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Assess the Defiance Campaign says MDM

23 people on the day of the apartheid elections," said a Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) spokesperson this week.

The statement continued: "We bow our heads in sorrow as we wonder how many more lives apartheid will claim.

"To the families and friends of those who have fallen we want to say we weep with you, because your loved ones were our people. They were South Africans. They were

"We understand that like many others before them they did not die because they had committed a crime.

"They had died because someone had a

armed people.

We understand too well that it could have been me or you. It could have been anybody's child or parent.

"These deaths make us even more determined to do away with apart-

"These grandfathers, young people and babies would never have died if we did not have a government which forces apartheid down our throats.

"There will never be peace until all South Africans have the right to vote and to be part of the government.

"We will never know peace until apartheid is dead and buried.

"Let us rise up

tions. Let us remain disciplined and determined to continue to defy apartheid laws.

"We call on our people to observe a

"It was with a deep gun and the law give from our grief. Let period of active as- on how we will build sense of grief that we them the license to us build unity. Let us sessment of the on the gains that we learnt of the death of shoot and kill un- build our organisa- defiance campaign have made. up to now. We urge our people to come together in their organisations and structures to meet and to discuss. We need to get mandates

"Let us go back and consult our people in every street. Let us go back and get mandates from every class. Let us hear from our

people in every factory and mine.

"Our people have risen to the challenge to defy apartheid. We must continue to give them an opportunity to have a say in the campaign. The par-

ticipation of the masses of our people is the strength of our campaign. Let us go forward in the same spirit. Let us be disciplined and determined. Let us become even more "defiant".



SUFFER THE CHILDREN...These children in a house in Gugulethu, have thier faces covered in Vaseline in anticipation of teargas being fired near thier homes when local residents marched to the rent office to protest against high rents. This is a reality that children in the townships face daily.

De Klerk enters office with blood on his hands

"More people participated in our protest action against the racist elections than voted in this farcical election". This was the claim of the UDF's Murphy Morobe and COSATU's Jay Naidoo in a statement released on behalf of the Mass Democratic Movement after the general election.

The stayaway showed "the overwhelming popular support for the mass democratic movement and other anti-apartheid forces in our country".

"The Defiance Campaign launched by the MDM has seen security forces brutally disrupting peaceful protests", said Morobe and Naidoo.

"Thousands have been arrested and charged for demanding access to segregated facilities such as educatinoal institutions, buses, beaches and for demanding the right to freedom of political expression and association.

"The massacre of people demonstrating against the elections in Mitchell's Plain and other townships around Cape Town (means that) De Klerk enters his term of office with the blood of our people in his hands", they observed.

"Despite this use of coercion to force people to vote, the vast majority of people in the Indian and Communities overwhelmingly rejected participation in the tricameral circus.

"A pathetic few thousand votes were over on election day itself."

noted that the Nationalist Party victory "can only mean continued deterioration" in South Africa". At the same time, the fact that the Nats almost 30 seats shows the "political disintegration" of white South Africa.

Morobe and Naidoo were encouraged by the fact that a significant minority of whites showed in the elections that "they were prepared to look towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa".

"We have no reason to believe that that the Nationalist Party is really prepared to negotiate with the genuine leaders of our people. It is outrageous that the regime should ask for another five years to lead us deeper into the crisis we face", said Morobe and Naidoo.

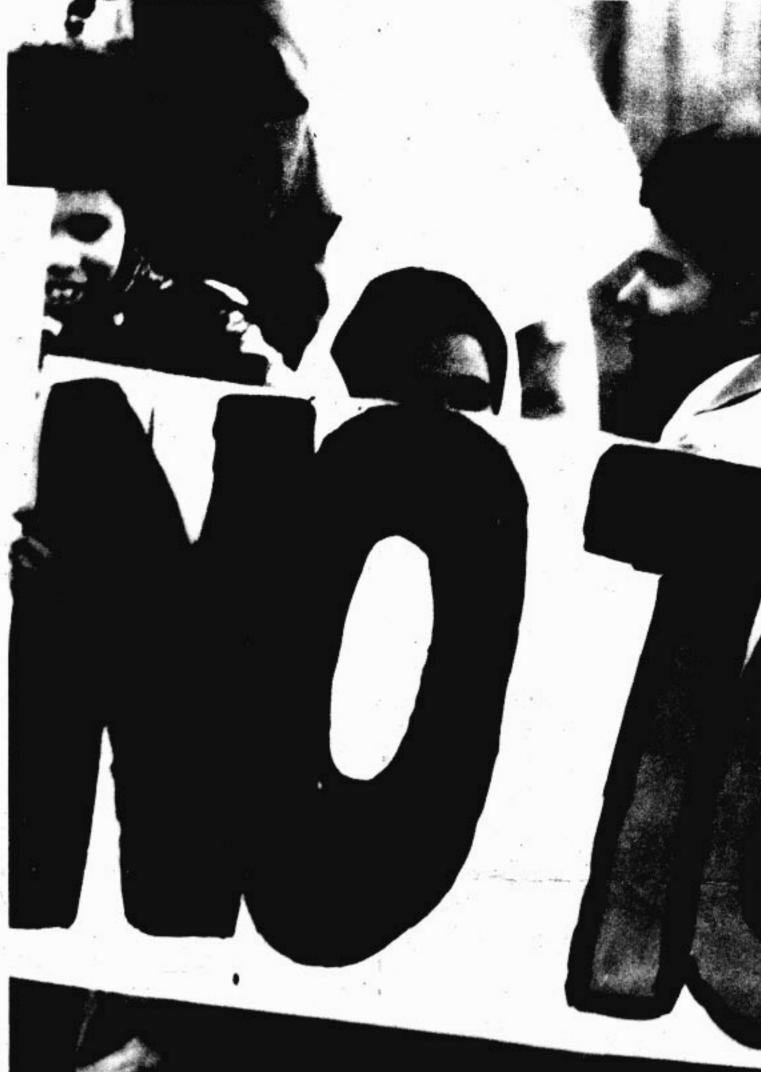
"We call on all South Africans to throw in their lot with the campaigns of the mass democratic movement to force the regime to abandon its present disastrous course.

"The MDM will continue its Defiance Campaign until apartheid is totally eradicated. In the coming weeks, workers will intensify the campaign against the LRA. At the same time, we will consolidate our mass organisation and spread our influence to the broadest spectrum of anti-apartheid forces."

Morobe and Naidoo repeated the MDM's demands for

- the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees;
- the unbanning of the ANC and all banned organisations;
- the withdrawal of the troops from the townships;
- an end to all political trials and executions, and
- On the white election, the MDM ** the repeal of all disciminatory and noted that the Nationalist Party vic- security legislation.

"It is only when the apartheid regime has agreed to the above that the Democratic Movement will acknowledge that it is serious about negotiations for a permanent and lasting peace in our country", Morobe and Naidoo concluded.



Students at Hewat Teachers Training College protest against the racist elections.



Mrs Otto, mother of Yvette Otto who was killed on election day is comforted by the Dean of the Cathedral in Cape Town.

Workers make history in Biggest stayaway ever

while 2 million whites went to the polls on September 6, more than 3 million workers and students voted with their feet for the MDM's national protest stayaway. And the polls for the Coloured and Indian junior parliaments were even lower than in 1984.

The stayaway was the largest in South Africa's history, according to COSATU. In Natal, Port Elizabeth, East London

GRASSROOTS READERS TALK ABOUT DEFIANCE

THE Defiance Campaign has mobilised massive support among the people of Cape Town. To find out the extent of the support, and people's reasons for supporting the Campaign, Grassroots conducted a small survey among workers and Cape Town residents around the Campaign. Most of people interviewed were enthusiastic about their defiance of apartheid and backed the campaign wholeheartedly. Here are some of the replies:

Mrs. PATRICIA BROWN from Hanover Park:

"I think the people were right in going to whites-only beaches because the government says that apartheid is dead but we showed that it is not.

I mean, they allowed dogs on the beaches but not us coloureds. This is not right.

MR GERRIT DAVIDS HANOVER PARK

"The MDM's Defiance campaign is very effective because the people are very disciplined. I see the campaign as a threat to those who don't believe that people have a right to peaceful protest.

The campaign is a moral victory for the people despite the detentions and harassment they are faced with.

The fact that so few people took part in the general elections is and indication of them responding to the call by the MDM not to vote. And also people responded to what has happened and still is happening to their children and relatives.

MRS. EILEEN ANDREWS MANENBERG

"We have achieved a lot through the Defiance Campaign. We managed to show the people overseas that apartheid is not dead through our "beachparty". People were not afraid of dying. Barricades were burning right up to the policestation until the early hours of the morning. This just shows that the Defiance Campaign is strong.

The Defiance Campaign should continue until all the demands of the people have been met... Until our rents are lower, our living conditions upgraded, detainees released and all the restriction orders lifted."

IAN "NOISY" MULLINS, PORTLANDS

A line has been drawn - either you are on the side of the people or you are on the side of the police and the government. T

he campaign haqs proved that the majority of people, especially in Mitchell's Plain, are against the police. So, I think the Defiance Campaign managed to unite people.

"We must confront the government and this is an effective way of doing it. But first of all we must educate people about the role they can play within the Defiance Cam-

paign."



and the Transvaal 85-90% of all workers stayed away.

At least 100 000 mineworkers also took action, despite fierce repression. Some refused to go to work, others went down into the mines but refused to work.

In the Western Cape, 50% stayed away. Although smaller than the rest of the country, September 6 was more than

double the size of previous Western Cape stayaways.

The stayaway showed that the majority of South Africans rejected the racist elections, said COSATU. Fewer than a quarter of the registered voters went to the polls for the Coloured and Indian parliaments.

In the key area of Mitchell's Plain, the poll was lower than 2%. More than 50 barricades

burned in the area on election day, as police attacked protestors. By the next morning, 11 people had been killed in Mitchell's Plain alone.

> A statement from the Mass Democratic Movement saluted "our people for the disciplined and united way in which they have taken action. Unlike the forces of 'law and order', they have con-

ducted themselves in a dignified and peaceful way, despite all the provocation they have experienced over the last few weeks".

COSATU said that the stayaway highlighted workers' rejection of the Labour Relations Act (LRA), "one of the most anti-worker laws passed by the racist parliament". It followed weeks of worker protests against the Act,

and was part of an "unfolding programme of action against the LRA, and defiance of apartheid laws".

The stayaway, said the MDM, "was far more than a symbolic demonstration of our rejection of apartheid".

"It demonstrated our people's determination to intensify a programme of united mass defiance which will eradicate apartheid".

HAMBA KAHLE **COMRADES**

September 6 will go down in history for two reasons. It will be remembered as the date of the last apartheid election in South Africa. It will also be remembered as the day 23

people were shot in the Western Cape, by police firing indsicriminately at protesters and

Below are the names of those confirmed dead. JOSEPH MICHAEL

Male 21yrs.

Shot in head-live ammunition Kalksteenfontein

RICARDO LEVY

Male 12yrs

Shot in mouth - exit back of head Springbok Security Patrols shot him Kalksteenfontein

PEDRO PAGE

Male 18yrs

Shot in side of head by police Grassy Park

THANDIXOLO HLONYANE

20vrs Khayelitsha

MADODA MAGXIDOLO

Male 21yrs Shot in back Khayelitsha

BOYSIE MDOGOLO

Male 21yrs Khayelitsha

FUNDO BHONTIS

Male 15yrs Khayelitsha

LEONARD RASS

Male 13yrs

Student at Eros Mentally Retarded Kleinvlei

SULEIMAN MARTIN

26yrs

Shot in head No unrest in area Mitchells Plain

YVETTE OTTO

16yrs

5 Months pregnant Shot with live ammunition

LIZIWE MASOKANYE

Girl 5vrs

Khayelitsha

Shot from white car in lower abdomen Driver of car firing indiscriminately

GRASSROOTS READERS TALK ABOUT DEFIANCE

MR. PETER SMITH ROCKLANDS:

"Lots of ordinary people are supporting the MDM's Defiance Campaign. Every morning you can see parents accompanying their children to school or standing at the school gate. In the taxis you hear people talking about the Campaign. Now, you can hear parents saying: "If we stood up earlier, things could have been different today. The Defiance Campaign gave people more courage and the state of emergency has been smashed. The most important thing for us to do now, is to rebuild our structures and build on the unity currently prevailing amongst our people.

MS DENISE WILLIAMS **LOTUS RIVER**

"I support the campaign and hope that defiance against the evil beast of will continue and grow.

But the forces of apartheid must not be allowed to provoke us into mindless violence against our own people.

In our factories, our communities and our schools disciplined defince must build our people's organisations, so that we can strike telling blows against apartheid.

The future is in our hands. But it will come only with courage, discipline and hard work."

A FAWU WORKER

"The Campaign is very important for the workers. The government claims it is busy with reform, they speak about some 5-year plan.

Through the Defiance Campaign, we show there is no change taking place in South Africa. We expose their lies.

The campaign also gives us the opportunity to mobilise people in our organisations."

On the two-day strike, he said: "From what I heard, it was wellsupported - much better than in the past. The balloting of workers was very important. It meant workers could make a decision themselves."

A FAWU SHOPSTEWARD TALKS ABOUT THE STAY-AWAY

The workers stayed away because of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) and the elections.

The LRA attacks the rights workers have won over the last few year. It takes away the right to strike. It gives more rights to minority unions. It makes sympathy strikes illegal."

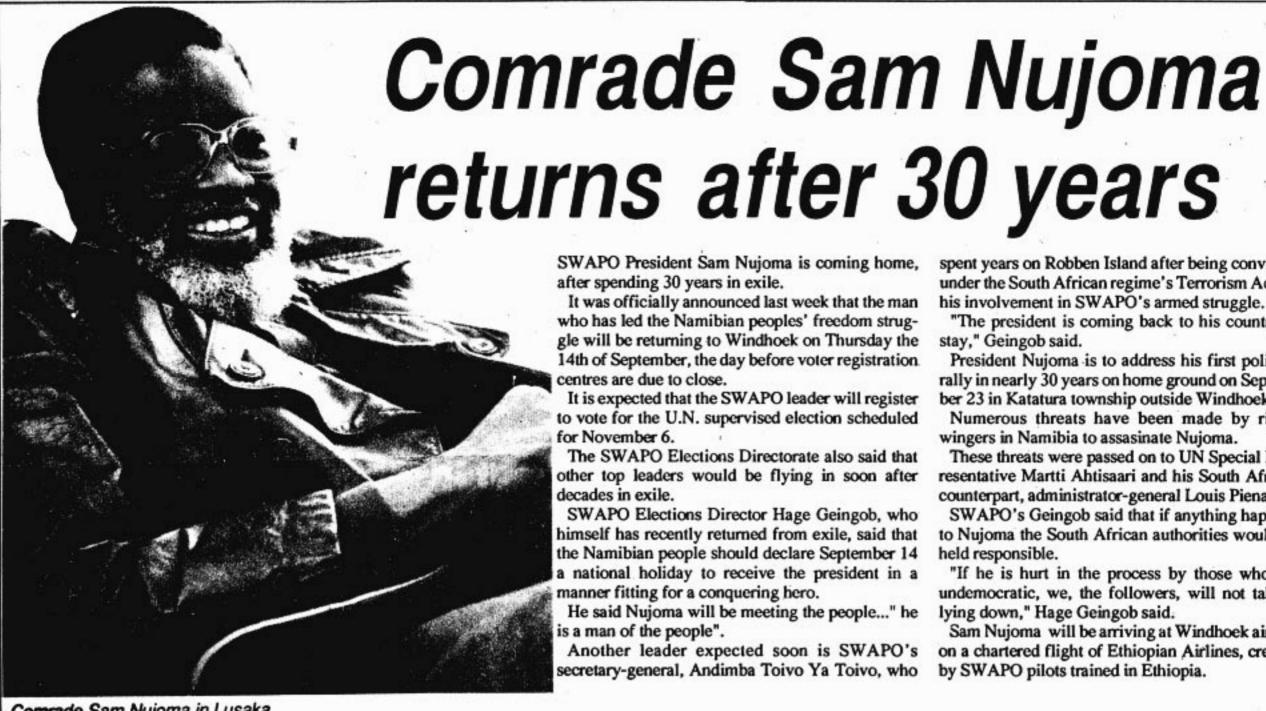
He said however: "Workers have the power to smash the Act. The bosses are aware that in certain areas the Act is backfiring."

A FAWU WORKER ON THE ELECTIONS

"The elections excluded the majority of people in the country.

The workers have no say in parliament. The people who claim to represent us do not have the mandate of the workers.

They are not accountable to the people in any way. They are there for their own benefit, nothing else."



SWAPO President Sam Nujoma is coming home, after spending 30 years in exile.

It was officially announced last week that the man who has led the Namibian peoples' freedom struggle will be returning to Windhoek on Thursday the 14th of September, the day before voter registration. centres are due to close.

It is expected that the SWAPO leader will register to vote for the U.N. supervised election scheduled for November 6.

The SWAPO Elections Directorate also said that other top leaders would be flying in soon after decades in exile.

SWAPO Elections Director Hage Geingob, who himself has recently returned from exile, said that the Namibian people should declare September 14 a national holiday to receive the president in a manner fitting for a conquering hero.

He said Nujoma will be meeting the people..." he is a man of the people".

Another leader expected soon is SWAPO's secretary-general, Andimba Toivo Ya Toivo, who

spent years on Robben Island after being convicted under the South African regime's Terrorism Act for his involvement in SWAPO's armed struggle.

"The president is coming back to his country to stay," Geingob said.

President Nujoma is to address his first political rally in nearly 30 years on home ground on September 23 in Katatura township outside Windhoek.

Numerous threats have been made by rightwingers in Namibia to assasinate Nujoma.

These threats were passed on to UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari and his South African counterpart, administrator-general Louis Pienaar.

SWAPO's Geingob said that if anything happens to Nujoma the South African authorities would be held responsible.

"If he is hurt in the process by those who are undemocratic, we, the followers, will not take it lying down," Hage Geingob said.

Sam Nujoma will be arriving at Windhoek airport on a chartered flight of Ethiopian Airlines, crewed by SWAPO pilots trained in Ethiopia.

Comrade Sam Nujoma in Lusaka.

Koevoet killers stalk the North

The disbanding of Namibia's notorious Koevoet counter insurgency force remains a burning issue in the run up to free and fair elections in Namibia in Novem-

Although the killer unit has been officially confined to base, international and local pressure continues to grow for Koevoet to be disbanded completely.

The UN and South Africa's Administration in Namibia are still discussing the issue, but the refusal of both sides to comment on the talks suggests that Pretoria is unwilling to give in to UNSC's demands.

A total of 1200 Koevoet members, integrated into the South West African Police (SWAPOL) after the Namibian independence process got under way in April, have been restricted to base since September 1.

Now these supposedly 'ex-Koevoet' SWAPOL members have been ordered to undergo "retraining and reorrientation" in matters such as law, and target

However, just days before the September 1 confinement deadline, 'former' Koevoet members were still patrolling the bush of Northern Namibia in their casspirs, wearing grey Swapol uniforms and were indistinguishable from their conventional Swapol colleagues.

United Nations military personnel are to monitor the Koevoet confinement but the Untag force can give no guarantee that the people they are watching over are in fact Koevoet members said a UN spokesperson.

The UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar referred to Koevoet as a "ghost which terrorises the people of northern

Unofficial estimates say that at the peak of the war Koevoet contained as many as 6000 men. And going by the 'official' estimates, there are still 800 Koevoet killers unaccounted for.

Numerous observer groups which have visited Namibia in the past four months, ranging from

American and European statesmen and women to church organisations, have condemned the continued presence of Koevoet in the police force.

The situation grew more tense when tens of thousands of Namibian exiles - amongst them former members of Swapo's armed wing, Plan - came home to find that the very people they fought against are still armed and in a position of power.

The former Koevoet policemen embarked on an apparent campaign to track down and harrass returning Namibian exiles, particularly members of Plan. Church and tribal leaders reported that policemen went from house to house looking for returnees.

As a result, several Swapo activists and former Plan fighters went into hiding, and Swapo confirmed that as many as 500 Namibians were once again crossing the border to escape police intimidation.

The harrassment of locals by former Koevoet members, and the

numerous atrocities that they committed over the years, have led to them being hated and ostracised among the local communities.

In 1986, civil servant Oswald Shivute was appointed by the local Ovambo Administration to hear civilian complaints against Koevoet and the other South African security forces, and attempt to bring prosecutions against the offenders.

By 1988, Shivute was hearing between 15 and 30 complaints a day, but time and time again he came up against a brick wall when trying to take the cases to court.

"The police are like a snake. The snake bites you and then you have to go to the snake for justice," Shivute said.



Koevoet digging a Mass Grave in Northern Namibia.

THE National Sports Congress (NSC) is to meet again with the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) on the 16th and 17th of September in an attempt to iron out their differen-

Ngconde Balfour, the NSC Western Cape president and vicepresident of the Western Province Council on Sport, has said that, in keeping with the NSC's motto, 'Unity in Sport', the NSC does not want to be seen to be forming a new organisation but rather is working within existing structures.

The meeting between the NSC and SACOS in

UNITY IN SPORT

Port Elizabeth soon is expected to be crucial in determining what course of action the sports bodies will follow and what lies ahead for the sports wing of the Mass Democratic Movement.

According to Ngconde Balfour, the NSC is "hoping to be able to go over the contradictions for the sake of the oppressed masses and sportspeople".

"We hope", he said, "that the elitist group outside of the mass democratic movement, within SACOS, will not push for a split".

"We hope to be able to harmonise together and go forward from

ment from First Na-

The Gleneagles Reacting to a state-

tional Bank, that up by the United Naclaimed that it was not tions Special Commita rebel tour and that the Gleneagles Agreement had not been broken by their sponsorship of the tour, Ngconde Balfour said: "For First National Bank to come out now with a naive press release is actually stupid and laughable".

tee Against Apartheid in 1977 and stated that no country and no international teams should have sporting contact with South Africa. "We go even further

as South African oppressed people that even no individual sportspersons should

have contact with racist Africa". South Ngconde Balfour said.

"To say that the Gleneagles Agreement has not been broken is naive", he said.

The NSC has also come down heaviliy against the proposed rebel cricket tour organised by Ali Bacher of the S.A. Cricket Union, which is supposed to take place in November.

"We deplore the rebel cricket tour with all its implications and whoever is going to sponsor the tour is an enemy to the masses of the oppressed people in our country".

The money involved is a massive amount -R900 000, almost one million rand, has been promised to each of the 16 players.

The NSC has not yet found out who the sponsors of the tour are going to be.

"If racists like Ali Bacher can stoop so low then God help our country," comrade Balfour said.

Agreement was drawn