

# grassroots

Vol. 9 No.2 May 1989 FREE

Back on the streets  
after three months.  
No submission to  
restrictions.



Conflict looms as the SADF occupies DET schools. Casspirs outside and troops in the corridors are making pupils wonder whether they are attending school or a military camp

## Organisations warn: DET schools set to

# EXPLODE

TROUBLE is looming again at African high schools in the Western Cape.

And the recent detention of Mr Andile Jonas, chairperson of the restricted Democratic Teachers' Union and 4 students could lead to an explosion, education and community organisations are warning.

At a press conference held at the University of the Western Cape this week they called for the release of the five, who are all connected with ID Mkize high school in Guguletu and the withdrawal of charges against five DETU members, all high school teachers, who were suspended for alleged misconduct 16 months ago.

Among the organisations represented at the Press conference were the Defend Democratic Teachers' Union (DDC), Cape Teachers' Professional Associa-

tion, Democratic Party, Education Forum, Western Province Council of Churches, National Education Crisis Committee member Mr Graeme Bloch who spoke in his personal capacity and a delegation of teachers, parents, and pupils from Simon Hebe High School in Mbekweni near Paarl.

The DDC which was formed after the government restricted DETU, blamed the crisis at black schools in the Western Cape on Mr Leon Nel, deputy regional director of the Department of Education and Training, and called for his resignation.

DDC accused him of failing to identify the problems in black schools.

They say he is using the iron fist and creating turmoil in DET schools.

The present crisis is related to DET's appointment of white prin-

cipals at African schools this year. To date nine white principals have taken charge at African schools and another one was due to be appointed soon.

DDC said it had warned DET of the folly of this decision, but its warnings had been ignored.

This absurd situation has resulted in the past few weeks in a sudden eruption of violence which has led to one principal being hospitalised.

Mr Andile Jonas, chairperson of the now restricted DETU, was detained in a pre-dawn raid on his home last week and four pupils were picked up a week earlier.

In addition, charges are being investigated against an unnamed ID Mkize pupil for allegedly throwing a brick at a white principal.

DDC spokesperson, Mr. Monde Tulwana said: "We demand that Mr Jonas and the students be im-

mediately released in an attempt to contain the explosive situation."

Mr Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party, said that the fundamental problem was that blacks were rejecting the system of education being forced upon them by the government.

Mr. Andrew called for a lifting of the restriction on parent and teachers' organisations, withdrawal of alleged misconduct charges against five Detu members and for Parent-Teacher-Student Associations to be allowed to function effectively.

The CTPA called for the reinstatement of the five suspended DETU members.

Mr Graeme Bloch, speaking in his personal capacity, said DET was once again contributing to the destabilisation of black schools.

"Rather than negotiate with recognised parent, teacher and stu-

dent opinion, the DET has chosen the tight control and confrontation. They have allowed the schools to become militarised.

"For the sake of narrow political goals, the DET is contributing to an unsound and unhealthy educational environment in the Western Cape," he said.

He said that the detention of Mr Jonas was extremely provocative.

"Many are asking if Andile is paying the price of police vindictiveness against his brother Bongani for his refusal to give evidence for the State in the Tony Yengeni trial."

The DDC announced the following demands "in a campaign that will draw in all organisations and communities":

- Removal of army and police from our schools
- Release of Andile Jonas and the four students of I.D. Mkize
- Removal of white principals from all high schools including Simon Hebe
- Solidarity with fellow teachers from Paarl
- Removal of Mr Nel as Head of Department of Education in Cape Town.

The DDC intends to "strive for normality in schools and for proper consultation at all levels as to allow our black children and community to think positively in determining their future.

Special  
pull-out  
supplement on:  
**NAMIBIA**

The ANC's  
Constitutional  
Guidelines  
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Privatisation: a  
new way to  
enforce apartheid  
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Big Fedsaw  
festival planned  
for 27 May  
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# SPECIAL REPORT ON NAMIBIA



APRIL 1, the start of the implementation of resolution 435, and South African forces in northern Namibia. For the most intense fighting in the history of the war raged on the frontier.

According to official figures, 279 Swapo combatants and 23 security force members were killed.

The South African government has accused Swapo for breaking the ceasefire. There has been much debate as to who was to blame.

Resolution 435 provides for a cessation of all hostile acts by all parties and the restriction of South African and Swapo forces to the 16th parallel. There was to be no cross-border movement in the period following the ceasefire which began at midnight on April 1.

South Africa claims that between 1000 and 1500 Swapo guerrillas entered Namibia from Angola after the ceasefire. Swapo's position is that the guerrillas were in the country before the deadline.

South Africa claims that the Swapo forces planned to fight but they say it was their intention to hand themselves over to Untag to be confined to base.

According to Swapo, the guerrillas were confined only in self-defence after

## Who shot first?

being hunted down and attacked".

A school teacher in Okahenge, Mr Wedeinge Josiah, met a guerilla shortly before the first clash.

"I asked him what he was doing here and he said to me: 'We came here with no problems about the war. We heard on the radio that the war is over. We have not come to fight. We have come home to live in peace. Our purpose is not to fight, we have come here to meet Untag'.

"The fighters (Swapo) were relaxing under this tree when we heard the roar of vehicles in the distance," Mr Josiah said. "The fighters walked out to greet the vehicles, I think because they thought this was the United Nations coming to meet them.

"Then I saw the smoke from the bush. I heard the roar of the guns, the Casspirs began to fire at them and many of the fighters died just

there. The others ran into the bush."

Other eyewitness accounts confirm this story. South Africa said that Swapo should have abided by the Geneva Protocol signed in August 1988 by South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

It states: "once the total withdrawal of South African troops from Angola is completed... Swapo's armed forces will be deployed north of the 16th parallel (in Angola)".

Swapo did not participate in the Geneva talks and did not sign the agreement. Pik Botha would not allow Swapo to be there. He said Swapo was not a government but only one of 20 parties in Namibia.

However, Swapo did send a letter to the Secretary General of the UN saying that they would abide by the Geneva protocol and "cease all hostile acts". The organisation did not, however, undertake to deploy

its forces north of the 16th parallel.

One of the most serious allegations against the security forces is that they appear to have a policy of taking no prisoners. The allegation was first made by a human rights lawyer after a fact-finding mission to Ovamboland.

Some of the dead bodies had no injuries other than bullet holes in their foreheads, raising speculation that guerillas were executed after capture. A French television journalist who interviewed a Koevoet officer was told that the "only prisoners taken were dead ones".

The security forces dumped hundreds of bodies into mass graves, ignoring the Inquests Act, which would have insisted on an enquiry into the cause of death.

People in Ovamboland believe the security forces expected the guerillas to be in the area after April 1 and had decided that they

would eliminate as many as possible. "Security sources" have been reported as saying that the police planned for this and increased their forces.

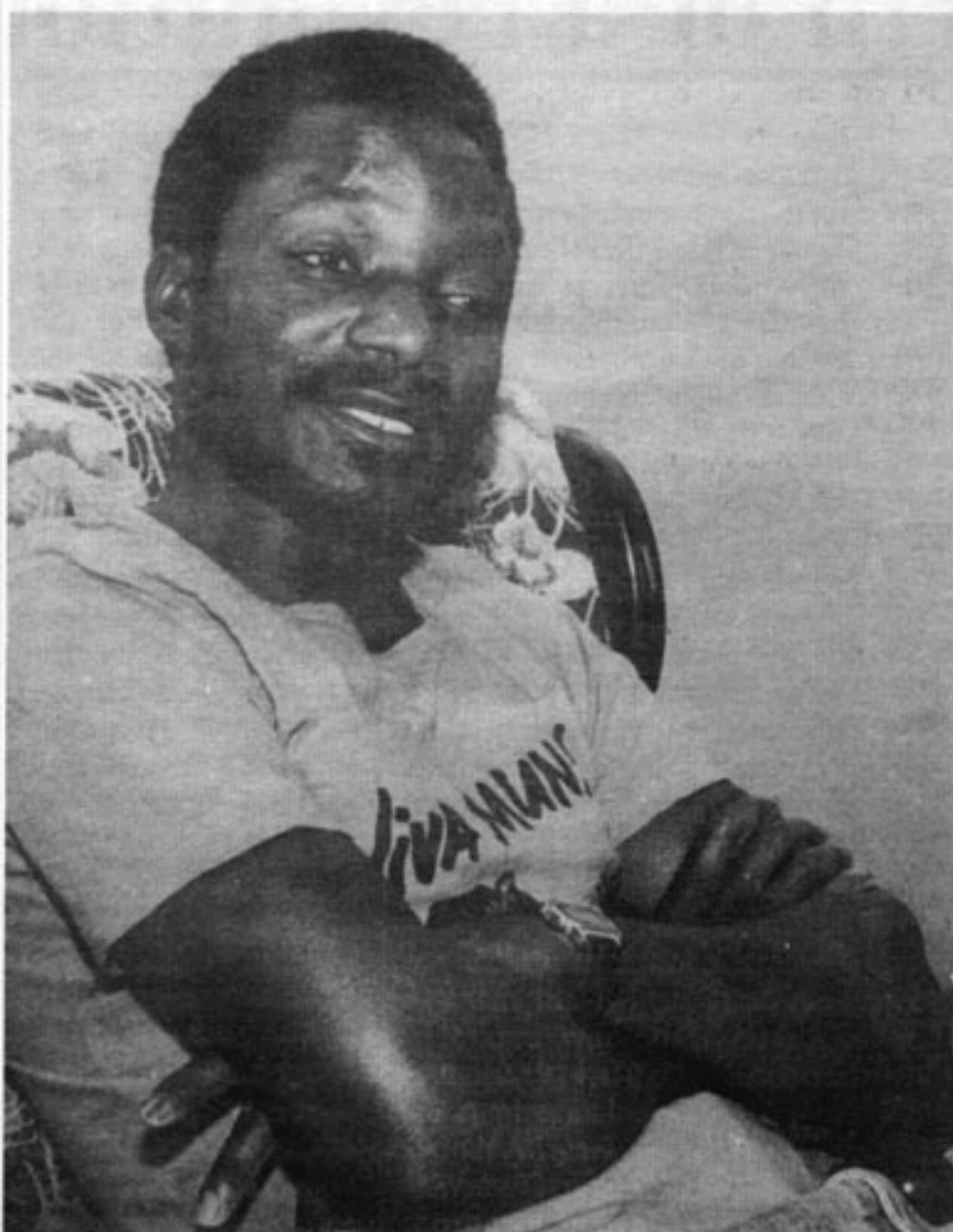
According to the Namibian Council of Churches, people in Ovamboland believe that the security forces stripped the dead bodies of their clothing and refused to allow them to be identified so that they could hide the fact that they had killed civilians.

All the reports on the atrocities singled out Koevoet, a special police counter-insurgency unit as responsible for terrorising the civilian population in the north.

Pik Botha said recently that Koevoet had been disbanded as an "act of good faith". People in Ovamboland reported that the police involved in the recent fighting were Koevoet members: "it is the same faces, the same Casspirs, the same uniforms".

As international condemnation of the security forces mounted, the Special Representative prepared a report on their activities, and the Administrator General announced the formation of a permanent commission of enquiry to investigate the activities of the SADF.

## 'Swapo has majority support' - Ben Ulenga



Ulenga, a Swapo guerilla who spent 9 years on Robben Island, is now General Secretary of the Namibian Union of Mineworkers

THE South African government is committing atrocities on a daily basis in Namibia to intimidate the population into not voting for Swapo, a Namibian trade unionist said.

Mr. Ben Ulenga, an organiser for the Mineworkers Union of Namibia, was in Cape Town recently to address a rally organised by the Namibian Support Committee.

He said the majority of people in Namibia supported Swapo and would vote for Swapo in the coming elections.

"There are some people who say that Swapo sold out by accepting Resolution 435, but you don't hear that language often.

"Everyone agrees that 435 was a compromise, not only as far as South Africa is concerned, but for Swapo as well.

One example of the extent to which Swapo was willing to compromise was the fact

that many PLAN fighters had to leave for Angola, even though they had done nothing wrong."

Ulenga said the popular view held of Resolution 435 was that it was the result of the struggle in Namibia that has been waged for 25 years.

South Africa was forced into the position where they had to sit down and talk about 435.

"Resolution 435 is a result of the struggle led by Swapo, especially the armed struggle waged by Plan.

That South Africa has agreed to 435 is a direct result of the battles fought last year in Angola.

Ulenga said the rising consciousness of the students and workers in the past three years had boasted the strength of Swapo, which had organised people on a grassroots basis.

Ulenga said South

African soldiers were distributing thousands of pamphlets discrediting Swapo.

The pamphlets

described Swapo as a communist organisation which kills innocent people.

"Even worse than the propaganda are the atrocities. People are being murdered out here.

"On April 2 people in civilian clothing opened fire on a group of people on the back of a truck who were returning from a Swapo rally.

"Seven people were wounded and one died later."

Ulenga said soldiers jumped out of trucks and tore Swapo T-shirts off supporters on another occasion.

The police have threatened to arrest anyone seen giving the clenched fist salute.

"Our people are being shot and wounded.

Untag is doing nothing - they are not in charge. South Africa is saying openly on radio broadcasts that they are still running Namibia."

He said the demands of the Namibian people were simple:

"Namibians want freedom. They want South Africa out as soon as possible.

They want Untag to do something about the atrocities that are being committed."

Ulenga said there was no doubt in his mind that the majority support was for Swapo. This was not reflected in reports coming out of Namibia.

"The international press is writing a lot of rubbish about Namibia.

They very seldom reveal the atrocities.

Exiles and PLAN guerillas would be returning to Namibia within the next month, Ulenga said.

He disagreed with South Africa's accusation that PLAN had been responsible for the April 2 shootings.

"PLAN is not a visible organisation with troops parading in uniforms or in Casspirs.

It has always been a part of PLAN's nature to merge with the people.

They did not come to Namibia from another country."

# SWAPO VICTORY IS CERTAIN



# UNITE TO FIGHT SAYS COSATU

Unity in action is the weapon which workers intend to use to fight the attack by the state and bosses on their trade unions.

The most immediate threat to the unions is the Labour Relations Amendment Act which was passed in September last year.

Unionists say the Act is the greatest threat yet to the gains won by South African workers.

Cosatu says the LRAA is "Botha's weapon for the bosses" because it gives bosses great powers.

The LRAA attacks the Living Wage Campaign because it prevents workers from exercising their rights as workers.

It says workers may not undertake any action in sympathy with other workers. This means sympathy strikes and consumer boycotts are illegal.

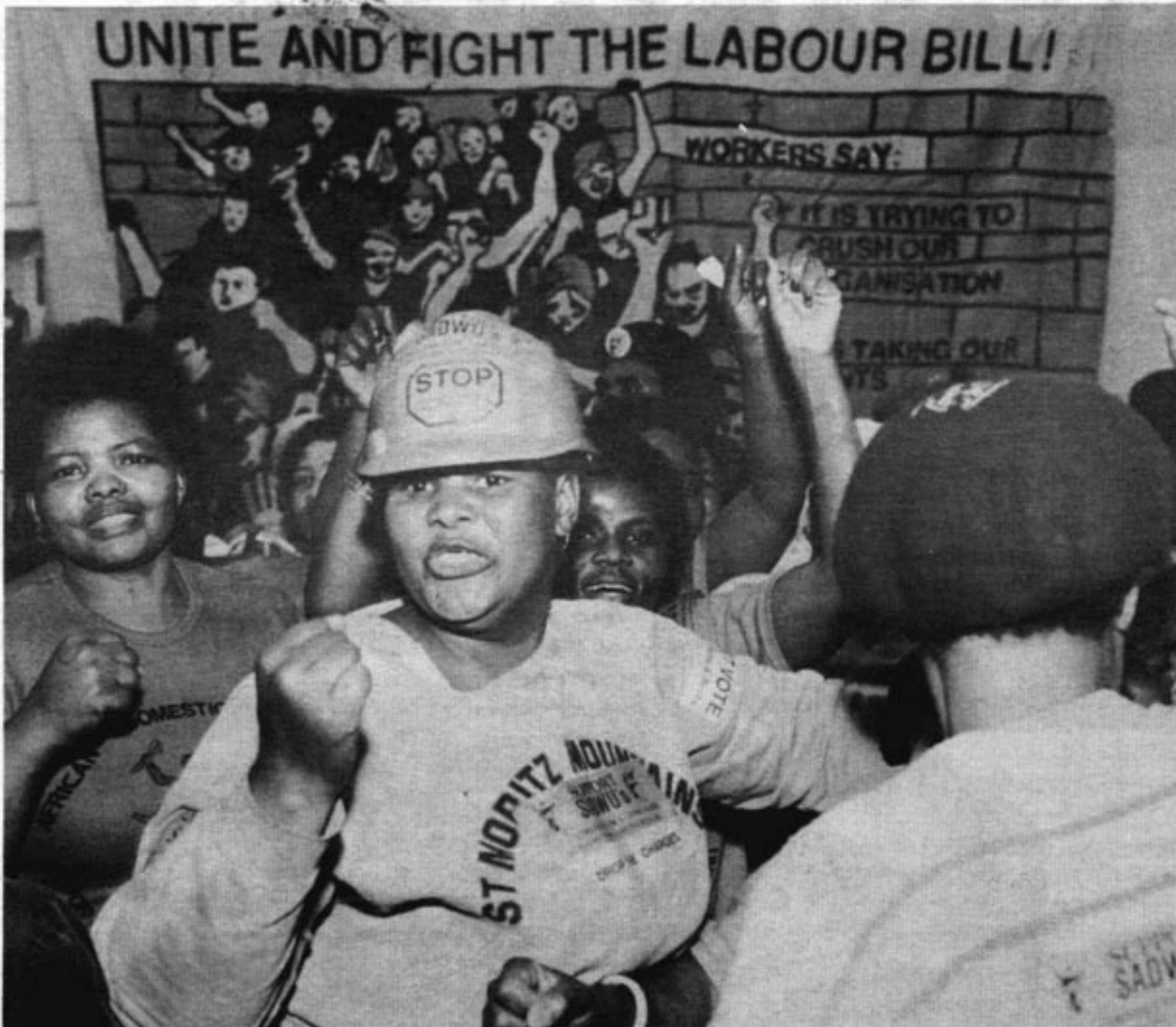
It says bosses can sue unions if they lose profits because of workers going on strike.

It says that bosses can recognise a union even if most workers do not belong to it. This means small unions can be used to divide workers.

When the act was drawn up last year about three million workers protested by staying away from work for three days.

But the government passed the act and employers began to use their new powers against workers and their unions.

Cosatu, Nactu and some independent unions discussed how workers could fight against the act. They decided to call a worker sum-



Workers from the South African Domestic Workers Union determined to fight the new Labour Relations Act

mit. In February this year about 700 worker delegates attended the summit in Johannesburg.

The workers came from 40 different unions. These included unions affiliated to Cosatu, independent unions and some unions affiliated to the National Council

of Trade Unions.

By coming together they showed that despite the attacks from the government and bosses, worker unity is growing in South Africa.

Workers discussed how they could fight against the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

They drew up a list of demands.

Some of these demands are:

- the right to strike and picket,
- no unfair dismissals,
- the right to sympathy strikes,
- negotiated retrenchments
- and recognition of majority unions.

Delegates said workers should find ways not to use the industrial court because many of the court's decisions are against workers.

They said workers should r... employers agree not to use the fair parts of the Act against... Employers who refuse to do... should be isolated.

This may mean as national s... later this year.

The summit also said wo... should draw up their own La... Act. This Act should include... millions of workers who do no... under the present Act.

These include domestic wor... people employed by the gov... ment and forestry workers.

A new Act should pro... workers with a living wage, b... hours and working conditions

At a report back meeting in... lone last month, Costu regi... secretary Nic Henwood said: summit was called because... believe unity as a principle o... working class is more imp... than our differences.

"Only a united working cla... defend our interests and adv... our struggle - and we can only... a united working class thr... unity in action".

Cosatu has called on worke... the Western Cape and throug... the country to build mass orga... tion and unity in action aroun... demands of millions of worke...

They are making it a priori... build working class leadership... to link every struggle on the fa... floor with struggles in the c... munity to build a united front



**SOUTHERN AFRICAN SOCIETY OF JOURNALISTS**

The SASJ salutes the courage and determination of the editorial workers of Grassroots to continue publishing the truth about events in the country despite the state harassment you have suffered. The SASJ stands in solidarity with Grassroots and New Era - a position mandated unanimously by our national Congress earlier this month.

We will continue to provide support for Grassroots, including calls for international solidarity for your moral and material welfare.

The SASJ demands the right for journalists to free access and movement without State interference to ensure a free flow of information.

The people have the right to know.

## Workers pay more tax than bosses

A spiral of price rises in the past six months has left workers reeling. And economists predict that more price hikes will follow.

The cost of petrol has risen three times since last year. This in turn has meant a rise in the cost of transport. Bus fares have gone up and rail rates and air fares have increased.

All of this means that it costs more to transport goods which in turn means that goods are more expensive.

The decline in the exchange rate of the rand means that imported products cost more money.

The increase in electricity tariffs in January this year and the rise in the cost of raw materials have also contributed to higher prices.

Goods which have gone up in price include basic foodstuffs like maize, bread and sugar.

Workers' pockets have also been hard hit by taxation.

Research has shown that the people who earn the least money are carrying the heaviest taxation burden.

Although company profits increased by at least R6 million last year, workers will pay the majority of the government's budget in tax from PAYE, SITE and GST.

The rise in GST to 13%, means that workers pay GST on R41 of every

R100 which they earn.

While workers last year on av... won increases which were abov... inflation rate, a large proportio... these increases went on extra tax...

This is especially the case... workers who are earning above... a month because they are pay... large amount of PAYE.

There have been cases this ye... workers coming out with less m... than before an increase because o... heavy taxation.

While inflation is officially ru... at about 15 to 17 percent, ec... economists have said that it is al... almost double this.

This means that as unions go... negotiations for this year's wa... creases they will have to deman... raises in order for workers to be... to just maintain their living stan...

The living wage estimate has... increased by a third based on th... of housing.

Experts say that a living wa... about R263 a week or R1140 a m...

Only 4 out of 178 wage settle... surveyed last year took labourer... over R200 a month.

The survey undertaken last... showed that workers earne... average wage of R143,78 for me... R139,39 for women.



# No easy road to freedom

IN 1948 THE NATIONAL PARTY government under Malan told the UN that the mandate over SWA had lapsed. South Africa began to treat SWA as its fifth province, by giving its white population representation in the South African parliament.

The UN challenged South Africa's actions in the International Court of Justice.

The court ruled in 1950 that South Africa was still bound by the 1919 mandate and must report to the UN.

South Africa refused to accept the court's ruling and in 1954 the African population of SWA was placed under the Union's Native Affairs Department.

Ethiopia and Liberia, challenged South Africa's right to administer SWA in the International Court of Justice.

The case dragged on for eight years and proceedings were eventually stopped in 1968, when a pro-South Africa judge sat as president of the court and ruled that Ethiopia and Liberia had no right to be there.

When the UN failed to find a solution, Swapo began to plan an independent state to be called Namibia, and turned to guerrilla warfare in 1966.

In October 1966 the General Assembly of the UN passed a resolution ending South Africa's mandate over SWA.

Leading Western Nations, refused to recognise the General Assembly's resolution until 1968.

In 1971 the International Court of Justice ruled that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal.

## Swapo recognised

In the face of South Africa's continued refusal to withdraw from Namibia the General Assembly of the UN recognised Swapo as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

In 1976 the Security Council passed a resolution calling for free elections in Namibia under the United Nations supervision and control.

South Africa's main trading partners particularly Britain, the USA and France had repeatedly shielded South Africa by using their veto in the security council against mandatory sanctions, but were embarrassed by South Africa's refusal to obey UN resolutions.

They therefore attempted to persuade South Africa to abide by the UN decisions and the Western Five, consisting of the USA, Canada, France, Great Britain and West Germany launched intensive negotiations.

## Resolution 435

By 1977 the final proposal for a settlement plan was submitted to the Security Council. The proposal was approved and sanctioned by the Security Council in its unanimous resolution No. 435.

Resolution 435 envisaged an end to the conflict in Namibia and a cessation of hostilities.

It provided for free and fair elections, under joint South African and UN supervision and control.

During the transition period to independence, the Administrator General appointed by South Africa would administer the country and conduct the election, to the satisfaction of the special representative of the Secretary General of the UN.

The South African police would be responsible for law and order in the period of transition while UNTAG, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, would make sure that the provisions of the act complied with. UNTAG would consist of a civilian complement and a military one.

The military unit would be drawn from various countries after consultation with South Africa.

It was decided that the military component would not exceed 7 000 men, would only be armed with hand weapons, which would only be used in self-defence.

There was to be a phased withdrawal by South African troops to all but 1 500 troops within 12 weeks. Thereafter, the election campaign would officially start, lasting for four months.

Political prisoners must be released and refugees allowed to return. Swapo would be allowed to return peacefully through designated entry points.

Prior to the election campaign, the Administrator General was to repeal all discriminatory or restrictive laws which might inhibit free elections.

## Constituent Assembly

The elections were to be countrywide on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Representatives are to be elected to a Constituent Assembly, which in turn would draw up a constitution for an independent Namibia.

Resolution 435 did not fix a time for the Constituent Assembly and the period until independence.

South Africa objected to the Secretary General on the UN's interpretation of the settlement plan, particularly in regard to Swapo bases in Namibia and the failure to provide for proper monitoring of Swapo bases in the Frontline States.

When these objections were not resolved, South Africa continued with an internal election in December 1978, in which Swapo did not participate.

Despite objections by the Western Five and the Security Council, South Africa installed an interim government in Namibia in 1979, but terminated it in 1983.

Conferences and consultations continued but failed to agree on the implementation of Resolution 435.

## Compromises

A supplementary agreement was reached in 1978 where 435 was refined and provided for decisions of the Constituent Assembly to be taken by a two-third majority.

Swapo and the Frontline States accepted these amendments and made concessions to put an end to the delays imposed by South Africa.

But, immediately after this agreement had been filed as a Security Council document, South Africa and the USA raised a new precondition for the implementation of resolution 435.

They insisted that agreement must be reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola before Resolution 435 was implemented.



## The birth of a revolution

South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) was founded in Cape Town in 1959.

Toivo Herman Ja Toivo and Sam Nujoma organised migrant workers from Namibia into Swapo. Toivo was deported from Cape Town in 1958 and established a branch in Windhoek. By 1959 they had organised a substantial majority of the contract labour force.

In April 1959 Swapo organised a boycott of the municipal buses and beerhalls in Katutura (the township outside Windhoek) which were a prime source of revenue for the administration.

In December 1959, a large crowd gathered outside a beerhall when three people picketing the drinking centre were arrested. After the crowd ignored a police order to disperse, police reinforcements arrived with sten guns and opened fire.

Eleven people were killed and 54 wounded.

The SWA authorities ordered Swapo leaders to leave Windhoek within 72 hours. Sam Nujoma, fearing arrest, fled the

country. While members abroad petitioned the United Nations to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, Toivo ja Toivo concentrated on building support for Swapo in Ovamboland.

Pleas for intervention made to UN committees and bodies produced little more than toothless resolutions. Swapo leaders soon realised that liberation would entail the mobilisation of Namibians rather than a reliance on international bodies.

The transition of Swapo to a liberation movement is best explained by Herman Toivo ja Toivo, who made an impassioned plea to a Pretoria court before being sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on Robben Island: "The South African government creates hostility by separating people and emphasising their differences. Separation is said to be a natural process. But why, then, is it imposed by force and why then is it that whites have the superiority?"

"There are some who say that they are sympathetic to our aims, but that they condemn violence. I

would answer that I am not by nature a man of violence and I believe that violence is a sin against God and my fellow men.

"Swapo itself was a non-violent organisation, but the South African government is not truly interested in whether opposition is violent or non-violent. It does not wish to hear any opposition to apartheid."

Swapo has developed a number of strategies in its 20 years of existence. In Windhoek it maintained an active "political party". At the same time its military wing People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) conducted a guerrilla war from bases in southern Angola and Zambia.

Internationally, an efficient diplomatic and public relations corps with offices in the UN in New York, London, Lusaka, and Dakar, aimed at widening its international support.

Swapo regarded the armed struggle as the only possible avenue for achieving genuine independence. PLAN guerrillas are expected to politicise and mobilise the Namibian people in opposition to South Africa.

## UNTAG: Too little, too late

DECEMBER 22 1988 was a historic date in Namibia's history. After a decade of delays, the United Nations (UN) finally set April 1, 1988 as the date on which Operation Independence would begin. Swapo leader Sam Nujoma asked the UN to send a force (Untag) of 500 to monitor the elections. The Security Council refused, saying that 5 000 troops were sufficient.

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council - the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China - objected to the cost of the mission, up to R2 000 million.

They therefore agreed to limit the cost to R1 125 million. The Untag force was reduced to 4 650 troops. By March 1, the Transitional

Government had left office and South Africa's Administrator General, Louis Pienaar, took control of the country.

Mr Pienaar was given the power to register voters and issue residents permits to returning refugees. During March, Untag soldiers from all corners of the globe arrived in Namibia.

On April 1, the UN's Special Representative for Namibia, Finland's Martti Ahtisaari arrived in Windhoek.

He is expected to negotiate aspects of the elections with Pienaar.

There is already conflict over the voting age and the scrapping of discriminatory legislation. Pienaar wants 21 as a minimum voting age while UN officials and Swapo said they want the minimum age to be

## A crushing defeat for Pretoria

IN 1987 the South African Defence Force was pouring troops into Angola. They were intent on installing a UNITA government in Luanda.

A year later, after the historic battle at Cuito Cuanavale, the SADF had suffered a tremendous defeat and was forced to leave Angola.

With their backs against the wall, the South African government undertook to implement Resolution 435.

South Africa's combined forces - the SADF, SWA Territory Force (SWATF) and UNITA - failed to capture the town of Cuito Cuanavale after six months of fierce fighting.

Cuba's support to the Angolan government assisted in bringing the downfall of South African troops.

A large number of white troops lost their lives. Black soldiers in the SWATF sustained and refused to return to the war zone.

Another factor which forced South Africa to accept independence for Namibia was sanctions.

American banks began demanding a repayment of loans from South Africa and the country could no longer afford the war in Angola.

In 1988 SA was spending R8.2 billion on

four-month boycott of classes and demanded that army bases situated next to the schools be removed.

On June 20 and 21 half of Namibia's workers came out in support of

the closure of ANC bases in Angola, an indefinite delay in implementing Resolution 435, and an Angolan agreement that the SADF control a strip of Southern Angola to prevent Swapo fighter from entering Namibia.

These demands were totally rejected by the Cuban and Angolan delegations.

By the fourth round of the talks in New York in July, The South African government changed their demands substantially.

The discussions reached agreement on principles for a settlement:

- the total withdrawal of South Africa from Angola
- the independence of Namibia under Resolution 435
- with the implementation of 435, the staged withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola
- an agreement to respect the borders of states
- guarantees of both Angolan security and Namibian independence.

After the historic battle at Cuito Cuanavale, where the SADF suffered a tremendous defeat and was forced to leave Angola, the South African government undertook to implement Resolution 435.

defence. America began putting pressure on South Africa to settle in Namibia and withdraw from Angola.

Inside Namibia, Swapo intensified their struggle, not only in the rural areas but in the cities as well.

People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) guerrillas carried out attacks on military targets.

There was a rapid increase in worker and student organisation in Namibia in 1987. Students organised a

the students' demands, led by their trade union federation, the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW)

These factors drove South Africa to the negotiating table.

South African delegates began flying around the world to meet with Americans, Cubans, Angolans and Swapo to hammer out a settlement on Namibia.

In the third round of talks in Cairo in June 1988, the South African delegation, headed by Pik Botha, demanded

18. Namibians are dissatisfied with Untag's role in the elections. They feel South Africa has been given too many powers and the UN is powerless to stop abuses.

Already there are many stories of "cheating" in Namibia. Namibians allege that many South African soldiers and UNITA forces are going to be registered as voters.

The biggest outcry against the UN came when Ahtisaari allowed the SADF's most feared battalions - 101 and 102 - to be released from barracks to hunt Swapo fighters.

The Namibian National Students Union and the National Union of Namibian workers held a massive protest in the streets of Windhoek to question the role of the UN.

They carried placards stating "Ahtisaari are you a puppet?" and "UN on whose side are you?"

On April 1 more than 15 000 Namibians took to the streets in a protest march against privatisation.

The double highway from Katutura to Windhoek was blocked as people marched on Windhoek.

Police arrived and threatened to shoot people if they did not disperse.

NUNW officials sent a delegation to the leader of the Untag armed forces, General Prem Chand to ask them to come and monitor the protest.

we do? It's like our first day at school". The marchers were forced to go back to Katutura and held a rally which was attended by 16 000 people.

In the north, there are allegations that soldiers are handing out anti-Swapo pamphlets.

In one area, residents were shown films on the starvation and hunger in Ethiopia and told that was what Namibia would be like under Swapo rule.

Untag's impotence was illustrated best when fighting broke out in the north on April 1.

Even Pk Botha admitted that Untag "did not have sufficient

troops on the ground" to monitor the situation.

Only 738 of the 4 650 Untag troops were in Namibia on April 1 and none of the 100 troops in the north were on the scene when the fighting began.

Untag has been criticised not only for being absent, but also for being unhelpful or drunk when approached by Namibians for assistance.

When there were assaults by South African troops in the north, Untag was approached to investigate it. They responded that they were not active in the area and did not have transport to get there.





# Benzién killed Kriel

SECURITY policeman Jeff Benzien admitted at an inquest hearing that he killed ANC guerilla Ashley Kriel.

The details of Kriel's death slowly emerged in court - two years after he was killed.

Kriel's mother and two sisters sat in court during the hearing.

According to police evidence, an informer told them Kriel had returned to South Africa on July 2 after receiving military training.

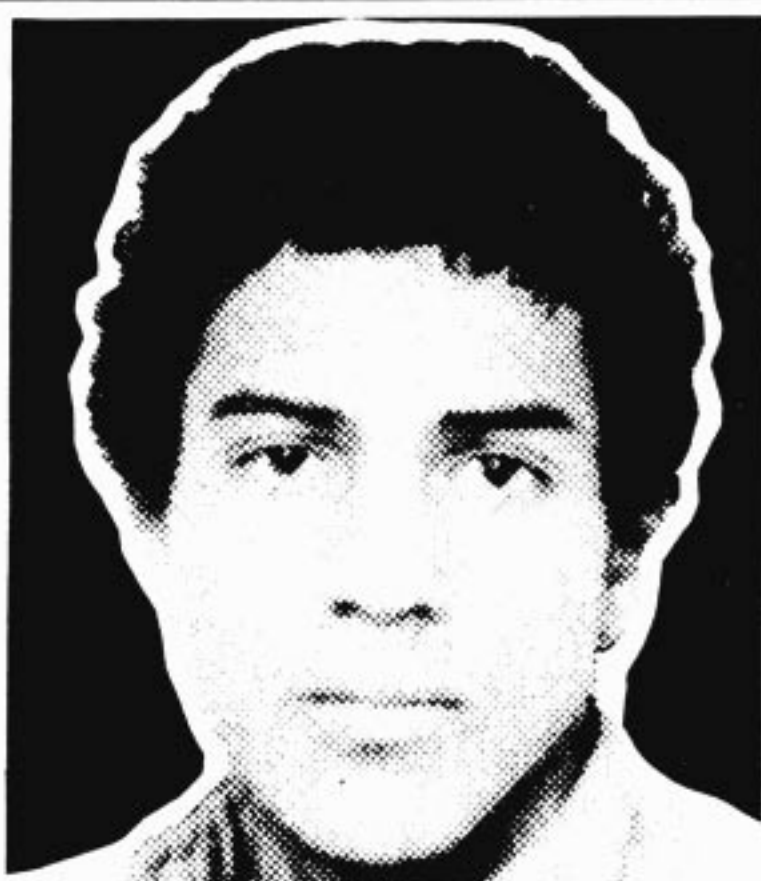
Two policemen, Warrant Officer Benzien and Sergeant Anthony Abels were sent to a house in Albrmale Street in Hazendal to find Kriel.

Both were disguised as sanitation officers and Benzien carried a spade and Abels an iron staff while they pretended to examine the drains.

Benzién said Kriel opened the back door after Abels knocked and had a towel and a jersey wrapped around his right hand.

"This looked very suspicious," he said. "We would not have stood a chance if he shot or threw a hand grenade at us."

According to Benzien, he grabbed



Kriel and told him to give himself up. Abels also moved forward and grabbed Kriel.

Benzién told the court that although both he and Abels held Kriel and both were taller and heavier than them, Kriel managed to pull them both onto the ground.

"He was extremely strong, the court must remember that he had just returned from a year's military training," Benzien said.

Benzién hit Kriel on his forehead with his pistol, which emerged from

under the towel, and Kriel pretended to be unconscious.

Kriel then jumped up while Abels was trying to handcuff him and tried to get back inside the house.

"I jumped onto his back and a shot went off. His body went limp and he fell to the ground," Benzien said.

The magistrate asked Benzien why his evidence in court was different to a statement he made after the incident. "This is very undesirable," he said.

Benzién said his evidence was more detailed than the statement.

Evidence also emerged that Nicklo Pedro, an ANC member recently sentenced to imprisonment on Robben Island, saw a poster of Kriel on Benzien's office wall while he was being interrogated. Pedro said Benzien told him "I killed Ashley Kriel."

Benzién admitted that he had added "not for you" under the poster with the words "freedom or death victory is certain".

He said the poster was printed after Kriel's death to "praise him as a hero". "But he was certainly not my hero," Benzien said.

## Countdown to crisis at Paarl highschool

THE appointment of white principals at African highschools has met with widespread resistance. Events at Simon Hebe High in Paarl, are contributing to the explosive climate in schools. Below is a diary of events so far.

**13 March** — Meeting between principal, staff and SRC. A resolution was taken that Sharpeville day will be commemorated on May 21.

**17 March** — Visser announces during devotions that he is not allowing a commemoration service to be held. He is led out of school by a guard of honour formed by the students. Visser comes back and tells teachers that he had been soft so far and that from now on an instruction will be an instruction.

**20 March** — A panel inspection is done. Students tell the teachers to be out of classes and demand that Visser leaves. Mr Gunter, assistant Deputy Director says that the teachers should go back to their classes or submit the names of students who intimidate the

others.

**21 March** — Students commemorate Sharpeville day.

**22 March** — A meeting is held between parents and students. They felt that Visser has to leave.

**23 March** — On this day schools close for holiday. Visser was absent from school.

**21 April** — Students boycott classes. Gunter demands to see the teachers' workbooks which they refused to give. Gunter gives letters containing charges of possible misconduct against teachers.

**24 April** — Mr Nel meets teachers and make them write complaints.

**8 May** — Mr Nel brought letters of possible misconduct to three teachers, Mrs. Cacadu, Mr Petros and Mr Allah.

**12 May** — Mr Mshumpela visits the three teachers and demands to see their workbooks.

**18 May** — Teachers expected another board of inspectors by the time of our going to press.

# Court hears Yengeni tortured in interrogation

ALLEGATIONS of torture and death threats emerged in the Supreme Court recently of security policemen who shot a detainee and then sat on his injured legs during interrogation.

Captain William Liebenberg, head of the terrorist detection unit, denied that terrorism accused Mr Tony Yengeni had been assaulted and tortured and that a wet rubber bag had been placed over his head during interrogation.

He also denied that a colleague stepped on the injured leg of captured guerilla Mr Bongani Jonas or that Mr Yengeni's shot and injured co-accused Mr Mtheteli Titana's injured leg had been twisted several times to gain information.

The trialists are: Mr Yengeni, Ms Jennifer Schreiner, Ms Lumka Elisabeth Nyamza, Mr Michael Mzimkulu Lumbambo, Mr Mbutu Richard Nduku, Mr Wellington Mongamelki Nkwandla, Mr Titana, Mr Gary Kruser, Mr Christopher John Gif-

fard, Mr Sitlabocha Charles Mahlale, Mr Alpheus Nkwana Ndude, Ms Gertrude Magdalene Nethania Fester, Ms Zurayah Abass and Ms Colleen Lombard.

### Culemborg

Liebenberg said Mr Bongani Jonas had been arrested and wounded before a meeting with Mr Yengeni in Belgravia Road, Athlone on September 17.

He said he had asked him about the seriousness of the wound when he first saw him at security police offices at Culemborg.

He did not do anything about Mr Jonas' wound because Mr Jonas said the bleeding had stopped and that there was no feeling in the area surrounding the wound.

In response to questions Mr Jonas had told him he was prepared to point out places to the police and he could be transported. He was then carried in a blanket, Captain Liebenberg said.

Liebenberg said he did not think it was wise to get medical attention for Mr Jonas at the time.

Mr De Villiers then asked Captain Liebenberg what he would say if Mr Jonas testified that Benzien had asked him where the wound was, asked him about limpet mines and when Mr Jonas had told him that Benzien had stood on his wound.

Liebenberg replied it had not been done in his presence. He said he knew Mr Jonas had been operated upon the following day and a metal pin inserted to mend a fracture.

### Hospital

Mr de Villiers said that Mr Jonas had pleaded with security police to be taken to hospital but was told he must give police information.

Liebenberg said this was not correct. If Mr Jonas had been arrested in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act he would have been entitled to his own doctor and attorney, Mr de Villiers said.

Liebenberg agreed. He said Mr Jonas was detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act before being taken to hospital.

Mr D P De Villiers QC, for the defence, showed Liebenberg police photographs of Mr Yengeni taken during a search at Ms Jenny Schreiner's flat.

He asked if Liebenberg could see anything abnormal on the right-hand side of his face.

### Swelling

Mr de Villiers said there was a "considerable swelling" on the right-hand side of Mr Yengeni's face, a bruising under his right eye, and a swollen lip.

Liebenberg said he could not see anything abnormal. He said there was no swelling.

Asked about a wet mark on Mr Yengeni's trousers, Liebenberg said he thought that he had wet his pants. He couldn't tell the court whether the trousers became wet while Mr Yengeni was lying down.

Mr De Villiers said the bruises on Mr Yengeni's face was an indication that he had been assaulted and tortured during interrogation before and after visiting Mr Yengeni's Lansdowne house.

Liebenberg denied this and said Mr Yengeni had never been threatened by a W/O Nel that "ugly things" would happen to him if he refused to cooperate.

He also denied that Mr Yengeni's beard had been pulled, that he had been slapped, that he had fallen while handcuffed and manacled, that he had threatened to kill Mr Yengeni or that he had been kicked.

Mr De Villiers asked Liebenberg that during questioning Warrant Officer Jeff Benzien had threatened to fetch his "stuff", that the interrogation had lasted for four hours and that police had only visited Searle Street after midnight.

Liebenberg denied this. He denied that after

the raid on Ms Schreiner's flat Benzien had arrived with his "stuff", taken Mr Yengeni to another office, replaced the standard handcuffs with rounder ones, placed a wet towel around Mr Yengeni's eyes and then placed a wet rubber bag over his head.

He also denied that Benzien had made Mr Yengeni lie on his stomach and that he had tightened the rubber bag and caused Mr Yengeni to lose consciousness. He had regularly visited interrogation and had not seen Benzien do this, Liebenberg said.

### Information

Mr De Villiers asked him if it was true that Mr Yengeni had been unwilling to give police information and that he had been forced to do so. Liebenberg denied this.

Liebenberg said he was not present when Mr Titana was wounded during his arrest at Heideveld station.

He had only been admitted to Woodstock and then transferred to Groote Schuur hospital after he had been taken to Culemborg for questioning.

He said he was not aware that Mr Titana had bled profusely from a wound in his right buttock or that he had been

placed on an intravenous drip.

While pointing out places to police Mr Titana had not been bleeding and neither was this the case when they returned to Culemborg.

Mr Titana had willingly showed police his house in Khayelitsha and never complained of extreme pain.

Liebenberg denied that he had slapped Mr Titana.

"Warrant Officer Nel grabbed Mr Titana's injured leg and swung it around like an old car's starter sling. W/O Nel made the noise like a starting car," Mr de Villiers said.

Liebenberg denied this and said Nel had not been present. He also denied that Nel had done this a second time or that Mr Titana had asked Nel to take him to the hospital.

### Threats

He further denied that later at Culemborg Nel had told Mr Titana that worse could happen to him and that because of the pain Mr Titana had agreed to point out places to the police.

He also denied that he and Nel had again twisted Mr Titana's leg, that he had pointed a pistol at his face and that he had threatened to shoot him.



# A crushing defeat for Pretoria

IN 1987 the South African Defence Force was pouring troops into Angola. They were intent on installing a UNITA government in Luanda.

A year later, after the historic battle at Cuito Cuanavale, the SADF had suffered a tremendous defeat and was forced to leave Angola.

With their backs against the wall, the South African government undertook to implement Resolution 435.

South Africa's combined forces - the SADF, SWA Territory Force (SWATF) and UNITA - failed to capture the town of Cuito Cuanavale after six months of fierce fighting.

Cuba's support to the Angolan government assisted in bringing the downfall of South African troops.

A large number of white troops lost their lives. Black soldiers in the SWATF mutinied and refused to return to the war zone.

Another factor which forced South Africa to accept independence for Namibia was sanctions.

American banks began demanding a repayment of loans from South Africa and the country could no longer afford the war in Angola.

In 1988 SA was spending R8,2 billion on

four-month boycott of classes and demanded that army bases situated next to the schools be removed.

On June 20 and 21 half of Namibia's workers came out in support of

the closure of ANC bases in Angola, an indefinite delay in implementing Resolution 435, and an Angolan agreement that the SADF control a strip of Southern Angola to prevent Swapo fighters from entering Namibia.

These demands were totally rejected by the Cuban and Angolan delegations.

By the fourth round of the talks in New York in July, the South African government changed their demands substantially.

The discussions reached agreement on principles for a settlement:

- the total withdrawal of South Africa from Angola
- the independence of Namibia under Resolution 435
- with the implementation of 435, the staged withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola
- an agreement to respect the borders of states
- guarantees of both Angolan security and Namibian independence.

After the historic battle at Cuito Cuanavale, where the SADF suffered a tremendous defeat and was forced to leave Angola, the South African government undertook to implement Resolution 435.

defence.

America began putting pressure on South Africa to settle in Namibia and withdraw from Angola.

Inside Namibia, Swapo intensified their struggle, not only in the rural areas but in the cities as well.

People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) guerrillas carried out attacks on military targets.

There was a rapid increase in worker and student organisation in Namibia in 1987.

Students organised a

the students' demands, led by their trade union federation, the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW)

South Africa to the negotiating table.

South African delegates began flying around the world to meet with Americans, Cubans, Angolans and Swapo to hammer out a settlement on Namibia.

In the third round of talks in Cairo in June 1988, the South African delegation, headed by Pik Botha, demanded

## UNTAG: Too little, too late

DECEMBER 22 1988 was a historic date in Namibia's history. After a decade of delays, the United Nations (UN) finally set April 1, 1988 as the date on which Operation Independence would begin.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma asked that the UN send a force (Untag) of 7 500 to monitor the elections.

The Security Council refused, saying that 5 000 troops were sufficient.

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council - the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China - objected to the cost of the mission, up to R 2 000 million.

They therefore agreed to limit the costs to R1 125 million. The Untag task force was reduced to 4 650 troops.

By March 1, the Transitional

Government had left office and South Africa's Administrator General, Louis Pienaar, took control of the country.

Mr Pienaar was given the power to register voters and issue residents permits to returning refugees.

During March, Untag soldiers from all corners of the globe arrived in Namibia.

On April 1, the UN's Special Representative for Namibia, Finland's Martti Ahtisaari arrived in Windhoek.

He is expected to negotiate aspects of the elections with Pienaar.

There is already conflict over the voting age and the scrapping of discriminatory legislation. Pienaar wants 21 as a minimum voting age while UN officials and Swapo said they want the minimum age to be

18.

Namibians are dissatisfied with Untag's role in the elections. They feel South Africa has been given too many powers and the UN is powerless to stop abuses.

Already there are many stories of "cheating" in Namibia. Namibians allege that many South African soldiers and UNITA forces are going to be registered as voters.

The biggest outcry against the UN came when Ahtisaari allowed the SADF's most feared battalions - 101 and 102 - to be released from barracks to hunt Swapo fighters.

The Namibian National Students Union and the National Union of Namibian workers held a massive protest in the streets of Windhoek to question the role of the UN.

They carried placards stating "Ahtisaari are you a puppet" and "UN on whose side are you on".

On April 1 more than 15 000 Namibians took to the streets in a protest march against privatisation.

The double highway from Katutura to Windhoek was blocked as people marched on Windhoek.

Police arrived and threatened to shoot people if they did not disperse.

NUNW officials sent a delegation to the leader of the Untag armed forces, General Prem Chand to ask them to come and monitor the protest.

General Chand said: "What can

we do? It's like our first day at school". The marchers were forced to go back to Katutura and held a rally which was attended by 16 000 people.

In the north, there are allegations that soldiers are handing out anti-Swapo pamphlets.

In one area, residents were shown films on the starvation and hunger in Ethiopia and told that was what Namibia would be like under Swapo rule.

Untag's impotence was illustrated best when fighting broke out in the north on April 1.

Even Pik Botha admitted that Untag "did not have sufficient

troops on the ground" to monitor the situation.

Only 738 of the 4 650 Untag troops were in Namibia on April 1 and none of the 100 troops in the north were on the scene when the fighting began.

Untag has been criticised not only for being absent, but also for being unhelpful or drunk when approached by Namibians for assistance.

When there were assaults by South African troops in the north, Untag was approached to investigate it. They responded that they were not active in the area and did not have transport to get there.



ONE NAMIBIA ONE NATION



## COMMUNITY NEWS

## Talking to the gangsters in Hanover Park

KNIVES flashing. Guns being fired. Just like you see it on TV. The only difference is, this is real life, people really die. An increase in violent crimes on the Cape Flats has placed crime high on the agenda of many community organisations.

"Gangsterism is becoming a real problem in our area," said Mrs Adelaide Daniels from the Hanover Park Advice Office.

"But we have found that gangs have respect for community organisations and individuals in community organisations. They must be made aware of the harm they are doing."

Mr. Hoosain from the Heideveld Residents Assosiation said that they have started talks with the gangs in Heideveld about one month ago.

"We have been meeting with them on a nightly basis and also tried to get the parents involved. We found that it is not always the residents from Hedideveld that is causing the problems. There is willingness amongst the gangs to work towards solving this problem. But there is also this matter of grudge and revenge amongst them."

"The eight existing gangs in Heideveld agreed to meet with each other and settle their feuds," Mr. Hoosain said. One positive effect, Mr.

Hoosain pointed out, was the fact that the incidences of crime has decreased since the start of their talks with the gangs.

"We have to reach out to them and communicate with them. From the talks that we had with gang members I found that they are intelligent youngsters," he said.

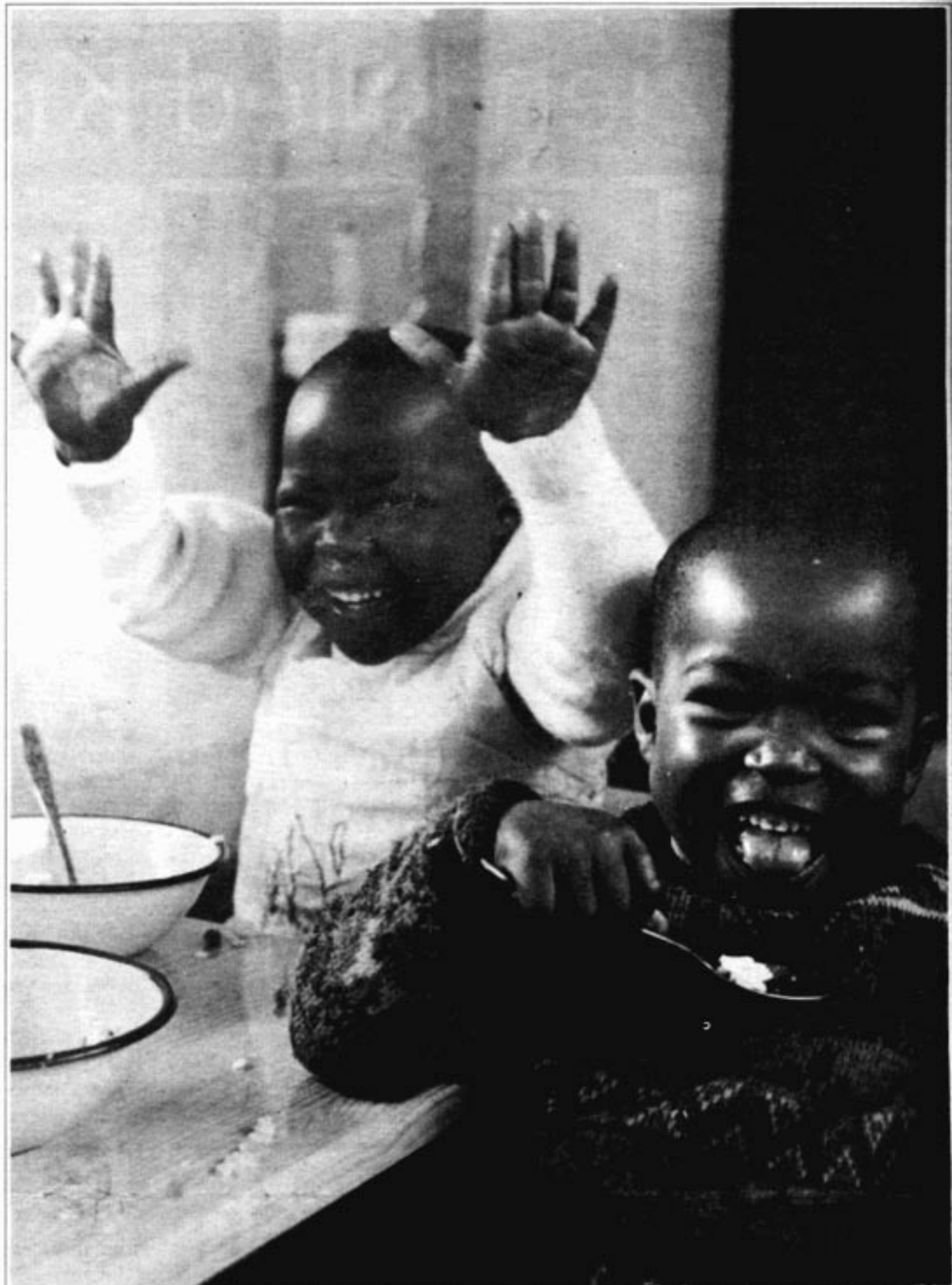
In trying to solve this gangsterism problem the Hanover Park Advice Office is planning a cultural day in June during which they want to involve members of gangs as well as churches and schools in Hanover Park.

"This day we also want to educate the gang members around other problems like housing and evictions in the area. This way we hope to get them involved in community activities," Mrs. Daniels said.

She sounds optimistic when she tells about a gangster member who came to the Advice office asking for pamphlets against gangsterism.

She said that the number of crime incidences has increased during the month of Ramadaan.

Asked whether they have considered working together with the police she said that they did not for various reasons which she did not want to discuss.



Members of the Langa Branch of the United Women's Congress (UWCO) have raised the money to start a creche for pre-school children, in order to relieve working mothers of the worry of what is happening to their children while they are out. Here a few of the creche's twenty five children enjoy their lunch, and each others company on their first day at 'school'

# WELCOME BACK

## Grassroots

and

## New Era

May you continue  
undaunted in your  
courageous  
coverage  
of events in our  
country

From the directors, trustees  
and staff of

### South

## "We have the power to fight evictions" - Mannenberg Civic:

HOUSES, security and comfort are basic human rights not privileges.

In Manenberg, however, people have to fight to get and keep a roof over their heads.

Here, evictions take place at a rate of twenty a week, a spokesperson for the Manenberg Advice office said.

To fight these evictions, the Manenberg Civic Organisation has made an arrangement with the head office of the housing department in Cape Town to get a list of all the people to be evicted every Friday.

They then accompany the tenants to the local rent office every Monday where the house rents are negotiated in

terms of what the tenant can afford.

"We have found that the tenants, most of them unemployed or earning very little, don't know how to negotiate their own rent prices and just agree to any price, the spokesman said.

"That is why we insist that a member of the Civic be present when rents are being negotiated".

But this also poses problems because now the council sees the Civic as "doing their dirty work".

"But we are not doing their dirty work. We are doing it purely for our own gains - to assist the tenants," the spokesman said.

"The Civic meets every Wednesday, and we find that people only attend while they have problems.

After their problems have been solved, they don't attend the meetings anymore.

We do appeal to residents to attend these meetings regularly because we are there for them".

He said that the Civic's campaign against evictions in Manenberg started in 1987.

"In 1987 during the October elections, we had a campaign, arranged by local civic organisations, Advice office and youth organisations, against evictions.

"We tried to get the

tenants' arrears in rent payments scrapped. This campaign was very successful and we did not have any evictions during this time.

After this, the evictions started again," he said.

A month ago the Manenberg Advice Office arranged a protest march with the tenants to the rent office to negotiate rent prices.

"We heard that seven families were to be evicted. Students then gathered at the rent office and stood there until the negotiations were over," the spokesman said.

"They then marched back to school again. On that day no people were evicted, which proves that the people do have the power to make a change," he said.

Residents in Manenberg are so stirred up by the evictions that two months ago, members of Manenberg's street gang, the Hardlivings, have joined the Civic in fighting evictions.



**N**amibian resistance to occupation began in the early 1800's when a German chancellor carved up a map of Africa between European powers and decided that the territory belonged to him.

German settlers began buying up land near Luderitz, but their advance into the interior of Namibia was delayed for ten years because of the resistance by tribal leaders.

The Herero and Nama nations refused to recognize the sovereignty of the German invaders. Their resistance was not crushed until the arrival of a new governor, Theodor Leutwin.

He executed leading tribal chiefs and passed legislation stopping traders from giving credit to Africans and forcing them into labour on white farms.

#### Uprisings

In 1904, the Herero nation, enraged by the loss of their land, rose up against German rule. German reinforcements were brought from overseas to fight the Herero. When peace finally returned to Hereroland 44 000 Herero's had been killed and only 16 000 Herero's were left.

Namibia's war of resistance lasted for four years. Namibians showed that they were not only brave soldiers but militarily superior to the Germans.

#### Jakob Marengo

The war was led by a legendary leader, Jakob Marengo, who based himself in the Kara mountains in the South. More and more people joined his forces, most of them well-armed with horses. They were drawn from all the people of the territory, united in their opposition to the colonial oppressor.

The Germans declared open war, but Marengo strengthened his troops and brought almost the entire south under his control. Faced with an enemy which moved around the territory rapidly, the German troops suffered one defeat after another.

The German emperor placed an enormous price on Marengo's head and in September 1907 he was killed in a battle. By the end of 1907 the uprising had ended and the survivors were herded into concentration camps. The extermination and defeat of the African people meant that the conquest of the territory was complete. Over 80 000 Namibians were killed during the uprising.

The Germans began concentrating on stripping the country of its wealth and resources. Copper and diamond fields were opened and Africans over the age of seven had to carry passes to prove their employment by whites.

Unemployed Africans were arrested for vagrancy and were then forced to work on white farms or road and railway construction.

#### South Africa's conquest

When the British government declared war on Germany in August 1914, it did so on behalf of its empire, including the Union of South Africa.

When Germany was defeated its colonies were given away. Namibia was given to South Africa. South Africa's rule over



*Minutes before this picture was taken, a casspir flattened the house in which these Namibians were living. One more example of the brutality of colonial rule*

## *The history of Namibia: A long and bitter struggle against colonial rule*

South West Africa was justified by the League of Nations as a "sacred trust of civilisation" - to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the territory". This was supposed to lead to eventual independence for the country.

South Africa had to report annually to the League on their "progress". They retained the German division of the land, with two-thirds, including the best farming areas and mineral deposits owned by whites.

#### Making money

British capital based in South Africa bought out German Mining companies in Namibia. Anglo-American, headed by Ernest Oppenheimer, began its rise to wealth by taking over the diamond fields.

Discrimination was practised from the start. A Legislative assembly was set up, elected by whites only. In 1922 a Native Administration Proclamation decreed that all Africans would be confined to reserves.

The League of Nations never criticized South Africa's policies in Namibia. The only resistance came from inside the country.

The Bondelswarts group of Nama at Warmbad rose in protest in 1921 against a new dog tax (one pound for one dog but ten pounds

for five dogs) which threatened their livelihood as hunters and forced them to work on white farms instead.

Smuts sent in South African troops and two aircraft, which machine-gunned and bombed the Bondelswarts into submission.

An uprising broke out in Windhoek in 1959 over the extension of urban apartheid to South West Africa.

The Bantu Affairs Department responded by destroying the old location close to Windhoek. People were resettled in a new location far from the city, which was sub-divided into "tribal zones" called Katatura township.

People protested against this move and police opened fire on demonstrators, killing eleven people.

#### United Nations

When it became clear to the United Nations that South Africa was doing nothing about moving towards self-government for the territory, they declared that South Africa was illegally occupying the country.

They did nothing to persuade South Africa to give it up however. It was left entirely up to Namibians to force South Africa to leave their country.

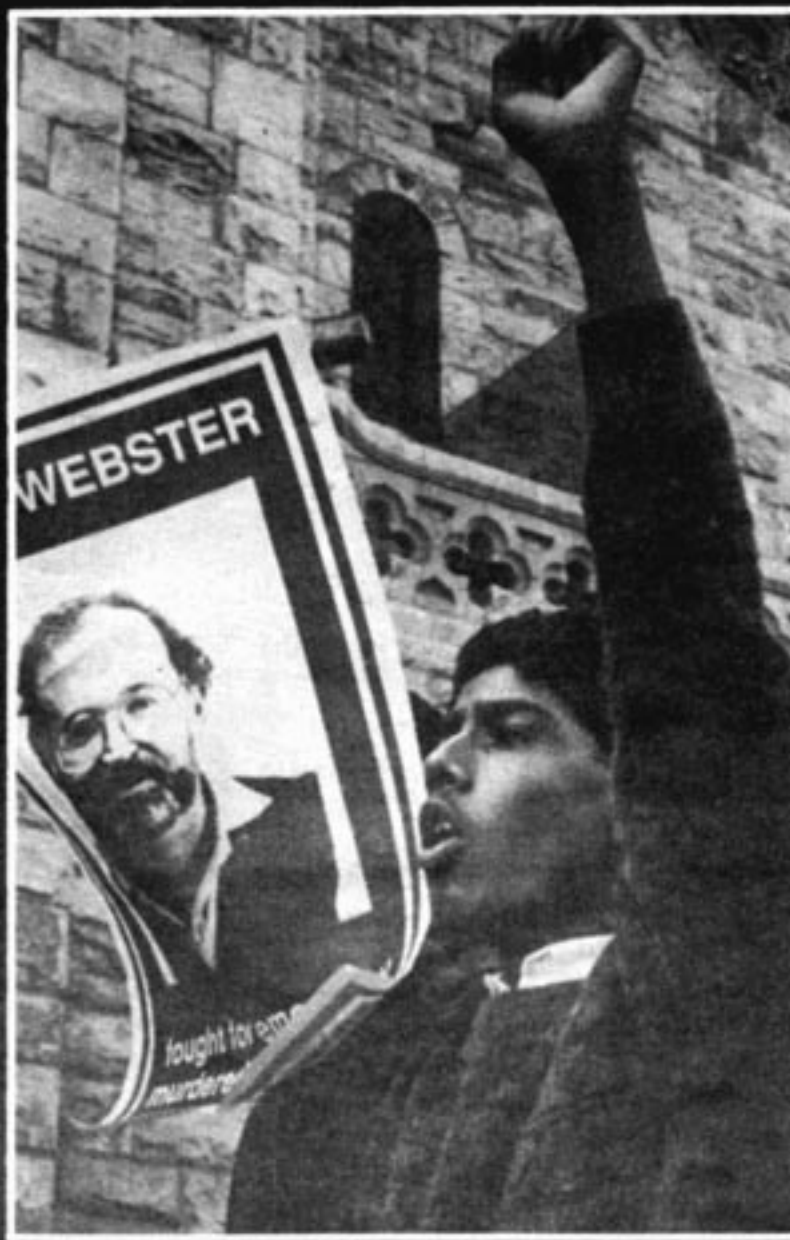


*With freedom only a few months away, these children wait patiently for the elections*

**SWAPO VICTORY IS CERTAIN**



## REPRESSION



sor Albie Sachs were all attacked over the next few weeks.

In last year's murder trial of police sergeant Robert van der Merwe, incriminating evidence of police knowledge and acceptance of death-squad activity was revealed.

Van der Merwe claimed that he had not hesitated to kill to men he believed had ANC links "because I knew it had happened before".

As an example he said that on the night of the killing in Swaziland of ANC executive member Cassius Make and two others in July 1987, (for which the police denied responsibility), he had been on the Swazi-SA border and had overheard four security policemen discussing arrangements for the assassination.

There was no official police comment on Van der Merwe's statements.

#### Magnus Malan

In a speech to the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria last year, Magnus Malan said that like others, South Africa sometimes used "unconventional methods" to achieve its policy objectives.

"Like others," he said, "we do not talk about them".

The language used by law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok when referring to internal extra-parliamentary organisations is similar to Malan's comments on the ANC.

During the course of this state of emergency Vlok has spoken of the need to "eliminate" and "annihilate" those who he calls "revolutionaries".

Though the evidence of death squad activity inside the country is circumstantial, simple denials by ministers and police officials and unconvincing.

Unless there are arrests and court hearings and not merely police investigations from which nothing public is ever heard, the finger for the growing list of political assassinations will continue to point at faceless people working under the cover of the state.

It is against this background that David Webster's assassination has to be seen.

Unless it can prove otherwise, the responsibility for his death lies squarely with the state.

**Long live  
the spirit  
of  
David Webster**

# Why did they kill David Webster?

The death of David Webster marks the latest in a long line of unsolved assassinations on anti-apartheid activists.

Some of the most prominent have been Durban University lecturer Rick Turner in 1978, human rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge in 1983, his wife Victoria Mxenge in 1985, the four Cradock UDF leaders in 1985, Pretoria community leader Fabian Ribiero and his wife in 1986 and Lenasia political activist Dr Abubaker Asvat in 1988.

Numerous township student and youth activists have also died in violent circumstances over the last five years.

For many years Webster had been closely identified with detainee supportwork. Time and time again he called for detainees to be released so that they could participate actively and openly in the process of political change.

Webster played an important part

in ensuring the release of detainees. He was involved in confrontations with the security police when they tried to close down detainees tea parties.

He wrote letters and documents chronicling and protesting against the conditions of repression.

He did not keep quiet and was always there for the detainees and their families. In this concrete sense he was a thorn in the flesh for the state - an obstacle to the success of their emergency strategy of removing activists from their society.

#### Assassination - a new strategy

What is worrying about Webster's death is that it may mark the beginning of a new phase of extra-legal repression against apartheid's opponents.

One released activist - Natal Youth Congress member Chris Ntuli - was killed last month on his

way home from the local police station where his restriction order required him to report twice daily.

Many other detainees have expressed the fear that restriction orders which confine them to their homes for large parts of each day and night make them sitting ducks for harassment and possible death squads.

David Webster was not restricted. But his political work had in many ways made him symbolic of all those - whether restricted or not - who have been released from emergency detention over the last few months.

Spokesmen for the South African police have always denied allegations that they may have been involved in political assassinations.

Despite their denials, many serious questions remain unanswered. The most obvious is why have none of the killings been solved?

Last year General G Joubert of

the SAP's Criminal Investigations Division was appointed to head a special police investigation into so-called "right-wing" attacks on anti-apartheid institutions such as the South African Council of Churches, Cosatu and the South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

So far, nothing at all has been heard from the Commission.

Anti-apartheid activists believe that assassinations inside the country form part of the same pattern of extra-legal repression as the assassinations of exiled members.

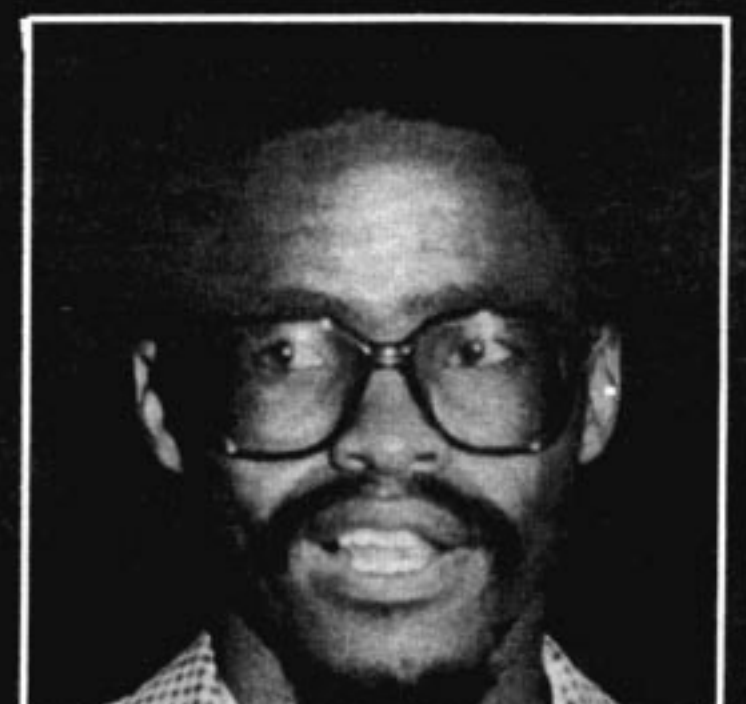
There have been armed attacks of anti-apartheid activists outside South Africa every 12 days in the first part of this year.

These attacks followed a statement by Magnus Malan that "wherever the ANC is, we will eliminate it". The ANC's French representative, Dulcie September, its Brussels representative Godfrey Motsapa, Umkhonto guerilla Mazizi Nqakeza and law profes-



Dulcie September

During the course of the state of emergency Vlok has spoken of the need to "eliminate" and "annihilate" those whom he calls "revolutionaries".



Mathew Goniwe



grassroots  
commentWe're back  
on the  
streets!

The eighth Annual General Meeting of Grassroots takes place on the weekend of May 19 and 20.

For Grassroots Publications it is probably the most crucial AGM since its inception in 1980.

The AGM will start two days after the three month banning of Grassroots and New Era expires.

It will also come at a time when the mass democratic movement is already showing strong signs of revival despite the vicious state repression of the last year.

The project will again firmly establish itself as an integral part of the mass democratic movement - a relationship which the state of emergency has damaged but by no means destroyed.

While delegates deliberate on the future of the project this weekend, they will be fully aware of the deep crisis in the ranks of the ruling class.

Disension is mounting in the Nationalist Party with in-fighting, resignations and early retirements becoming the order of the day.

Among those who have suddenly stepped out of politics is none other than Stoffel Botha, who has in a short space of time managed to achieve world wide notoriety because of his clampdown on the press.

In February, Grassroots and New Era fell under Stoffel's axe. Earlier he had taken action against New Nation, South and Weekly Mail.

Now Stoffel has gone into early retirement. But Grassroots lives on.

We have emerged from the banning period stronger than ever and pledge to continue in our efforts to expose the evils of apartheid until it exists no more.

Stoffel, his successor and their government must hear our message loud and clear.

You may ban us but you will never silence us.

## grassroots

NO SUBMISSION  
TO RESTRICTIONS

Panel discussion

Murphy Morobe

Laurie Nathan

Saleem Badat

Johnny Issel

19 May, 7.30 pm

Bonteheuwel Civic Centre

Gumba  
Featuring Heeshoo Beshoo, Robbe Jansen, Mapp, Action Workshop, Gosaw and organisation  
Time: 20 May, 7.30pm  
Venue: Community House, Salt River Road, Salt River

## WE DEMAND HOUSES

GEE VIR ON  
HUISE NIE  
COURT ORDES  
NIE

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- It can impose massive fines - up to R10 000 - on people who break it, which means certain jail for many squatters who will obviously not be able to afford such heavy fines.
- It makes squatters guilty until they can prove innocence, (normally you are innocent until the state proves guilt).
- The new law makes it almost impossible for people to stop removal through a court interdict and forces the court to order the removal of the squatters and the demolition of their houses if the squatters are unable to prove their "innocence".
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right to take the land away from the owner without compensation.

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The farm-owner can be made liable to a fine of R10 000 if he/she refuses to evict the people who are not working for him/her.

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There are between eight and nine million people in South Africa who are forced to become squatters and who are threatened by this new amendment.

While many people cannot afford to buy their own houses, and the chances of renting a house cheaply are decreasing by the day, this new Prevention of Squatting Act is making it impossible for people even to squat.

One wonders where, and how, these people are going to live. Several communities in the surrounding Cape Town areas have already experienced this threat.

The settlement at Uitkyk farm near Kraaifontein and a community in Nooiensfontein near Kullivier are two examples of squatter communities who have faced consistent harassment by the authorities since the beginning of the year.

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Most of the people earn an average of R120 a week and are having to pay between R816 and R1000 a month for their houses.

In one house there are four working people and even with their joint income they cannot afford to pay the instalment and survive!

A lot of people are bitterly disappointed with the housing schemes of these private companies. Housing is the responsibility of the government, they say.

"What is wrong with private companies building houses is that they are only interested in profit-making and not providing decent houses", one resident complained.

"The government houses are normally in much better condition than the private housing", he said.

The private companies use cheap materials to build houses and do not seem to be concerned with the building regulations.

People are also having their houses repossessed all the time because they can't pay the very high instalments that the companies demand, even if some of them pay all their wages

for rents. Privatisation of housing is a sly move by the government because they are trying to save themselves from the responsibility of providing proper houses for the people.

It also makes it difficult for people to unite under the threat of high rents because the people now have to pay money to different companies for their houses.

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As we can see for ourselves, many of those laws and regulations that the government and big business want to do away with have, and still do, provide some protection for workers and were only won after long and bitter struggles against the bosses.

Big business is very much in favour of privatisation as they believe that it will not only help profit-making but will strengthen the interests of capitalism in a future South Africa.

Both the bosses and the government hope that selling off government services to capitalist companies, will help to 'depoliticise' struggles for these basic services and direct the people's anger away from the Apartheid regime.

As one of the bosses said: "If things such

as housing, education, transport and labour (the four most conflict-ridden areas in South Africa) were privatised/deregulated, the major problems would be solved. These areas would be depoliticised."

They (the bosses and the government) argue also that the control and running of the parastatals (eg. ESKOM - the Electricity Supply Commission) is inefficient and would be better run by capitalists.

This simply means that the state would hand over the ownership and control of something like ESKOM to large monopoly companies (which would be the only ones able to buy and run such a large enterprise)

This would not mean new investment and thus no new jobs would be created. The monopolies would probably try to make these parastatals more efficient which often means retrenchment for many workers, so that production costs less and more profits are made.

These monopoly companies can also afford to buy new machinery to replace workers tasks and so make more money

## Privatisation: a new way to enforce apartheid

is international pressure on the government through sanctions and disinvestment. This has meant that overseas businesses do not want to, or are under pressure not to invest money in this country.

This economic situation is driving the state and big business to find ways of improving the economic situation without meeting the political demands of the masses. They are coming up with solutions which they hope will protect their interests.

Some of the solutions being pushed by the government and big business at the moment are privatisation and deregulation.

## Privatisation

"Privatisation" and "deregulation" refer to a set of measures which the government and big business think will rebuild economic growth and reduce the high rate of unemployment by:

- transferring a range of public sector activities to the private sector which they feel will manage them more efficiently

## Deregulation

The 'privatisation' and 'deregulation' measures being introduced by big business and the government are meant, they say, to encourage the growth of small businesses which they believe employ more people and are more efficient (we remember that for capitalists the word "efficiency" means the ability of a company to make more profits and not necessarily better quality products and/or services).

By 'deregulation' the government and big business mean that many laws or regulations that govern certain aspects of economic activity will be abolished, and

through increased production while lessening the possibility of strike action by militant workers.

So privatisation will probably lead to the loss of jobs rather than the creation of new ones.

## Housing and health

Health services are another area that the government and big business want to privatise. Instead of abolishing apartheid in this area the government would rather 'equalise' these services which would mean that you get what you can afford.

This will result in people getting 'normal' health services only if they can afford it while the poorer people would get very bad and inadequate treatment because they cannot afford better.

Housing is another vital area of need which is being laid open to privatisation.

To place the housing crisis under the responsibility of capitalists would mean large numbers of people would only be able to afford houses if they were cheap.

Capitalists would find it difficult to make houses that workers could afford while making a profit at the same time.

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DEFENCE

86/87:R5,123bn  
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grassroots  
commentWe're back  
on the  
streets!

The eighth Annual General Meeting of Grassroots takes place on the weekend of May 19 and 20.

For Grassroots Publications it is probably the most crucial AGM since its inception in 1980.

The AGM will start two days after the three month banning of Grassroots and New Era expires.

It will also come at a time when the mass democratic movement is already showing strong signs of revival despite the vicious state repression of the last year.

The project will again firmly establish itself as an integral part of the mass democratic movement - a relationship which the state of emergency has damaged but by no means destroyed.

While delegates deliberate on the future of the project this weekend, they will be fully aware of the deep crisis in the ranks of the ruling class.

Disension is mounting in the Nationalist Party with in-fighting, resignations and early retirements becoming the order of the day.

Among those who have suddenly stepped out of politics is none other than Stoffel Botha, who has in a short space of time managed to achieve world wide notoriety because of his clampdown on the press.

In February, Grassroots and New Era fell under Stoffel's axe. Earlier he had taken action against New Nation, South and Weekly Mail.

Now Stoffel has gone into early retirement. But Grassroots lives on.

We have emerged from the banning period stronger than ever and pledge to continue in our efforts to expose the evils of apartheid until it exists no more.

Stoffel, his successor and their government must hear our message loud and clear.

You may ban us but you will never silence us.

## grassroots

NO SUBMISSION  
TO RESTRICTIONS

Panel discussion

Murphy Morobe

Laurie Nathan

Saleem Badat

Johnny Issel

19 May, 7.30 pm

Bonteheuwel Civic Centre

Gumba  
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## FEATURE



A construction company busy upgrading an African township: new pavements and a couple of tarred roads have never yet bought a people's soul

## JMCs in trouble?

The government's network of 500 odd Joint Management Centres (JMC's) are struggling to fulfill the intentions of state security planners. JMC's are the regional district and local extensions of the National Security Management System (NSMS).

According to the generals and police chiefs who set them up, they are supposed to co-ordinate the counter-revolutionary warfare strategy of "eliminating" activists and "winning the hearts and minds" ("WHAM") which has been put into action since 1986.

But the growing economic crisis and the survival of black political resistance are slowly undoing the "crush - create - co-opt" reform strategy of the PW Botha state.

A JMC has five committees - an Intelligence Committee, a Security Committee, a Welfare Committee, a Communications Committee, and an Executive Committee which brings together representatives of each of the four functional committees.

The committees are known by their Afrikaans names - GIK (Gesamentlike Intelligensie Komitee), Veikom (Veiligheids Komitee), Semkom (Staatkundige, Ekonomiese en Maatskaplike Komitee), and Komkom (Kommunikasie Komitee).

### Collecting information

The GIK is staffed by the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the security branch of the SAP and Military Intelligence.

It collects two kinds of intelligence on communities. The first is "hard" intelligence on the intentions, plans, activities and problems of activists and their organisations. This intelligence is then channelled to Veikom.

A second kind of intelligence, so-called "soft" intelligence, includes the attitudes, complaints and grievances of the community toward the state, its officials and its reform and upgrade programmes.

The functions of Veikom and Semkom sum up well the intentions of state security strategists.

These are to use the words of Law and

Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, to "take out", "eliminate", or "annihilate" activists while "addressing grievances".

By doing this, they hope, the hearts and minds of the masses will be won over to the state instead of the "revolutionaries".

### Repression

The Veikom, which is staffed by riot police, soldiers and officers of the municipal police and kitskonstabels is the repressive arm of the system.

It co-ordinates the process of detentions, restrictions, spying, monitoring and allegedly also violent attacks and harassment which are made on those who are an extra-parliamentary threat to the state.

The Semkom takes responsibility for co-ordinating other government functions, especially upgrade programmes. This involves painting schools, new pavements, tarring some roads, providing land for companies to build houses on, etc. Officials of state departments, eg roads, education, welfare, the province and health sit on the Semkom.

The fourth of the JMC's committees is Komkom. It is staffed mainly by employees of the Bureau for Information. Komkom publicises upgrades and supports conservative "counter organisations" (such as counter-youth groups, "multi-racial" sport, gospel associations and local authorities).

JMCs and their committees have caused real problems for popular organisations. But JMCs don't seem to be managing to "win the war" for the state, however many problems they cause.

### No-win strategy

Consider these things: South Africa's economy is more and more isolated as a result of sanctions. As it slowly grinds to a halt the government will be able to get less and less money out of it for its schemes of repression and reform.

This means it cannot meet the demands of the backlog in services, education, housing and jobs which apartheid has caused. Meanwhile the government

spends more and more on the police and the army.

Until apartheid goes, things are going to keep getting worse for most people. The problem is apartheid, not activists.

No-one understands where this government is taking us to - apart from down the road to ruin. How can they expect to win hearts and minds for the hated constitution we have now, or for the unknown schemes of the future?

### No support for collaborators

The collaborators who the state relies on to control people and implement its policies still have no support in black communities. Too many co-opted (and corrupted) collaborators are unrepresentative individuals who take advantage of apartheid structures because "there's money in that system."

The Mass Democratic Movement still has the allegiance of the majority of our communities. It is also starting to break down the emergency.

Detainees are being released back into their areas and organisations are continuing to work among the masses. Newspapers have survived bannings and closings.

Although the JMCs can hold off real political change for some time to come, they cannot stop the increasing calls for a solution with the ANC.

Three years of Emergency have seen the government slip deeper into crisis. Its response is still JMC "crisis management" and "Heunis-speak".

For how long can the government ignore people's demands for democracy and the return of the ANC?

The answer to that question depends on us. With widespread support for progressive organisations, the isolating of the government and its stooges and the building of strong organisation in our communities, then they cannot ignore our demands for much longer.

New pavements and a couple of tarred roads have never yet bought a people's soul. They are not likely to here either.

### The Constitutional Guidelines:

# What do you think?

During the late 1940's, thousands of South Africans, known as volunteers, went door-to-door in every city, town and village, collecting people's visions for a new South Africa. These ideals were enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

The Charter is still regarded today as a blue print for a post-apartheid South Africa, but in preparation for negotiations, the African National Congress has drawn up guidelines for a constitution which will accompany them to the negotiating table.

In 1909 the South Africa Act formed the basis for the union of the four British colonies of South Africa. It specifically laid down privileges for the white people and excluded Indians and Africans.

There is much talk today about negotiations. There are even rumours that a new constitution for South Africa is being drafted in board rooms in the US and Britain.

African countries have learned a hard lesson. During the Lancaster House negotiations Zanu (PF's) unpreparedness made them lose valuable ground in determining the shape of a future Zimbabwe.

The ANC's guidelines emerged after a two-year process involving the National Executive Committee's constitutional committee, the Legal Affairs department, a series of ANC seminars and countless discussions with membership and others.

The committee studied dozens of constitutions before beginning the work of shaping one for South Africa.

Originally, they planned to publish a

fully-fledged draft constitution, but the idea was shelved because of the recognition that a new constitution should be born out of consultation with the people.

The process by which South Africans finally decide on a new constitution depends on the nature of the process of handing over power - whether through negotiations or through insurrection and an armed overthrow of the state.

The guidelines are proposals. They are meant to initiate and encourage serious debate within the country, a process that is already widespread.

Harry Gwala who spent years on Robben Island because of his commitment to the ANC and the Freedom Charter summed up the importance of the discussion at a seminar recently.

Gwala said: "The Freedom Charter was not hatched in the boardrooms nor was it philosophised in academic halls. A thorough survey was conducted among all sections of the South African society to find out what type of a new South Africa they wanted. Does it therefore come as a surprise that some people now want to discuss a guideline for a future South Africa?"

"The ANC has always envisaged a political system where all the people of South Africa would participate in the government of the country. Such a political system is known as a democracy.

"But any democracy must by definition concern itself with the distribution and the control of wealth. People do not eat the vote.

In our new South Africa there would be no citizens who are more equal than others."



# THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES

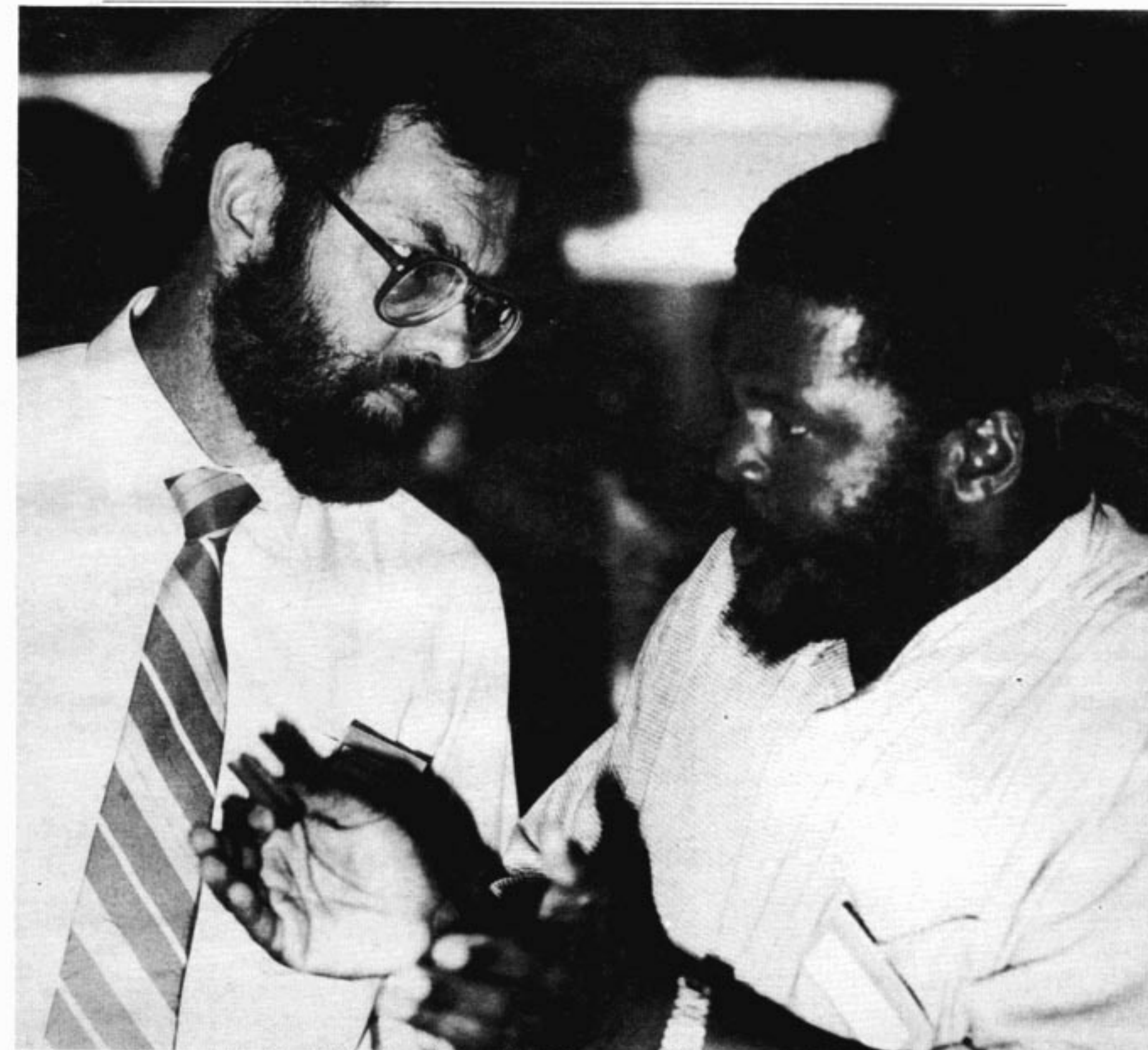
The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by The Congress Of The People at Kliptown near Johannesburg, was the first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial south africa.

The Freedom Charter remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles as accepted throughout the world.

Among South Africans it has become by far the most widely accepted programme for a post-apartheid country. The stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision for the future into a constitutional reality.

We in the African National Congress submit to the people of South Africa, and to all those throughout the world who wish to see an end to apartheid, our basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Extensive and democratic debate on these guidelines will mobilise the widest sections of the population to achieve agreement on how to put an end to the tyranny and oppression under which our people live,



Mr Penuel Maduna (right) of the ANC's Constitutional Committee and a UNISA law professor discuss a point in the Proposals

thus enabling them to lead normal and decent lives as free citizens in a free country.

The immediate aim is to create a just and democratic society that will sweep away the centuries-old legacy of colonial conquest and white domination, and

abolish all laws imposing racial oppression and discrimination.

The removal of discriminatory laws and eradication of all vestiges of the illegitimate regime are, however, not enough; the structures and the institutions of apartheid must

be dismantled and be replaced by democratic ones.

Steps must be taken to ensure that apartheid ideas and practices are not permitted to appear in old forms or new.

In addition, the effects of centuries of racial domination and ine-

quality must be overcome by constitutional provisions for corrective action which guarantees a rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth and opening up of all facilities to all.

The Constitution must also be such as to

promote the habits of non-racial and non-sexist thinking, the practice of anti-racist behaviour and the acquisition of genuinely shared patriotic consciousness.

The Constitution must give firm protection to the fundamental

human rights of all citizens.

There shall be equal rights for all individuals, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

In addition, it requires the entrenching of equal cultural, linguistic and religious rights for all.

Under conditions of contemporary South Africa 87% of land and 95% of the instruments of production of the country are in the hands of the ruling class, which is solely drawn from the white community.

It follows, therefore, that constitutional protection for group rights would perpetuate the status quo and would mean that the mass of the people would continue to be constitutionally trapped in poverty and remain as outsiders in the land of their birth.

Finally, the success of the constitution will be, to a large extent, determined by the degree to which it promotes conditions for the active involvement of all sectors of the population at all levels in government and in the economic and cultural life.

Bearing these fundamental objectives in mind, we declare that the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a truly just and democratic South Africa requires a constitution based on the following principles:

## The State

(a) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.

(b) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.

(c) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.

(d) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in the structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

## Franchise

(e) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote.

(f) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and be elected to all legislative bodies.

## National Identity

(g) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

## Bill of Rights and Affirmative Action

(h) The constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement.

(i) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.

(j) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.

(k) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness shall be outlawed.

(l) Subject to clauses (i) and (k) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press. Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and guarantee the

right to education and social security.

(m) All parties which conform to the provision (i) and (k)

above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

## Economy

(n) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire populations.

(o) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define the limit to the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity

(p) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to cooperate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.

(q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small scale family sector.

(r) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small scale family activities shall be supported by the state.

(s) The state shall promote the acquisition of management, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.

(t) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

## Land

(u) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues: Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land; implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals.

## Workers

(v) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution.

## Women

(w) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes.

## The family

(x) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

## International

(y) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the OAU and the Charter of the UN and to the achievement of national liberation, liberation, world peace and disarmament.



## CAMPAIGNS

## International Children's Day

# Children have rights too!

In 1959, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted a "Declaration on the Rights of the Child". The Declaration asserts 10 basic principles to ensure that "society owes to the children the best it has to give".

None of these points have been realised in South Africa. Apartheid laws seriously affects the lives and welfare of children.

From birth children are subjected to many disadvantages because of their skin colour. This determines to what extent children develop and participate in apartheid South Africa.

Education in South Africa is aimed at enslaving the minds of children and not preparing them for their role in society.

The inability of the government to respond effectively to the rejection of the present education policy.

This year we witnessed huge cutbacks in the education budget. More and more money is spent on

arms, disinformation and the destabilisation of neighbouring countries.

The unprecedented increase in unemployment, poor housing, the high cost of living, poor health services, overcrowding, forced removals and many other problems are the main reasons for the deteriorating conditions of children in South Africa.

More and more children are forced to work to supplement their family's income.

It is estimated that over 9 000 "street children" find themselves living on the streets.

Children die daily of diseases like TB and malnutrition. This is a clear reflection of the unhealthy situation in community and family life where so much responsibility is placed on the shoulders of children.

They are victims of far too much suffering and abuse. There has never been a greater need than now for communities to take up the challenge to protect

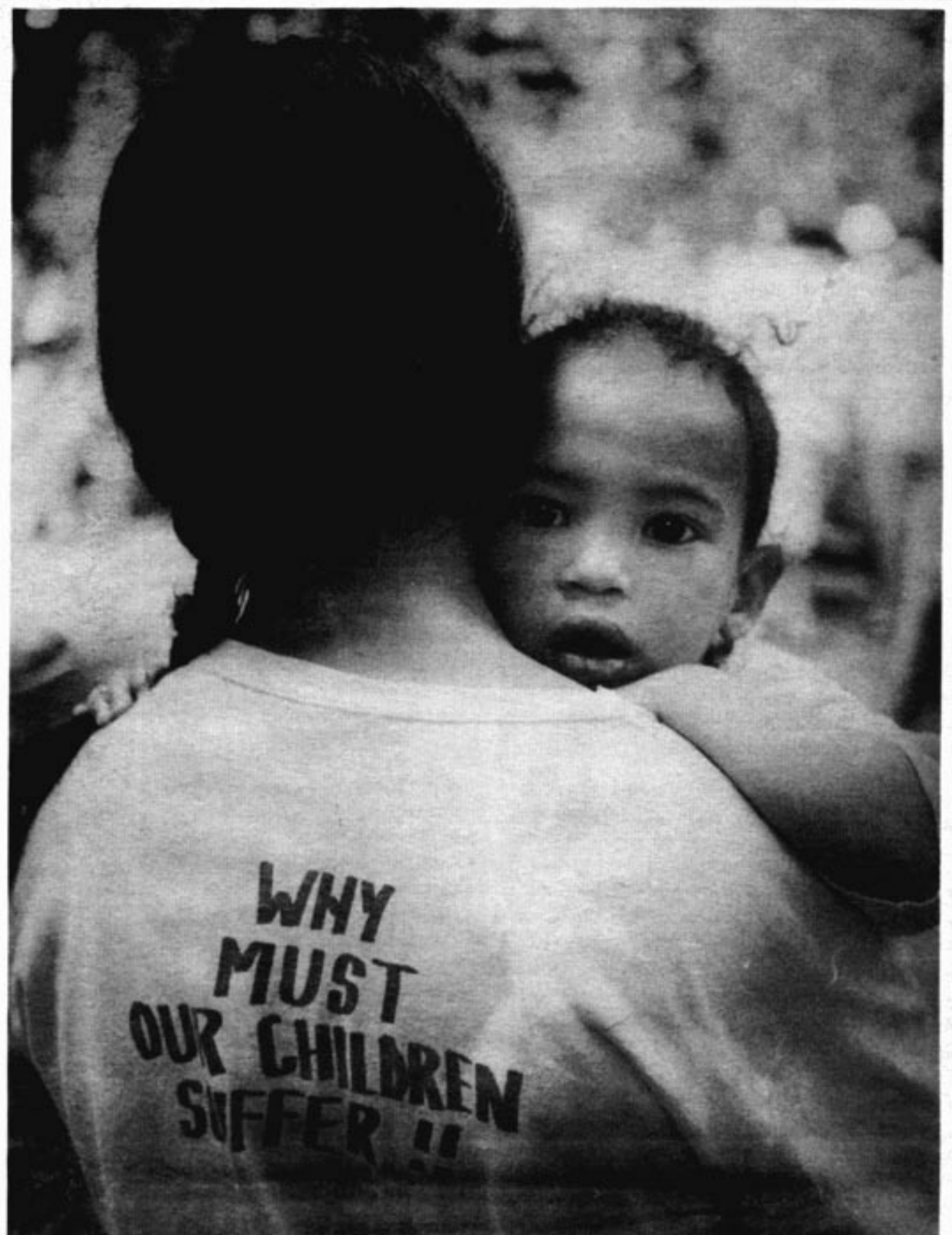
children.

Over the past years, projects like Molo Songolo, Upbeat, Grassroots Educare and many others came together to highlight the plight of children and to advocate their rights.

These projects and organisations came together as the 'Children's Day' committee and is committed to a programme to:

- popularise children's rights in South Africa
- draw attention to the plight of children
- bring children from different communities together to share ideas and experiences
- promote alternative values and attitudes of non-racism, non-sexism and that of caring and sharing
- strive to make Children's Day a meaningful event on our people's calendar

This year the Children's Day committee is planning a series of events which will culminate in a



massive cultural festival for children on September 23. It is hoped to take the campaign for children's

rights into the various communities and stimulate groups, organisations and individuals to actively

take up the issue of children's rights.

Those who want to be part of the Children's Day committee or who

want more information on the plans of the committee can contact Molo Songololo at 478820.

# HELL NO, WE WON'T GO!

On Monday May 15 world attention once again focussed on oppression in South Africa. This time the emphasis was on conscientious objectors who refuse to fight in the SADF on political, moral or religious grounds.

In South Africa all young white men are called up to fight in the SADF. They are made to serve for two years continuously, and must then do "camps".

For many, serving in the SADF represents a huge moral problem. They see the SADF as entrenching white rule and crushing resistance in the townships, and through its attacks on our neighbours, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, etc.

White South Africans who reject the racist policies of the present government and who wish to contribute to a non-racial future find

that serving in the SADF is completely against their conscience.

In the early 1980's a number of Christians refused to fight in the SADF on the grounds that the army was fighting an unjust war. They received jail sentences of between one and two years.

In 1983 a new law was passed, giving conscientious objectors the option of doing national service outside the military. This was only if they would refuse to fight in any army, not just in the SADF. People who had objections to the repressive political role of the SADF do not qualify.

Those who do not qualify must go to jail for six years (one and a half times the length of normal army service) or leave the country.

For several years it seemed as though the harsh penalties had

crushed resistance to conscription. Then in August 1987, 23 young white men from the Western Cape announced publicly that they would not serve in the SADF because of its support for apartheid.

One of the 23 men, Ivan Toms, a medical doctor was called up for a camp in 1987. He reported to the army base and told the commanding officer he would not serve.

Ivan was charged, and in March 1988 began an eighteen-month prison sentence. He was in prison for nine months before being released on bail, awaiting an appeal.

In August 1987, David Bruce of Johannesburg was called up and also announced his refusal to serve. David's parents were Jews, originally from Germany who were forced into exile under the Nazi regime.

David stated in court that he could not fight

for a racist government similar in many ways to the one which had persecuted his family. He was convicted and sentenced in July 1988. Because he had done no service in the SADF he became the first objector to receive a sentence of six years.

### Charles Bester

During 1988, 18-year-old Charles Bester became the youngest person ever to announce his refusal to serve in the army. He refuses to take part in a force which he sees as dividing South Africans and crushing progressive political organisations. Charles is now serving his six year sentence.

The most recent objector to go to jail was Saul Batzofin, who had served in the SADF in Namibia where he claimed to have witnessed acts of brutality carried out by SADF members against both

civilians and Swapo soldiers.

On May 15 each year - International Conscientious Objector Day - one country is chosen by the European-based International Conscientious Objector meeting for world attention. With the recent re-emergence of conscientious objectors in South Africa, this was seen as an appropriate choice.

Within South Africa, the Conscientious Objector Support Group (COSG) organises around the issue of objection, with branches in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg.

COSG collected signatures of people calling for the release of jailed CO's which was presented to the authorities on May 15. They also hosted a national tour of three people active in the peace movement overseas.

These include

American, Greg Payton, who was conscripted to fight in Vietnam in the late 1960's. Like many South Africans forced to fight in Angola and Namibia,

### Vietnam veteran

Greg realised the moral wrong of a country forcing its citizens to take up arms in a foreign country against the wishes of the inhabitants, and he now campaigns for world peace, calling for an end to US military involvement in central America.

The other visitors are Pieter van Reenen, a C.O. from Holland and Howard Clark, secretary general of War Resisters International, a peace movement based in London.

The three called for non-violent, constructive forms of national service in South Africa as an alternative to the enforced participation

in an army.

International attention is one of many signs that conscientious objection and resistance to the military are of growing importance in the struggle for non-racism and democracy in South Africa, a COSG spokesperson said.

"Conscription is the one way in which whites suffer from repressive legislation and the issue is a point of entry for many whites into the broader democratic movement.

"With SADF troops in the townships and in neighbouring states, and involved in undemocratic government structures like JMC's RSC's, it is clear that resistance to the military must be a priority for all South Africans concerned with non-racism, democracy and justice," the COSG spokesperson said.



# Fedsaw gets festive!



WOMEN from all over the Western Cape will be converging on the St Francis Cultural Centre on May 26 and 27 to celebrate the Federation of South African Women's festival. The festival was first held last year and was a great success.

Women from all walks of life expressed their concerns, experiences and skills from the West Coast, through Cape Town, Bellville, Khayelitsha to the Southern Cape.

Their music, poetry, plays and dancing expressed the unique problems women in South Africa face every day.

Not only are South African women oppressed by apartheid laws, but they also face oppression because of their sex.

The Federation of South African Women has a proud history. Formed in the early 1950's, the organisation mobilised thousands of women against the pass laws and other apartheid laws.

The organisation went into decline following the banning of the ANC, with whom it was closely linked, and was recently revived nationally. In Cape Town, the Black Sash,



United Womens Congress, Rape Crisis and Bellville Gemeenskaps Organisasie are affiliated to Fedsaw.

This year's festival aims to be even better than last year. It will have two sides to it - a cultural programme and a fete. Friday night kicks off with the cultural programme where the women will present their music, plays, poetry and dance - all original work illustrating their experiences in the family, the community and the struggle.

The entrance fee is R2, but if you can afford to give a little extra towards the womens organisations, a larger contribution will be appreciated.

On Saturday morning the women have organised a fair, where the emphasis will be on education and demonstrating skills.

Besides the stalls where food, clothes, books and toys will be on sale, there will also be stalls occupied by service organisations with information on women's health and safety, law, labour, detention, education and religion.

The stalls will offer literature and demonstrations on skills like weaving, child health and engine stripping!

On view will be exhibitions of photographs, sculptures, painting and crafts made by the women.

Of course, children will not be neglected at the festival, where there will be puppet shows, face painting and lots to eat.

Saturday afternoon's programme includes more cultural events presented by the women.

The festival ends on a high note on Saturday evening with a gumba which begins at 7.30pm. Once again the entrance fee is R2. See you there!



Sarmcol workers rehearsing their new plays

The Sarmcol Workers Cultural Co-operative from Mpopomeni, in Natal are going to be marching all over the Cape Flats with two vibrant and exciting plays: "The Long March" and "Bhambatha's Children"

According to the players: "The plays will show to the world the evils of the Sarmcol company - how for simply organising and wanting recognition for our union, they dismissed us! It will help us to build our campaign against BTR Sarmcol and hopefully be an inspiration to others to continue the struggle."

Pete Mkize a Sarmcol worker who is co-ordinator and promoter of the cultural project explains that the workers at BTR Sarmcol had been trying for over two years for management to recognise their union.

He says: "We held several meetings with management but all talks fell on deaf ears."

Previously they signed a preliminary recognition agreement and promised to sign a full agreement later but this did not happen".

On 10 October 1985 the workers went on a legal strike. Three days later all 970 workers were fired. After six

## Culture for a cause

months it was clear that the dispute would take long to get to the industrial court.

Rather than giving up hope the workers decided to continue the fight and in the meantime set up a co-operative which would keep the workers united and generate some income.

The Sarmcol Workers Co-op (SAWCO) consists of six different projects ie: T-shirt printing, agriculture, health screening, bulk-buying, newsgathering and a cultural project.

The first play that the cultural co-op produced was "The Long March". This is a play about the strike and how three members of the original cast were killed by Inkatha vigilantes.

The second play "Bambatha's Children" is a history of the people of Mpopomeni over three generations. It shows that oppression

is not only happening today but started in 1906 when the British wanted to force people off their land and into the factories and mines by making them pay poll and hut tax.

Bambatha was a chief in Greytown at the time who led his people in armed resistance against the British. Much of the historical material for the play came from the old people in Mpopomeni. The players consulted a local praise poet in the community to teach them of the praise poems of Bambatha.

In the play the praise poet of Bambatha mysteriously exists through all three generations, always finding himself in the thick of people's resistance.

In official history books it is said that Bambatha was beheaded at Inkandla. The local people however up to this day believe that he escaped to Mozambique.

Even though the three

generations have been through much hardship and pain, the players firmly believe that the spirit of resistance, the spirit of Bambatha lives on.

This is clearly shown in a song that the workers composed: "iSwapo yaNamibia, i-Frelimo ya Mozambiki, Aluta Continua".

The SAWCO group will arrive in Cape Town in the week of 17 May.

Community organisations, churches, schools and unions are asked to host and organise venues for the plays in the Western Cape.

Tickets cost R3. The workers are trying to raise R180 000 so that the co-operative can keep running. All funds would go to the co-op and be redistributed equally.

The following venues have been organised so far:

- 19 May Khanya College
- 19 May Samaj Centre
- 30 May Retreat Civic
- 3 June Gawu Hall
- 10 June Gawu hall
- 18 June Uluntu Centre

If any community organisations, schools or churches are interested in organising a venue for the plays, please contact Quinton Fredericks or Pete Mkize at 47-5455.

**WELCOME  
BACK  
GRASSROOTS!**

**YOU HAVE  
OUR FULLEST  
SUPPORT**

**WEEKLY MAIL**

We welcome the return of Grassroots and New Era. Forward to a free press in a free society.

- The Association of Democratic Journalists (Western Cape)



## 25 years of non-racial sport

In a shack among the bushes in Seventh Avenue, Grassy Park the Peninsula United Associated Football Club was founded in March 1964. Pens, as they are affectionately known to their supporters, this year celebrates their 25th anniversary.

They enter the 25th year of their existence in the non-racial fold with a track record of which they can be very proud.

1985 was certainly the highlight in the history of this very popular club. They won the prestigious Virginia Challenge Cup by convincingly beating the more fancied Aurora 3-0 in the final.

Their players feature regularly in the Virginia Player of the Week. Two of their players, Frank Wentzel and Boebie Solomons have won the WPAFB Virginia Sportsman of the Year award.

Peninsula is the only club to have remained in the WPAFB Premier League competition since the very beginning in 1985.

Over the years several Peninsula players have won their Western Province colours.

Players like Patrick Carelse, Liam Dyason, Henry Petersen, Roderick Dyason, Frank Wentzel and Mervyn Johnson have kept the Pens team's flag flying high at provincial level.

These are but a few of the achievements that has made Pens one of the top clubs in the WPAFB.

Tracing the history of Peninsula it is easy to explain why they are

referred to as "a team from the bush" by their more glamorous opponents.

The original membership and supporters who inspired the club came from the "marginalised" residential communities of Steenberg, Retreat and Grassy Park.

Places like Cafda Village, the squatter communities of Rondvlei, Hardevlei and Vrygrond-the latter now known as Lavender Hill-were the feeder communities in which the club sank its roots.

Pens provided a friendly home for youngsters and their parents to develop organisational and sporting skills. Over the years Pens has

remained a strong community based club.

The first elected Chairman of the club was Mr William Sayers with Mr Leonard Meyer as the Secretary.

Other founder members included Messrs Henry Smith, Lewis Lawrence, Karl Fritz, Aubrey Meyer, Edward Van Meulen, Abe Brown, Ebrahim Salie, Karel Boer, Carolus Maart, Dave Small, Basil Appollis and Charlie Kriel.

Way back in 1964, there were two names proposed for the club, Italian Rovers and Peninsula United. Meetings were held in a shack made of pieces of canvass

and plastic stretched over a wooden framework.

Some four months later Mr Aubrey Meyer successfully secured the Mary Atlee Centre as a meeting venue.

Most of the matches played in those days were friendlies, played on a sandy pitch at C.A.F.D.A.

The teams who took part in these matches were Riverton, Castles and Hampton Rovers (now Burnley).

Three years later Riverton, Hampton and Peninsula laid the foundations of the South Peninsula Football Union under the guidance of Mr Peter Barnes, who became the Union's first Secretary.

Since their humble beginnings in 1964, Peninsula has grown from strength to strength.

### FOCUS ON :

## NETBALL

WITH a registered membership of over 4000 countrywide, netball is considered to be the most popular women's sports code in the country.

Next to soccer it is rated as the second most popular sport in South Africa. The game has a long history in South Africa dating back to the 1950's.

The South African Netball Board (SANB) was established in the 1950's. Netball was one of the sports codes that was played when the South African Sports Association (SASA) was established.

At that time the exiled Dennis Brutus was the Secretary of SASA.

In 1979, the South African Netball Board, which is affiliated to SACOS, was established.

On 30 October 1988 the Netball Association of South Africa (NASA) was established.

Presently the regions of SANU and SANB existing in the same area countrywide are merging. This made the launch of the Western Province Netball Board possible on 2 April this year, uniting the netball community into the second largest code in the country.

The regions in which NASA is represented are : Western Province, Boland, Platteland Distrik, Eastern Province, Groenland District, Border, Karoo, Namakwaland, Langeberg, Natal, South Western District, North Western Cape, North Western District and Transvaal.

At present NASA is in the process of establishing branches in as far as Namibia and the Orange Free State.

NASA is a non-racial sportsbody. In the Western Cape, the Transvaal and in Natal the sport is very popular among the oppressed people. Netball like soccer is rated as the working class game because of its inexpensiveness.

It does not make demands beyond any financial means, yet it is not the most popular sport among sponsors. Though it does not require even a small fraction of the size of a soccer field, netball unions struggle to get proper playing facilities.



The 1968 under 14 team of Peninsula United, with founder members, Dave Small and Mr Bowman.

## Training for the men in black

How many times have we witnessed an U10 or U12 game where the referee in charge is clad in only jeans and tackies with his whistle lazily strapped around the neck.

He stays in one position throughout and is not particularly interested in the game. After all, he is doing his club a favour by saving a fine or points by refereeing a junior game.

It is no excuse for the better qualified referee to say we don't do junior games because we are not prepared to have abuse heaped on us by parents.

As the junior players move towards the senior ranks they tend to adopt the same attitudes and disrespect for the man in the middle because they were never or seldom exposed to proper referee control and the rules of the game.

Cape and District FA have realised that the

junior footballer between the ages of 14 and 18 is an untapped source of referees. Why wait until a player retires and ask him to referee at junior or senior level?

It is no good, they say, to use the young men only to fulfil a duty on a Saturday to keep the junior games going because of the failure of the seniors to avail themselves. Referees Chairman, Neville Trout and Referees Secretary Lloyd Mulder, decided to do something constructive about their junior referees and have organised a series of referee training courses for which they hope would be part of a solution to the problem of equipping referees for junior football.

The first part of the course was held on Saturday at William Herbert Sports Hall and was conducted by one of the WP Board referee co-ordinators, Reuben Kadalie. Over thirty young referees attended the session.

"If we want to prevent referee wastage at senior level, then we need to train young referees in the basics of the laws of the game, the spirit of the game and the correct interpretation and application of the laws.

Given a fair chance of recognition and promotion through the ranks, we shall have gone a long way to solving the problem of senior referee recruitment.

"If the young referee knows his efforts will be rewarded and that he really does stand a chance of eventually getting into the higher spheres of football, then he is likely to offer his services and be prepared to officiate for some time in junior football" says Kadalie.

What better way for a young player to appreciate the duties of the man in black than to perform the duties himself and to experience the unfortunate ignorance of an abusive parent.