workers were complaining of intimidation by management.

Twelve members of the elected shop stewards committee were dismissed. Management claimed the workers were retrenched, but Mawu believes the move was designed to weaken the union.

A work stoppage was called, and after negotiations the 12 were reinstated on the condition that they did not serve on any committees. But management refused to accede to Mawu's request for recognition. On October 7, management declared all those on strike were dismissed and would have to re-apply for their jobs. No reasons were given and management refused to negotiate with the shop stewards committee.

All those not unionised were re-employed, in effect 400 out of a workforce of 600. The workers have now gone to court with claims against the company of nearly R 1 million. This is the highest claim ever made in an industrial court.

The court has also been asked to declare the dismissals unfair and unlawful. According to Mawu, they constitute victimisation.

The striking workers still meet daily.

In the metal industry as a whole, about 500 000 workers have been affected by wage agreements between Mawu and Seifsa. The agreements, reached on the industry's industrial

council, provide for a 5 percent increase for highest paid and a 1 percent increase for lowest paid workers.

The Cable Manufacturers Association, included in the agreement, did not allow the union to report back to its members in that sector of the industry before signing the agreement.

One of the conditions set by Mawu before joining the Industrial Council system was that they be allowed to report back to the workers before entering into agreements.

Mawu has also asked for a R2 per hour living wage, even though this amount has been rendered inadequate by inflation. An answer to this demand is still being awaited.

The union achieved a breakthrough when Reliable Products became one of the few employers on the East Rand to recognise Mawu.

A retrenchment policy of first-in-last-out was negotiated. Redundancy pay of one week's pay for every year worked was also negotiated. The general Fosatu demand is one month for every year.

At the Krost Brothers factory an eight day work stoppage occurred after the retrenchment of 130 workers. Management met with Mawu shop stewards to discuss the dispute. But when the workers demanded reasons for retrenchments, management walked out.

1100 workers at Dunswardt Iron and Steel downed tools in protest against retrenchment. Management agreed to Mawu's demand for talks. Reinstatement could not be achieved, but management agreed to grant redundancy pay on the basis of one week's pay for every year worked.

# Clerical union strikes to ensure life and liberty

THE RIGHT of workers to choose their own union became the central issue in a three-day strike of clerical and administrative workers at Liberty Life insurance company.

The 100 workers, members of the Independent Insurance Workers of South Africa Union, struck over a wage increase. Management refused to talk to the union because it only admitted blacks, and company policy is to deal with multi-racial unions. A management spokesperson said a blacks-only union would harm the company and staff relations.

The spokesperson said Liberty Life would be willing to consider the grievances, but the workers stayed out for three days to show the managers that only the union would represent them in negotiation.

When they returned, they told the managers they would declare a dispute if their union was not recognised within a week.

Union president Joe Seoka said: 'It must be clear to Liberty Life that we are not happy with their trade union policy and the workers are prepared to flex their labour muscle if necessary.'

# Frame in new attempt to divide textile workers

WORKERS AT Consolidated Frame Cotton Corporation (CFCC) are taking employers to the industrial court, alleging that they have been 'locked out'.

The 300 workers are members of the Textile and Allied Workers Union which is an affiliate of Saawu in Durban.

The dispute arose when workers discovered their expected increases were not in their July pay packets.

Workers also say they do not receive night shift allowances, sundry allowances, that their annual bonuses have been withdrawn and that female workers who take maternity leave are fired.

The worker's committee arranged to meet CFCC management on July 18 and workers decided to down tools until then.

Management did not accept the worker's committee as representative and discussed the matter with the committee members as individual workers.

During negotiations one of the managers is alleged to have said: 'We can't give blacks more money since they are donkeys, we would rather give the Indians more as they are horses.'

# Nusas scores high at Pmb

SHOUTS OF jubilation greeted re-affiliation of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, to the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

The campus, which was last in Nusas three years ago, won a convincing victory over the right-wing anti-affiliation group.

Meanwhile, Rhodes students voted against affiliation in what has been described as 'an extremely difficult campaign.'

At Rhodes and Pietermaritzburg, Nusas was faced with an organised right-wing that was, at times, uncontrolled and frenzied in its opposition.

At Rhodes, right-wing students hung effigies of Nusas out of residence windows and chanted and sang while they were burnt.

In Pietermaritzburg, Nusas cars were vandalised, and a parcel of Nusas pamphlets freighted from Cape Town disappeared.

According to Nusas, they were faced with a well-coordinated campaign that was similar in both centres.

In Pietermaritzburg, a right-wing

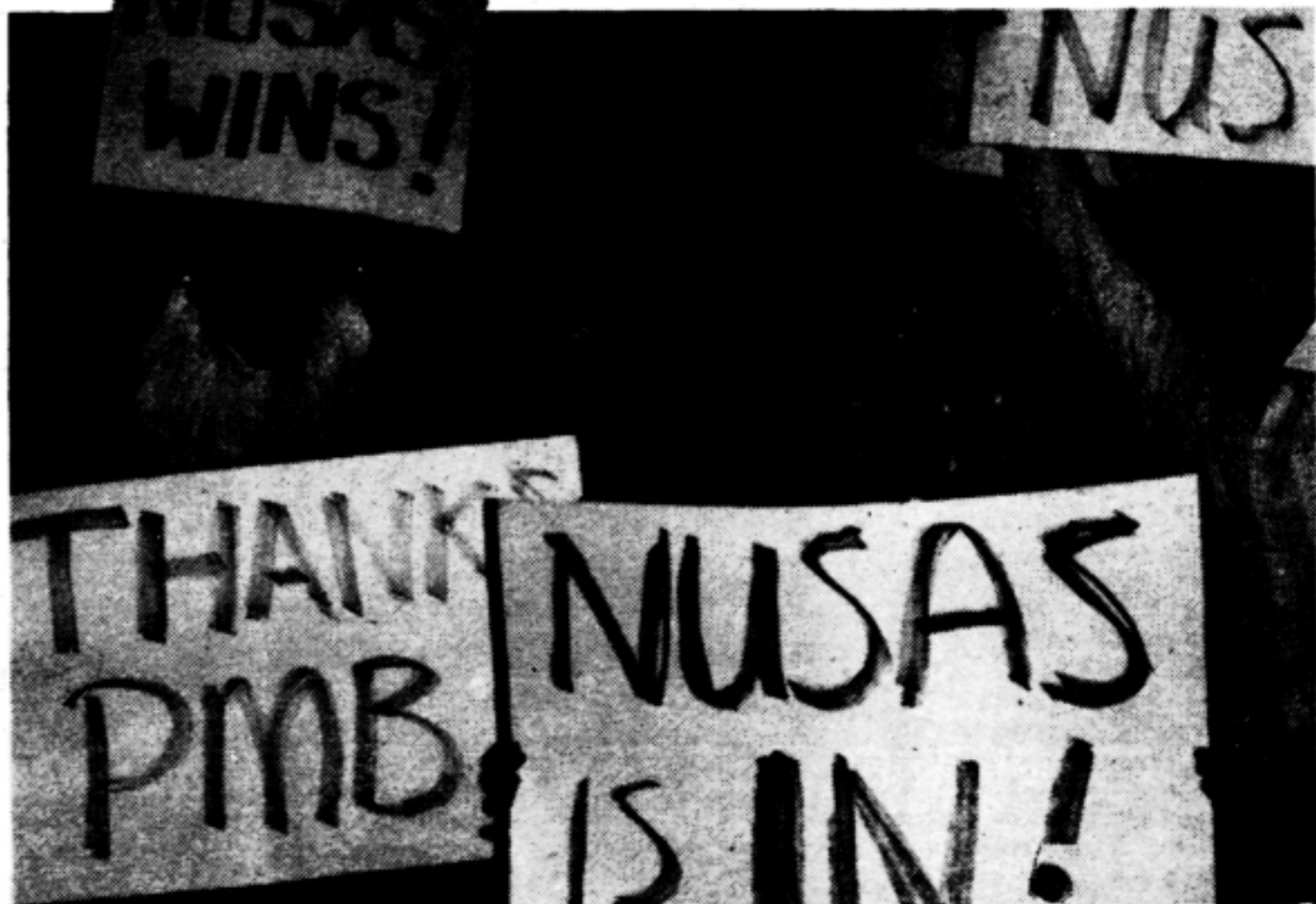
grouping set up the Student's Action Front through which vast sums of money was channelled. The SAF spent R2 000 on anti-Nusas propaganda alone, in two weeks. In one pamphlet they alleged Nusas was the missing link between Swapo, the ANC and the PLO. One SAF member said Nusas would not sue them for libel because 'it could not afford it.'

The SAF admitted to having links with Russell Crystal, a right-wing Wits student.

Despite the coordination between the right-wing groupings, Nusas won by 128 votes in a 56% poll, with only 23 spoilt papers. At Rhodes Nusas lost by 95 votes in a 69% poll, with over 100 spoilt papers.

Rhodes students said their SRC president, Sean Rankin, had betrayed them and Nusas - He had stood for election on a Nusas ticket only to lead a disaffiliation campaign.

Rankin argued that he was only opposed to the structure of Nusas. But he said 'this disaffiliation campaign is part of a nationally co-ordinated attempt to undermine Nusas and keep the pressure on them.'



Celebrations after Nusas Victory at Pietermaritzburg

## Special moments at third Azaso Congress

AZASO EMERGED from five gruelling days of reports, evaluations, criticisms, commissions, resolutions and planning with a greater sense of clarity, commitment and purpose. This was said by an exhausted Azaso member at the end of the organisation's third annual congress.

Six hundred students, representing fourteen colleges and campuses, gathered at Hanover Park in Cape Town, making this Azaso's largest congress to date.

Internal organisation, discipline, and expansion were given top priority throughout the congress. Commissions were set up to examine methods of organising students, drawing up a code of conduct, and planning the national expansion of the organisation.

In the opening address, Curtis Nkondo, recently unbanned ex-president of Azapo, congratulated Azaso for its support of the Freedom Charter. He said the Freedom Charter remained the most simple document containing the minimum demands of all South Africans.

'By all means go to your schools and colleges, but you must organise and mobilise there. Remember the doors of learning and culture are not yet open' Nkondo said.

Highlight of the congress was a



Participants in the student history panel discussion.

panel discussion on the history of the student movement. Described as an 'historic moment' in the development of the student movement, the discussion was attended by many ex-Saso members the entire Cosas executive and past presidents of Nusas.

The large crowd was addressed by 'Terror' Lekota and Diliza Mji, both ex-officials of the South African Students Organisation, Auret van Heerden, past Nusas president and Sechaba Montsitsi and Murphy Morobe, ex-members of the Soweto Students Representative Council.

Zac Yacoob, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, spoke on the 'National democratic nature of our struggle.'

He said 'a correct assessment of reality demands a change which is

not only to the benefit of the majority of South Africans but also won by all of us through commitment.

'The shared common experience of discrimination means the participants in the struggle are not the African, coloured and Indian alone, nor the businessman, worker, student or professional alone.'

The absolute exclusion of whites is unjustifiable because the democratic movement cannot reject the contribution of anyone to the process of change, he said.

A commission worked out a code of conduct for the organisation. Amy Thornton, a past member of the Congress of Democrats, recalled how discipline was exercised in the 50's.

Baba Ngoto, past national



Sechaba Montsitsi

organiser of Azaso spoke on the nature of alliances. Ngoto's paper looked at the experience of the Congress Alliance in the 50's and also the alliances within the Sandinista movement during the liberation struggle in Nicaragua.

The congress decided that the Education Charter Campaign remain Azaso's central project over the next year.

The congress ended with the election of Tiego Maseneko, president of the Wits Black Students Society as the new Azaso president. Abba Omar of the University of Durban-Westville was elected vice-president and Tsietsi Maleho from Turfloop, national organiser.

## UWC says no to new government constitution, yes to UDF

A MEETING of 4000 students at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) recently rejected the government's constitutional plans and Koornhof bills and pledged support for the United Democratic Front (UDF) and for boycotting school pupils.

The meeting followed an hour-long march around campus and came at the end of a week-long focus on the constitutional proposals.

In the audience were about 600 Moutview Senior Secondary School students who had been boycotting classes for three weeks. Pupils from other schools which had gone on a one-day boycott in support of Moutview also attended the meeting.

Prof Jakes Gerwell, dean of the Faculty of Arts at UWC told the meeting that the constitutional proposals would entrench the undemocratic nature of South Africa. 'The PC is asking us to become part of minority rule. I give my full support to democrats uniting in the UDF,' he said.

Andrew Boraine, an executive member of the Western Cape UDF and a former Nusas president, called on people to go the national launch of the UDF. 'The UDF stands for the unity of all the people of South Africa,' he said.

Saleem Badat, a member of Azaso's national executive, said the proposals had to be rejected as they were undemocratic and the people had not been consulted.

A message of support to the meeting from Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches, was read out.

The meeting also heard the reasons for the Moutview boycott from a Moutview student, and messages of support for the students were read.

At the end of the meeting, the students adopted the UDF Declaration.

The document calls for a nonracial South Africa where the people shall govern.

## Nusas looked back to see forward

THE VALUE of scientific analysis, the limits and prospects of organising specific groups of people, and the lessons of struggles elsewhere were key themes at the Nusas July Festival in Cape Town.

A wide range of activists from all parts of the country pooled experience over the week long festival.

Among the speakers were:

●Curtis Nkondo, former Azapo president, recently unbanned.

●Sechaba Montsitsi and Murpheson Morobe, former Soweto Students Representative Council leaders, recently released from Robben Island.

●Auret van Heerden, former Nusas president, released from detention last year.

●Alpheus Mtetwa, former Metal and Allied Workers Union organiser, recently unbanned.

●Graeme Bloch, former Students for Social Democracy leader, recently

unbanned.

Other speakers were Popo Molefe of the Soweto Civic Association, the Committee of Ten, and the Anti Community Councils Committee.

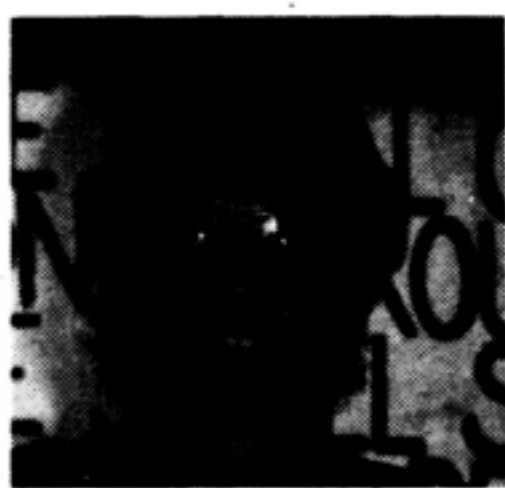
Many speakers stressed the importance of scientific analysis in informing organisations.

Auret van Heerden gave a general framework for this analysis in his talk on the democratic movement in SA.

'Class is not something 'out there', but people's behaviour in their day-to-day activities. SA's history is one of conflict and contradiction,' he said.

Van Heerden also spoke of the need to be clear about the significance of organising particular constituencies such as workers, communities, women, schools and campuses.

Organisation had to link 'first level' struggles in a constituency to other 'first level' struggles, and widen 'se-



Andrew Boraine

cond level' struggles and campaigns.

Other speakers also shared this perspective.

Popo Molefe covered the problems in linking first and second level organisation. The United Democratic Front would need to take up not only the constitutional proposals which affected coloured and Indian constituencies, he said, but also the government's new con-

trol measures against African workers.

The UDF needed flexibility to allow some of its organisations to focus on the Koornhof Bills, while others stressed the constitutional proposals. This was because the UDF campaigns had to pick up where organisation on first level issues ended.

Sechaba Montsitsi and Murpheson Morobe discussed the role of the education struggle, analysing the historical function of students and reviewing the strategies of Soweto 1976.

Graeme Bloch outlined how students were able to move beyond liberal opposition to the Quota Bill. Students had linked the issue to the Freedom Charter's call for the doors of education and culture to be opened, thereby unifying their campaign with the democratic demands of the people.

# "Women's courage unites the nation"



Greta Nkapyi of the FSAW

SOUTH AFRICAN women were urged to unite and fight back against their oppression, at a meeting held at Glynn Thomas hostel in Soweto to mark National Women's Day on August 9.

Speakers — including veteran Federation of South African Women official Greta Nkapyi, and the recently unbanned former head of the Black Students Society, David Johnson — said the law makes African women into legal minors, and that it has always been the declared aim of the authorities to give women as little education as possible to keep them docile.

This kind of attitude, speakers said, has created a gulf between men and women which is still there today. Women, they said, work two shifts: When they come home after an eight-hour day, they have to start working in the kitchen.

Greta Nkapyi told the crowd that the main difference between the mass pass march in 1956, and the situation today is that 'we were many at that time'.

She said one of the reasons for the decline in participation was the detention and imprisonment of leaders.

'But you must go on even without your leaders, even when we die, we leave you behind to carry on. If they are inside, you are outside and you must go on'.

All the speakers referred to the arrests of women leaders Albertina Sisulu, and Amanda Kwadi. Speakers said: 'We will not leave them like this, we will visit them. They will not rot in jail. We have to fetch them and all those that are in prison'. The meeting also remembered imprisoned leader, Dorothy Nyembe.

Speakers stressed the role of women as a uniting force in society. 'Women can give people the courage to participate in the struggle. They can use their influence in their traditional role with children and men to make them aware of the situation and draw them into the struggle'.



Vesta Smith, Johannesburg community leader at the Lenz meeting: 'Where is the voice of South African women?'



Nationwide people commemorated Women's Day

# Discrimination against women raises profits

THE ONLY way women could effectively fight back against discrimination was for them to take their rightful place in a united front of democratic forces opposed to the present system.

This was said by veteran trade unionist Mrs Rita Ndzanga at a National Women's Day meeting attended by about 150 people at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia on August 7.

The meeting was called by the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) to commemorate the day in 1956 when 20 000 women marched on Pretoria to protest against the extension of the pass laws to women.

Ndzanga, an official of the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu) who was among the 20 000 marchers, called on all workers to support the United Democratic Front (UDF) and demand their fair share of the country's wealth and income.

Employers tried to blame discrimination against women on women themselves, saying they were incapable of doing men's jobs or were doing jobs that were easier and therefore did not deserve as much pay.

'It is good business to discriminate against women. It is highly profitable.'

'By using women as cheap labour the bosses have a stick to wave at the men to keep them in line,' she said.

The only way to end this was for women to take their rightful place in the UDF and demand their fair share of the country's wealth.

Workers in this country could benefit from a redistribution of wealth which would bring more jobs, more opportunities and more rational use of the country's resources, she said.

Mrs Westa Smith, a Noordgesig community worker and member of the Federation of South African Women, said women in South Africa had remained silent for too long and had allowed themselves to be cowed.

For years, women had asked and pleaded with the government to change things, but this had always fallen on deaf ears.

TIC executive member Mr Cassim Saloojee issued an appeal for the democratic movement to pay attention to the active participation of women in the struggle.

'We will only achieve the non-racial, unitary state we all want if everyone is involved and women are marching alongside the men,' he said.

# UWO opposes removals

IN THE Western Cape, women belonging to the United Women's Organisation adopted 'A Place to Live' as the theme for marking National Women's Day this year.

UWO is a non-racial women's organisation with branches across the Western Cape, from Worcester and Paarl to Guguletu and Woodstock. The problems of high rents and bad housing, forced removals because of the Group Areas Act, and the ever constant threat of evictions are the concern of women.

When the Group Areas Act was introduced in the 1950's, the women campaigned against the division of people in all the major centres of South Africa — Sophiatown, Elsiesriver, Blaauwlei.

In 1982, women of the Western Cape opposed the removal of people to Nyanga Emergency Camp, their Khayalitsha or New Home.

Women are working towards a country where these problems do not fall heavily on the shoulders of women — where there shall be houses, security and comfort; where men and women share responsibility for how the country's resources are used.

These are some of the issues which were spoken about at the UWO's numerous Women's Day commemorations.

This year the organisation decided to celebrate the day differently from in the past. Before there was one central event. By having a series of

meetings, the UWO women reached more women, grassroots women and unorganised women. In this way the true meaning of National Women's Day — the unity of the women — was translated into a mass of women gathered together to discuss their problems.

# Dbn women celebrate

DURBAN CELEBRATED National Women's Day with meetings, workshops, seminars and slide-shows in different areas, and a joint mass meeting with 500 people in St Anthony's Hall.

The celebrations paid attention to the position of women in South Africa today — in the Bantustans and rural areas, in trade unions, communities and in schools. Many spoke of the need to mobilise and organise women in the movement for change.

'There will be no real freedom in South Africa until women too are free,' was the message.

For the first time since the 1960s, Gladys Manzi, long active in organising women, could share her experiences publicly. She has been

isolated by banning and sometimes house-arrest up till now.

Other speakers were Mewa Ramgobin from the Natal UDF and lawyer Victoria Mxenge, wife of slain Durban lawyer Griffiths Mxenge.

The meeting paid tribute to two late leaders. They were Lilian Ngoyi, ANC Women's League and Federation of South African Women leader in the 1950s, and Dora Tamana, prominent in the FSAW and more recently in Cape Town's United Womens Organisation.

Womens' groups also organised a cultural evening with progressive musicians, and more than 90 women organisers took part in a workshop on women in the democratic struggle.

# Women workers win maternity claim

OK BAZAARS management has been forced to substantially improve maternity benefits for its workers.

A maternity agreement has been reached as part of the general union recognition agreement signed by management and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Ccawusa).

According to the agreement, OK allows up to a year unpaid maternity leave and guarantees re-employment after that period. The company also undertakes not to employ a worker in the period from four weeks before her confinement to eight weeks afterwards.

In addition, the agreement stipulates that conditions of employ-

ment after maternity leave have to be the same as before.

The agreement follows a long battle for union recognition fought by the workers at OK. In 1975, Ccawusa started organising amongst them, and by August 1982 had a majority of members in the main shops and warehouses in the Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereeniging area.

In August workers demanded wage increases and the recognition of their union and went on strike. After the strike was settled and wage increases implemented, the union went about negotiating for recognition. Since most OK workers are women, the demand for maternity benefits has long been a priority and was included in the negotiations from the start.

Other Ccawusa workers are following this lead and maternity benefits will be included in all general union agreements. CNA has already signed an agreement allowing for a six month maternity leave period with the woman's return to work guaranteed.

These agreements go far beyond the legal provisions made for pregnant workers. In this field, SA lags far behind many other countries. The Factories Act only prohibits a woman from working one month before and two months after her confinement. The employer is not obliged to keep her job for her, and generally does not keep it longer than these months.

Some working women are entitled

to maternity benefits from the Unemployment Insurance Fund. The level of the assistance granted depends on her wage, her period of service and how much maternity leave she is taking.

According to maternity agreements being concluded, the employer is obliged to help the worker apply for these benefits.

The Health Information Centre has investigated the health of pregnant women and babies, as well as their legal rights.

It says that maternity benefits are 'so important to our children. It is time for all unions to include maternity benefits in their agreements with management.'



Women workers fight for maternity rights

**THE COMMUNITY council system in Natal has been dealt a severe blow by the resignation of prominent councillors in several townships.**

In Chesterville, Golden Sithole resigned from the Ningizimu community council in May.

A well respected member of his community, Mr Sithole is now acting principal of Lamontville High School.

He has been in close touch with the feelings of young people in the area.

'They do not want a replacement to take my place. They are adamant that the whole system must go,' he said.

This is a view shared by Ian Mkhize, who headed the Hambanathi community council.

Mkhize said there were a number of reasons for his resignation.

'Perhaps most important is the fact

# Natal Council system crumbles

that the government has consistently ignored black leadership especially on the sensitive issue of the rent hikes in Durban Townships.

'We made repeated representations to the authorities about the increases, warning that they would lead to chaos as in Sobantu, Pietermaritzburg, last year.

'We never had any reply. Even once anger, violence and death had been sparked off in the townships in response to the rent hikes, they still ignored our requests for meetings.'

'Black leaders are left with the indelible impression that they have no

standing with Dr Koornhof. They feel helpless and powerless,' he said.

Four other members of the Hambanathi council also resigned, giving similar reasons.

According to the acting chairperson of the council, Isaac Nxumalo, the mass resignation was the result of extreme dissatisfaction among residents and councillors about the real power and achievements of the council.

'We have been worried for some time because of the stooge image of the community councils,' he said.

The four letters of resignation

claimed that the major weakness of the Hambanathi council was its lack of a financial base, and increasing reliance on impoverished township dwellers for its money — a situation which they claim generated widespread friction.

All the councillors who have resigned so far over the handling of the rents issue by the Port Natal Administration Board and the Department of Co-operation and Development, have indicated that they will give their support to the Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac).

This is the body elected by the residents' associations in each township to give a lead to the community in opposing the rent increases.

The councillors who have pulled out of the council system say that they believe Jorac represents genuine black leadership democratically elected and supported.

# Durban bus bosses forced to negotiate with JCC

**AN EIGHT** month boycott by Durban commuters has forced the management of the bus service to the negotiating table.

The Joint Commuters Committee (JCC) — and Durban's mayor, Mrs Sybil Hotz — had tried repeatedly to initiate talks following an excessive fare increase in December last year.

After a recent meeting between the JCC and the Durban Corporation Management Board, a JCC spokesperson said they had been able to 'break down and corner' the corporation's managing director, N G Cuthbert, and his team, forcing them to recognise the JCC as true and democratically-elected representatives of the commuters.

A joint statement described the meeting as 'fruitful' and said the bus corporation had recognised the JCC as official representatives of the commuters, and would in future negotiate with them on transport matters.

A JCC spokesperson said later: 'Through the leadership of the JCC, commuters' organised power has been able to bend the intransigence of the bus service management in refusing to talk to the commuters' committees formed at the height of the boycott.

'This is a significant achievement for the commuters because the complaint was not only the fare increase — commuters expressed other grievances and a channel had been opened for a possible solution of these problems.

'However, there are other broad issues which will have to be clarified first and, thereafter, a proper agreement to recognise each other will have to be drawn up in a document.

'Issues still to be clarified range from receiving detailed information on how fares are worked out to allocation of subsidies and the composition and functions of the Durban Transport Management Board (DTMB) and the Consultative Committee.

Meanwhile, the boycott still rages in Lamontville and attempts by the DTMB to break it have been unsuccessful.

# Drivers, commuters join forces in PMB

**BUS DRIVERS** in Pietermaritzburg won a victory following a ten hour strike which brought two hundred and sixty buses to a halt.

The strike ended after management agreed to sit with shop stewards and investigate complaints about longer working hours resulting from a new timetable.

An organiser from the drivers' union, the Fosatu affiliated Transport and General Workers Union said 'a lack of consultation with the workers and commuters led to the strike'.

According to members of the drivers' shop steward committee, workers objected to the new timetable because they had longer breaks between shifts. This meant they arrived home late from work and saw little of their families.

After the meeting with management, the timetable was re-arranged making breaks shorter and allowing drivers to go home earlier.

The Director of Transport in Pietermaritzburg said the new timetable had been designed to cope with additional passenger demands and extensions to various routes in the city.

However drivers and commuters said the new timetable resulted in chaos on the routes, with buses running late and scores of commuters arriving late for work.



**RESIDENTS OF** Cape townships face challenges from the forced sale of houses, the government's constitutional proposals and rent increases in the next year, according to the general secretary of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, Trevor Manuel.

He was addressing the recent annual general meeting of the body, held at Ravensmead. Manuel said whether they'd be able to face the challenge was no longer a question: 'We know we will handle these challenges and emerge stronger. It cannot be otherwise.'

At the meeting Wilfred Rhodes was elected as Cahac president for the third time with Hester Benjamin as his deputy.

Rhodes told the 150 delegates: 'In struggle we learn by experience. In learning by experience we grow stronger. Your presence here today proves Cahac remains the voice of the people.'

Manuel echoed Rhodes' comments: 'We can now approach our work with a better understanding of what is expected. We are confident the mistakes of the past will not be repeated.'

# Big walk on until P.E. busfare drops

**THE PORT** Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation met last month and decided to boycott buses and walk to work in protest against increased fares.

A Pebco action committee was elected to tell the community about the boycott. Meetings throughout the township met with 'overwhelming community support,' said Pebco general-secretary Vuyisile Olifant. The 'people are ready,' he said, 'to walk until PE Tramways drops the in-

crease.'

The Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation met on July 29 and also decided to launch their own 'big walk' to protest bus fare increases.

Pebco's decision to walk came after an 8,7% fare increase at the beginning of June — despite Pebco's efforts to stop it. In May this year PE Tramways applied to the National Transport Commission for an 8,79% increase — an effective 3c per single

trip and 30c for a 10-ride tripcard. These increases do not affect pupils on any service.

The NTC also authorised an increase from R1 to R2 in the penalty fare. The penalty for using a clipcard fraudulently will be increased to R5.

Pebco representatives of the Motor and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa) and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU) met PE Tramways

management and strongly objected to the 10c surcharge on commuters travelling during peak hours without a weekly clipcard.

This effectively raises the price of a single trip from 30c to 40c during peak hours. Introduced first in 1981, PE Tramways said it was used to discourage casual travelling during peak hours.

An action committee member and president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Organisation (Peyco), Mkhusele Jack, said there was 'absolutely no justification for the surcharge' and it made job-hunting in town more difficult.

The validity of the weekly tripcard system was also disputed. Olifant said: 'When a person buys a clipcard he pays for 10 trips and then he has only 18 days to complete those trips. It should be up to the person who buys the clipcard to decide for how long he wants to use it.'

The action committee demands:

- Reversal of bus fares to what they were before the last increase.
- Immediate shelving of the surcharge.
- Abolition of expiry dates on tripcards.

Jack said the deadlock with PE Tramways meant that a boycott was the 'only communication' PE Tramways would understand.

'PE Tramways is exploiting people in the Eastern Cape terribly. There are too few buses and they are dirty. The drivers also don't care about commuters,' he said.

# Kwa Mashu clashes with Inkatha

**THE NEWLY** formed KwaMashu Housing Ad Hoc Committee (KMHC) has been fighting for months to save residents' extensions to their houses.

Earlier this year thousands of residents received notices that out-houses, built to relieve overcrowding, would be demolished.

After the ultimatum, residents formed KMHC and mandated it to negotiate with the township administration, which is run by the KwaZulu government.

When the KMHC met with the township manager, Mr van Belkum, it demanded the demolition be scrapped.

The delegation said there were, on average, two families living in every house, which forced the residents to create more space by building

shacks.

No new units have been put up since 1969 by the authorities.

When people were moved from the Umkubaan area in 1958 they were promised that the people sharing houses in KwaMashu would later be given their own houses. This never happened.

The KMHC also complained that the houses were badly maintained, and often the extensions were in better condition than the houses themselves.

Van Belkum said it was permissible to build shacks, but only according to five official plans, which would be given out free to residents.

The residents refused to accept this, and van Belkum agreed not to destroy any shacks, but threatened to prosecute any who built more

shacks.

He argued that there was no money to build new houses, as the money was being spent repairing roads. Apparently, the bus company had threatened to withdraw its busses unless the roads were fixed.

Said one KMHC member: 'They are first serving the needs of the capitalists and not the needs of the people.'

The KMHC has had difficulties, says another, in reporting back to the community since only members of the Inkatha-controlled government can call meetings.

'The KwaZulu government is like a curtain that hides the real power: The South African government', said one.

The KMHC is currently conducting house-to-house discussions on the issue.

# Democratic Unity

## Towards countrywide political organisation

TALK IS cheap, and actions speak louder than words. If meetings and seminars alone could free us, the system would long since have been buried beneath a mountain of words.

Discussion and debate are obviously essential. Without them there could be no democratic decision-making and no theory to guide our activity. But they have to be part of a process of action.

Over the last few years we have tried to break out of the mould of 'talking shop' politics to revive the traditions of democratic organisation of previous decades of struggle in South Africa. Progressive activists have organised and mobilised people in the communities, factories and schools.

Trade unions, women, student and community organisations have taken root in every corner of the country. Regional structures have been developed, and in some cases national federations too. These organisations fight specific battles on behalf of specific groups of people at a grassroots level.

Inevitably, the individual organisations have faced many common problems. And even the problems not shared with other groups have often had the same cause behind them. So individual groups have needed to forge links with other organisations in order to better face the government and the bosses.

### Forming alliances

We have seen joint action in the Fattis and Monis and the red meat boycotts, the anti-Republic Day rallies, the Free Mandela campaign, and the SAIC election boycott. But the links in these were short-lived and issue based. We still face a vacuum at the national political level.

We have not yet been able to build ongoing broad-based organisations with a scope and scale of activity wider than any one constituency. But we need such organisations to campaign on behalf not only of factory workers or residents or women or students, but on behalf of the oppressed and exploited as a whole.

By taking up issues which affect the whole range of the majority of South Africans, such organisation would touch on the true nature of our society. It would give a reference point for local struggles to draw out the underlying structures of domination.

### Broadening the base

Such organisation would be more directly political than most civic, trade union, student and women's organisations. It would wage its political campaigns on a national scale, and point opposition towards the central structures of political domination.

Such national political activity must be based on local struggles, however. It is at this level that the mass of people join organisations and deepen their understanding and their organisational skills.

The struggle for a democratic society must proceed on as many fronts as possible. It must transform the structures of oppression and exploitation as they affect people in their daily lives. At the same time it must advance the national political level. One without the other weakens both.

National political organisation must be built. Activists in local first-level organisations need to consider the contribution of their organisation to the national democratic struggle. They need to be alive to chances of uniting people around national political demands.

One step in the building of a national political organisation is when first-level organisations form alliances around issues of common concern.

Such alliances allow them to take up issues and adopt strategies which they would not normally use as individual groups. These alliances could be the bridges between first-level organisations and national political structures.

### The challenge to UDF

The founding of a national United Democratic Front to contest the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof laws is a historic event. The UDF is a broad-based alliance of democratic organisations united in their opposition to the government's 'reform' plans, and in their commitment to the principles of the UDF declaration.

The UDF can support, and where necessary, co-ordinate the actions of affiliates in opposing these measures. At the same time it can serve as a focus point for a full-scale ideological campaign against the 'reform' plans of the ruling class.

As a front (as distinct from an organisation), the UDF does not take over any of the activities of its affiliates. They keep their own programmes and specific sphere of activity. Even in the campaign against the 'reforms', each affiliate must organise in the way that best suits its members.

The role of the UDF is not to set up a centralised programme of action to which each affiliate must adhere. Rather, it is to support the programmes of the affiliates. A most important function of the UDF will be to give the context for individual affiliates to take up the specific aspects of the 'reforms' that affect their specific constituency.

This means that grassroots organisation and mobilisation against the government's new plans will be done by the affiliates. It is on the success or failure of their opposition that UDF as a loose alliance finally rests.

On August 20, thousands of South Africans gathered in Cape Town at the national launching of the UDF. Missing from their determined and energetic ranks were many of the proudest sons and daughters of this land. Two of the elected three Presidents were not present — Oscar Mpetha, who has just been refused leave to appeal against his conviction under the Terrorism Act, and Albertina Sisulu, who was detained under Security legislation and is awaiting trial under security laws.

Their absence was sorely felt, but their sacrifice and suffering only served to inspire the delegates and remind them that the people shall govern.

THE DOWNFALL of the most feared man in the Ciskei will do little to bring relief to the millions who live in this 'independent' rural slum.

The enormous powers given to Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe will now almost certainly go to his elder brother, President Lennox Sebe, in the newly formed Security Council and, despite the high drama of the events, it will do nothing to change the power structure in the Ciskei.

Those who are hoping that the detention of Charles Sebe will end harassment, detention and torture will also be disappointed as events in Mdantsane recently showed.

Political power in the Ciskei does not rest ultimately with the Sebe Brothers — although the family is well represented in the Cabinet, the Government services and the army — but with the system of chiefs and headmen.

Nominated chiefs outnumber elected members in the National Assembly by 33 to 22 and are also dominant in the Cabinet.

President Lennox Sebe acknowledged the importance of the chieftain system when he decided to make himself a chief after he ousted Chief Justice Mabandla by 26 to 24 votes as Chief Minister 10 years ago.

Since then, President Sebe, a commoner and former school inspector, has worked hard at consolidating his own power base with only a small tumble in 1975 when his seat in the National Assembly was taken away by the Supreme Court due to electoral irregularities.

He stayed on as an advisor and won a seat in a by-election later that year.

In 1978, Sebe eliminated all opposition parties leaving his Ciskei National Independence Party the only contender for power.

It was Sebe's thirst for power that made him accept Pretoria-style independence in 1981 — against the advice of the Quail Commission, which he appointed to investigate the feasibility of Ciskei independence.

The Quail commissioners documented the grinding poverty of the Ciskei.

Ciskei has the highest population density in South Africa — 130 people per square kilometre, as against 25 for South Africa as a whole.

It also has a population growth rate that is set to double every 20 years and Ciskei is a major resettlement dumping ground for the South African Government.

The Quail Commission also found that only a quarter of land in Ciskei was free of erosion and almost half of the pasturage was overgrazed even though, due to the rigidity of tribal system, only 27 000 of the 375 000 rural Ciskeians have the land rights to keep livestock.

Although nearly half of Ciskei's 2,25m people live in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, the average land holding is one hectare and the average output is R40 per year, which is not enough to feed an individual let alone a family.

With 40 percent unemployment, about 37 000 new work-seekers enter the job market every year. It is estimated that it costs R10 000 in capital investment to create just one job in Ciskei and it would cost R370 million to absorb only the new work-seekers and not even reduce unemployment.

Ciskei's entire budget prior to independence in 1981 was R98m — of which R69m was provided by South Africa. In 1978 the Gross National Product was R180 per head — of which R117 was from contract work in South

Africa.

Thus, the real power of the chiefs is their role as the allocators of land and jobs — as well as in housing, pensions and social welfare.

A quarter of the population have land rights, and this is coupled with the State policy encouraging the emergence of a small class of capitalist farmers. For the majority, except the frontier commuters the only source of employment is contract work, allocated by the chiefs. In turn, the amount of contracts a chief gets is dependent on his loyalty to the ruling party.

But despite the controls and the pressures, only 296 000 out of a population of 2,25m voted in favour of Pretoria's 'independence'.

The struggle in the Sebe family's ruling elite surfaced earlier this year when Lennox Sebe was warned at a Mdantsane meeting of the Ciskei National Independence Party of the rising power of the armed forces.

This was met by howls of protests from those present. Charles Sebe detained the man in question and vice-president Rev Xaba suggested Lennox be made President-for-Life as an indication of esteem in which he and his contribution to Ciskei were held.

Lennox became President-for-Life last month after a motion was introduced in the Ciskei National Assembly by Rev. Xaba, seconded by his trusty supporter in the Foreign Ministry, Mr B N Pityi.

Xaba said in support of the motion that it was a demonstration of the high esteem in which the people of the Ciskei see him and to 'secure the interests of the Republic of Ciskei'. With the recent turn of events, he has now got a military base to forge the continuation of his life-rule.

How Lennox Sebe will retain control, given the volatile nature of Banana Republic-style politics, remains to be seen as does the real power Charles Sebe had in the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (CCIS) and the Army.

Charles Sebe built up the fearful powers of arrest and interrogation of the security forces after his appointment as the head of the CCIS in 1978.

Besides his wide powers of arrest, he could prohibit organisations or publications, order investigations and determine effects of prohibitions. He was empowered by notice in the Government Gazette to prohibit any organisation or publication which was a danger to national or public safety.

These powers made him the most feared man in the Ciskei. In most countries, these powers are vested in a minister of state and not a police officer.

He also had a permanent non-voting seat in the Ciskei Cabinet.

But ultimately it was not his wide-ranging powers that made Sebe such a fearful figure.

It was rather the ardour and the zeal in which he did his job.

He personally supervised large scale raids through Mdantsane. He was a regular state witness in political trials.

And perhaps his role was most clearly brought out by the numerous defendants who told magistrates in political trials while contesting the 'statements' they made in detention, of interrogation sessions by General Sebe himself.

**"Lennox ain't heavy ... he's my brother"**



Lennox Sebe — 'life president' of Ciskei



**S**OUTH AFRICA'S commercial newspapers are a dull bunch at the best of times.

At the bottom end of the scale they are dominated by sex, drugs and soccer. Those trying to be more serious write on Reagan, Thatcher and Princess Di. Either way, they have an amazing ability to avoid or gloss over the key issues at home.

Some of these gaps are caused by the conventional western definition of news which gives a higher priority to death and disaster than to the day-to-day problems of the working people. But this does not fully explain what is left uncovered.

Some of these omissions are so glaring as to suggest that there is a deliberate attempt by editors, sub-editors and journalists to conceal or ignore events and processes which touch on the exposed nerves of South African society.

Even so, no-one in South Africa today can ignore what is happening here. Over the last few weeks our newspapers have been overflowing with news of riots, demonstrations, marches, boycotts, strikes, mass meetings, trials and detentions. The issues are roughly the same, but the actions have spread to every corner of SA.

Cape Town in the South, Nelspruit in the East, Lamontville and Chesterville in Natal, Mdantsane in the Eastern Cape, Turfloop near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal, Huhudi in the Northern Cape, Sobantu in Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria and Johannesburg. All these areas are in turmoil.

School students have been boycotting schools, commuters have been boycotting buses, residents are refusing to pay rents, workers are striking for higher wages and in protest against victimisation and retrenchment.

The reaction of the system has been predictable. Sebe's police have opened fire on unarmed commuters. Elsewhere, residents' protest meetings have been teargassed. Police have been patrolling communities and even MPs have been concerned to collect evidence of alleged police brutality.

On the eve of a week-long series of events to commemorate National Women's Day two prominent leaders of the Women's Federation were detained and charged. One of them — Albertina Sisulu — is the President of the United Democratic Front in the Transvaal.

**T**he courts, too, are doing their bit to maintain law and order. The going-rate in the Transvaal for listening to taped speeches by African National Congress president Oliver Tambo can be four to five years. Wearing a black, green and gold coloured T-shirt may get you eight years if recent decisions are anything to go by.

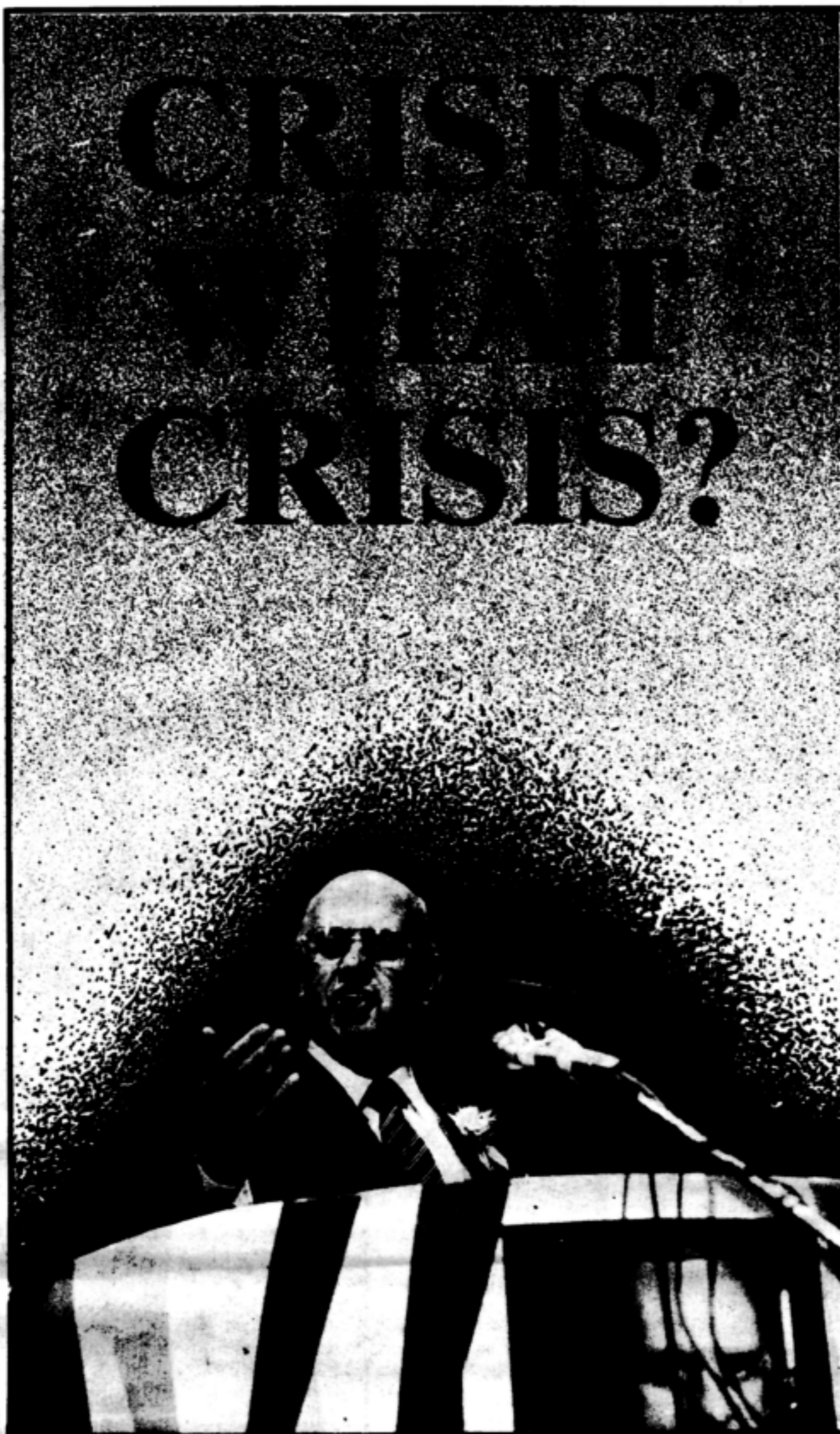
And while the country smoulders, the Nationalist Party continues to make laws to tighten controls over the African working class. The Local Authorities Act gives the financial burden of maintaining African townships to the local authorities — re-vamped community councils. This means an even greater financial load on the residents.

Influx control laws are being tightened up, access to housing is becoming more difficult and resettlement of people into the poverty-stricken rural areas is increasing daily.

The picture is a grim one and it is there for all to see.

Yet, Alan Paton, for years regarded as a liberal campaigner against injustice, has come out in support of the government's reform initiatives. Harry Oppenheimer believes the new constitution is a step in the right direction. The Labour Party claims it can serve the cause of liberation by joining forces with the Nationalist Party.

But next to such confusing responses is a recent comment by the darling of the reformists, Dr Koornhof. Commenting



**WE FIND OURSELVES IN A COUNTRY FOUNDED ON CONFLICT AND CONTINUAL CRISIS. EVERY ATTEMPT BY THE RULERS TO CONTROL THE CONFLICTS JUST ADDS TO THE UNDERLYING PROBLEM AGAINST WHICH DEMOCRATS ARE STRUGGLING**

on the need for stricter influx control, he told parliament that 'methods that worked well in the past are no longer effective.'

Koornhof's comment clearly exposes his party's strategy which is essentially not one of reform. Rather, it is a strategy to change and adapt the controls over black people in order to ensure the status quo continues.

Everyone can see what the working class is challenging: squalid conditions in the townships, overcrowding in houses, high rents and transport costs, gutter education, harassment by police and admin board officials, — all this coupled with low wages, high food costs, rising unemployment and an almost complete lack of political rights.

All of these are not only sources of conflict but also a situation of structural violence. While the police look for agitators or reds under the bed, any honest assessment points to the fact that the turmoil we are seeing is inevitable.

The conflicts which dominate our newspaper pages and threaten the 'South African way of life' have been built into the system from the earliest days of white settlement and conquest and the development of capitalist mining, farming and agriculture.

We find ourselves today in a country founded on conflict and contradiction.

There are continual crises over land, labour, housing and social services, education and political rights.

The ruling classes have always relied on a set of repressive social and political controls to try to keep the conflicts in check. But these controls can never solve the problem. Antagonistic relations between capital and labour, black and white, urban and rural people, and even women and men, can only be maintained through coercion and force.

In this sense, every response by the rulers to the problems of keeping control just adds to the underlying problem. They can never have a perfect and peaceful solution because their system itself needs to control and oppress.

**K**oornhof and fellows are caught in a contradiction. First their system took away the land to force Africans into the towns to find work. At that time there were too many jobs and too few people to do them cheaply. Now we have more people looking for work than there are jobs. So the system is now trying to push people out of the towns so that only employed people remain.

Those that go to the Bantustans cannot survive because there is no land to grow food. Those that stay in the towns are more tightly controlled and face the

threat of expulsion.

In the face of this, Koornhof's plans to tighten the pass laws cannot solve the contradiction. For that, fundamental change is needed. But instead the Nationalist Party produces piecemeal laws to patch up their system here and there.

Despite their propaganda, they have no total strategy. There is no total strategy possible for them.

However, this does not mean they will not keep their conflict-ridden system on the road.

The existence of major structural contradictions in South Africa and the conflict that comes from them do not automatically change the system. The process is more complicated.

The South African system generates conflict because the oppression that comes from its contradictions is felt daily by black South Africans. In this way these contradictions give rise to issues around which people organise, mobilise and are educated on an ongoing basis.

**B**ut often the contradictions underlying the issues are not clearly visible. Only organisation can make the contradictions visible and reveal the structure of society and its fundamental antagonisms.

Not all issues have the same potential however, and neither do all sites of organisation. For this reason, contradictions may surface in some areas and not others. The most effective challenge to the structure of society is where the most intense contradictions are brought together with powerful organisation.

Reaching this point requires that contradictions and struggles in one site are linked to those of others. Many of the underlying contradictions are common to several sites of organisation. To most effectively take these on, demands that position be broadened.

To do this, organisations have to focus on contradictions as they affect — in many forms — all exploited people, and not just isolated groups of factory workers, students, women or residents.

In South Africa there has been a vacuum at this national political level ever since the massive clampdown in the early 1960s and late 1970s. The need now is for such political organisation to be built — and from the ground up with different first-level organisations uniting around common problems and joint demands.

These common problems would, by definition, be the larger problems linked to the deeper contradictions of South Africa. This widens the scope of first-level organisations.

**F**or example, a nationally organised trade union has more scope and potential than a locally organised one. If that national trade union affiliated to trade union federation, its horizon and potential would again be extended. And if that federation were to join with other groupings in a national political organisation, its scope would be extended one more step.

At this level, not only would a trade union link up with other organisations engaged in the same first-level opposition, but also with other sites of opposition. By taking up issues common to all its affiliates, the national political organisation could focus on contradictions which go beyond a single site of opposition.

By coming together at a national political level, organisations can begin to challenge the fundamental structure of a contradiction-ridden society. Through that challenge, they could build an understanding of the contradictions and educate their people about the antagonisms facing them.

This month saw the launching of the United Democratic Front on a national basis. The need for such an input has never been greater. It is an alliance, not a national political organisation. But it is a vital first step for all democratic people.

Why did Nusas fight two referenda this term?

Nusas is structured as a confederation of SRC's. SRC's affiliate to Nusas if we have majority support from students. This is established through referenda on the campuses.

Referendums are only held if support for Nusas is in question. At Rhodes anti-Nusas students called the Referendum hoping to disaffiliate from Nusas.

Why did Nusas fight at Rhodes?

Nusas has fought closely contested referenda at Rhodes in the last 7 years. When we finally won it was by a slim 68 votes.

Quite simply, Rhodes is a conservative campus. Added to this, the SRC president, Shaun Rankin, who stood for election on a Nusas ticket betrayed us by leading the disaffiliation campaign.

Why did he do this?

He never gave any reasons to Nusas. It is interesting however, that in an interview he said the disaffiliation campaign was part of a co-ordinated attempt to undermine Nusas nationally.

Do you feel there is such a campaign?

At some levels yes. I'd see the Campus News smear pamphlet distributed earlier this year in which Nusas was supposedly recruiting for Umkhonto We Sizwe as the first aspect of such an attempt. It is also interesting that in both Maritzburg and Rhodes the anti-Nusas group tried to argue that they weren't opposed to Nusas policy — only to the Nusas structure. However, at Maritzburg they blew their apolitical cover very quickly.

Firstly, with a pamphlet entitled 'The Chain of Terrorism' which argued Nusas was the 'missing link' between the ANC, the PLO and Swapo, and secondly, when a committee member said she was anti-Nusas because she did not want blacks on campus.

It is nevertheless interesting that

that Russel Crystal of the Wits SMA offered to help them with financial contacts. Furthermore on voting day they offered free beers to anyone who voted 'No' to Nusas.

Were there any forms of right-wing violence against Nusas supporters during the campaign?

A Nusas supporter was assaulted for talking about Nusas in the residence dining hall at Rhodes and there were also incidents of students hanging effigies out of residents' windows and then burning them. At least one of these had Nusas stickers stuck on it. The ritual was accompanied by chanting and dancing.

In Pietermaritzburg three Nusas supporters had their cars vandalised. A woman on the Nusas committee was followed and harrassed late at night by a man claiming to be a policeman and a parcel of Nusas pamphlets expressing support from such people as Archbishop Hurley, Helen Joseph, Beyers Naude and Dr van Zyl Slabbert simply 'disappeared' from the SAA flight it was freighted on.

What did Nusas learn from the referendums?

Canvassing door-to-door in student residences and digs certainly put us face-to-face with our campus base. We realised that the emphasis in Nusas over the past few years on building strong student representation in the University and on organising students around issues affecting day-to-day aspects of their education is a vital complement to the political role played by Nusas on the campuses. The referenda also brought home to us very forcibly a key feature of Nusas — organising on the white campuses is a particularly uphill battle because Apartheid is in fact very directly in the interests of our constituency and we have to mobilise and organise them to relinquish their interests as white South Africans benefitting from Apartheid and commit themselves instead to contributing to change as South African democrats. Unlike most democratic organisations we are actually organising our members

## Nusas confronts the right-wing



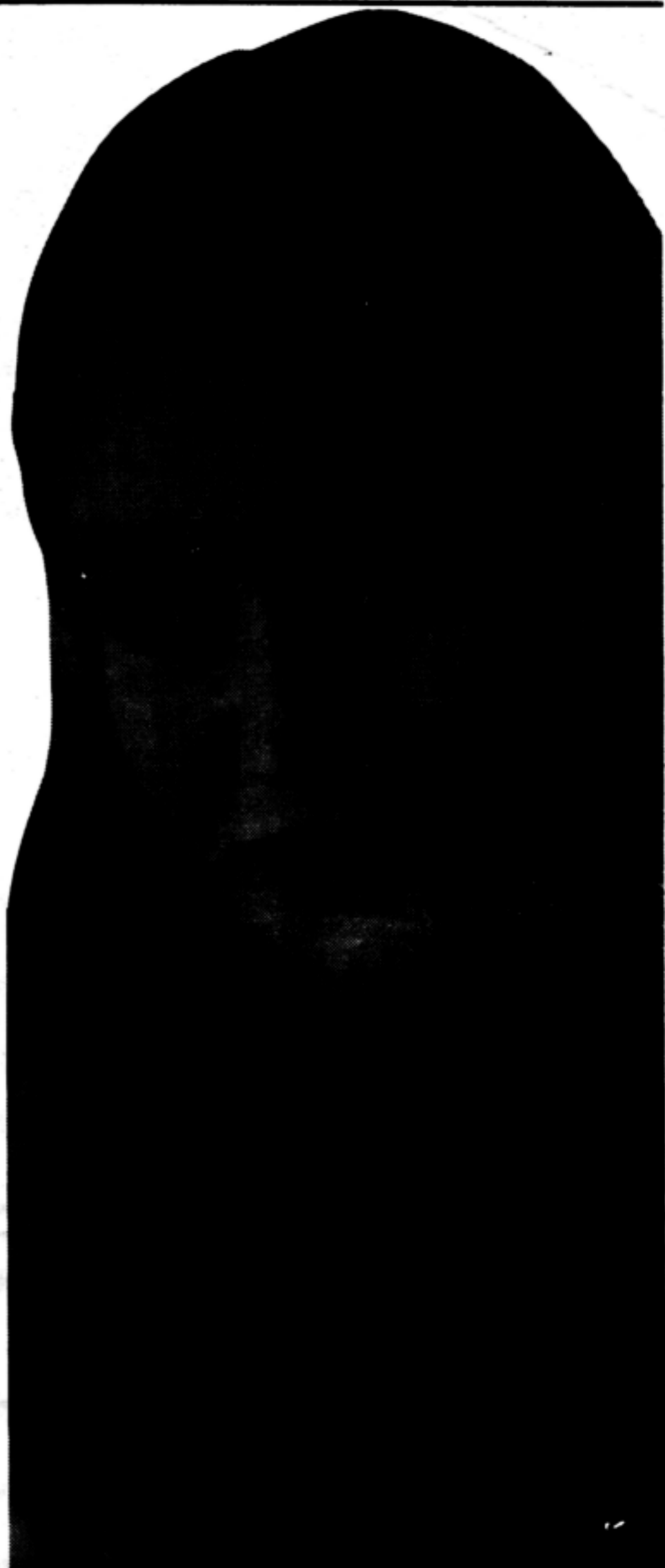
Nusas president Kate Philip talks to SASPU NATIONAL about the mysterious emergence of organised right wing groups on the campuses.



the argument against the Nusas structure actually originated in the Broederbond (see the 'Super Afrikaners') as a way for the right-wing to attack Nusas without exposing their real political motives. This attack on Nusas structures rather than on our Anti-Apartheid stance was also used in the nationwide anti-Nusas campaign in 1977. It was later exposed in the Info scandal that these were initiated and funded by the Information Department. The source of the Pietermaritzburg groups' finances were a big question mark hanging over the recent campaign.

Why?

Well, they spent over R2000 on anti-Nusas propaganda in two weeks. Their pamphlets were remarkably similar in format to the UDF smear pamphlet and the pamphlets of the Wits SMA — which is known to get Nat funds. We also have evidence



Kate Philip, Nusas president: 'The argument against Nusas started in the broederbond'

against their objective material interests at this level. Finally I would like to say that we owe a particular debt to Azaso

members on both campuses for standing by us and extending their solidarity during our battles against the right-wing.

THE RECENT Azaso Congress once again saw students focussing on the campaign for an Education Charter.

This campaign had been initiated by AZASO and COSAS during 1982. A special commission was set up to review the progress made in this important project.

It was initially proposed at the second Azaso congress, held in July 1982, that the Education Charter campaign collect the demands of the oppressed in the sphere of education. The 2nd congress felt that Azaso and Cosas should take the initiative in launching a nation-wide campaign for the drawing up of an Education Charter.

Students agreed that the Education Charter that will eventually be drawn up should contain the short-term, medium-term and long-term demands of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa.

The Charter should take its inspiration from the clause of the Freedom Charter which states 'The doors of learning and culture shall be opened'.

It could serve as a beacon to students struggling for a single non-racial and democratic education system within a united and democratic South Africa.

## Azaso and Cosas inspire Education Charter campaign

'Rather than being the product of a handful of intellectuals, it should bring forward the demands of all student struggles, past and present. It would thus include the demands of the 1953 campaign against Bantu Education, 1976 student revolt, 1980 schools boycott as well as demonstrations against Quota Bill and age limits', said an Azaso spokesperson.

The 1982 Congress defined education in the broadest sense to include pre-school education and adult education. The Education Charter will not be the product of students alone.

Workers, women, youth and church organisations will be involved in the process of drawing up the Charter.

Using these guidelines, the National Executive Committees of Azaso and Cosas came up with a more concrete

direction for the campaign. It was divided into 5 phases:

- The initiation phase would involve consultation with other progressive organisations about the Education Charter.
- Local committees would be formed to co-ordinate the campaign and to hold workshops, seminars and conferences on education.
- Regional committees would be formed to co-ordinate and popularise the Charter campaign.
- A National Conference would then be called to be attended by delegates and observers from the regional committees. A National Education Charter Committee would be elected at this conference to collect the demands for the Education Charter and to supervise the drafting of the document.
- A National Adoption conference

tended by progressive organisations from all fronts will adopt the Education Charter.

This format was accepted and ratified by a joint council meeting of Azaso and Cosas held in December 1982.

The scale of the campaign is vast. Large areas of South Africa, especially rural areas, are unorganised and thus require special attention. Furthermore, 1983 is likely to be a difficult year. Workers are facing unemployment, retrenchment and severe attacks from the state in the forms of the Koornhof bills. Trade unions and other progressive organisations are involved in the struggle against the Presidents Council proposals and the Bills.

Therefore, in the near future, the campaign will be limited to students. Azaso and Cosas branches are being encouraged to form Education Charter committees and to hold seminars and workshops on education.

Despite slow progress during early 1983, Azaso and Cosas agreed to a National Focus Week on Bantu Education.

The focus week ended with nationwide mass meetings on June 16

where the idea of an Education Charter was introduced to students.

● Thousands of pamphlets, stickers and posters ensured the focus week was a success.

● In Durban over a thousand students attended a June 16 meeting held at Howard College.

● In Cape Town some 400 people attended a meeting held in Bonteheuwel, and another 800 attended a memorial meeting in Guguletu.

● June 16 was also commemorated at Mogosuthu Technikon and Turfloop, Wits and Ngoya universities.

The 1983 Azaso Congress, held in July this year, passed a resolution on the Education Charter stating:

1) that regional councils of Azaso assume responsibility for the creation of Education Charter committees within all branches,

2) that an intensive national campaign be launched later in the year to popularise the concept of the Education Charter of the people,

3) that there be a portfolio for a national projects officer on the National Executive whose responsibility would be to co-ordinate all national projects and make resources available.

# Soweto youth on the move

THE SOWETO Youth Congress (Soyco) formed to mobilise a broad range of youth to play a part in opposition, was launched at a spirited all-day meeting at the Dube YWCA in Soweto recently.

Soyco is open to anyone in Soweto under the age of 38 and is linked to a number of other youth congresses in different parts of the country.

These include the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco), and others in Alexandra and Pretoria which are planning to link up into a national youth congress in the near future.

Soyco leaders have said that they expect the organisation to endorse the Freedom Charter and join the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The launching meeting was addressed by a number of people recently unbanned or released from prison.

The highlight was the arrival of Oscar Mpetha, the 81-year-old stalwart of Cape Town organisation and opposition. Carried onto the stage in a wheelchair, Mpetha was given a warm welcome by the crowd of about 300 people who leapt to their feet and sang and chanted praise to him for at least 15 minutes.

Mpetha was recently released on R1 bail after being found guilty of terrorism and sentenced to five years jail. In sentencing him, Mr Justice Williamson said that he felt compelled to impose the mandatory minimum sentence based on his interpretation of the Terrorism Act.

He added that if he had a discretion in the matter he would have suspended sentence entirely. He granted Mpetha leave to appeal as he considered that a higher court might interpret the Act differently.

Cape President of the UDF and former general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union, Mpetha has already served a 10-year sentence on Robben Island.

'I made a vow to myself that whatever they do to me is immaterial. I will not die before I see freedom,' he said.

He also said that he and the 18 others sentenced with him had held extensive discussions about the future of South Africa while they were awaiting trial.

They had decided that the key to success lay in organisation of the youth. History had shown that there would be no freedom without the youth being properly organised and encouraged to play their rightful role, he said.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairperson of



Singing Nkosi Sikeleli at Soweto Youth Congress launch

the Soweto Civic Association opened the meeting and traced the history of the ANC Youth League.

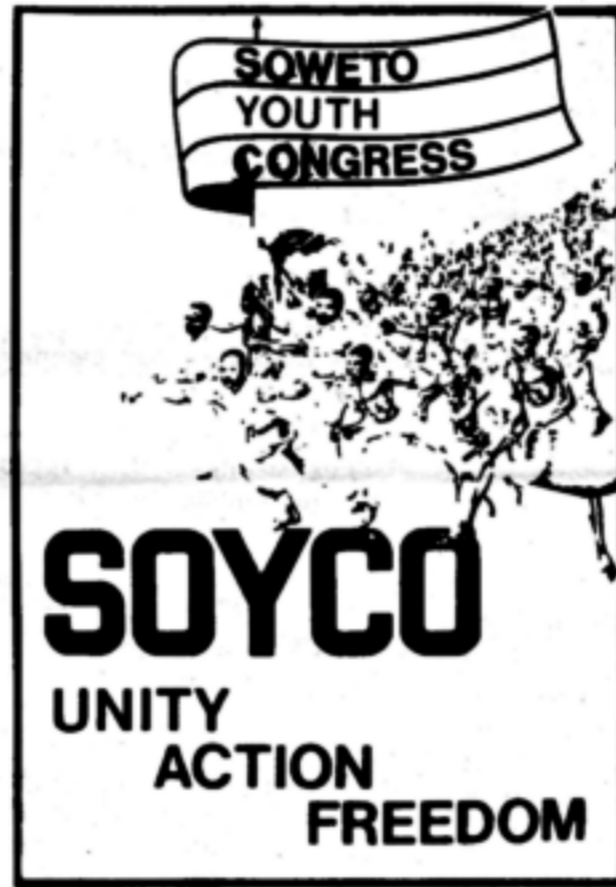
Motlana described it as 'the laboratory in which our leaders were made', and urged people to learn from their experiences.

They had divided — leading to the formation of the PAC over minor ideological disputes. Such disputes should not be allowed to cause splits, he said.

Motlana said the young people are a crucial element of the struggle against apartheid. They would need the 'guidance and experience of the time-tested stalwarts.'

Dan Montsitsi, former president of the Soweto Students Representative Council who was recently released after spending four years on Robben Island, was elected to the executive of Soyco.

Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa, the recently unbanned general secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, said Soyco would only succeed if it mobilised the youth into a democratic structure. He called on the organisation to show vigilance, commitment and dedication, and to conduct the struggle for freedom in 'a professional and scientific way'.



Albertina Sisulu, leader of the South African Federation of Women and wife of the jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, spoke. She said the youth organisation guided by the Freedom Charter would give

political clarity to young people.

The meeting was also addressed by Archie Gumede, president of the UDF in Natal, Cassim Saloojee, of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and Zinzi Mandela.



UDF President Archie Gumede



UDF President Oscar Mpetha

## Music to the Cape youth ears

OVER A thousand young people from all over the Western Cape gathered at Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain at a youth festival recently. To the strains of Basil Coetzee, they danced around the hall carrying UDF banners and chanting UDF slogans.

The festival, organised by Cayco, Azaso, Cosas, Nusas and Inter-Church Youth, had a wide and varied programme.

The Moravian Church Brass Band from Genadendal blew their way into the hearts of hundreds of young people with their renditions of the Internationale and the national anthem. Other artists were Basil Coetzee, Jessica Sherman, Trevor Sancer and Polenta, and Vicky Simpson.

Cayco Drama group put on a play that explained the PC proposals and contrasted them to the demands of the Freedom Charter.

Closing the festival, a Cayco speaker called on the youth to join the campaign around the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills. 'This is one of the ways that we can repay our communities for what they have given us.'

## Pretoria youth launch Sayo

NEARLY ONE hundred young men and women attended a meeting to form the Saulsville-Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo).

The meeting last month at the Anglican church in Saulsville adopted a constitution and unanimously elected an eight-person executive.

After a paper on the role of the youth, Deacon Mathe was unanimously elected president of Sayo.

He said after the meeting: 'Sayo pledges to grow side by side with other youth organisations nationally so as to emerge with one national youth organisation which will enable the youth to participate in the non-racial democratic struggle.'

## Peyco: moving from strength to strength

THE PORT Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) has moved from strength to strength since its inaugural meeting in June this year.

Peyco was launched by over 800 youth group members and residents. It was formed to:

- establish good relationships between youth and parents;
- create a spirit of trust, responsibility, understanding and creative companionship between the youth;
- directly involve the youth in community projects;
- instill a spirit of hope and self determination in disillusioned youth;
- encourage youth to complete their academic studies; and
- become practically involved in projects contributing towards the improvement of Peyco members.

Mkhuseli Jack, Peyco president, says it is necessary for the youth to participate actively in organisations which are part of the broad democratic movement.

He stresses the need for unity amongst the youth and speaks of the benefits national contact could bring.

At the launch in June the approach of the organisation was clear.



Cosas organising secretary — 'Youth must unite to change an unjust society'

secretary of the Congress of South African Students, spoke of the special qualities of the youth. 'The youth have a special motivation to act to change an unjust society and the courage and determination required to build a new order', he said.

Curtis Nkondo, ex-president of Azapo, said 'Workers, parents and youth should establish dialogue to solve common problems. The slogan 'An injury to one is an injury to all'

should not be restricted to the workplace.'

Speaker after speaker stressed the lack of rights of workers in South Africa and emphasised the role the youth had to play as the present and future workers of South Africa.

The Peyco executive is optimistic about the role of Peyco, and has already noted the increasing membership and strength of their organisation.



Peyco President Mkhuseli Jack: the youth must be active in the democratic movement.

# 1 500 000 PEOPLE S NOW IS THE TIME

BEHIND ONE OF the most representative gatherings ever held in South Africa — UDF's national launch in Cape Town — are months of disciplined, considered and highly organised action.

It is only seven months since Dr Allen Boesak told the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee: 'There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not unite in the struggle for a non-racial democratic and unitary South Africa, pool their resources and inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name.'

## Cape Town conference organised, disciplined

THE UDF is clearly serious when it says in its newsletter 'the hour for unity and organisation has come.'

The well-organised build-up to the launching day saw a 24-hour telephone link for information, several well-organised press conferences, and the door-to-door distribution of hundreds of thousands of national and regional newsletters and pamphlets.

A massive publicity campaign added to the excitement building up to the launch. A UDF national newsletter issued a rallying call to the national launching. With three editions covering five languages, UDF had enough copies for nearly one in every 50 South Africans.

Regional UDF newsletters and pamphlets went out in their thousands. Stickers and posters bearing the UDF slogan were pasted up nationwide.

A 1000 strong youth festival in Rocklands before the launch was held under the theme of the UDF slogan, 'UDF unites — Apartheid divides'.

Meetings organised before the launch swelled popular support for the UDF. A meeting in Nyanga attracted 700 people, and one in the white area of Observatory, about 350.

The meetings attacked the government's new plans with an eye on future campaigns around elections and referenda. The Labour Party was accused of 'furthering the aims of apartheid,' and the November Community Council elections in Cape Town were to be boycotted.

A special edition of UDF News for distribution to mosques carried messages from Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed and Sheikh Gamiet Gabier, respectively president and chairperson of the Moslem Judicial Council. The pamphlet coincided with a call in mosques throughout the Peninsula for people to support the UDF rally.

In the short time since then, the United Democratic Front has been launched on a national basis by bringing together nearly 400 organisations that represent more than 1,5 million people.

The UDF had planned for 5000 people to come to Cape Town's Rocklands Civic Centre for the founding of the national coalition. But a wave of more than 12 000 delegates, observers and supporters rallied to the launching call.

Seventeen buses, each with almost 70 people, brought supporters from all over the country. Many cars and minibuses also came, and at least 500 queued bumper to bumper outside the venue.

The challenge was met by UDF organisers, and the gathering was one of the most successful ever held in South Africa.

The UDF leadership's task was made easier by the level of discipline among those who attended. Impatient individuals who began hammering on the building's glass doors were quickly brought under control by the crowd.

But the success of the rally was still largely due to the sophisticated organisation and planning that went into it.

More than 200 UDF marshalls, some with walkie-talkies, patrolled the Rocklands Civic Centre to ensure safety and order. A first-aid centre was also set up.

3000 people packed a huge tent that had been put up next to the Civic Centre. Two large video screens inside it showed the proceedings taking place

5000 were expected. 12000 arrived...because history was



inside the hall. Microphones boomed out the speeches to those who could not squeeze into the hall or tent.

Food was prepared for the 1500 delegates and observers at the conference that took place before the rally. Thousands of sandwiches were made for the returning buses. Accommodation was found for all who came.

'The UDF has developed a reputation for efficiency,' noted one commercial newspaper.

The achievements of the UDF bear out its strength as a coalition of pre-existing organisations. The skills and organisational experience of its affiliates guarantee that the UDF gets its job done.

Because the UDF has such a strong base, it is an over-statement to say, as one commercial newspaper did, that the arrest of a UDF leader, Albertina Sisulu, now a UDF President, 'dealt a major blow' to the front.

But it remains the case that UDF supporters have been harassed, and the front come up against the police and the State.

Albertina Sisulu is presently in jail facing political charges. Her fellow-president, Oscar Mpetha, has been refused permission to appeal against his Terrorism Act conviction, and may face five years in jail.

UDF supporters in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal, have been questioned for distributing the UDF newsletter. People putting up posters have been arrested. In Cape Town 40 000 copies of the newsletter were seized by the

police. These were later released as the Western Cape UDF was preparing a court action against the seizure.

Two UDF officials were fined R50 for broadcasting from a van, and another fifteen supporters in Cape Town were briefly held for questioning about handing out pamphlets advertising the rally.

Organisers alleged that delegates heading to Cape Town had been intimidated. Only 40 out of an expected 150 from Bloemfontein decided to come. Police press officer, Lt-Col C Coetzee said he was not prepared to investigate allegations unless charges were laid.

In the Eastern Cape, delegates were unable to hire buses after Ciskei police threatened to confiscate the licences of the operators.

UDF leaders told the rally of reported threats by the police to take action against supporters outside the tent and building. Every year since 1976, the government has made it illegal to hold political meetings outdoors without a magistrate's permission.

Police kept a low profile outside the hall, but were reported in the commercial press as taking down registration numbers of buses and cars in the area. Two were in a car with Transkei



Scenes from the UDF launch. Bottom: Helen Joseph receives a standing ovation. Middle: Archie Gumede gives his presidential address. Top: Part of the 12 000 strong crowd at the mass rally.

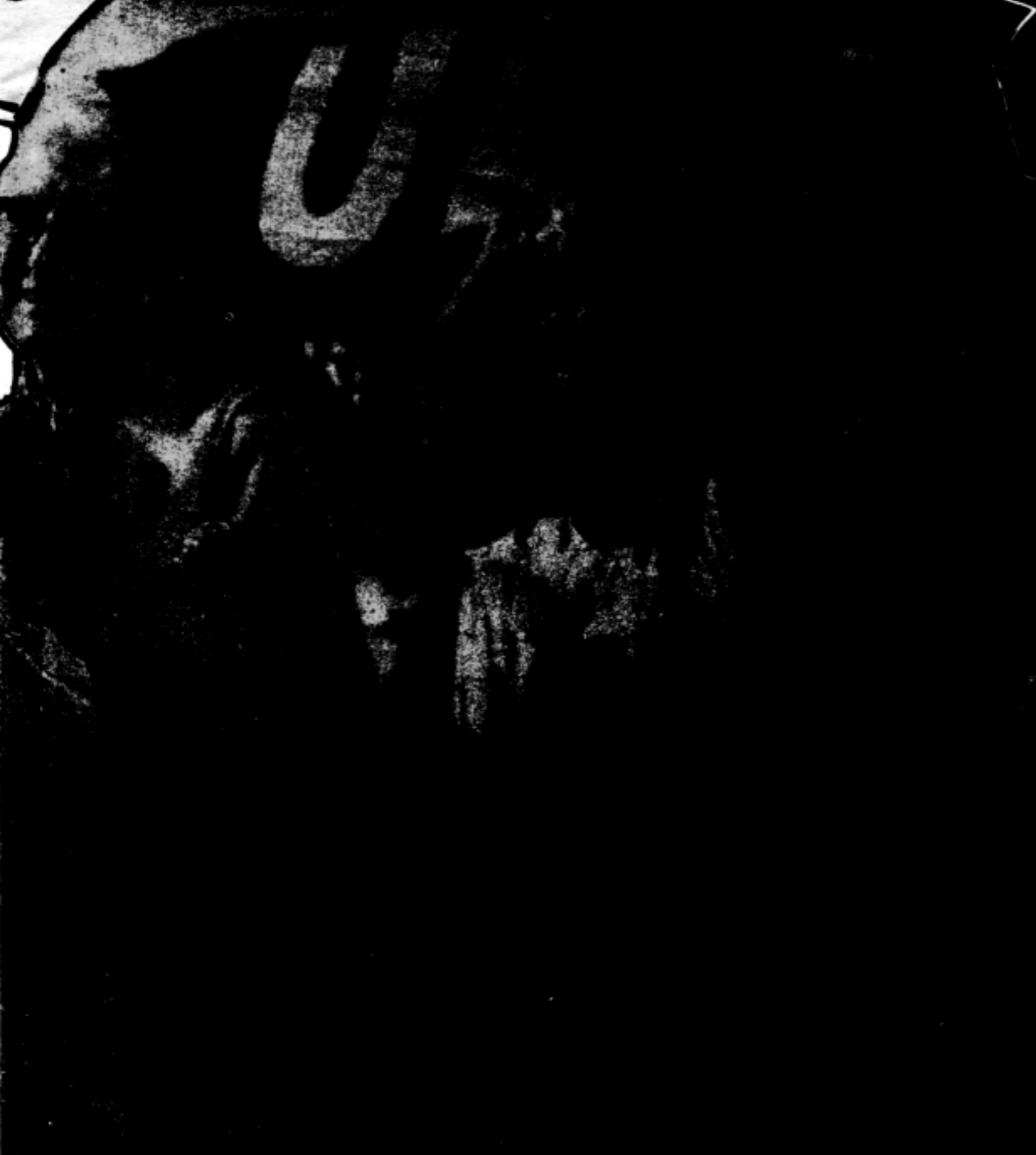
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# SAY: GIVE!

is being made.



# UDF



## Heart of the Democratic Front starts to pump on

THE UDF says that the strong UDF regional bodies set up over the past seven months are the key to cementing the front.

Whereas the government's plans have been imposed on the majority of South Africans according to the UDF, the front itself is democratically built.

From the groups that signed the UDF Declaration, regional UDF's have been formed after months of consultation in Natal, Western Cape and Transvaal.

There are interim committees in the Eastern Cape and the Orange Free State. Within each region, UDF area committees are being formed to work for unity on a more local basis.

Conference resolutions, the UDF Declaration and the programme of action that came out of the national launch are being taken back for consideration at the regional level.

Each regional UDF has a democratic structure. Because the UDF is a front and not an organisation, the voting power of its affiliates is not proportional to their membership strength. Instead, all affiliated groups have an equal say, and decisions are made by consensus.

The front does not make policy for its affiliates. Instead, it works so they can take up UDF campaigns in ways suited to their own activities and constituencies.

According to the UDF Declaration, 'the mobilisation of our people for the rejection of these constitutional and reform proposals should complement and reinforce the ongoing day to day struggles on basic issues which face workers, communities and students.'

The UDF intends to pool the experience, knowledge and effectiveness of its affiliates. Already, the Transvaal and Natal regional UDFs have each held workshops on how the government's new plans will affect their affiliates and South Africans in general.

From the relationships between affiliates, the real heart of the UDF as a nationwide front will start pumping. UDF spokespersons expect ideas, experiences and advice to be shared. They say existing national linkages and networks of communication will be strengthened, and new one will grow.

This would be a key part of the way that UDF hopes to educate its supporters and strengthen its affiliates.

UDF leaders also plan to speak to UN Secretary General, Peres de Cuellar, while he is in South Africa. 'Oppressed people around the world use the weapon of information. There is no reason why the UDF should not tell people around the world about their struggles.'

The UDF will not have an easy road ahead. But with elections for Koornhof's new community councils later this year, and with a likely referendum or elections to the new parliament soon after, the front will have to overcome the problems in its way.

MORE than 600 delegates and 700 official observers at UDF's national launch jumped to their feet in jubilant applause as UDF president, Archie Gumede, was hoisted shoulder high and carried around the Rocklands Civic Centre after his election.

Gumede is one of three presidents elected by the UDF. The others are Albertina Sisulu, held in jail awaiting trial under the Suppression of Communism Act, and Oscar Mpetha, facing a possible five year prison term following his conviction under the Terrorism Act.

Gumede, 69, is leader of the UDF in Natal, and head of the Release Mandela Committee. He was a delegate to the Congress of the People in 1955 which drew up the Freedom Charter, and charged in the 1950s treason trial.

Sisulu is president of Transvaal UDF. She has been banned almost continuously since 1964, ten years of which was under house arrest. She is the president of the Federation of South African Women and has been prominent in community politics in Soweto. She is also the wife of a jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu.

Mpetha, 73, is president of the Western Cape UDF a long-standing activist, former president of the African Food and Canning Workers Union, and was an executive member of the Cape branch of the African National Congress before it was banned in 1960.

As vice-presidents, the UDF elected:

- Christmas Tinto (Cape) — trade unionist and community leader;
- Joseph Marks (Cape) — civic affairs activist and president of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee;



Thousands gather before the mass rally outside the Rocklands Civic Center

# Gumede, Mpetha, Sisulu to head UDF



Speaker from the OFS



Police taking number plates



Aubrey Mokoena, exec member

- Virgil Bonhomme (Natal) — general secretary of the Durban Housing Action Committee;
- George Sewpersadh (Natal) — president of the Natal Indian Congress;
- George du Plessis (Transvaal) — community activist and on the

- Reiger Park Residents Association;
- Rev F Hlapanne (Transvaal) — of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches
- National secretary is Popo Molefe, and publicity secretary is Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota. Molefe is on the Soweto Committee of Ten, Soweto

Civic Association, and the Anti-Community Councils Committee. Lekota is a former SASO national organiser and Robben Island prisoner. National treasurers are Cassim Salojee, Actstop director, and Mewa Ramgobin, former NIC leader banned for 20 years.

Also elected to the national executive are Dr R A M Salojee from the Transvaal; Aubrey Mokoena (Tvl), an ex-Black Community Programmes leader; Andrew Boraine (Cape), former Nusas president; Prof Jerry Coovadia (Natal), Natal Indian Congress executive member; Rev Xundu (Natal) of the Joint Rents Action Committee; and Obed Mosia from the Cape.

The gathering also drew up a list of patrons of the front. They are Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph, Alan Boesak, Florence Mkhize, Johnny Issel, Dorothy Nyembe, Denis Goldberg, Essop Jassat, Beyers Naude, Hassan Howa, Smangaliso Mkhathala, Martha Mahlangu, Frances Baard, Mary Naicker, and Sheik Nazeem Mohammed.

## The UDF marches toward unity

● From page 13

Police kept a low profile outside the hall, but were reported in the commercial press as taking down registration numbers of buses and cars in the area.

A concerted campaign to disrupt the launch was made. 'Do not go to Cape Town' says a bogus UDF pamphlet, the first of four distributed nationwide before the launch.

The pamphlet claimed that the event had been cancelled because of suspected republican state action including strong indications of mass arrests at the time. Creating images of a bloodbath, the pamphlet said the rally would be replaced later at Durbanville.

In a statement on the pamphlet, the UDF National Secretariat said that nothing would stop 'this great march towards unity and freedom.' The pamphlet was 'the action of those who fear the growing unity and strength of our people under the banner of the UDF.'

Other fake pamphlets also tried to spread 'disinformation.' One set advertised a non-existent pop concert in Cape Town at the same time as the rally.

There was also a bogus leaflet purporting to come from the National Forum Committee, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the South African

Council of Sport (SACOS). This pamphlet - rejected as a fake by these organisations - rejected participation by whites 'in the liberation struggle' and attacked the UDF for its non-racialism.

The leaflet was followed by a bogus UDF pamphlet, dismissing black consciousness organisations as racist and crudely comparing them with the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging.

The UDF organisers said this could be the start of a major disinformation campaign against the front, which could worsen as referenda on the new parliament and elections for the new community councils came closer.

## United action for future struggle

African people of their birthright; We say YES to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day; We know that

- this government is determined to break the unity of our people; that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities. That rents and other basic charges will increase. And, that our living standards will fall;
- that working people will be divided. Race from race; urban from rural; employed from unemployed; men from women. Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue;
- students will continue to suffer under unequal education, created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour. Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms;
- the religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed. The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions

- of our people;
- the oppression and exploitation of women will continue. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws. Women will be divided from their children and families. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families;
- non-racial sport will suffer. There will be less money for the building of sports facilities. And, forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow. We know that apartheid will continue
- that white domination and exploitation will continue; that forced removals, the Group Areas Act and the Bantustans will remain.
- We know that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of the land, wealth and resources of the country. That the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.
- We know that the government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us. Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and

death. Mindful of the fact that the new Constitutional Proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination, We commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, housing and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples, to fight for our freedom. We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder: in our common struggle and commit ourselves to: Work together to

- organise and mobilise all community, worker, student, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front;
- consult our people regularly and honestly, and bravely and strive to represent their views and aspirations;
- educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity;
- build and strengthen all organisations of the people;
- unite in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

And now therefore We pledge to come together in the United Democratic Front and fight side by side against the government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills.

## Conference resolutions

THE FIRST national conference of the United Democratic Front hit out strongly at the Koornhof Bills and the constitutional proposals, and also at other issues affecting South Africans.

The 800 official delegates passed strong resolutions on:

● Workers — 'workers produce the wealth of this country, yet they do not enjoy the benefits'.

The conference resolved to organise for a South Africa free of exploitation. The UDF would encourage democratic trade unions and strengthen their unity with 'all freedom-loving people in the struggle for political rights for all'.

The resolution stated the conference's belief in 'the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom.'

● Women — 'Oppression in South Africa cannot be wholly removed without removing the oppression of women, and the goal of full recognition of women cannot be achieved in the present political and economic system.'

The delegates called on women to bring their organisations into the UDF to make real the commitment to oppose race, class, and sexual discrimination.

● Removals and Group Areas — The conference demanded that the government repeal the Group Areas Act, stop removals immediately, and 'return our land and homes'. It called on communities to organise to oppose removals and for all communities to join with affected communities to help in this.

● Ciskei — Noting the brutality of the Ciskei government and that 'the sell-out government's of these homelands are being used to oppress their own people', the delegates condemned the rulers of the Ciskei area and resolved to work for a South Africa free of Bantustans.

They resolved to actively oppose the bantustan system and to promote the unity of the people through democratic government.

● Cost of living — While millions were jobless and homeless, the conference noted, food prices were rising and government subsidies shrinking. Only where people had control of the riches of their country, would they enjoy the basic right to cheap and nutritious food.

● Housing — The conference said that the government's new housing policy was intended to create a black middle class resistant to change.

Rather than resolve the housing crisis by doing away with the Group Areas Act, low wages and removals, the government was spending money on the army, police and bulldozers.

The government should provide and maintain decent houses, and communities should organise to oppose the new housing policy.

● Namibia — 'South Africa continues to illegally occupy Namibia despite fierce resistance from the Namibian people and condemnation from the international community.'

The conference demanded the immediate withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, and rejected 'with contempt' linking this to Cubans in Angola. It pledged full support to the struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO leadership.

● Imperialism — Delegates slammed the support of the Reagan and Thatcher governments for the constitutional proposals, and demanded an immediate end to US, British, and Israeli support for the South African government.

● Harassment and repression — The conference noted in strong terms that despite claims of reform, the government continued to repress opposition. 'We will not be deterred by these actions of the State,' the delegates resolved.

DEC 1982

the people of South Africa speak one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people, we will strive for the unity of all people through united action against the evils of apartheid economic and all other forms of exploitation And, in our struggle to a free and just South Africa, we are guided by these noble ideals

- we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of the country;
- we stand for a non-racial, un-segmented South Africa. A South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas;
- we say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

In accordance with these noble ideals, and on this 20th day of August 1983 at Rocklands Civic Center, Mitchell's Plain, we join hands as trade union, community, women's, student's, religious, sporting and other organisations to say no to Apartheid.

We say NO to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill - a bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth;

We say NO to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more

OPPOSITION TO the proposed rent increases in the Durban townships continues despite extreme attempts by the police and administration board to squash it.

The Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac) has rallied residents in Klaarwater, Hambanati, Shakaville, Lamontville and Chesterville around its call to boycott the increase.

The proposed increase of up to 63 percent was postponed from May this year because of the fierce opposition from residents, and severe clashes between them and the police.

The violence began after the shooting of Harrison Dube, the popular community council leader, and the raising of rents in a short space of time.

By mid-July Lamontville and Chesterville were in a state of siege. Reporters were refused entry into the area because, said the police, it was 'too dangerous'.

Four people — including two young children — are reported to have died as a result of the violence.

Many were reported injured. Injuries ranged from gunshot wounds to bruising, burns and broken bones.

A number of residents have made affidavits that they were either assaulted by police, witnessed assaults or had teargas fired into their homes.

Most reports contain allegations of police brutality, which the Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange challenged to be substantiated.

Some of the allegations include: ●Mr Ephraim Makhanya of Mpanza Road, Lamontville said as he was returning from work he was grabbed by the scruff of his neck and asked: 'Why are you throwing stones?' He says he was then beaten before being taken off to the local Port Natal Administration Board offices. He said he was taken to a toilet in the building where police again beat him.

●Patrick Mazibuko of Chesterville was shot above the knee while in his home. He claimed he was made to lie on his stomach on the bonnet of a



Patrick Mazibuko shows how police allegedly tied him to the bonnet of a police Land Rover



Teargas burns on a blanket



Moonlight Gaza's burnt out house. He is on trial for Dube's murder

# Opposition to rents increase continues despite repression



Clenched fists at community leader Dube's funeral

police Land Rover while being driven to the PNAB offices.

●Bheki Shangase, 17, said he was woken by police who later shot him. His right foot has been amputated.

●Klaas Malgas claimed two teargas canisters were fired into his living

room. When he reported the incident to the township superintendent he was told to report the matter to the police. 'How can I lay a complaint against the police at a police station?' he asked.

●Mr Patrick Shabalala was admitted



Resident shows sjambok wounds

to the King Edward hospital with gunshot wounds. He was on his way home when he was shot. 'One of the policemen said he would show us that white power was stronger than black power', he said.

●Mrs Sarah Mngadi, 65, of Khawa Road, Lamontville, said she was at home with her daughter. She says suddenly the door was kicked in by policemen who then assaulted them. 'They didn't say anything to us and when my daughter asked what they were doing they beat her as well,' she said.

●A young mother, Mrs Tholiwe Dlamini, was standing in her doorway when police appeared. 'They lashed at me with sjamboks and when I tried to run into the house they dragged me out and kicked me. When I fell they kicked me and went away laughing.'

This is some of the evidence presently being collected to prove the allegations to the Minister of Law and Order.

In their turn the police said their actions were aimed only at controlling 'rampaging youths'.

The police have had their hands full trying to protect the Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) offices from total destruction.

Recently 200 youths marched on the offices, throwing sewerage over the corridors, offices and hallways in protest against the inadequate services supplied by the PNAB.

The 'bucket attack' as it is now called was not an isolated attack.

At the end of May police dispersed a 1000 strong crowd at the offices with teargas.

A few weeks later about 1000 people marched on the Lamontville administration offices — run by the PNAB — and set it alight. The damage caused has been estimated at R10 000.

Then, in July, 800 men, women and teenagers again set fire to the PNAB offices in Chesterville. The buildings were showered with stones, shattering windows which only days before had been replaced after a similar attack earlier in the month.

The house of the 'mayor' of Lamontville, Moonlight Gaza, was also stoned and set alight after he was put on trial for the alleged murder of Mr Harrison Dube.

## Transfer protest

THE ENTIRE student body of over 1000 students boycotted classes at Orlando High School recently in protest against the transfer of three of their teachers.

The students believe the teachers have been dismissed. They said they will not return to classes until the teachers have been reinstated.

'Exams are just around the corner and these teachers are vital to us', the students said.

## Arson charges

TWENTY-SIX students from Huhudi's Bopaganang High School near Kimberley are facing charges of arson following a week of protests against the expulsion of 15 of their school mates.

The charges arise out of damage allegedly done to school buildings and teachers' cars after police broke up a student protest with teargas.

The protests began when 15 students were expelled after the principal accused them of instigating a street march and chanting the National Anthem.

## No to principal

CLASSROOM DISCONTENT erupted in two Soweto schools last month as pupils confronted education authorities.

More than 1250 Ibhongo High School students refused to go to clas-



Police presence at Soweto schools protest

ses when Mr. R T Venter returned to school as principal. They demanded his immediate removal.

A pamphlet 'Enough Is Enough' claimed Venter treated the school as his own possession, and was the first principal in 1981 to put the age limit into practice.

The student protest prompted the Department of Education (DET) to delay the opening of the third term.

However students returned to



school on the first day of term

Students alleged that police used tearsmoke to disperse a peaceful meeting to discuss problems. They resolved not to register as directed to do so and to carry on resisting Venter's presence.

Shortly afterwards, the DET decided to remove Venter 'with reservations'. The students saw his immediate removal as a victory.

Meanwhile at another Soweto school, Progress Senior Secondary School students boycotted classes in protest against the principal, Mr. P le Roux.

The principal decided to close the school after pupils boycotted classes for three hours.

## Right to protest

OVER 700 students and staff of the University of Cape Town have passed an overwhelming vote that cabinet ministers should not be invited to lecture at UCT.

The motion at a debate organised by the UCT SRC also demanded the right to protest against them if they were invited.

Prof Robert Schrire, head of the

Political Science department spoke in favour of inviting cabinet ministers, while Andrew Boraine, a past Nusas president and UCT SRC vice-president, argued against him.

Boraine described South Africa as a battle ground between the apartheid government and the great mass of South Africans. 'No institution or member of an institution can claim to play a neutral role,' he said.

'If one is not working against the oppressive system, one is effectively supporting it. We must choose which side of the battlefield we stand on.'

## Eight expelled

BOYCOTTING Mabopane East Technikon students have resorted to court action to have eight expelled students re-admitted.

The technikon was closed earlier this month when the entire student body boycotted lectures in protest against what they called the 'arbitrary expulsion' of the eight.

Students are demanding the unconditional readmission of the eight, improvements in the quality and quantity of food, amendments to the Student Representative Council constitution and a solution to the accommodation problem on campus.

## College closed

THE EXPULSION of three students from Mongosuthu Technikon in Durban led to a class boycott and the subsequent closure of the college.

They drew up a resolution which

they sent to the director listing their grievances and demands. They wanted the immediate and unconditional readmission of the expelled students and the lifting of campus banning orders.

It was later learnt that the expulsions were the result of a Commission of Inquiry headed by the director and three Kwazulu representatives.

## Parent support

OVER A thousand Ciskei students have staged a walkout from classes in support of their parents' bus boycott.

The students from Ongalethu Secondary School staged a walkout to express solidarity with boycotting commuters facing a severe clampdown from Ciskei police in which at least eight people have died and many more were injured.

## Signs of strength

COSAS' strength in the Eastern Cape has increased steadily over the past year and there are that even more branches were formed in the near future.

This emerged from the Cosas Eastern Cape Regional Council held in Grahamstown recently.

The Council elected a new regional committee and executive. It was attended by representatives and observers from areas including Queenstown, East London, Sada, King Williamstown and Grahamstown.



Mdantsane: a typical bantustan township where there is not even a show of representation for residents

# A new deal from an old pack

For years the government has said the time was coming for Africans to govern themselves. Rural Africans had bantustans pushed on them. Urban Africans got community councils.

Now the government claims that its new BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT places community councils on a par with white municipalities.

In this article SASPU NATIONAL shows how the Act is actually intended to control African opposition to apartheid.

THE BLACK Local Authorities Act comes into effect in November this year.

That is when the new 'improved' local authorities will replace the existing community councils and elections will be held in some of the African townships.

This is dubbed a 'new deal' by the government because it supposedly offers urban Africans a bigger say in the running of the townships than before. In the same way they claim that the constitutional proposals bringing Indians and coloureds into decision making.

The new deal, however, is not so new and adds few extra powers to those already given to the community councils. What Local Authorities does is redefine and streamline community councils by widening their responsibilities.

Town and village councils will replace the community councils. Their duty is to maintain, administer and control township facilities. Rubbish removal, sewerage, water and electricity — which before were in the hands of the administration boards — are now directly under the town councils.

The Act allows for the transfer of duties to the town councils at the wish of the administration boards. In other words, the admin boards will decide what and when the councils will take on functions.

Another new feature given to the councils is the right to own, buy and let property on freehold.

The old powers of the councils still remain. They must 'promote the moral and social welfare of the community', allocate houses, control illegal buildings, remove squatters, administer community facilities, and 'beautify the townships'.

As with the community councils the local authorities can form local police forces or 'community guards'.

The African town and village councils will still have no control over building houses or providing education and transport. All they can do is make suggestions to the government about these affairs.

What is most important to the government is that the Local Authorities Act — as with the Community Council Act — forces the council to pay its own way. This appears to give the council the status of a municipality.

Financial independence, it is argued, guarantees autonomy and self-determination. But this cannot be taken seriously if there is no real source of money.

When the Bill was first put to



parliament in 1980 the Progressive Federal Party opposed it because there was nothing enabling the councils to get finance. Their opposition turned to support when the Bill was changed to give the councils freehold rights.

The delight of the PFP is misplaced. The coffers are not going to be filled by freehold rights alone. Businesses in the townships are too small to give much income.

The only other source of money is the residents themselves. It is the workers and their families in the townships who are going to have to pay for the councils.

Not so long ago the Riekert Commission said: 'Black communities should bear a greater part of the total burden in connection with the provision of services in their own communities.' And now this has become law.

Workers, who can hardly meet rent, transport or food price rises these days will now have to pay more for everything in the towns.

Even if the councils push up rents, service charges, electricity levies, liquor prices and dog taxes, they still will not be able to solve their money problems. They will try by squeezing the workers more and more — but in the end they will have to beg government and industry for cash.

The wide powers given to the Minister of Co-operation and Development makes any talk of 'autonomy' and 'self-determination' meaningless. Through the admin boards — now called development boards — the Minister will have final say over the councils. He can

- set up or close down councils.
- change the status of councils by upgrading village to town councils or the other way round.
- give councils extra powers not stated in the Act at present.

Community Councils will be given control of many township services under the new Local Authorities Act: special housing for the rich, sewerage, electricity, and removing illegals are some.

- put someone onto the council if not enough people are elected or if someone resigns.

- announce elections and say how they will be run.

- intervene whenever or however he chooses'.

These are useful parts in the Act. Useful because if there is a total boycott of council elections, the Minister can still make sure the councils run.

They are also necessary parts in the Act. Necessary, because a boycott is likely. In the last community council elections, only 6 percent of registered voters voted in Soweto, a mere 11 percent in Port Elizabeth, 20 percent in Daveyton, and 19 percent in KwaThema.

Whether the boycott was organised or not, these figures show a clear rejection of the councils, and failure of the system to win much support.

The total control which the Minister has over the local authorities is the same as he had over community councils. So the 'new' autonomy becomes the opposite of what it appears.

The government wants the councils to look independent. It hopes that if people believe this, they will blame the councils and not the government for their problems.

Communities are expected to see everything from blocked toilets to



## Communities now have to pay for own oppression

THE RECENTLY unbanned former Azapo leader, Curtis Nkondo, has slammed community councils as 'carrying out the orders of the government rather than listening to the demands of the people'.

Nkondo, whose banning order lapsed at the beginning of July, was addressing a mass meeting of the Anti-Community Council movement in Soweto.

He told the large crowd community councils are part of the problem in townships, having been handed responsibility for housing by the government. Community Councils are responsible for controlling Africans in the urban areas and for raising money to pay for neglected essential services such as electricity, Nkondo said.

Nkondo produced figures to show a shortage of 160 000 houses in townships, 35 000 of them in Soweto. This situation, he said, has led to overcrowding and to thousands of people building shacks.

Nkondo said the housing crisis is the result of an unjust system created by the government to stop people from coming to the urban areas.

'Instead of providing houses the government removes the shacks with the help of community councils and administration boards.'

'Neither the state nor the bosses are prepared to upgrade the townships or provide housing,' he said, 'and now community councils have to do this and they will get the money from us. The people have to pay themselves for essentials like electricity.'

Nkondo said the services are bad. 'The money to fix pipes and improve sewerage systems has to come from us — the people in the townships. We have to pay for years of unjust and inefficient administration. The government with its helpers, the community councils, wants us to pay for our exploitation' Nkondo said.

'Many boards and councils have taken loans from central government to provide electricity. The Soweto Council has borrowed R204 million to provide power, and residents have

● To pg17



# Residents will face increased township oppression

● From pg 16  
had to pay R17 a month from June. And this will increase to R29 a month in 1986.  
'And there is no way of knowing when you are going to get electricity.'



Curtis Nkondo

'Electricity is too expensive for us and it is a basic requirement. They can connect all the houses for electricity and we will still be in the dark.'

'He said their payments to the community councils will be increased — rents and service charges will go up because the councils have to raise their own money. There is a shortage of money for houses and services.'

'It is a political question for two reasons,' Nkondo said.

'First, influx control denies people the right to live where they choose.'

'Second, people in urban townships have no control over local authorities. The government tries to pretend that the local authorities are representative and give us political power but we know that community councils are unrepresentative, powerless and in debt.'

'They are put there by oppressors to oppress us. The councils cannot have the interests of the people at heart.'

'They will not demand houses, security and comfort for all,' Nkondo concluded.



Part of the large crowd who payed respects to Canon James Calata

# Farewell to a man of vision

THE NARROW dusty roads of Cradock's Ilingelihle township were transformed when over 5 000 people gathered to bury a former Cape president and general secretary of the African National Congress, Canon James Calata, on June 26.

Mourners carried the green, black and gold of the ANC and posters saying 'The people shall govern' and 'Long live the Freedom Charter'.

As with Calata's own life, his funeral was marked by two main themes — Christianity and the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

The Natal chairperson of the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Archie Gumede, who with Canon Calata was acquitted in the treason trial, described Calata as a negotiator committed to a peaceful and democratic settlement in South Africa.

'But in the course of time he too became disillusioned regarding the willingness of the authorities to be engaged in any dialogue with black people.'

'The call for unity alone was not advancing the cause of the African in the land of our forefathers. As a result he became one of the signatories of the 1949 Programme of Action, which was formulated largely by the ANC Youth League, and which called for mass action to achieve democracy in South Africa.'

Mourners carrying the coffin to the grave



'From then on the call was for deeds and not words, deputations, petitions and resolutions,' Gumede said. The change was felt when the Defiance Campaign was launched in the 50's.

The widow of the slain Durban lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge, Nonyameko Mxenge said Calata did not divorce Christianity from the liberation struggle.

'He realised that he could not attain the freedom of his people through prayer alone.'

'Calata realised that the kingdom of God is an extension of a freedom realisable in this world and finally consummated in heaven,' she said.

The president of the newly formed Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), Mkhuseleli Jack, described Canon Calata as a 'bright example to many Christians'.

'He was a preacher who knew very well that to preach the gospel of God to people who are victims of pass laws, job reservation and the Group Areas Act would be a futile exercise.'

'That is why the great leader of our country played a prominent role in the realisation of the Freedom Charter.'

'Canon Calata was willing to suffer and sacrifice in the struggle for a better South Africa for all South Africans. He will remain a constant inspiration to all who admire him,' Jack said.

Other speakers at the funeral were the recently unbanned former president of Azapo, Curtis Nkondo, the chairperson of the Port Elizabeth branch of Cosas, Zola Mtatsi, the former president of the Methodist Church, Dr. Simon Gqujibule, and the Rev. Mcebisi Xundu.

Tributes and messages of condolence were received from the ANC journal, Inkululeko, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr. Allan Boesak, and Helen Joseph.

His coffin, draped in the colours of the ANC, was carried by youths singing freedom songs.

## The trials, bans of Canon Calata

THE DEATH of Canon John Calata, 88, in Cradock on June 16 reminded people of this history of opposition in South Africa.

Calata was born in Keiskammahoek in 1895. He became a prominent office-bearer in the African National Congress (ANC), and was later a treason trialist. He was acquitted.

He was a teacher for many years before being ordained as an Anglican priest. He served at Cradock from 1928 until his retirement in 1968. In 1959 he was installed as a canon of the Church of the Province of South Africa in Grahamstown.

Calata was president of the Cape ANC from 1931 to 1949 and secretary general of the ANC from 1935 to 1949. He resigned from both positions in 1949 but remained chaplain of the ANC.

In 1952 he was banned from attending all public gatherings including church services. After representations by diocesan officials the ban was lifted after two months.

In 1956 he was arrested with many political leaders and accused of treason. He was released in December 1957.

In 1960 Calata was detained for two months under the government's emergency regulations after the massacre at Sharpeville.

He was detained again on May 26, 1961 at his Cradock home under the new General Law Amendment Act and appeared in court on June 20, 1961 charged with contravening the Suppression of Communism Act or the Unlawful Organisations Act by displaying photographs indicating that he was a member of an unlawful organisation.

On July 27, 1963 Calata was served with his second banning order. This time he was banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act to Cradock.

In May 1965 Calata was back in court. He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for failing to report to the police in terms of the conditions of his banning order.

The 70 year old priest had all but four days of his sentence suspended. His ban expired in 1968 and was not renewed.

# K - Bills hit people but miss problem

The Soweto Civic Associations' Popo Molefe has called for united opposition to the Koornhof Bills

sure they can stay in the cities.

Molefe said the unlimited powers given to the Minister of Co-operation and Development hoped to allow more effective control than before. If any town becomes a problem to control the Minister can redefine the area and send the residents to the bantustans.

Furthermore, the Bill allows people to visit the cities only with permission and for 14 days out of the year. 'This will have enormous effects on our working mothers. Women rely on help from their mothers in the rural areas to look after new-born babies.'

'It is difficult to get someone to care for babies as there are no facilities. And now the grandmothers can spend only a short time in town.'

In other words, he said, the Bill offered women a choice between hav-

ing children or holding a job.

Another practical effect of the Bill would be on students who attend school in the rural areas.

'These students would be living away from their homes and will only be allowed to come to the towns to visit their families for 14 days in the year, once they have got permission.'

Molefe concluded with an appeal for all to oppose the Bill as it challenges the progressive movement as a whole.

'We need to discuss in small groups, house meetings, in trains and buses, at work and at home, what the Bill is going to do to us.'

'In this way we will ensure a broad spectrum of the community clearly understands the Bill. This understanding will allow for conscious action and clear rejection of the Bill.'



Popo Molefe

POPO MOLEFE, a prominent Soweto activist and organiser in the Committee of Ten, has slammed the recent government legislation on influx control as 'trying to make good the state's previous lack of foresight'.

Molefe — who is also on the executive of the Transvaal United Democratic Front — said this at an Anti-Community Council meeting in Soweto.

He said the housing shortage was meant initially to dissuade people from coming to the cities. But it did not. 'What you had instead was the overcrowding and illegal occupation of back rooms and extra space.'

He sees the state as trying to deal with this crisis through legislation. People coming to the cities will now have to have approved accommodation before being able to apply for permanent urban residence.

'The Bill will therefore have two effects for workers: It will stop them from coming to the towns and it will endorse out all those who have been living illegally despite having Section 10 rights.'

He added the legislation would promote the sale of houses since people will have to buy houses to make

August 9, South Africa's National Women's Day, commemorates the march by 20,000 women of all races to Pretoria in 1956. This march, organised by the Federation of South African Women and its affiliates, was the highpoint of the women's anti-pass campaign, and indeed a highpoint in the mass protests of the 50's.

By their actions, the women of the Federation were fighting to achieve the basic demands they had articulated in both the Freedom Charter, and the Women's Charter - a document drawn up in 1954 at the Federation's founding conference.

Today, the demands of the people as expressed in the Freedom Charter, as well as those contained within the Women's Charter have not yet been met. Indeed, since then, the position of women, together with that of all oppressed people, has worsened dramatically.

The extension of passes to women and the subsequent tightening up of their implementation has robbed many African women, especially those living in the bantustans, of any chance to ever find a job in an urban area.

And now, the threat of the proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill will hit at women, through their children, by refusing to grant dependents urban rights unless both their parents are legally married.

## COMMUNITIES

Women workers, together with unemployed women and those unable to work because of the responsibilities of childcare, are all confronted with massive problems in the communities where they work.

And it is here where women confront the realities of high rents and of trying to make ends meet when wages are so low that even basic foods are too expensive for many.

It is also these women, more and more of them on their own, who have to house and educate their families in situations where there are no houses, and where their children refuse to accept the offerings of bantu education.

Women workers find it hard enough to cope with a job and running a home; women who don't work are often isolated, fatalistic and pessimistic about the possibility of changing their lives.

Women's organisations are turning to grassroots organisation, involving women in small groups and through a process of struggle and education, taking up issues like childcare, cost of living, rent increases, houses and squatters.

Despite the problems - women don't have time, are scared, lack confidence to speak out or participate in meetings - they are persevering.

## STUDENTS

Organising women students is very difficult because most of them are middle-class and concerned primarily with completing their degrees and becoming professionals.

Despite this, most campuses have formed women's groups, and are organising the various women on campuses.

For the white students, the emphasis is on education and consciousness raising of women around issues which directly affect them such as rape, socialisation, and sexuality. Issues that involve the majority of our people in South Africa

like influx control and repression and how women are affected by these, are also highlighted. Groups take up these issues mostly in the form of seminars, publications and meetings.

For Black students, many of the women become involved through gym groups and cookery clubs, which attract women who would otherwise not become involved.

To keep these groups alive, they involve the women in activities such as writing newsletters, or writing a paper to be delivered in a seminar or meeting on campus or in the community. Their active involvement in the community helps to raise interest for working in squatter camps and supporting community campaigns.

This year, for the first time, the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) has appointed a National women's Organiser to help increase women's involvement in organisation. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) has for some time had a National Women's Directive responsible for the co-ordination of women's issues on NUSAS campuses in South Africa.

## CHURCH

Throughout South Africa, millions of women are conscientious churchgoers. They form the biggest proportion of congregations.

Until recently, they were left to be cleaners and decorators of the churches, were taught that their role was to be obedient, to accept that a woman's place was in the home, to serve her husband, rather than to be involved in a fight for justice and democracy.

Now, in some congregations, women are taking control of their lives by organising themselves into producer-co-operatives, and by organising literacy programmes.

In other parishes, women have begun to hold discussion groups - grappling with such issues as the role of women in the church and society.

DORA TAMANA, 83, a leading force in the struggle, was buried on Saturday August 6 before 700 people from all over South Africa.

Speakers from many organisations paid tribute to Mama Dora, a leader of women and a leader of the people.

Throughout her life, Dora held three principles very dear:

●Unity of all democrats — expressed today in the United Democratic Front

●Democracy

●Non-racialism

She was a former member of the SA Communist Party, the ANC, the Womens' League, national secretary of the Federation of SA Women, and a delegate to Kliptown where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955.

## Hamba Kahle, Mama Dora

'WHEN PEOPLE were suffering Dora was there. When they gave us passes, she was there. When the children needed creches, she was there. Dora was always there. She opened our minds to fight for our rights.'

With Lilian Ngoyi, she was chosen to travel to Europe, the USSR, and China for conferences on women. She was banned when she returned. Later she was detained and jailed. She refused to be silenced.

In 1981 the United Women's Organisation was formed. Although she was old and sick, she was there

with them.

Many organisations came to lay her to rest — Cahac, Cosas, Nusas, Azaso, Cayco, Western Cape Civic Association, the Ecumenical Action Movement and several individuals.

An Azaso speaker said: 'She was alongside Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Helen

# SA women still on the march

From passes to Orderly Movement,  
the unity of August 9 continues

## WORKERS

Women workers are in a worse position than any other group of workers in South Africa. The majority of them are domestics and farm workers - they have minimal legal protection, are paid low wages, and are for the most part, unorganised.

In industry, although they are an increasing part of the workforce, they are still employed in the least skilled and worst paid sectors - services, textiles, food-processing and clothing.

Because female unemployment is so much higher than male unemployment, women are hired and fired by bosses at will.

Unionists organising in sectors with

large numbers of women often find they are reluctant to get involved in the union because they are afraid that it will mean neglecting their domestic duties, or it will antagonise their men.

Women's double shift - a full day's work and then hours more domestic work at night and weekends - means that they have a minimal amount of time to give to organisation. It also means that their health suffers due to anxiety and stress related diseases.

And the difficulties in organising women who work in isolated areas - cleaners and nurses, for example, - have made the task of bringing women into unions, a mammoth one. But recently this pattern has begun

to change: Some unions, organising in areas where women are a large part of the workforce, have begun to take up issues directly relevant to their female members. Maternity benefits is the most notable example here.

Unions are also beginning to confront seriously the problems their women members have sustaining and deepening their involvement in the organisation.

They are also dealing with the fact that needs and interests of women have not been taken as seriously as they should be. An important part of this recognition, is a commitment to the equal treatment of women within union structures.



Women workers have the worst paid jobs

Joseph and others, who in the 50's laid the solid foundation for our movement.'

Helen Joseph remembered how proud everyone was to have had her — with Lilian Ngoyi — as the ambassadors of South Africa's women.

A UWO banner said: 'You are a flower that falls from a tree to prepare the land for more beautiful flowers to bloom the next season.'

'Your sacrifice is a banner for us all.'

'You are gone from us, but the weapons and tools that you left behind will help us in our struggle for freedom,' it said.



Dora Tamana



August 9, 1986: 20 000 women gather at the Union buildings in Pretoria to protest against the extension of passes to African women

## A tribute to Lilian Ngoyi



Crowds gather to pay tribute to Lilian Ngoyi

THE TOMBSTONE of former leader of the ANC Women's League and the Federation of South African Women, Lilian Ngoyi was unveiled on August 14 in Soweto.

The unveiling and an all night vigil were the climax of a series of events held around the country to commemorate National Women's Day.

Mrs Ngoyi — more commonly known as MaNgoyi — had played a leading role in organising the August 9 march of women to the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

When the Prime Minister refused to see them on that historic day, it was she who said 'Strydom has run away from the women'.

And it was she who left the thousands of petitions, protesting against the extension of pass laws to women,

on the desk of the Prime Minister's secretary.

The vigil and unveiling ceremony was attended by people from all over the country including members of the executive of the United Women's Organisation of the Western Cape.

Rita Ndzanga of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu) also spoke at the service.

'We have been discriminated against on the factory floor because we are workers, and we have also been discriminated against because of the colour of our skin,' she said.

Mrs. Ndzanga called on people, 'to stand up and march forward to freedom by adopting the courage of MaNgoyi'.

Police filmed the entire Avalon Cemetery service.

## A Charter for all of S. Africa's women

THE WOMEN'S Charter was adopted at the first conference of the Federation of South African Women in 1954. Like the Freedom Charter, its aims and demands are still as important to fight for today as they were then.

Its preamble stresses the need for united action by women

This is a shortened version :

### Preamble

We, the women of South Africa, wives and mothers, working women and housewives, Africans, Indians, whites and coloureds, hereby declare our aim of striving for the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminate against us as women, and that deprive us in any way of our inherent right to the advantages, responsibilities and opportunities that society offers to any one section of the population.

### Women's Lot

We women share with our menfolk the cares and anxieties imposed by poverty and its evils. As wives and mothers, it falls upon us to make small wages stretch a long way. It is we who feel the cries of our children when they are hungry and sick. It is our lot to keep and care for the homes that are too small, broken and dirty. We know the burden of looking after children and land when our husbands are away in the mines, on the farms, and in the towns earning our daily bread.

### Poor and Rich

These are evils that need not exist. They exist because the society in which we live is divided into poor and rich. They exist because there are privileges for the few, discrimination and harsh treatment for the many. We women have stood and will stand shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in a common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination.

### National Liberation

As members of the National Liberatory movements and Trade Unions, in and through our various organisations, we march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defence of the working people.

### Women who Labour

Thousands of African women, like Indians, Coloured and European women, are employed today in factories, homes, offices, shops, on farms, in professions

### Forever Minors

Nevertheless, the laws and practices derived from an earlier and different state of society are still applied to them. They are responsible for their own person and their children. Yet the law seeks to enforce upon them the status of a minor.

### Need for Education

We also recognise that large numbers of our women-folk continue to be bound by traditional practices and conventions, and fail to realise that these have become obsolete and a brake on progress. It is our duty and privilege to enlist all women in our struggle for emancipation and to bring to them all realisation of the intimate relationship that exists between their status of inferiority as women and the inferior status to which their people are subjected by discriminatory laws and colour prejudices.

## Remember the women in the prisons

'PLEASE PRAY for our women in prison, they are suffering.'

This was the moving plea of Thandias 'Smally' Maqungo when she asked thousands of people at the founding rally of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) in New Brighton's centenary last month to pray for South Africa's women political prisoners.

And Smally should know.

The last five years of her life were spent with Dorothy Nyembe, Elizabeth Gumede, Feziwa Bookholane, Masabatha Loate, Ihandi Modise, Kate Sorokolo, Ceaserine Mokhoere (released in 1982) and Elizabeth Nhlapo.

Recently released from Kroonstad Prison, Smally's spirit and determination has not been broken.

'I have no regrets. I am proud of those years, I have gained a lot.'

Smally said it was her strong feeling about the way women political prisoners have been largely ignored that made her make the appeal at the Peyco rally.

'People mention Nelson Mandela,

Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others. They don't mention Dorothy Nyembe, Feziwa Bookholane and Elizabeth Gumede. They don't even know where they are. People must know about them.'

Smally was detained in Johannesburg with Mojalija Romeo Vinqi, Duma Harris Mkalipi and a sixteen year old youth from Port Elizabeth in November 1977 and taken to Port Elizabeth.

They were all members of the South African Students Movement, which had been banned the year before.

But it was only the following year in May that they appeared in court facing charges under the Terrorism Act. The state alleged that they planned to undergo military training in Botswana.

'Those seven months were bad. We were not allowed to see our people — the first time we saw them was when we appeared in court.

'I was alone all the time. The first time I saw my co-accused was when we were going to the court.

'I was lonely. Sometimes I would look at the roof and think of many things. I used to miss my people.

'I did not accept the situation. I knew what I did. It helped me. I wasn't regretful. I was just fighting for my rights and for my country.

'There was nothing wrong in what I had done. The government saw me as wrong in terms of their laws.'

Smally had left her school, Kwazekhele High, in 1977 during the school boycotts. She told the court she had left because she was not satisfied with the system of Bantu Education.

She said they decided to leave Port Elizabeth for Johannesburg because after the banning of SASM, they had been harassed by the security police.

They were sentenced to five years imprisonment on May 18 1978.

'I couldn't believe it was me that was being sentenced but I accepted it.

'When I was released it was like a person who was dreaming. Things have changed — even the people.

'The location has changed. I was

afraid to walk alone in case I got lost.

'One of the hardest things was that I lost my father last year while I was in prison.

'I was assaulted in detention but at the time did not have much knowledge, so I didn't tell the lawyers. After a while I realised I should have told them.'

'At Kroonstad we were cut off from the outside world. We didn't have a radio and we were not allowed newspapers. We only received taped music.'

Smally studied in 1979 but her study rights were taken away after the strikes and boycotts over food and clothes at Kroonstad Prison.

'Prison life was interesting. It was the first time I had been there. I have learnt a lot, I have seen the enemy in its true colours.'

'When I left Kroonstad there were three women left. Dorothy Nyembe is to be released on March 25 next year, Feziwa Bookholane on April 3 and Elizabeth Gumede on June 27 1984.

'Jail makes you old. You have time to think.'

# Solving the problems by pooling their resources in the SADCC

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference has finished a series of projects designed to build the region's economy SASPU NATIONAL investigates.

POLITICAL LEADERS from the nine member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), met in Maputo recently to evaluate progress made so far.

The third annual report on the implementation of the action programme approved at the conference's founding in Lusaka in 1980 formed the basis of discussion. According to the report, SADCC has experienced 'significant' growth, despite the serious problems caused by factors beyond its control.

The report notes the international recognition of its status and the 'significant' progress achieved in the development of a programme of regional cooperation. These advances have been made 'at a time when the member states of SADCC are experiencing continuing and deepening economic and security problems.'

Amongst the external factors affecting SADCC, the report points in particular to the world recession and the 'dislocation caused by the South African actions aimed at cutting communication links and destabilising SADCC member states. Condemnations of these actions and appeals to cooperating governments to use their influence to end such actions have proved ineffective,' the report says.

Other serious problems mentioned are the low level of commodity process, the 'chaos caused by constantly see-sawing exchange rates' and high fluctuating interest rates.



Quett Masire of Botswana

Amongst the achievements noted, pride of place is given to the transport and communications sector. Of the 19 projects in this sector, five have been completed, 39 are being implemented and 44 have been submitted for financing.

In the agricultural sector, 'substantial progress' has been made.

The current drought will be the main topic dealt with in the discussion of this sector at the forthcoming donors conference in Lusaka.

The needs created by the drought 'go well beyond immediate food aid, extending to support for crop growers and pastoralists and to the development of programmes to reduce the effects of future



Samora Machel: 'Apartheid hates the free, democratic and just society, a society without discrimination, that we are building'

droughts.' According to the report, pledges made at the Maseru conference earlier this year totalled about 500 million US dollars, which compares well with the two previous conferences.

A decision was taken to hold a meeting of SADCC trade and finance ministers in September this year in Arusha, Tanzania. Until now no coordinated action in the area of

trade has been undertaken by the group, although it was mentioned in the Lusaka declaration.

The report says there has been progress not merely at the level of designing programmes but also of implementing them. But it adds that 'certain key sectors have been relatively slow to move from initial formulations to concrete projects and operational programmes.'

## Machel hammers S.A. at summit



Angola's Dos Santos

SOUTH AFRICA'S policy of destabilising neighbouring states came under fire at the recent summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) leaders in Maputo.

Opening the conference, President Samora Machel of Mozambique accused SA of trying to destroy SADCC. SA attacked SADCC members 'with its regular forces, with special detachments, with secret agents and even with common criminals', he said. 'Our land, sea and air frontiers are regularly violated by Pretoria.'

The destabilising activity of bandit gangs is complemented by the operations of special units aimed at destroying selected targets vital for regional cooperation such as ports, railways, fuel depots, pipelines, roads and bridges, he added.

Machel said Pretoria wanted to force the countries to divert scarce resources to defence. 'Apartheid hates the free, democratic and just society, a society without discrimination, that we are building. It is the civilisation that we are creating in this part of the continent that leads SA to use all means at its disposal to try and prevent our success. This is the truth that the racist regime tries to conceal from its people and from the international community.'

SADCC would be able to develop its full potential with the independence of Namibia and 'the institution of a free and democratic society in SA, he said. The conflicts inside these countries were not imported, Machel said, but 'result from the aggression committed by the regime against the SA and Namibian peoples.'

President Jose Eduarde dos Santos of Angola, speaking on behalf of the visiting delegations, said that destabilisation 'should act as a catalyst for effective regional cooperation and for greater efforts to resolve problems of common interest.'

Dos Santos rejected the argument that the Cuban troops stationed in Angola were a factor contributing to instability in the region. He described this as a 'ridiculous pretext' and 'just one more subtle and malicious way of supporting the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Pretoria regime.'

SA has claimed that the question of Namibian independence is linked to that of the Cuban troops in Angola. President Quett Masire of Botswana, chairperson of SADCC, also reiterated the rejection of the policy of 'linkage' by the independent states of the region. He was speaking at a press conference at the close of the summit. He called it a 'specious question', that had only been thrown in as a 'delaying tactic' in the negotiations for Namibian independence.

# Internal Swapo stands taller

AFTER A period of relatively low-profile, grassroots activity, the internal wing of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) is once more beginning to play a leading role in the Namibian struggle for independence.

The first signs of a new role for the internal wing — which has never been banned, although leading figures have been banned and detained — emerged during the recent Paris Conference on Namibia sponsored by the United Nations.

During the conference, Pastor Hendrik Witbooi, a minister, school principal and descendant of the legendary guerilla fighter of the same name, was elected overall vice-president of Swapo, second only to President Sam Nujoma.

This is the first time since Swapo took up the armed struggle in 1966, that this position has been filled by someone living inside Namibia.

Recently Pastor Witbooi and three members of the internal wing of Swapo, Dan Tjongarero, Nico Besinger and Crispin Mutenga, flew to Gaborone for talks with senior



Pastor Hendrik Witbooi: descendant of Namibian hero

members of the external wing, including Hage Geingob.

On his return, Pastor Witbooi told journalists at the airport the talks had been 'good' and said a statement would be issued later.

Another important indicator of the renewed importance being given to the internal wing of the party is a recent interview with Nujoma published in the Financial Mail.

Asked to explain why 'Swapo inside Namibia is said to be

organisationally weak. Is there a functioning and duly elected executive in the country?' Nujoma replied:

'There are not two Swapos, there is only one Swapo. Those who talk of Swapo inside the country as having lost the initiative are wrong — these are the heroes of Namibia. Today in Namibia it is only Swapo that is fighting for liberation'. If it was not for Swapo there would be no Security Council talks aiming at Namibia's independence.

While it is too early now to assess the full implications of the new moves, it is clear to anyone who has spent time in Namibia — Swapo has far and away the majority support of the people, and almost total support in the Ovambo war zone, where just under half the total population live. Observers such as priests and non-Swapo politicians state unequivocally: 'There is no question about Swapo's mass support. Swapo is of the people and is the people. Swapo is their movement. The guerillas are their brothers and sisters, fathers, daughters and husbands'.



Coffins of students being carried in the streets of Jinotepe

THE SANDINISTA government, which came to power in Nicaragua after a popular revolution in 1979, is facing attacks from all sides.

The main culprit is the United States of America, which has sent warships to the coastline, US marines to neighbouring Honduras for military manoeuvres, and the Central Intelligence Agency to train counter-revolutionaries to launch attacks on the Nicaraguan people.

Ronald Reagan, the American President, has been accused of provoking the Sandinistas in the hope that they will attack a warship, or invade Honduras to wipe out the CIA-trained 'contras'. This would then give the USA the excuse to launch an invasion of Nicaragua to wipe out the revolution by which it feels so threatened.

Once again the United States is proving how much it hates popular revolutions. The effort the right-wing government is putting in to overthrow the Nicaraguan government has shown the world how threatened the USA is by popular destruction of regimes which have been sympathetic to the US.

The USA has thrown accusations of Nicaragua being a Soviet Union-inspired revolution backed by Cuba to justify its intervention in Nicaragua.

What it prefers to ignore is that the Somoza family which controlled Nicaragua with US support was hated by the majority of the people which is why they joined the Sandinistas and, through their unity, overthrew the corrupt Somoza government, installing the Sandinistas.

And the US Secretary of Defence, Casper Weinberger's explanation for sending 40 warships to Nicaragua was that the warships were on their way to the Middle East, but were redeployed to 'save fuel'.

This explanation, when seen in the light of 4000 US marines and many CIA personnel being sent to countries sympathetic to the USA and bordering on Nicaragua, is laughable.

While many can certainly laugh, the matter is serious.

The Nicaraguan revolution is young, and the need to send many of its most able fighters to withstand the US-inspired attacks has deprived the country of the resources necessary to reconstruct the economy and society so brutally exploited by the Somozan regime.

1982 was officially declared the 'Year of Unity Against Aggression' by the Sandinistas. There is plenty reason for the entire nation to be mobilised against aggression.

It is not just military aggression. The USA is using every well known, and some less known means, to destabilise Nicaragua.

Media propaganda, economic sabotage and the arming of dissident forces both inside and on the borders, among others, are currently being thrown at the Nicaraguan peo-

# Central America: fuelling the fire US style

THE AMERICAN army is moving in on Nicaragua.

US President, Ronald Reagan, has sent warships to the coast of the newly-free country. He has also stationed 4000 soldiers in neighbouring Honduras, and directed the CIA to train Nicaraguan exiles to fight against their country's government.

ple.

One of the aims of the US-backed 'contras' is to draw the Sandinista resources to that area so that other economic sabotage can have a greater effect.

Since 1981, about 500 Nicaraguans — mainly government technicians, peasants and militia and a significant number of lay church leaders have been killed by the contras.

According to Defence Minister Humberto Ortega, in 1981 the CIA ordered various contra groups to consolidate and form a real army, under the leadership of the national guard.

The CIA, it is alleged, organised these groups to sabotage the Northern area where the coffee and cotton harvests are located.

Many US sources have verified that the contra group has a 'super-directorate' composed entirely of CIA and US army personnel. The US ambassador to Honduras, John D Negroponte, is said to oversee the entire 'contra' operation from his embassy.

The tiny, poor and young country is facing the largest US attack since Vietnam:

Some of the reports are being denied by the Reagan Administration.

But many believe them. First, there is the proof that is coming out almost daily of US interference in Nicaragua.

Second, there is history. There are enough examples from the near past that people draw on to show that their theories and assertions are not so far fetched.

The role the US played, through to

A Sandinista guerilla in a home in Esteli

CIA and the US multi-national corporations, in the 1973 overthrow of the democratically-elected socialist government in Chile, has been well documented, and admitted by the US.

The US sent in CIA personnel, vast sums of money and advisors to Chile to overthrow the Allende government which came to power through the ballot box.

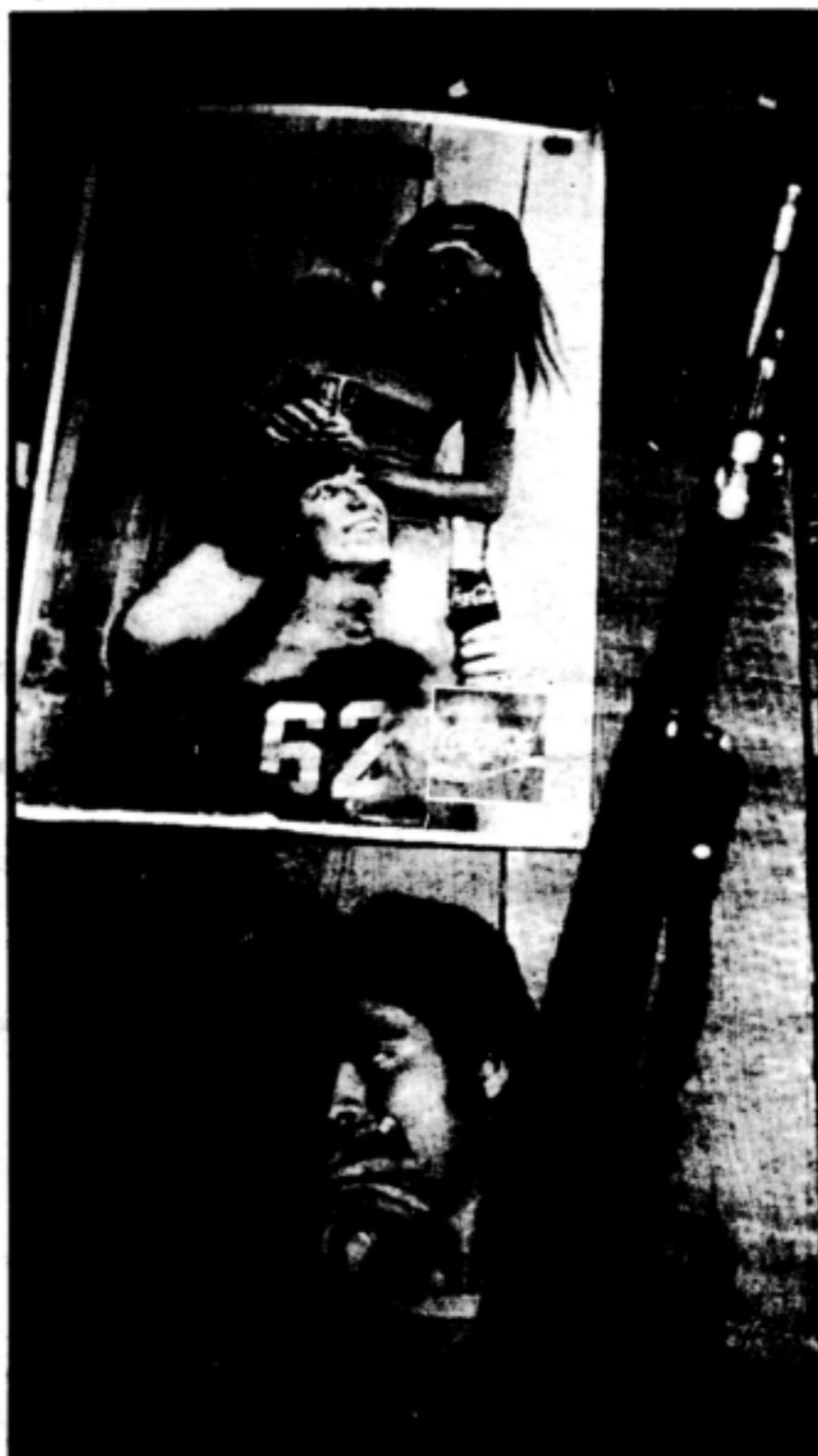
Which is why nobody believes that the object of the US policy to Nicaragua is to force the Sandinistas into holding 'democratic' elections, as is claimed by Reagan.

It is the idea of a socialist government on its doorstep that the US does not like.

It also does not enjoy the thought of El Salvador joining Nicaragua in removing US imperialism in Central America.

El Salvador is seen by the Reaganites as the reason for moving on Nicaragua. Reagan alleges the Sandinistas are giving aid, protection, comfort and a base to the El Salvador guerilla movement, and will be attacked by the US until it stops.

The Nicaraguan people, however see the escalating US attacks against themselves as being an attempt to divert attention to Nicaragua and away from El Salvador, where the US is pursuing policies which would be



unpopular.

They see the propaganda campaign as being a long-term plan by the US to link the problems of the two countries together so the US can solve the 'problems' of the entire region in one swoop.

The US wants, in its term, to achieve 'regional peace', and is prepared to employ any means to achieve that goal, even violence.

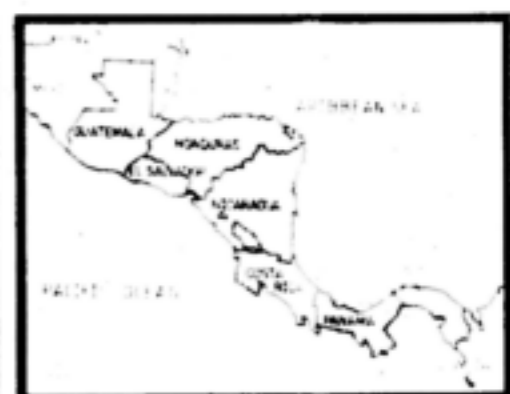
A number of Central American analysts agree with the Nicaraguans and see the timing of the US thrust as directly linked to their deteriorating position in El Salvador.

The military gains of the FMLN — the El Salvadorian guerilla forces — have been of concern to Reagan. Since October last year the FMLN have launched some major offensives and presently control much of the country and have popular support.

The US alleges the reason the FMLN has made gains is because Soviet arms are being supplied, through Cuba to Nicaragua, and through Nicaragua to the FMLN.

Reagan argues if the Soviet Union is giving aid then the USA must do what it can to maintain 'symmetry' — or the balance of forces.

In 1981 Daniel Ortega, a Nicaraguan speaker at the United Nations, told the general assembly: 'The accusation levelled at the Sandinista's people's revolution that it is



the cause of rebellion in Central America lays bare the hypocrisy of those who are responsible for the dramatic situation.

'The fundamental causes of the crisis affecting our areas are economic, brought about by the unjust relations existing in the present economic order and by the over-exploitation to which our people have been and are being subjected by the exploiting minorities which serve the interests of international exploitation.'

Henry Kissinger, an ex-Secretary of State during the time of the Vietnam war, was appointed chairperson of the Bipartisan commission on Central America by Reagan.

He said at the time: 'If we cannot manage Central America it will be impossible to convince threatened nations in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage the global equilibrium.'

Kissinger should know — while he received a Nobel Peace Prize for the part he played in the peace negotiations in Vietnam he was ordering the intensification of the bombing of Hanoi, the Vietnamese capital.

His appointment shows how serious the Reagan administration is about managing 'global equilibrium'.

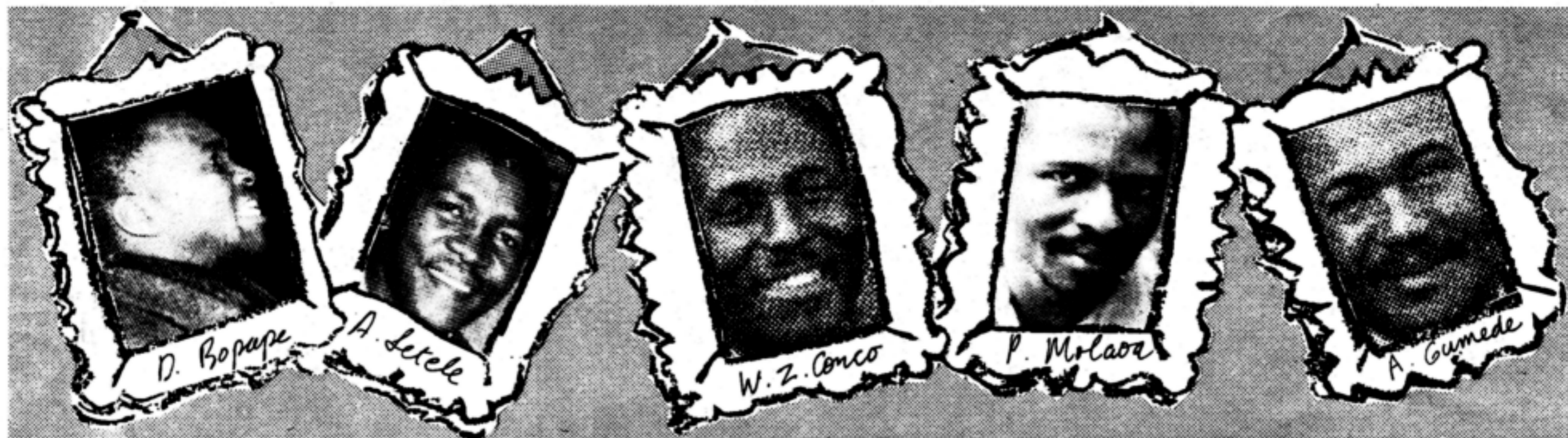
Much of the American population is fearing a repeat of the Vietnam war. They have reason to be worried. A blockade of the Nicaraguan coastline by US warships has been proposed, which would almost be a declaration of war by the US against Nicaragua.

As far as the US population is concerned, sending hundreds of millions of dollars of aid to El Salvador is bad. Giving underground aid to the 'contras' is a little worse. Landing US marines in Nicaragua's back yard is worse still.

But sending massive warships to stop all goods from going into Nicaragua is altogether on a different level.

When all these actions are taken as a whole the US government may be seen not only by the whole world, but by its people as well, as provoking a war which might result in death and destruction, and no necessary victory — once more — for America.

The tragic thing is this: it is certain Reagan is aware of the tragedy of Vietnam. The only conclusion that people have drawn is that Reagan knows the risks involved in his present strategy, and is consciously provoking a war which he and his advisors hope they can win.



EASTER MONDAY 1944 was a decisive moment in the history of South Africa. On this day a group of young men got together at the Bantu Men's Social Club in the centre of Johannesburg to launch a new and vigorous part of the liberation movement — the African National Congress Youth League.

It was with the Youth League that the organisation of young people as a specific grouping in the struggle really began. Their first battle was against the lack of action by the leadership of South Africa's oldest democratic organisation, the ANC. Their later battles were against those in their own ranks who could not accept that the solution to South Africa's problems was a non-racial one, and not simply replacing a white government with a black one. All these battles were vital in shaping the struggle for democracy in the country.

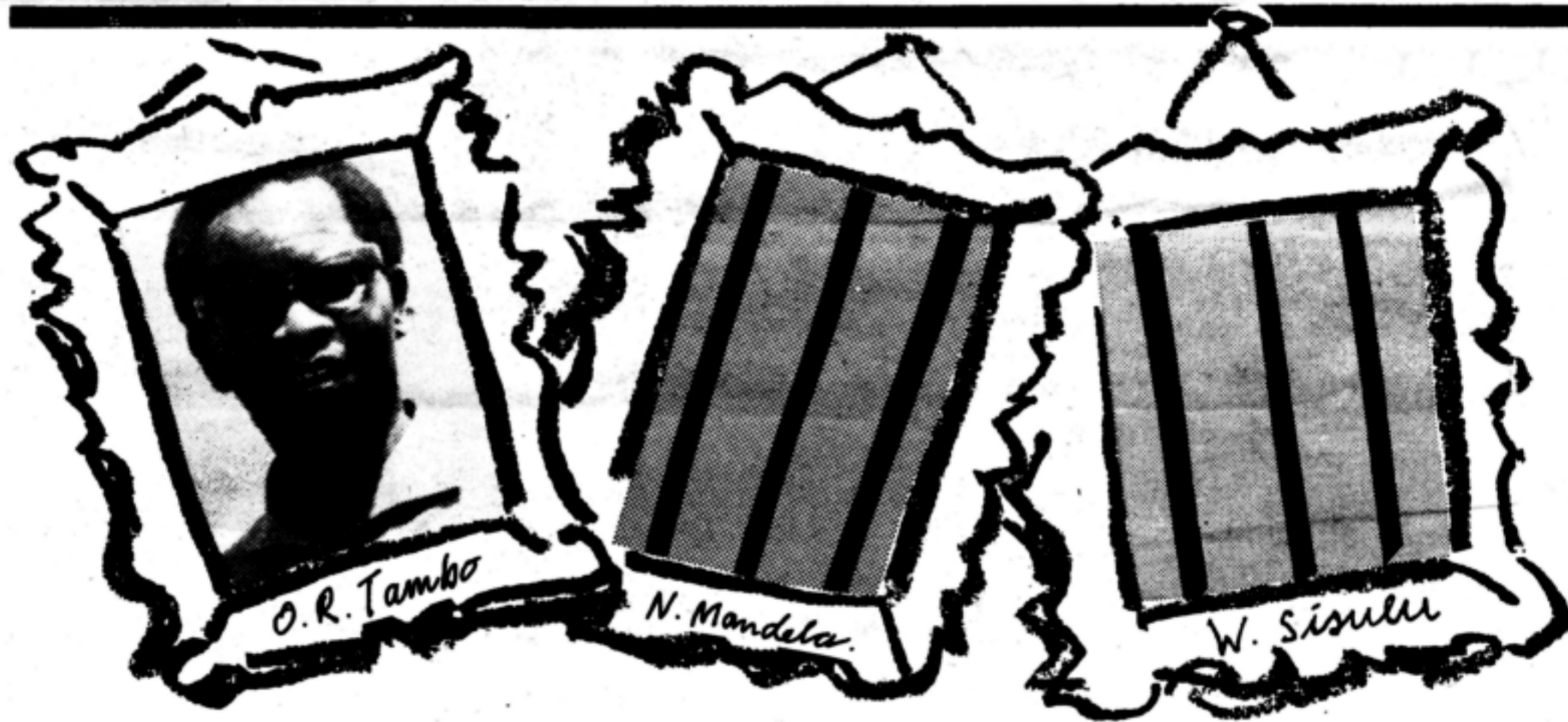
It was as early as 1920 that militant acts took place in African educational institutions. Frustrations over very bad facilities and food led to riots in African schools throughout the early years of the decade. Theological students at Lovedale eventually set fire to their buildings because of 'bad bread'. Similar activity continued into the years of the Second World War. School riots and strikes at South Africa's only black university, Fort Hare, became something of an annual event.

Some small organisations developed around this militancy. But these groups, like the National Union of African Youth formed in 1939 and the Social Students Society at Fort Hare, had limited membership and goals.

It is no surprise, however, that the first really systematic attempt to organise South Africa's youth came from within the ANC. The congress had not yet won an active mass support base in the early decades of the century. It had mainly challenged the authorities in the courts and had also made formal deputations to them. But the organisation was still firmly established as the premier representative of black South Africans.

# THE AGE OF YOUTH

Part One in a series on student and youth organisation traces the rich heritage of the 40's and 50's. This era saw a vigorous young grouping transform the face of South African politics. They sowed militant seeds which the state has tried ever since to uproot.



got through. Dr Xuma closed the congress by calling for the establishment of an ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League.

Anton Lembede became the first Youth League president in 1944. Other prominent founding members were Duma Nokwe, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and William Nkomo. The first manifesto and 3 year programme had simple but important goals:

- To co-ordinate the activities of South Africa's youth in order to secure national unity.
- To fight moral disintegration.
- To give Africans the self-confidence to become a national political force.

The Youth League quickly became a popular and effective force. Within a few years it grew beyond the Transvaal, with branches formed in Natal, the Eastern Cape and at Fort Hare University.

The 1946 African Mineworkers Strike by 100 000 black workers was very politicising for those in the Youth League. Youth League members had originally united

around the need for Africans to organise themselves exclusively.

But national support for the strike now put them in direct contact with other groups in the struggle against racism and exploitation. The trade unions were largely led by Communist Party members, some of whom were whites with unquestionable commitment and dedication.



Although unity was always a priority, ideological differences soon emerged in the League. Lembede and his successor for the presidency in 1947, Ashby Mda, developed a narrow view of African nationalism that hinged around the psychological liberation of South African blacks by appealing to their 'race consciousness'. Others in the League,

and particularly the Transvaal grouping of Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu, more and more came to reject this position. With their main focus being on the need for action, they called for a nationalism that organised and united all democratic groups against both racial discrimination and economic exploitation.

The victory of the Nationalist Party in the 1948 general election provoked many changes to the structure and programme of the ANC as a whole. The Youth League executive — Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo, Mda, James Njongwe and David Bopape — drew up a new programme that was adopted by the Transvaal Regional Congress.

The 1949 ANC annual congress was the moment the young militants had been waiting for. The Youth League programme was referred to a Drafting Committee, involving Professor Z.K. Mathews and Moses Kotane, and adopted as the 'Programme of Action' of the ANC. The programme clearly reflected the assertiveness of the Youth League. It called for the end to all segregated

political institutions to be achieved by boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non co-operation.

James Moroka, an old ANC leader from the OFS, was elected as the new president. He was joined on the executive by a new generation of leaders like Walter Sisulu, Moses Kotane and Dan Tloane. At the same time Ashby Mda retired as Youth League president. After a short term of office Godfrey Pitje, his successor, was replaced in 1950 by Nelson Mandela.

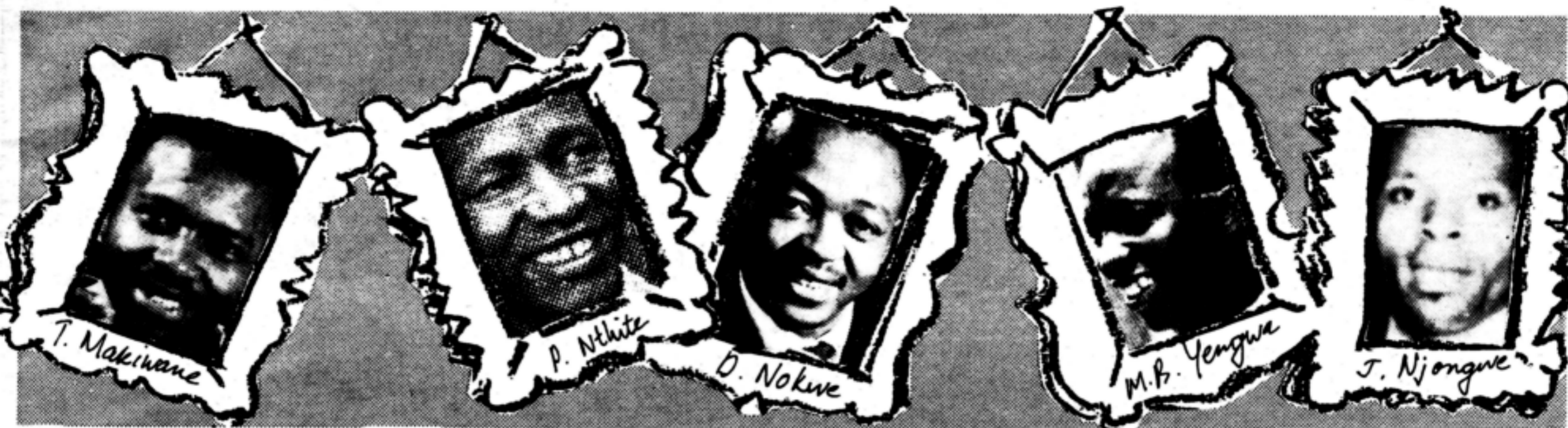


The passing of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950 gave South Africa its first taste of the new era of political leadership. For the first time in what was to be a decade of united mass action, a wide range of democratic groupings worked



The 1943 ANC annual congress in Kimberley was the immediate stimulus for the Youth League. Prior to the congress a militant and determined grouping of students and leaders had begun to draw together. Oliver Tambo, 'Congress' Mbata, Anton Lembede and Ashby Mda were four young ANC members who made up a young and militant force. They rallied support for more militant leaders at the Congress and met with ANC president general, Dr Xuma, to discuss their position.

The first response to these moves was negative. The established leadership disliked the mass militancy of the youth and tried to dodge their initiatives. But the forcefulness of the four eventually



together around a single event. The ANC joined with the South African Indian Congress, Africa People's Organisation, Communist Party and Council of Non European Trade Unions (CUETU) to call for a national stay away against the Act on June 26, from then on known as 'Freedom Day'.

Although the Youth League was now at one with the ANC leadership, it was still an important group during the decade of widespread resistance that followed. Nelson Mandela, the Youth League president, was the national organiser of the Defiance Campaign of widespread civil disobedience in 1952. The 1954 Bantu Education Boycott, against the Bantu Education Act, was given as a special task to the League. It was largely their responsibility to organise teachers to provide alternate classes for boycotting students, and to issue the 'Bantu Education Boycott Bulletin'.

While a major concern of the Youth League had always been 'unity', the ideological differences of the 1940's now surfaced in open con-

flict. The 'Africanist' successors of Ashby Mda, under the leadership of Potlako Kitchener Leballo, now concentrated their energies into a single Youth League branch — in Orlando East. They openly criticised the co-operation of the ANC with the SAIC and, when Youth Leaguers Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe attended a World Youth Festival in Bucharest in 1953, they launched a malicious attack on them.



But the dominance of those who saw the struggle as non-racial had now been firmly established. In 1954 Leballo was expelled from the Youth League and the entire Orlando East Executive Committee suspended.

The Congress of the People, in which the Youth League participated at Kliptown in 1955, was testimony to

the marriage of democratic principles with the militancy of the early Youth League. Both the Freedom Charter which was drawn up and the newly-formed National Consultative Committee — consisting of the ANC, SAIC, South African Congress of Trade Unions, South African Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats — were clear evidence of the failure of earlier exclusivist Africanism.

The Youth League kept up its action in the mass campaigns of 1956-1960, adding a great deal of organisational energy to them. The League's three publications — 'Afrika', 'Codestar' and 'Pioneer' did much to popularise Congress ideas.

The passing of the Separation of the Universities Education Act in 1957 caught the League at a relatively weak period, however. The massive Treason Trial of Congress leaders in 1956, which involved as many as 18 Youth League members from the Transvaal alone, severely drained its resources. It was therefore a mainly white student organisation, the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) that ended up fighting the Nationalist Government's attack on academic freedom.

Nusas is the oldest and most es-

ablished student group in South Africa. It was founded in 1924 on the model of the National Union of Students (NUS) in Britain. At first it committed itself to the apolitical goals of national co-operation between students, and co-operation with student leaders in other countries.

At the time all English and Afrikaans campuses belonged to Nusas. But this ended early in the history of the organisation. When in 1933 English students simply wished to debate the admission of Fort Hare — the first black campus — to Nusas, Afrikaans students used this as a pretext to split. They formed the Afrikaans Nasionale Studente Bond (ANSB) and claimed that Nusas was 'too English, too imperialistic, too negrophilic in colour as a result of the strong influence of socialistic international minded Jews ...'.

The Second World War entrenched this division between English and Afrikaans students. Nusas firmly supported the Allied forces against fascism and the ANSB showed openly pro-Nazi sympathies. Nusas now began to work with black students and in 1945 Fort Hare and Hewett Training College became the first black affiliates.

As a result of these views, black students did not stay long in the organisation. At the beginning of the 1950s the black affiliates left Nusas. At the same time many left-wing white students, like Harold Wolpe, Arthur Goldreich and Bob Hepple, chose rather to direct their energies into building the Congress of Democrats (COD).

The Nusas after the war was not political, however. Its leadership said students should be involved in political activity, but only outside of Nusas. They believed that Nusas should only oppose discrimination where it affected 'an educational system, our universities and our students as students'.



The mass militancy of the 1950s had a strong effect on Nusas. New leaders emerged who saw the need to actively engage in politics. Linking themselves closely to the South African Liberal Party, they set about the difficult task of increasing political activity at the same time as maintaining the support of white students. Two principles they adopted — the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' and the concept of a 'Democratic Education in a Democratic Society' — greatly helped in this.

By the time of the Segregation of Universities Education Bill in 1957, when the ANC Youth League was weakened by the Treason Trials, Fort Hare had reaffiliated to Nusas. In response to the Nationalist moves to legalise and entrench the racial

discrimination at universities, Nusas started an exceptionally vigorous and energetic campaign. From 1957 right through to 1959 its members organised protests, petitions, marches and calls for international solidarity against the Bill.

The Nusas Campaign did not stop the Bill becoming law. In 1959 the Government simply railroaded it through parliament and began its plan to 'close' the English universities at the same time as building new 'ethnic' universities. For Sotho-speaking South Africans there was to be Turfloop; Zulu-speaking South Africans would have to go to Ngoya; 'coloureds' to the University of Western Cape, and Indians to the University College in Durban.



The campaign did, however, show that Nusas could mobilise students on a large scale in opposition to apartheid. This was clearly acknowledged by the Youth League which saluted the students and academics who had opposed the Bill. On the basis of the campaign, the Youth League began consultations for calling a non-racial national student conference.

But such a conference was never to get off the ground. In 1960 the SRC at Fort Hare was ordered by the University authorities to leave Nusas. When the students refused to do so, the SRC on the only black campus at the time was dissolved.

1960 saw the end of the era of legal, mass-based opposition to apartheid that had been heralded by the Programme of Action in 1949. The State of Emergency declared in the wake of the Anti-Pass Campaign and Sharpeville shootings of March 1960 was followed by the banning of both the ANC and the newly-formed Pan Africanist Congress. The massive wave of repression that backed up the banning forced the Congress activists to leave the country or continue their work underground.

Much had been achieved since the formation of the Youth League in 1944. Student and youth organisation had been placed firmly on the map as an important area of organisation. Young people had also played a very important role in formulating the ideas and providing the muscle that made for the strength of the Congress Movement in the 1950s.

But times had changed and new strategies and tactics were to be developed. On December 16 1961, from then on known as 'Heroes Day', two dramatic announcements were made. At the same time as a pamphlet announced the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki, son of ANC leader Govan Mbeki, announced the formation of the African Students' Association (ASA) as the student wing.

# Fear and loathing in the Apartheid outpost of Ciskei



**When 'life-president' Lennox Sebe suddenly returned from Israel to stop a 'coup', eyebrows were raised. When he put his brother, Charles, into detention, heads started shaking. When bus fares went up, anger mounted and a boycott started. But when people were detained, and others shot, the tears weren't far behind ....**

forcements arrive, but police describe them as 'just routine'.

●AUGUST 4: Takane proclaims State of Emergency with curfew between 10pm and 4.30am. Between 4.30am and 5am police open fire at Fort Jackson, five are killed and 22 admitted to hospital with gunshot wounds, commuters put the death toll at 15 with many more wounded. Witnesses say ambulances crossed the veld to pick up dead and wounded, and that police had lined the railway line and forced people to get onto buses when they wanted to catch the trains. The people refused, and some started throwing stones. When a shot was fired, the crowd broke and ran, but many were gunned down as they ran away.

A journalist tells of four army

trucks, police vehicles and several cars at the shooting. Trains are nearly empty. Roadblocks are reported all over Mdantsane, and people say they are forced into buses. CTC says buses carrying 60 percent normal capacity. The number of wounded rises to 45. Many wounded in buttocks, legs, arms, stomachs and backs.

Commuters say soldiers stopped people from using trains and forced them to use buses parked at the station. Reports pour in of police assaults. More than 30 buses are stoned and five drivers are injured. Ciskei detains more than 20 people, including four Saawu unionists.

General Workers Union and Food and Canning Workers Union blame 'extraordinary anger' of commuters

on South Africa for creating the 'Ciskei monster' and interpret the curfew and state of emergency as designed to break the boycott.

The entire student body at an Mdantsane school boycott classes in support of their parents. Several commuters are bitten by police dogs. Police are at five Mdantsane stations to stop commuters using the train. Many workers avoid normal routes and cross fences to get onto railway property. Trains stop between stations to pick them up. Some passengers forced onto buses by police later get off and stone the buses. Employers in East London say railway police helped serious disruption of labour by keeping Ciskei police off railway property and allow-

ing commuters onto the trains. Some factories have only half their staff, but by the end of the week, they report only 5-10 percent absenteeism. Saawu president Thozamile Gqweta claims Ciskei police are using the boycott to crack down on the unions. At least 20 unionists have been detained and others had their homes raided, he reports.

The Ciskei Supreme Court hears affidavits how a girl bled and screamed. She had been shot by police. A woman tells the court police fired at disbelieving commuters 'without warning'. She saw an old man fall down with a leg wound, and vigilantes beat a man lying on his back. She crawled away, and heard bullets whizzing around her head. She said police picked up a man and kicked him although he was motionless, 'as if dead'.

●AUGUST 9: At least 350 people are reported detained. More than 200 people arrested for curfew breaking appear in court and have their case postponed for two weeks. Bail of R400 each is granted. At Cecilia Makiwane Hospital, 19 people are still being treated for gunshot wounds. Police say they will not be released until an investigation is complete, and their names may not be released.

●AUGUST 10: Press reports that East London Chamber of Commerce president, George Ormond says Mdantsane workers could now face wage cuts. Workers lose about 30 percent of their pay because most factories had been forced to go onto short-time. Other press reports claim that an estimated 1000 people are arrested for various offences during the boycott so far.

Meanwhile, unrest spreads to the schools as hundreds of children boycott classes in support of their parents. No violent incidents are reported at 12 schools, but about 70 students are believed to be held under security laws, some of them children. Gawu expresses fears about the safety of detainees.

●AUGUST 11: Two schools and one shanty are burnt down. Homes of several CNIP members who have been helping police are burnt or stoned. A school is closed after a mass walkout by 1100 pupils in support of their parents.

●AUGUST 12: Cusa says two of its unionists have been detained since July 30.

South Africa breaks silence on boycott as Foreign Minister Pik Botha appeals for calm, but says SA has no desire to interfere with Ciskei affairs. SA would 'naturally' be willing to intervene if asked to.

●AUGUST 16: Pik Botha visits Ciskei on August 15 to 'emphasise the working relationship between the two countries.' Two petrol bombings and a shooting incident reported from the weekend of August 13-14. Petrol bombs are thrown at the houses of CNIP members. One CNIP member fires at youths stoning him at the weekend.

●AUGUST 17: Sebe announces that the 50 percent government owned CTC will cut its fare increase by half. Scarcely 'life-president' of Ciskei for a month, Sebe has fled his 'country' and been 'riding the storm' in a luxury East London hotel. Four more Saawu unionists are detained.

●AUGUST 19: Delegates to the United Democratic Front travelling to Cape Town are harassed by the CCIS. Thozamile Gqweta, due to address the UDF launch, is unable to attend.

Many international labour organisations protest the detention of trade unionists in the Ciskei, calling for their immediate release. The boycott continues despite Sebe's offer to raise the fares only by half. Commuters would use the buses only if the fares remained the same.

●JULY 13: In the wake of the Welgemoed Commission of Inquiry into bus transportation, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Action Group's Conrad Berge writes an article for the press warning of the political tensions in the proposed new black transport policy. Among other things, the policy recommended general fare increases and a ban on minibus taxis.

●JULY 15: The Federation of SA Women, and several unions condemn rail fare increases of 10 percent and 5 percent on weekly and monthly third class rail tickets coming into effect from August 1. Community leaders point out the fare increases come in the wake of maize, rent and milk price rises.

●JULY 19: Bus boycott begins against Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC).

●JULY 20: Press reports an 80 percent drop in the use of CTC buses following a 62 percent drop the day before. Police patrol major routes and busstops following the arrest on July 18 of three people in East London. CTC tries to justify the fare increase by saying their fare structure is still cheaper than 'in South Africa'.

●JULY 21: Petrol explodes on an Mdantsane bus, killing two children and critically injuring 25 others. Buses are stoned. Police say stonings are on the decrease, but 83 bus windows are broken. Roadblocks are set up and Saawu vice-president, Sisa Njikelana and organiser Bonile Tulema are detained at a roadblock. Queues of up to 100 cars wait to get through roadblocks.

●JULY 22: The press reports unrest the previous night at roadblocks, where police allegedly manhandled car passengers including women and children - in a bid to break the boycott. Saawu claims sjamboks were used on passengers. The roadblock at the entrance to Mdantsane is the centre of allegations of passengers being forced to walk home. Ciskei-police deny the allegations, but admit their instructions were to only allow drivers to transport immediate family.

●JULY 25: Ciskei police open fire on crowds at Fort Jackson station, wounding five. At Mount Ruth station, railways police refuse to comment on alleged assaults on commuters outside the station, and allegations of assaults on passengers alighting from trains. A witness to the shooting tells of armed Ciskei police separating men from women: 'I saw some men on their knees with their arms over their heads.'

●AUGUST 1: Takane announces the detention of three Transport and Allied Workers Union men in connection with the boycott, and gives their names as Tamarana, Phehlo and Nzimane. He warns that people encouraging the boycott face 10 years jail.

Ciskei appeals to South Africa to protect people wanting to use the transport. Police report that a teenage 'intimidator' has been shot after he pulled a knife on pursuing policemen. Reports filter in of cars being impounded for transporting boycotters, vigilantes come out on the streets to try and break the boycott.

●AUGUST 3: Ciskei soldiers and police sit on top of trucks and watch vigilantes attack people with sabres and knobkerries. People are pulled from registered taxis and beaten up. Witnesses say the men must have been hired 'because they were acting with authority'. Other witnesses claim the men are members of the Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP). The government refuses to comment on the allegations.

CTC reports that between 150 and 200 cars are confiscated for illegally transporting passengers. Police deny sjambok allegations. Massive rein-