

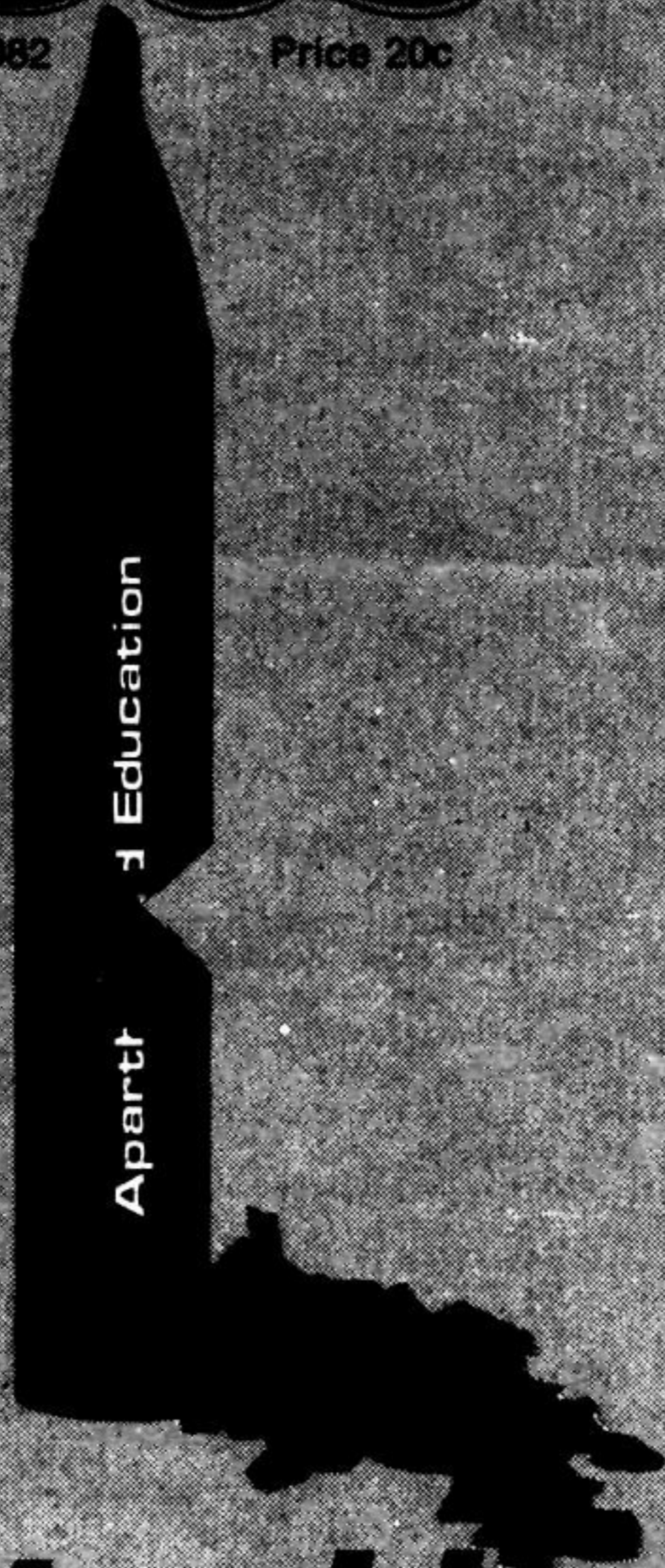
LEGAL

**FOCUS**

# FOCUS

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Apartt Education

Apartt

***Students chip away  
at controls***

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## SASPU FOCUS

# Cracking the wip nationally

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Since the last edition of *Saspu Focus* two publications, *Saspu National* and *Work in Progress*, have been banned for all future editions. The editors of *Saspu National* were banned after their release from detention.

The commercial press has not been forgotten either — the Information Bill and the Newspaper Registration Act will increase state control over the commercial media.

Why is it that the state is so worried about the alternative press publishing information and views which are of concern to democrats?

The reason is obvious — the state is unable to tolerate the spread of progressive ideas which challenge the undemocratic basis of our society. It is because democratic and mass-based organisation is so widespread that the State cracks its whip.

Which comes as no surprise.

Throughout history the State's defence has been to attack any form of effective opposition in an attempt to disorganise it. However this has not destroyed the will to resist. Bannings have not halted the development of organisation or stopped the spread of information or progressive ideas. The alternate press does not generate ideas in a vacuum but is part of the process.

This process, over recent years, has been one where organisations have been characterised by:

- their mass base
- their democratic structure and aims
- their adherence to the principle of non-racialism
- their move away from exclusivity to democratic unity on the basis of common progressive aims and objective.

The student movement, of which *Saspu National* formed a part, has come to reflect most of these characteristics.

Since the 1976 student uprisings the student movement has grown considerably. The organisation which grew out of the

spontaneous resistance in 1976 is now based in strong grassroots organisation in schools, colleges and universities. SRC's have become widespread; awareness-raising issues are emphasised; and democratic symbols are used to unify students.

As a result organisations have become increasingly strong and clear-thinking and are able to guide, rather than just follow activity. The Cosas congress and Azaso conference reflect the fact that students no longer see themselves as the leaders in the movement for change. 1976 showed that student activity was a powerful but only partial vehicle for social change. What Azaso, Nusas and Cosas today have in common is that they see themselves as part of a broad democratic alliance working alongside other progressive groups, representing the majority of South Africans.

Even though Cosas, Nusas and Azaso have broadly similar objectives, they have seen that their different bases face different conditions and issues. In the schools, Cosas has to deal with poorly-financed, inadequate education. Azaso faces the problems of control and second rate education in the black colleges and universities. Nusas, on the other hand, has to deal with a highly privileged student body in the universities geared towards providing captains of industry. The questions they face, as was pointed out at the Azaso conference, is whether educational institutions remain 'colleges of apartheid' or become 'colleges of democracy'.

The past six years have provided a wealth of experience from which the student movement can and has learnt. 1976, the boycotts of 1980 and the anti-Republic Day activities of 1981 in which broad alliances were formed have set the scene for a consolidation of organisation and the development of a non-racial perspective and alliance.

*Saspu National* reflected that very development. It banning, however, will not stop the momentum that has been built up.

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## UNIVERSITIES



Ciskei police move in to arrest protesting Fort Hare students

# Holding the Fort

## Twenty on trial for Hare-raising ceremony

THE TRIAL of the twenty Fort Hare students charged with public violence following student demonstrations against bantustan leaders at the university's graduation ceremony last month, has been remanded till July 5.

The students have not been asked to appeal and no evidence has been led.

The students, who have been granted bail of R400 each, were among 22 people detained by Ciskei police on May 1 when students gathered outside the university's Great Hall, shouting "We don't want Sebe, we don't want him," as cars carrying the Ciskei president Chief Lennox Sebe and cabinet ministers arrived for the graduation ceremony.

According to the police, the demonstrators started stoning the cavalcade but students and lecturers deny this saying it was a peaceful demonstration until the police fired warning shots. Students responded by pushing a pole through one of the cars' windows.

The Ciskei police then fired shots, wounding two students.

After talks with the university's rector, Professor J A Lamprecht, the convoy was forced to return to Zwelitsha. The demonstrators waved and shouted as the cars drove off.

Later police reinforcements under General Sebe arrived to clear the area near the Great Hall. The demonstration moved on to the road to Gqumashe and the students blocked the way singing what Sebe described as "revolutionary songs, waving clenched fists and shouting

Amandla Ngawethu"

Two of those detained were released a week before the twenty others appeared in court.

After the university's council refused a request that the university pay bail for the 16 students involved, a meeting was held to raise the money and within an hour and a half R6 400 was collected from the approximate 3 000 students on campus.

The four other people were also bailed out after the university's student body clubbed together to pay their combined R1 600.

On May 3 more than 3 000 students boycotted lectures to demand the release of the 22 detained. After gathering on the Fort Hare rugby grounds, students were confronted by camouflaged and uniformed police — some with dogs — who virtually took over the campus and charged students with batons and quirt sjamboks. 1 500 students were arrested under the Riotous assemblies Act.

Each student paid an admission of guilt fine of R50 with "loan money" made available by the university so that students could resume lectures. But the students still refused to return to classes despite repeated "protracted" meetings between them and the rector and did not heed his final warning of return or quit.

More than 1 000 students left campus for home after six days of protesting following a third ultimatum by the rector that the boycotting students leave the campus or face a charge of trespassing.

Meanwhile thousands of students on university campuses all over the country held meetings in

solidarity with the Fort Hare students.

The Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) passed a resolution at their recent conference condemning the action of the bantustans authorities against the students and calling on South Africans to express their solidarity with the students.

"The protest of the Fort Hare students is simply a reflection of the deepseated rejection by South Africa's majority of the apartheid system, in this case especially the bantustan policy", the resolution noted.

Nusas also released a statement in support of the students and all its affiliate campuses had solidarity meetings. Students at the University of Cape Town and Rhodes university boycotted lectures in solidarity.

After the Fort Hare students decided to return to lectures, a further development on the campus was a boycott of the East London newspaper, the Daily Dispatch, following an editorial which described students' demonstrations as "loutish behaviour" and suggested that they tow the Ciskei line or study elsewhere.

In an open letter to the Daily Dispatch editor, student representatives expressed their rejection of the homeland system.

"It would have been an embarrassment to the good name of the university to allow a puppet leader to attend this occasion", said the letter.

"This is the university of leaders of the calibre of Mandela, Tambo, Mugabe and many others."

"We are neither morally nor legally obliged to obey the laws of this pseudo state," ended the letter.

# To BSS or not to BSS

Controversy rages at UCT over  
need for campus organisation

THE ISSUE of a campus based organisation for black students has been fiercely debated at UCT, the only English-medium campus not to have a black students society.

Feelings ran high at a meeting last month when a motion to establish a society for black students was narrowly defeated. The meeting, attended by 500 people, was a report-back by a steering committee formed to draw up a constitution for the proposed organisation.

The committee had been formed the week before during a day-long boycott of lectures in solidarity with Fort Hare students.

However, the decision has fuelled the controversy rather than resolve it and most students abstained from voting either way. About 150 voted against with less than 100 for the motion.

The main problem seems to be over the interpretation of what constitutes 'collaboration'. Students opposing the society's establishment, fear that they will be drawn into state-created structures — that will compromise their political principles.

"The struggle is not here on campus and we will be dissipating our energies on a liberal university where nothing will be achieved," said one student.

In sharp disagreement, a member of the steering committee said there was a need for unity amongst oppressed students on campus, and that a black students society could respond to off-campus struggles.

The struggle for freedom must take place at all levels, including the universities, he said. "Is our education facilitating us in struggling for freedom or to become exploiters of the oppressed?"

"There is a crisis in accommodation, we pay high bus fares to campus, many students have trouble obtaining permits, a lot of bursaries have gone to the children of bantustan collaborators and puppets, and black library staff have been the victims of racism," he said.

"Do we accept this situation or do we challenge it?"

The debate continues on campus, with pro-organisation students attempting to allay "sell-out" fears. "The 'compromise' is no greater than that already facing black students at a white university" maintained one student. ■



BSS president and Gretta Ncapai from the Federation of South African Women

## Elect Mandela, say students

A MASS meeting at Wits university gave a standing ovation to jailed ANC leader, Walter Sisulu, to mark his 70th birthday.

The meeting was held to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Defiance Campaign and to call for the election of Nelson Mandela as Chancellor of the university.

"They can take Mandela away, but more Mandelas are born everyday," said Gretta Ncapai from the Federation of South African Women. "The Defiance Campaign was a stepping stone to bringing about a democratic, just society. It is in this spirit that students must continue."

The Black Students' Society, organisers of the meeting, said that while they felt having Mandela as Wits Chancellor would give credibility to an undemocratic structure that supports the status-quo, they nevertheless support the campaign as "an expression of our belief that he should be taking up prominent positions in our society in order to resolve the prevalent conflicts."

Joe Phaahla, president of Azaso, focussed on state repression. He said that while the bannings and detentions after Sharpeville 1960 had a devastating effect on people's organisations, the same repression after the 1976 uprisings "merely provided a breathing space — time to reconsider action and learn from history. As a result, in the late 1970's there was a rejuvenation of the emphasis on mass mobilisation and mass action".

He said the worker movement took the lead in this area.

"He cited the successful Fattis and Monis boycott of 1979 organised by the Food and Canning Workers' Union. The same year, he said, marked the emergence of Saawu and Fosatu and "high levels of mass action on both the worker and civic fronts in the Eastern Cape."

Referring to the relationship between students and workers, Phaala said "it is important that the type of unity we strive to build should be genuine and can therefore survive for a long time." He ended by saying, "The only thing that will ensure our survival from attempts to divide and repress is mass mobilisation and democratic organisation."

Students applauded Dr Motlana's remarks that while Mandela might not be as successful at raising funds for the university as the other two candidates, his appointment would "do the university incalculable credit. With Mandela as chancellor the stature of the university will increase immensely worldwide."

Wits SRC and Nusas presented statements calling for the election of Mandela as chancellor. This, they said, would not represent what the university presently stands for but for what it should stand for in a free and democratic society.

The meeting ended with the singing of Nkosi Sikele'i Afrika. ■

# A tribute to Joe Mavi, President of BMWU, who died on June 8

**J**OE MAVI shot to national prominence in July 1980 as the leader of the strike by 10 000 municipal workers in Johannesburg. He was the head of the then fledgling Black Municipal Workers' Union (BMWU). But Mavi's involvement in and commitment to trade unionism and the struggle for democracy goes back much further than the BMWU.

He was born in Transkei 44 years ago, and like so many others was forced to go to Johannesburg in search of employment.

His first job, ironically enough, was with the very people he would fight against years later — the Johannesburg City Council. A succession of jobs followed, until in 1968 he joined the Bantu Federation of South Africa as a full-time worker.

It was there Mavi was involved in — and won — his first community battle. Mavi and a Federation delegation were called to Bloemfontein to help residents whose houses were threatened with demolition. Mavi helped win the fight with the council, and the residents were saved from eviction.

When Mavi returned to commercial driving, he joined the African Transport Workers' Union (ATWU), a so-called parallel union, set up by white transport workers for blacks only.

Mavi was eventually voted onto the ATWU executive and later became its president. But as he soon found, the union had no real teeth. It was Mavi who led a walk-out in 1975 from a UCSA (Trade Union Council of South Africa) congress when the general secretary of the union refused to allow an ATWU vote for a human rights motion.

A similar situation led to the birth of the BMWU. Mavi was now again driving buses for the Council, and he was elected secretary of the Transport Pool's Work Committee. After the Wiehahn report was published in 1978, the council set up an in-house union, the Union of Johannesburg Municipal Employees (UJME), without consulting with workers on its formation.

Mavi strongly opposed it. His opposition, and that of fellow-workers, led to a walk out of a UJME meeting in 1980, and to the formation six months later of the BMWU. The Council refused to deal with the new union because it was, they said, not registered as the UJME was.

It was a pay dispute just a month later at the Orlando Power Station that set off the massive municipal strike, believed to be the

biggest ever against a single employer in South Africa. The Council refused to meet with representatives of the BMWU to negotiate the pay demands, and on July 24, the sympathy strike started.

Eventually it was to be broken and migrant workers were bused back to bantustans. Mavi himself was subject to the first of a series of state harrassments. He was told he was being detained. He was later to be released, only to be charged under the

Sabotage Act. The charge was later changed to one under labour legislation in connection with the strike. He was subsequently acquitted in March 1981.

As Mavi's work continued nationwide, so did the harrassment. After addressing an anti-Republic day meeting in May last year, he was detained under security legislation, to be released in August after the death of his daughter.

Mavi's contribution to trade unionism cannot be overstated, and after his death in a car crash while returning from union business in Port Elizabeth, tributes poured in from union and other progressive organisations all over the country.

His own union hailed his work for democracy in South Africa and his fight against the City Council and the Transkei government. It said he was a man and a leader who would be a great loss to the struggle for a just society.

A joint statement issued by the African Food and Canning Worker's Union, the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, the Western Cape branch of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa and Fosatu, said his death was a loss to the working class movement as a

whole in South Africa.

"The State had dealt him many heavy blows, but he was never deflected from his aim of building up the confidence and strength of workers in their organisations. He was a leader who rose from the ranks of some of the most oppressed workers in South Africa — the municipal workers'.

A statement from the South African Allied Workers' Union said he was a man who had the interests of the working class at heart. "His aim was to see to it that every worker was both conscientized and organized."

Mavi's death is a blow to the union movement, but his commitment and work live on.



Joe Mavi, president of BMWU

# Highest bid for Chancellor?

Wits administration accused of bias

THE NOMINATION of Nelson Mandela for chancellor of Wits university has sparked off a heated controversy.

The university administration has come under strong flack from students and convocation members for prejudicing Mandela's candidacy.

The other two candidates are Helen Suzman and Michael Rosholt. The position of chancellor is a largely ceremonial one, the main role being to attract funds. Rosholt, as an executive chairperson of the giant Barlow Rand corporation, would clearly be most likely to attract such funds. This is seen as important to admin as the Koornhof incident and flag — burning last year caused funds to drop considerably.

One of the allegations levelled at the university is that the curriculum vitae (C.V.) of the three candidates on the election form, was loaded in favour of Suzman and Rosholt.

Mandela's C.V. merely states: "Name: Mandela, Nelson Rolihlahla; Present place of residence: c/o Dept of prisons; Academic and professional qualifications: BA Unisa; Present occupation: A politician, who formerly practised as an attorney of the Supreme Court of South Africa, and who is now a prisoner." The other candidates are given detailed C.V.'s.

The administration's response to this allegation is that it is not convocation's job to compile the C.V.'s. This should be provided by the nominators. This was apparently not done for Mandela.

Mark Sebba, one of the four York university students who nominated Mandela said: "Mandela does not need a list of titles behind his name — he is too well-known."

Several members of the university convocation, in a letter to Harry Lampert, convocation president, said they were "perturbed by the content of the ballot form" which "creates the indistinct impression that two of the candidates have been unfairly favoured at the expense of Mr Mandela." The letter concludes by saying: "South Africans need not be reminded that Mr Mandela has been impri-



Bond students rally behind Dr A Treurnicht, CP leader.

## It's just a jump to the right for ASB

OBSERVERS of the present dynamic operating in Afrikaner Nationalist politics are watching the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) with interest.

Since its formation as an attempt to counter the growth of Nusas, the ASB has faithfully echoed the policies of the ruling National Party. It is common cause that the ASB has always been a fertile recruiting ground for the Broederbond, with it usually being elected with the sanction of the Bond.

The Bond was, in fact, one of the prime movers behind the setting up of

the body — and the ASB has its headquarters in the Broederbond front, Die Eike, in Melville, Johannesburg. Although the ASB has always, like the Broederbond, maintained that it is a cultural body, thinking emanating from its leadership has always been significant as an indicator of the ideological flux in Afrikaner Nationalism's junior elite.

They have always held themselves up as the representative body of Afrikaans

students. They meet regularly with Inkatha Youth on the grounds that "Inkatha Youth represents black students" and have refused to have any meaningful dialogue with, for example, Nusas, Azaso and Polstu.

In fact, the ASB regards Polstu, a predominantly liberal organisation, as being "extreme-leftist" and "in league with Nusas".

But now, with the split in the National Party, large numbers of ASB members are reported to have strayed from the fold of Big Brother.

Although the present ASB president, University of the Orange Free State LLB student, Johan Lubbe, is a "verligte" and staunch supporter of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, indications are that a power struggle has already started within the Bond to have him ousted.

One of the more powerful members of the ASB is Pretoria University's ASB chief, Koos Kemp, who was recently elected head of the Conservative Party's branch on the Pretoria campus.

And it is known that many of the students at Pretoria, which is the main ASB stronghold, support the CP. This was evidenced by the massive support the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, received when he spoke on the campus earlier this year.

Student members of the CP are presently mobilising an attempt to take over the ASB at its annual congress later this year. They will be able to count on support from most of the notoriously conservative Transvaal teachers training colleges, and on the support of substantial numbers of students from Potchefstroom, RAU and the University of the Orange Free State. Never an overly "verligte" body — they have for example consistently refused to speak out against bannings and detentions of student leaders, and have actively supported security legislation — the ASB will be a significant plum to add to the CP's growing fold of traditionally Nationalist Afrikaner organisations already won over to the ultra-rightwing cause.

soned for the past eighteen years and during that time has been without a voice."

Expressing their disgust at the "blatant misrepresentation" other convocation members said: "How can a man who recently received the freedom of the City of Glasgow, an honorary degree from the University of Lesotho as well as the call of 1 000 mayors from 32 countries for his release, be relegated to an ignomi-

nous three lines on the ballot forms?"

It has also been alleged by Wits Student, the university newspaper, that with a possible convocation membership of 55 000, only 24 000 ballot forms were sent out. According to Standenmacher this was incorrect. He said 28 000 forms were sent out as the rest of the 55 000 members have either died or moved away leaving no forwarding address.

The election procedure itself has

been attacked. The Wits SRC, who adopted a resolution supporting Mandela's candidacy and urging all alumni to vote for him, describe the procedure as undemocratic.

The chancellor is elected by convocation consisting of all graduates while Staff members and undergraduate students have no vote. The election itself is secret — no figures or poll is given. The winner's name is simply announced. ■

# Right on the rise

## Tactical swing by political vandals

**RIGHT WING** violence has made its ominous presence felt in a spate of incidents in Johannesburg.

At a recent detainees support concert at Wits, vandals slashed the tyres of 200 cars in a nearby parking lot. That same night the windows of a detainee's former home were smashed and a car parked outside another detainee's house damaged.

The day before the Wits concert, two sets of pamphlets were distributed on campus, one cancelling the event and the other giving an alternative venue and time.

It appears there is a shift away from intimidation and victimization to attempts to disorganize activities on the part of right wing 'spoilers'. This pattern is confirmed by a previous abortive attempt to disrupt the Anti-Cricket Tour meeting at Durban campus and is evident in similar acts that have plagued events organised by the Johannesburg Parents Detainee Support Committee. In one incident windows at the site of a recent all-night vigil were smashed.

At the time, in an advertisement in a local evening newspaper, the 'Security Forces Support Committee' called on people to "express our gratitude to, and support security force actions in defence of our freedom."

The advertisement, which backed detention without trial and the recommendations of the Rabie Commission, included a form to be sent by supporters to an Auckland Park post box.

Generally, right wing groups have proliferated recently, including the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging, Boere Nasie, the Kappie Kommando, the Stormvalkers, the White Sash, the Wit Kommando and the South Africa First movement.

Violence against democrats has long existed but escalated in recent years with bomb attacks, shootings and most serious of all assassinations.

On 8 January 1978, Dr Rick Turner was murdered by a gunman who shot him through a window after a knock



Right wing students disrupt Anti-Cricket Tour meeting in Durban

on his front door soon after midnight. Dr Turner, a political science lecturer at Natal University, was serving a five-year banning order. His murder has yet to be discovered despite attempts earlier this year by his mother to see self-confessed National Intelligence Service agent Martin Dochinek who was alleged to have information in this regard.

Also still unsolved is the assassination of Griffiths Mxenge, a Durban lawyer in November last year.

There have been other unsuccessful attempts on the lives of government opponents. A knife-wielding man once entered the house of Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela. In 1980, a shot was fired at Mrs Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu, an ANC guerilla hanged in the same year.

Shortly after Dr Turner's death, there was an attempted assassination on another banned Durban lecturer, Harold Strachan. He was subsequently refused permission to own a firearm.

Three sticks of dynamite were thrown into the house of Dr Jacky Cock Rhodes sociology lecturer in December 1980. Fortunately they did not explode.

Many others have had their lives jeopardized by petrol bombs, dynamite or letter bombs, or have been threatened by death letters or phone calls. Bricks through windows, baseball bats on car windcreens and spray painted slogans on walls and cars have been other common right wing tactics.

One of the more horrible incidents was the T-shirt sent to Mary Woods, younger daughter of the banned editor, Donald Woods. It was impregnated with an acid-based irritant after it was posted. She broke out in a rash after opening the parcel. Another evil act was the desecration of Solomon Mahlangu's grave — the tombstone was broken and a warthog's head placed on it.

Helen Joseph, a former leader of the

now-battled Congress of Democrats and the Federation of South Africa Women, has been the victim of several right wing attacks. Petrol bombs have been thrown at her house and on at least two occasions shots have been fired.

She has also subjected to many 'dirty tricks'. Once R67 worth of liquor she had not ordered was delivered at her home with COD instructions. A few days later she just managed to prevent a load of unwanted red top soil being dumped on her front lawn. One Friday night, a disco arrived to play at a party she had never arranged. These incidents are coupled with dozens of abusive death threats and other threatening or obscene phone calls and letters.

Incidents often happen to a few people at the same time. Last year, the houses of a number of detainees were attacked by brick-throwing thugs on the same night. In 1978, there was a spate of hoax death calls to banned people. Shiela Weinburg was phoned



and told that her father who was banned and had fled the country, had died. A friend received the same message. Jack Curtis was phoned and told that his son-in-law, Marius Schoon died in Botswana. Schoon had spent ten years in Pretoria Central Prison.

A rather inventive right-wing tactic was the smear campaign launched against Prof John Dugard, Wits law professor. At the end of 1980 an anonymous group calling itself Delta 4, sent smear pamphlets to lawyers, newspapers and liberal and student organisations. The group, who took their name from a French terrorist organisation that fought against Algerian independence, has not re-emerged.

Victims of right-wing attacks also include liberal Afrikaners. Two Polstu student leaders received death threats and Nic Wiehahn head of the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into labour reforms has reported receiving threatening letters and phone calls. Jan Lombard, who drew up a plan for a non-racial Natal, had his Pretoria University office damaged by a bomb explosion. The same thing happened to Prof F N Maritz of Unisa after he gave evidence for the defence in the Soekmekaar treason trial. The Wit Commando claimed responsibility for these attacks.

In the majority of cases however, nobody acknowledges responsibility and very rarely is anybody caught and convicted.

Up until the end of 1978, there were about 1600 unsolved crimes of urban terrorism against opponents of the government.

## Ten years for Brixton plotters

AFTER MORE than eight months in detention, two ANC members Robert Adam and Mandla Themba have been jailed for a total of 15 years after being convicted of trying to destroy the SABC — TV Brixton Tower.

Adam and Themba were both employed by the South African College for Higher Education (SACHED). Adam was jailed for ten years and Themba for five years under the Internal Security Act and Terrorism Act for conspiring to destroy the tower and to overthrow law and order in South Africa.

They were also convicted of conspiring to obtain information to achieve the object of the African



**Griffiths Mxenge addressing Merebank meeting shortly before his death**

National Congress, to receive and distribute its pamphlets, and to further its aim in South Africa.

Adam was sentenced to another two years and Themba to one year for being ANC office bearers from November 1980 to September last year. These sentences will run concurrently with the others.

The court had been told Adam and Themba visited the Brixton Tower on a reconnaissance mission in July last year. Adam wrote a report on the vulnerability of the tower, entitled "Reconnaissance of the SABC/TV Transmission System in Auckland Park".

Themba took photographs of the TV transmitters and other installations.

According to the evidence, Adam described the TV transmitters as easy targets. He also suggested what explosives to use and where to place

them.

The court heard that if there had been an attack, more than 1 500 000 TV viewers in the Witwatersrand would have been affected. Television services would have been disrupted for more than 18 months.

Mr Justice Boshoff said in judgement such an attack could have caused and encouraged insurrection, violence and financial loss and could have endangered law and order in South Africa.

Mr James Adam, Robert Adam's father, said in mitigation that his son had shown exceptional intelligence and awareness as a child.

He had become aware of the evils of the compound system while the family lived on a mine in South West Africa.

Although he had held himself aloof from politics at university, Adam had become involved with the ANC while

working in Britain in 1979.

Mr Adam said his son's strong sense of concern and compassion led him to his ANC commitment.

After being convicted, spectators at the court sang Nkosi Sikele 'i Afrika. Adams and Themba joined in the singing as they were led down to the cells.

## ANC men win fight for life

The death sentences imposed on three ANC members for their roles in the attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station in January 1980 have been commuted to life imprisonment.

Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, 30, Naphtali Manana, 26, and Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 21, sentenced to death by Justice Jaap de Villiers in the Pretoria Supreme Court on 26 November 26, 1980 — the first time in black political trials that the death sentence had been passed for high treason — will now serve life sentences.

The Sheriff of the Transvaal, Mr van der Westhuizen, announced the reprieve after the legal team working on behalf of the men delivered a petition for clemency to the Department of Justice.

Lubisi, Manana and Mashigo were at the centre of an Amnesty International letter-writing campaign, appealing for clemency. Most of the letters came from France and suggested the trio should receive the same mercy as others who were tried with them but escaped the death penalty.

Possibly the most important appeal was from the Seychelles where South Africans are being tried for their part in the attempted coup.

Amnesty writers in Australia, Belgium, Canada, England, Finland, Holland, Italy, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States and West Germany also pleaded for clemency.

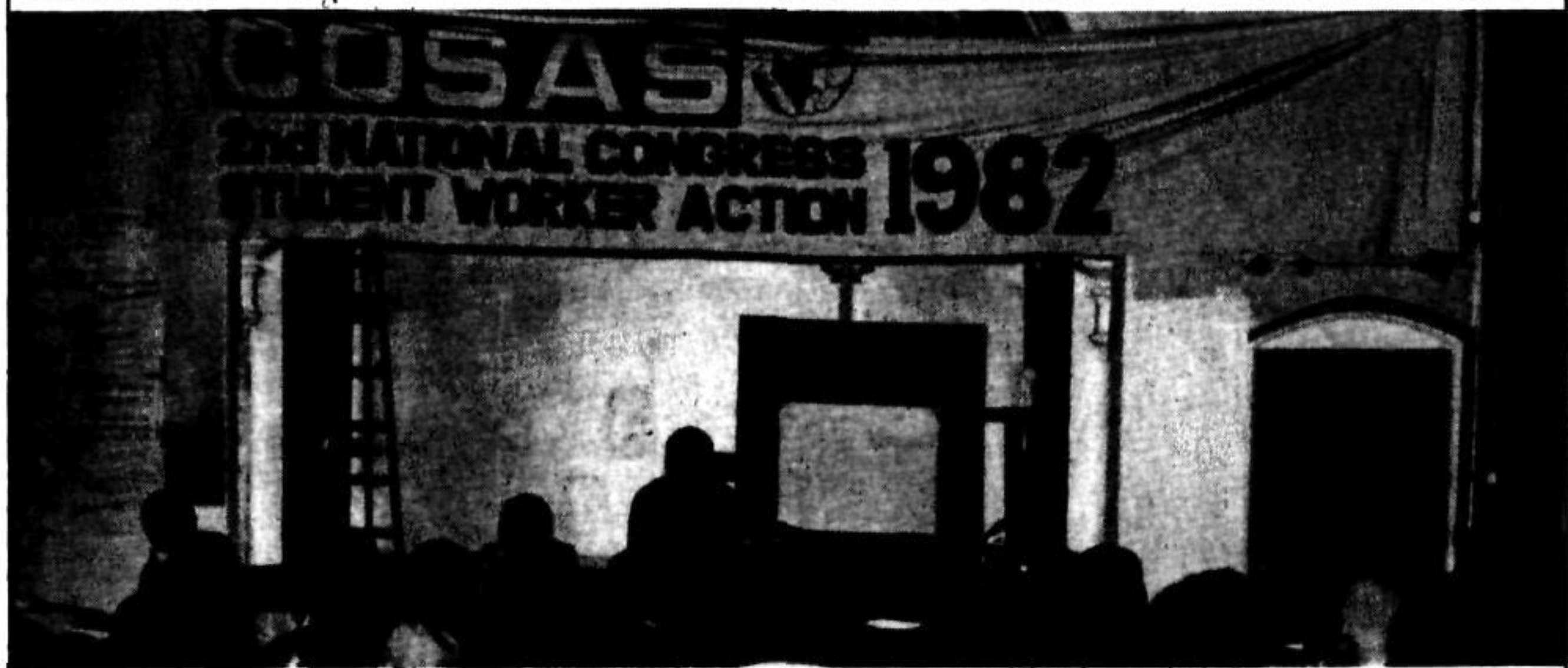
The Secretary General of the UN at the time, Dr Kurt Waldheim, also pleaded for their lives.

The three men were acquitted on charges of murdering two Pretoria bank clerks who died when three other guerrillas attacked a bank in Silverton, Pretoria, later that month.

Six others appeared with them and were jailed for a total of 90 years for high treason.

They are Moses Molabatsi and Benjamin Tau (20 years each), Jeremiah Radebe and Phumulani Grant Shezi (15 years each) and Johannes Bogale and Thomas Mngadi (10 years each). ■

## STUDENTS



Over 2 00 people attended the Cosas Congress in Cape Town

# Students push ahead

## Cosas broadens base to include school leavers

THE CONGRESS of South African Students is considering forming a National Youth Organisation to accommodate those students forced to leave school who ally themselves with the aims of Cosas.

At its second annual congress in Cape Town, Cosas elected a steering committee to look into this question. The newly elected president Shepard Mati said the state had attempted to curtail black student organisations by expelling politically involved students and by instituting an age-limit.

"The effect of the age limit is to exclude students who have missed school through school boycotts or because they have been detained for long periods", he said.

He said this was a critical time for student organisation as "repression and harassment of all democratic organisations has become the order of the day."

The congress, held at the end of May, was attended by over 200 delegates from 28 Cosas branches representing black school students in all four provinces. Observers included Azaso, Nusas and representatives from trade unions, women and community organisations.

Key addresses on the theme "Students Worker Action" were given by University of Durban Westville SRC President Abba Omar, Azaso president Joe Phaahla and Eric Molobi of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu).

Speaking of "education for liberation" Omar said students should challenge the "ideas of racism and exploitation" of the education system and present alternatives to these ideas.

He listed certain conditions which would



Cosas president, Shepard Mati

constitute "education for liberation". These included equal distribution of all the resources available for education amongst all South Africans. An assault on attitudes of racial and cultural superiority; instilling attitudes of critical thinking instead of blind obedience and developing comradeship instead of individualism and competition.

"We must also bear in mind that changes in the education system can never be brought about unless there are fundamental changes in the rest of society. Thus we as students must always ensure that we link the education struggle with the overall struggle for liberation," he said.

Gawu's Eric Molobi, speaking on "students and workers in the struggle" said "The kind of education we want is an education for change, one that will equip us to study the laws of motion of our capitalist society and make us understand our position in it." He went on to argue that education should not be abstract. "Education must bridge the gap between theories and certificates and the reality of our daily experiences."

Joe Phaala spoke on "The role of black consciousness and the progressive approach to the South African situation. He covered the history of the BC movement and argued that BC had served its role and could not have gone further than the 1976 climax. He then outlined the developments in student organisation since 1976.

Shepard Mati from the Cape Town branch was unanimously elected Cosas president for 1982/83. Shepard Mati closed the congress by thanking delegates for attending and said he would follow in his predecessor Wantu Zenzile's footsteps who he described as a hard-working and dedicated student leader. ■

# Shop floor bargaining pays off

## GWU breakthrough in metal industries

THE GENERAL Workers Union (GWU) has made a significant breakthrough in signing two wage agreements with metal companies outside the Metal Industrial Council.

These are the first formal wage agreements to be negotiated with Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (SEIFSA) companies outside the Industrial Council (IC) and as such represent a major blow to SEIFSA and a major victory to independent unions seeking shop-floor bargaining as opposed to industry-wide bargaining. The companies, both based in Cape Town, are Trident Marine and Consani's Engineering.

The agreements came a few weeks after the registered unions had negotiated an Industrial Council (IC) agreement with SEIFSA over pay and working conditions for the 500,000 workers in the metal industry. The agreement came after registered unions had declared a dispute and after pressure of numerous strikes over wages by metal workers on the East Rand, impatient with the IC proceedings.

SEIFSA is one of the more powerful employer federations in the country. It has taken a strong line against wage-bargaining outside the IC system. For this reason the Consani and Trident agreements were significant. In the past key SEIFSA members such as Anglo American have stood firm. For example the strike at SCAW Metals earlier this year failed when the bosses refused to negotiate wages. In a few cases the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) on the East Rand has forced wage concessions from SEIFSA members but they have not had any formal wage negotiations.

The registered unions who attended the IC talks had been demanding a minimum rate of R1,63, an increase of 50c an hour for artisans and 30c an hour across the board for lower grades. In the end



### Mawu workers also reject industrial councils

they settled for a minimum rate of R1,43 an hour.

However the GWU managed to negotiate a minimum rate of R1,78 an hour for Trident workers and R1,63 for Consani's workers. This is 35c and 20c, respectively, higher than the IC rates.

In addition, Trident workers are guaranteed three days a week pay. Because of the variable work rate in the marine industry there is often no work for the workers to do. In the past workers were not paid when there was no work. The IC makes no provision for any guarantee for the workers other than allowing companies to lay off workers during lean times and make them work very long hours when there is a heavy work load.

Commenting on the agreement Dave Lewis, General Secretary of the GWU, said the wage deal was particularly suited to the needs of the Marine engineering industry, which the bureaucratic IC did not take into account. He said the hourly rate was relatively high because it was necessary to compensate the workers for times when they would have little work and would only receive their guaranteed minimum of three days a week.

'This means that no matter how little work there is for them, workers will be assured of taking home a certain liveable minimum wage each week.'

Commenting on the deal at Consani's Di Cooper, the assistant branch secretary, said the higher rates proves that the in-plant bargaining offered more for the workers than the official bargaining system.

'We are in favour of shop floor negotiations because in this way the workers are actively involved in the process. The workers' committees at Trident and Consani's have proved they are better at negotiating than the experts in the registered unions'.

A committee member at Trident, said, 'We are very pleased with this agreement and hope that other workers will take note of what we have achieved outside the Industrial Council'.

## Treason charges for ex-detainees

TWO FORMER detainees Barbara Hogan and Cedric Mayson are to be tried for high treason in the Supreme Court.

Another ex-detainee, Alan Fine, faces charges under the Terrorism Act. All three are to be tried in separate trials. They will appear in court again on June 21 for their trial dates to be set.

They appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on June 14 together with Saawu executive members, Thozamile Gqweta, Sam Kikine

and Sisa Njikelana. Gqweta, Kikine and Njikelana are to appear in court again on June 28 as the Attorney-General has not yet decided what charges are to be brought against them.

Detailed charge sheets have been given to Hogan, Mayson and Fine.

Some of the charges against Hogan are that she:

- Joined the ANC in Swaziland in 1977;
- Agreed to work in the labour field to further the aims of the ANC;
- Established a communications network with the ANC, using, inter alia, dead letter boxes, post boxes and couriers to communicate with the ANC;
- Learnt a secret ANC code to be used when communicating with the ANC;
- Acquired two post boxes at Bedfordview and Northland, Illovo to communicate with the ANC by ordinary post;
- Visited Marius Schoon, an ANC official, on several occasions during visits to Botswana and received information and instructions from him regarding her ANC work;

Some of the charges against Mayson are that he:

- Became a member of the ANC between 1977 and 1981;
- Had talks with Marius Schoon, an ANC official and Jeanette Schoon, an ANC official in Gaborone, Botswana, inter alia, regarding the ANC's attitude towards doing military service in South Africa.
- Received tape recordings of speeches of Oliver Tambo, ANC president and ANC and Swapo freedom songs from Jakes Selibe, an active supporter of the ANC. Mr Mayson allegedly made copies of these tapes and distributed them.
- Received a large quantity of ANC literature from the ANC including Sechaba and distributed them.

Some of the charges against Alan Fine are that he:

- Conspired with Sactu to further the aims and objects of Sactu and therefore the ANC.
- Visited 77 and agreed to obtain information regarding labour and trade unions and forward it to Sactu, via Mrs Schoon.
- Conveyed or sent to Jeannette Schoon during 1977 and September 1981 by means of dead letter boxes, ordinary post and personal meetings, information on: Tucsas, Fosatu, Cusa, Saawu, Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Western Province General Workers Union, the Fattis and Monis boycott, the red meat boycott and the Wilson Rowntrees boycott.



# Sounds of Silence

State moves to muzzle progressive publications

**T**HERE HAVE been more bannings than ever of progressive publications in South Africa this year. The term of the Publications Act are so wide, and used so frequently, that bannings of individual editions of publications no longer come as a shock.

But bannings for all future editions come as a hammer-blow to readers and editors alike. This year, two publications, SASPU National and Work in Progress have both been banned for all future editions.

Work in Progress (WIP) focussed on comment, information, analysis and debate on contemporary issues. It became a highly-respected journal, widely quoted among academics and political analysts both here and overseas.

SASPU National (SN) was one of the newspapers published by the South African Students' Press Union. Started in July 1980, it kept students around the country in touch with seldom-publicised events and issues. With a circulation of 15 000 it soon won support and respect from students and lecturers on most black and white campuses.

The banning of SN for all future editions was the last in a series of blows against it. In October last year, its editors, Clive van Heerden and Keith Coleman, were detained, the SN offices raided, and typewriters, posters and documents seized.

After more than five months in detention, the editors were released. SN was banned and a few days later the editors were themselves silenced by two-year banning orders.

Whilst the restriction orders served on Coleman and van Heerden received some attention in the commercial



**Saspu National editors Clive van Heerden and Keith Coleman after being released from six months in detention**

press, the outright bannings of SN and WIP passed largely unreported.

It appears public concern is restricted mainly to the banning of literary work by authors such as Nadine Gordimer, André Brink and even Harold Robbins. But actually more than half the publications banned are declared undesirable for political reasons.

Under the Publications Act, any film, publication, object or entertainment is undesirable if it or any part of it is deemed blasphemous, indecent or obscene. Political publications are usually banned because they either "bring any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt" or because they "are harmful to relations between the inhabitants", and if they "prejudice the safety of the

state, its general welfare or its peace and good order".

Publications are banned for all future editions if, in the opinion of a committee of the Publications Directorate, every subsequent edition of that publication is likely to be undesirable.

Student publications have been particularly hard hit by these stipulations. In March and April this year, for example, 88 articles were banned for distribution under political clauses, 17 of which were student publications.

Says the Director of Publications: "We know students are in the vanguard of new ideas. They are people very much aware of things. One expects that. The committees and the

directorate are leaning over backwards to accommodate them."

"Even harsh or overcritical comment is never penalised. There must be a distinct indication of instigation towards revolution or unrest."

This opinion is not shared by students' journalists. A UCT journalist said: "Through banning of publications, the government hopes to define the boundaries of criticism and opposition to its repressive policies. And it hopes to deter students from investigating those areas."

In a paper on the banning of political publications, University of Stellenbosch academic, Andre du Toit pointed to the active role of the police in curbing "politically subversive literature". He said the majority of publications submitted to the PCB are from customs officials and police.

Few complaints are made by the public, publishers or the directorate itself. From 1975 to 1978, the submissions from police rose from 20 per cent to 52 per cent.

In fact the total number of publications submitted has trebled in only a few years. Nearly two out of every three articles submitted are found undesirable and of those, an increasing number are banned for possession.

The reasons for the crackdown are perhaps best found in a speech made by Connie Mulder in Parliament when the Publications Act was passed in 1974. The act, he said, must "preserve the devout and conservative character of South African society and protect it against the spirit of premissiveness and moral decay which has become prevalent throughout the world." ■



Albertina Sisulu banned again

## Albertina silenced by fifth banning

ALBERTINA Susulu was served with her fifth banning order on June 14. She is a leader in the Federation of South African Women and is the wife of jailed African National Congress secretary-general, Walter Sisulu. Her previous banning order expired in

August last year and had not been renewed. In terms of the new order, which expires on March 1984, Sisulu may not attend any social or political gathering or any gathering where students or pupils are being instructed. She is not, however, restricted to any district.



Mamphela Ramphele

Father Makatshwa

## Four banned in May

BANNING orders were served on at least four people in May. The banning orders of Fr. Smangaliso Mkahtshwa, the General Secretary of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and Dr. Ramphele in Tzaneen were renewed for a further three years. Pravin Gordhan, who was previously detained and released after spending time in hospital, and M J Naidoo, both of the Natal Indian Congress were banned for two years.

Gordhan is also under house arrest on weekends

## Anger at P.E. evictions

FOUR PEOPLE were injured after a shot was fired at the Zwide offices of the East Cape Administration Board. The shooting climaxed a tense morning of shack demolition by the Board. Two hundred people had gathered around the offices to protest against the latest round of demolitions and evictions in Port Elizabeth.



Scene from the recent UWO Congress

## UWO goes for grassroots issues

AT ITS second annual conference the Cape-based United Women's Organisation (UWO) reaffirmed its aim to organise women at a grassroots level and to tackle issues which affect them in their communities. The conference was attended by 200 delegates from 18 organised branches and the local community, trade union, youth and women's organisations.

They discussed issues affecting women such as high prices and child care and decided to hold a workshop to look more

deeply into these issues. At the workshop, child care was adopted as the Uniting Project of the UWO and high prices as the Uniting Campaign.

## New CT organisation launched by women

THE WOMENS Front Organisation has been launched at a recent conference in Cape Town. Women came from all parts of the Western Cape and spoke about issues that affect them. Some of

the women were involved in the Federation of South African Women in the 1950's and want to affiliate to it again as they have heard that the Federation is being revived in the other provinces.

Speaker at Women's Front Congress

## Muofhe inquest

The inquest date of Muofhe who died in detention has been set for the beginning of July. Recently other Venda ministers were acquitted before their trial was completed and potential state witnesses were freed.

## AGM disrupted

THE BLACK Municipal Workers Union recently held their Annual General Meeting. However only a few workers attended the meeting. A Union spokesperson claimed that a large number of workers had suddenly been put on overtime for that day. Workers complained that this was an attempt by the Johannesburg Municipality to hinder their organisation.

## Mpetha ailing

The 18 month-old trial of Oscar Mpetha and 17 others continues in the Cape Town Supreme Court. Appeals for bail for the 71 year-old Food and Canning Workers Union leader have continually been refused despite his failing health.



## Mavi mourners held by police

ABOUT 250 people were arrested at a Soweto memorial service for former union leader, Joseph Mavi and two ANC members, Petros Nzima and his wife, Jabu. In the late afternoon police rounded up everybody at the service. Most were released by 2 am the next morning after they had been photographed and fingerprinted.

Speakers at the meeting

included a spokesperson from the Women's Federation in Cape Town and Nick Mokatsi of the Teacher Action Committee. The chairperson was unbanned trade unionist, Siphon Kupheka.

Women were called on to leave their kitchens and join progressive community organisations. Joe Mavi was praised for his contribution to the worker struggle.

## CT detainees freed

LATE in May all people held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act in Cape Town, were released after periods of up to four months in detention. They are: Freddy Schrader, a supermarket worker from Kraaifontein, Julian Sauls, Lionel Scholtz and Roger Grant, all students at the University of the Western Cape, Frank Anthony, a former high school teacher, Charles Claims, a textile worker, Tom Barends, Johannes Mannel, a student at the Bellville technikon, Albert Tashangana of Kimberly and Alfred Appolis who is an Escom worker.

## No entry for Fink



Fink Haysom

## Treason for three

Three men are facing charges of Treason in the Pretoria Supreme Court. They are Thelle Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Semano and Marais Thabo Motaung. When Mogoerane and Semano first appeared in the Pretoria Magistrates Court they were barefoot and wearing leg irons. They have been charged with being involved in a number of attacks on police stations and the limpet mine attack on Capital Park power station.

BANNED Wits University lecturer Fink Haysom has been refused permission to enter campus where he is employed at the Centre of Applied Legal Studies. However the Centre is continuing to pay him.

Other banned students such as Firoz and Azhar Cachalia are allowed to continue studying at the university.

Banned lecturers Fatima Meer, Doves Decker and Peter Randall were allowed to continue their academic work on campus.



STUDENTS AT Turfloop commemorated the death of Abraham Tiro on 3 June. After a meeting and a march into the nearby township the campus bookshop was burnt down. Tiro, a University of the North SRC and Saso leader was killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana in 1974.

# Mind your manors, we'll watch Cato

## Residents demand houses for all

**T**he Cato Manor Residents' Association (CMRA) has launched a massive campaign to petition the government and Durban City Council to develop the area for new low-cost housing.

The campaign, under the auspices of the Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC), is being supported by about 30 community, student, religious and other organisations.

The campaigners have called on the city council to:

- stop its proposed pricing of plots in the Cato manor — Umcumbaan area
- scrap the deadline of July 31 for the selling of sites in the Umcumbaan area
- abandon the move to develop Umcumbaan from duplex to residential area.

The Department of Community Development (DOCD) has been called upon to take over the development of Cato Manor, including the Umcumbaan area — so that one authority can develop the area.

About 150 people including students and helpers manned key points throughout Durban recently to collect signatures supporting the demands of the petition.

CMRA was formed in November 1970 to represent the 500 residents who remained in Cato Manor when it was announced that the area would be reproclaimed for "Indians". The association was mandated to make representations direct to the authorities on behalf of the residents.

Their basic demands were that no resident be forcibly moved out of the area; housing be provided for all income families in Cato Manor and that CMRA be consulted in all matters affecting the residents and the replanning of Cato Manor.

This area which housed an estimated 120 000 Africans and 40 000 Indians during the 1950's now stands barren, destroyed and ravaged due to removals under the guise of slums clearance, homeland consolidation and the Group Areas Act



A dilapidated house bears witness to Cato Manor's troubled history



Residents protest

Cato Manor was founded by George Cato in February 1845 and by early 1928 saw the beginning of shack development.

With the industrialisation of Durban, particularly of the harbour and surrounding areas after the second world war, thousands of African labourers were attracted to the city. Due to the shortage of accommodation, Cato Manor became a haven for Indian land owners who exploited the situation, providing shack type accommodation for the African workers. This marked the beginning of the

gigantic shanty town.

In 1954 the group areas board recommended that the area be proclaimed for "European" occupation.

Due to overcrowding, crimes violence and disease were rampant. Cato Manor was described as "the worst district in the world for crime", where rape and murder were everyday occurrences.

Thousands of families lived in squalor and poverty and the area had become the number one "black spot" in South Africa.

Despite this Cato Manor became a highly organised and settled community establishing its own schools, orphanages, old age homes, cemeteries and religious facilities.

The slum conditions continued unabated until the death of eight policemen during a liquor raid.

The spontaneous outcry from the public and medical officers strongly backed by local newspapers eventually forced some kind of improvement.

An interesting feature at this time was the rejection of the area by "whites" and the Durban City Council on the basis that the area was unsuitable for "white" housing due to the conditions of the area.

Despite many representations by the city council and the residents, Cato Manor was officially proclaimed a "white" group area in 1958. This marked the beginning of a mass exodus of local people with properties being forcibly expropriated for meagre sums.

This period saw a determined fight

back from the residents via the Cato Manor co-ordinating body. Residents resisted the removals because they were concerned by the increase in their cost of living which higher rentals and transport costs would cause.

By the end of 1964 the demolition of shacks was completed with the squatter families (mainly African) being rehoused in the new townships of Kwamashu, Lamontville and Umlazi.

Later the Indian families were moved to Chatsworth and recently to Phoenix, north of Durban. About 12 000 people have been uprooted and settled communities destroyed by the Group Areas Act.

All properties were frozen for development and land owners forced to sell to the DOCD of Durban Municipality.

Properties were expropriated for as little as R300. Residents faced a fine of R1 000 or 2 years imprisonment if they resisted the expropriation.

In 1979 Cato Manor was deproclaimed a "white" area because of the DOCD's failure to sell the land to whites. It was then gazetted for "Indian" occupation in 1980.

The area now houses about 350 families most of whom are tenants of the DOCD.

The recent stand of these residents is only one of the area's long history of community action — a history that goes back over a century during which removals have shuffled and reshuffled the people of Cato Manor.

## COURTS

# Controversy at Aggett Inquest

## Ex-detainee gives evidence of torture

THE INQUEST into the death in detention of Dr Neil Aggett had put South Africa's system of security detentions under the microscope, about which day-by-day, details are emerging, some for the first time.

It is likely that some of the issues being highlighted will live on long after the magistrate, Mr Petrus Kotze, and an assessor have delivered their verdict on the cause of death.

Dr Aggett who was the 28-year-old Transvaal secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and a doctor who worked at Baragwanath Hospital on a part-time basis, was the 46th person to have died in detention since 1963.

He was detained in a pre-dawn raid on November 27 last year, and was found hanging in his cell on the second floor of John Vorster Square at about 1.30 am on February 5.

The inquest in the Johannesburg Regional Court heard that in an unfinished statement to his interrogators, Dr Aggett stressed his commitment to "open, legal and democratically run" trade unions.

The court also heard claims that:

- district surgeons seek Security Police permission to see detainees although they are legally entitled to see them at any time.

- a police sergeant in charge of cells had never heard of the Inspector of Detainees until cross-examined in court.

- the Inspector of Detainees visited Dr Aggett in his course of duty but was unable to see him. On that day, Dr Aggett was being interrogated.

The magistrate has ruled that a statement made by Dr Aggett 14 hours before he died, which became the centre of a Supreme Court action, may be used in the proceedings, but not as a sworn statement of fact.

In the statement, Dr Aggett claimed he was beaten, kicked, assaulted had his testicles squeezed, was kept awake for well over 24 hours, and was blindfolded with a towel before being handcuffed and given electric shocks.



Mr George Bizos, counsel for the Aggetts

Dr Vernon Kemp, Johannesburg's Chief District Surgeon, told the court that a scar on Dr Aggett's right arm was consistent with his claim that he was cut and was bleeding after an assault by a member of the Railways Police.

All four medical witnesses told the court that Dr Aggett died by hanging. They also claimed that it was medically impossible to tell if Dr Aggett had committed suicide or if he had been strangled while unconscious and then hung up. The court heard there were no signs of a struggle.

Dr Kemp told the court he was aware that the Prisons Act and the Public Health Act gave district surgeons the right to see detainees at any time.

He said, however, that district surgeons did not do so without Security Police permission because "in the Civil service you don't go barging into someone else's department".

Mr George Bizos, SC, counsel for the Aggett family, read to the court an extract from a banned book by former BOSS agent Gordon Winter, who described a Security Police technique called the "Adam's apple".

Winter claimed that a wet towel was wrapped around a victim's neck. If the towel was pulled too tightly owing to a "miscalculation by the torturer", the victim might die. If this happened, the victim was said to have committed suicide.

The court also heard that Security Police are handed keys for the padlocks to the grille gates inside the cells at 4.30 pm every day. It also heard from police officers that someone could enter the second floor cells at night without being seen.

Warrant Officer Walter MacPherson, who is in charge of the second floor during the day, told the Inspector of Detainees, Mr N H Mouton, that Dr Aggett was not in his cell on February 4. He claimed the inspector told him he was in too much of a hurry to wait for Dr Aggett.

At the time, Dr Aggett was being interrogated on the 10th floor.

The court also heard that on January 19, a magistrate, Mr A Wessels, notified a senior police official that Dr Aggett had lodged a complaint. Sixteen days later, a member of the John Vorster Square investigating division, Detective Sergeant Aletta Blom, came to take a statement from Dr Aggett.

She said Dr Aggett was "busy" with Security Police and insisted that he specifically asked not to see a district surgeon.

She said while she realised Dr Aggett was seeking protection, she handed the docket to her senior officer after the statement was completed.

In addressing the magistrate, Mr Bizos said: "Complaining about ill-treatment does not help because the complaints are not properly investigated and are shown to the people against whom they are made. This causes problems for detainees."

There was a rumpus in the court when Mr Bizos claimed he saw a Security Policeman making signals to Sgt Blom while she was being cross-examined. The magistrate warned it was an offence to interfere with witnesses.

The inquest proceeding took a new turn when a former detainee, Maurice Smithers appeared. He said he wrote the smuggled note Helen Suzman

read out in Parliament. He had written the note after he saw Neil Aggett being maltreated during interrogation. The note claimed that Neil was beaten with a rolled-up newspaper while doing press-ups.

"Then he had to get up and run on the spot with his arms outstretched," said the note. "All the while he was interrogated. The hitting with the newspaper went on all the time".

The inquest is continuing.

## Behind bars for over two years

MODIKA Mothibi Tatsa has been in detention for more than two and a half years. He still awaits release. He is amongst the 205 currently in detention. He is being held under Section 10 (1) A of the internal Security Act which allows for indefinite, "preventive" detention.

Tatsa has been held under almost every existing detention law. He was first detained in December 1979 when he was a Standard 6 pupil. Tatsa was detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, spending more than six months in custody before being charged in June 1980. The trial was scheduled for July of that year, but charges against him were dropped "because there was no evidence against him" said his father, Petrus Tatsa.

Tatsa was re-detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He later refused to give State evidence in a Terrorism Act trial in Ermelo and was subsequently charged and sentenced to three years. The two accused in the Ermelo trial were later acquitted.

Tatsa's lawyers lodged an appeal against his sentence which was reduced to 12 months. He was due to be released but was re-detained before he could leave the prison. His father commented that, "He looked terrible. He didn't speak. He stared like someone in shock".

Banned Cape Town community leader Johnny Issel was also due to be released from detention under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act on May 15. However at the last moment, the Minister of Justice extended his detention until June 30.

Forty-two people have been detained in May and June. Prominent amongst the detainees was Thozamile Gqweta who was detained for the sixth time. He was detained in East London and appeared the next day in court in Johannesburg under the Terrorism Act. Thirty-six of the people detained this year have been released.



Ekuvukeni —  
a wasteland  
in the middle  
of nowhere



**D**RIVE along a gravel road to the north east of [unclear] and you'll find a [unclear] which, although it has made its mark on the map, affected the lives of thousands discarded there.

It is Ekuvukeni — the place temptuously call "The Promised" barren dustbowl where row upon row of shacks and toilets reinforce the look of a resettlement camp.

# THE PROMISED

Dust, stones  
and tin  
shacks . . .  
all this bit of  
land can offer  
is promises . . .  
empty promises



road 35km  
of Ladysmith  
settlement  
has not yet  
has deeply  
of people

“My first impression of Ekuvukeni” says  
community worker Buntu Mbele, “was of a  
resettlement camp which the community had  
obviously worked hard to transform into a  
village. But the tin toilets give the place away  
for what it really is: a surplus labour camp”.

people con-  
d Land” — a  
on row of tin  
: stark, bleak

The 15 000 people struggling to survive at  
Ekuvukeni were forced to move from old  
villages around Ladysmith which were dec-  
lared “black spots”. Under the policy of ho-  
meland consolidation, people were removed  
from their settled communities — which date

back to the early 1900’s —into camps inside  
the Kwa Zulu borders.

Ekuvukeni, which ironically means “the  
place of renewal” is not alone in its plight —  
it is only one of the resettlement camps of the  
area. Ezakheni, Uitval and Limehill are the  
other large camps surrounding Ladysmith  
and there are many smaller ones like Stead-  
ville, and Umbulwana.-

Removals into Ekuvukeni began in 1973, a  
trickle which became a flood in 1978 when  
village after village — Roosboom, Ekuphum-  
leni, Steenkoolspuit, Meran, Washbank and

# ED LAND





**Migrant labour draws working-age adults from the camp leaving behind the young and old**

others — were declared “black spots”. Although communities resisted they were finally forced to move, causing a massive growth in size of the resettlement camp.

At present, the “black spot” of Driefontein, a collection of villages around Newcastle, is fighting for its survival. The 90 000 people at Driefontein are due to be moved to Ekuvukeni and surrounding resettlement camps this year.

Buntu Mbele, who has been living and working with the people of Ekuvukeni, spoke to SASPU Focus and described the hardships of day to day living in the resettlement camp.

The main influx of people into Ekuvukeni was in 1978 and was a very difficult time for the people moved, he says. “Disease struck at children and old people. Coming from communities with long established survival mechanisms, they were now herded together in an alien place with ‘dumping ground’ facilities.”

“We can only imagine the toll of lives in those first years. People were dying like flies” says Buntu. “There was no Cosmos Desmond there to count the graves”.

When the people talk of their previous homes, they talk of land to grow vegetables, keep cattle

and chickens—a life of subsistence where survival was possible and town a stone’s throw away. An old man says he always prays for Ekuvukeni when he thinks of the place he used to live where you could just walk up the hill and get fresh spring water.

But these are empty memories in the “promised land” — a dustbowl of sand and rocks. The soil is salty and sandy, and the plots so small that people cannot grow any crops. Because it is classified a “township”, people are not allowed to keep stock.

In the old villages, people lived in houses made from rocks or brick or in the traditional mud and thatch huts. In Ekuvukeni the tin shacks emphasize the harshness of the camp. Excruciatingly hot in summer, they magnify the cold of winter. Although these structures are supposed to be replaced by mud huts, they remain for years because people cannot afford to build new homes.

Unemployment is rife. In their old communities people used to supplement their yield by migrant labour, says Buntu. “Now because any form of subsistence is impossible, they are forced to go and queue for jobs. The men become migrant labourers and live in far-off hostels and the

women try and get work or anything to cope. People try by all means to survive: they sell mielies, fresh and sour milk; they sell their skills.”

One or two border industries have been established. These do not benefit the people of Ekuvukeni who have to catch buses at 4 am to get there — only to find the jobs have already been filled.

The effects of migrant labour are tragic, says Buntu. “Children grow up with absentee fathers and mothers who only come home for Christmas and Easter — then the community comes alive.”

Many families depend on the meagre pensions of the older members. “On pension day one can see how bleak the situation is”, says Buntu. “When the travelling social workers come, a carnival atmosphere breaks out in the camp: at least now there will be some money for food”. The pensions are now R60 per month — they used to be R40.

Facilities are of the “fire-brigade type”, says Buntu: there is one clinic, a couple of schools, a few shops, a supermarket, a butchery and a bottle store. “People wonder why the grand plan, as usual, did not provide for church and recreation sites before all else. We hear: ‘Even before the beerhall had been built, the truck came and dumped the factory brew, under a tree for the people to get drunk!’ Beer was someone’s priority, but not water, food, light, education or worship”.

Health hazards are tied to the built-in problems of the camps’ infrastructure: the lack of water and sanitary facilities, inadequate shelter and overcrowding. One clinic with two nursing sisters serves the community of 15 000, with the nearest

“Have you ever felt an urgent call of nature, the “number 2” variety, and rushed into a loo, only to find that there is no more space for your waste?! The bucket is overflowing. The neighbour’s is worse. “The collectors got paid, so they are still resting and drinking their pay. Delousing themselves. They should be back

next week, when they are broke, “comes the philosophical, all knowing reply. Damn! And so the days roll by . . . people become desperate . . . old and young slink off to the bushes under cover of darkness, to gain some temporary relief.”

**Buntu Mbele**



Poor water and sanitary facilities threaten Ekuvukeni's people

hospital 35 km away. Sanitation is poor. The bucket toilet system, besides its inconvenience, is a health threat due to inefficient collection and disposal services. "The bucket system defies all description" says Buntu. "It is so pervasive, widespread and inhuman".

Ironically, the Ladysmith town council's tourist brochure says: "except for a few outlying areas Ladysmith is supplied with water-borne sewerage". Even the ghetto of Steadville, only 2 km outside the town, has no such facilities.

Education is another crisis area. In the old communities there were many schools, but in Ekuvukeni the facilities are drastically inadequate.

Buntu describes the schooling situation: "People scrounge and borrow to send at least one child to school. But what happens at "school"? Children sit from 8am to 1pm in a corrugated iron dungeon, listening to a teacher whose heart is elsewhere and who has not been paid for 3 to 6 months."

"After 2pm another session starts, as the school operates on double sessions and still has to turn many pupils away. At the local 'high school' which doubles as a church on Sundays, the situation is impossible: two schools in the same yard."

The social problems of a ghetto abound. Crime is an everyday fact of life. Ekuvukeni, classified as a "township", has a courthouse, a jail and a "Bantu Affairs" office, but no visible police station. For "law and order" people have to call Washbank, Helpmekaar or Ladysmith. People are fair game for crimes ranging from robbery and rape to murder and faction fighting. "Law enforcement really depends on community initiative: sometimes people have to take the law into their own hands," says Buntu.

These are the daily problems of the resettled people. The community is disorganised, says Buntu. People who came from communities where neighbourhood contacts had been built up over years — who knew each other and had a tradition of living together — have suddenly been moved into a so-called township. Morale is very low.

Of course, he says, there is the five percent of the population which do have big houses. He points to this as a pattern in homeland consolidation. "The chiefs and MP's of the ruling party tend to get farms, large houses, water-borne sewerage and so on, while most of the people end up struggling to survive."

"This 'new deal' that is as old as the hills entrenches the class structure. It's the elite, middle class solution in operation once more".

The resettlements are carried out to consolidate the Kwa-Zulu "homeland", but the people who are forced to move consider their previous communities as their real homelands. Kwa-Zulu officials deny responsibility, saying they have no control over the removals. Meanwhile the "dumped" people continue to live through hell, depending on whatever survival mechanisms they have.

"As people who come from independent communities they may be able to build something out of this desert", says Buntu. "But they have so many odds against them that one wonders how long it will take — if ever — for them to recover". In the meantime the casualties mount and the future looks bleak for the people of Ekuvukeni and surrounding camps.

# Divide and Remove

## The hidden side of resettlement

**I**N 1972 Connie Mulder predicted: "soon there will be no black South Africans".

In its crudest form this is the aim of the government's 'homeland policy'. Already millions of black South Africans have become "citizens" of fragmented "independent" bantustans.

Hand in hand with this policy goes resettlement. Areas falling in "white" South Africa are labelled "black spots" and the people living there are forced to move into the bantustans.

The story of the "discarded" people moved from their settled communities to sometimes far-off wastelands is not often told — but it is the experience of millions.

Ekuvukeni (see centrespread) is only one of these resettlement camps. Why Ekuvukeni and its sister ghettos exist is covered in a Black Sash publication, "South Africa — a divided land".

Resettlement today is the removal of people who by law have no rights to the "white" 87 per cent of the country.

The book links resettlement directly to the state's overall labour policy which goes back over 100 years to the beginning of industrialisation in South Africa.

This history is seen as essential to why resettlement is taking place on the scale it is today.

- During the 1880's when minerals were first discovered, mine-owners needed workers at cheap rates of pay. At first this was impossible because Africans, being the obvious source of such cheap labour, were subsisting by cultivating their own land. White farmers were also in need of cheap labour and had to keep their market prices low because of competition from the African crop producers.

- 1894: Under Cecil Rhodes, the "Bill for Africa" was passed. This was the beginning of the migrant labour system. "Native reserves" became labour pools - Africans were



The land of the discarded

forced to pay tax and so had to leave the land to earn cash.

- 1913: The Natives Land Act outlawed squatting and restricted African land rights to 13 per cent of the country's area. Thousands of African farmers were evicted from their land and resettled in the reserves. Still demand for cheap labour was not met because subsistence was still possible on the available reserve land. Labour shortages in mining and farming grew.

Also at this time, people started moving from the small and crowded reserves to the towns.

- 1920's: Harsher laws were introduced to check the flow of Africans to the towns. It was claimed their presence threatened the position of white workers. To solve both problems — the continued labour

shortage and the threatened position of white workers — Africans were allowed into urban areas centres only to serve industry's needs. Those allowed in towns were forced into isolated "locations", where they could be controlled.

The rural reserves became more and more impoverished. Despite provisions in the original 1913 legislation for more reserve land, the allocation remained the same. People continued to move into towns. With the growth of secondary industry, labour was attracted away from the mines because industry could pay higher wages.

- To overcome their by now critical labour shortage, the mines looked across the country's borders for labour. At first, Africans from the former High Commission Territories were not prohibited from permanent

South African residence, but gradually this was withdrawn. By 1963 over 600 000 Africans from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were declared illegal residents and forcibly repatriated.

Employers prefer migrant labour because they no longer have to pay what is called the "social wage" — that part of a salary which provides the worker's family with its means of livelihood. The contract migrant labour is instead only paid a "formal wage" and the rest is supposedly provided by his area of origin.

In the same way, maintaining the aged, disabled and unemployed is no longer the burden of employers but rather that of the area of supply. In this way employers need pay wages no higher than is needed for the workforces' subsistence.

Studies on the homeland and resettlement policies link these directly to the need for cheap labour — a need met by using migrant labour. They point to resettlement as not just a nightmarish consequence of racism. Rather, they say it is a sophisticated step to ensure a stable labour supply at minimum cost.

By resettling people in "independent" countries, industry can draw on this as a constant pool of cheap "foreign" labour.

"Foreign" contract labour guarantees a stable labour supply. Employers work through labour recruitment offices in the "country of supply". This means prospective workers may not choose their work or their employers; rather they must respond to a request for labour.

Also "foreign" migrants must return to their "country" every year — in this case an "independent" homeland. They must enter into a new labour contract each time they return. This keeps them from getting Section 10 rights which would allow them to live in the urban areas if they could prove they had lived in one place for ten years. Employers can deny long-service and wage increases on the grounds that no worker is employed longer than a year.

In this way the Black Sash book views resettlement as part of the homeland system, which has as its underlying purpose the control of labour.

Already nearly ten million black South Africans find themselves "citizens" of bantustans and are classified "foreigners" in the country of their birth.

This is why Ekuvukeni exists. This is why resettlement is an everyday fact of life. This is why Connie Mulder's statement has serious implications for millions of South Africans. ■

STUDENTS

# Azaso looks at student history

## Learning from the past to look ahead

THE STRUGGLE for change in education cannot be separated from the broader struggle for change in society.

This was the common message at the recent Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) education conference in Durban.

Through the various papers presented and in discussion groups, the relationship between education and society was explored.

Wits lecturer David Webster and Zunaid Hussein of the University of Durban — Westville focussed on how education slots into this "process of oppression".

In tracing the development of the South African education system, Hussein said education was determined by the type of society in which it operates.

"South Africa — an exploitative society which seeks to maximise profits through cheap labour", he said. "As a result, the education system has been developed as a form of ideological control and to meet the

needs of the economy".

Webster spoke on the role of education in South African capitalist society.

He said that while the educators present education as some neutral search for truth, in reality it reflects the interests of the ruling class. "While in the West, the form of control through education is more subtle, here in the Third World the control is more obvious, crude and is dealt with a heavier hand."

He said some basic education demands students should make are:

- for a socially relevant education that would "expose oppression and racism"
- for an education that would serve the people and be accessible to them
- for an education that breaks down class, sex and age divisions

"Education", he said "should not be separated from production and the community".

Ray Pele, past SRC president of the Durban Medical School traced the history of black student organisation and resistance.

He said students have steadily moved towards understanding how they fit into South African society, a process which has led them to form working alliances with other sections of their society, mainly workers and communities. His paper showed how people have learnt through past mistakes and how important it is to maintain this learning process.

Paul David of the Natal Indian Congress said students had to choose between the "college of apartheid" and the "college of democracy". While students were, on the one hand, "in the frontline for co-optation by the state", they were also in the best position to develop a theoretical understanding of South Africa.



Paul David of the NIC: "students must choose"

He said students had a duty to interpret and transmit their knowledge so that their education could benefit more than just themselves.

Students could not change their education system within the present status quo, he said, and change in society could not originate from the education system. "Since it is the economy which determines education, it is predominantly economic conditions which will determine changes in all spheres".

During discussion groups delegates exchanged ideas and suggestions on how the proposed "Education

Charter" should be drawn up and what it should contain.

The groups dealt with questions such as how to overcome the present stratification of society into "mental" and "manual" compartments; whose needs the present education system serves; the issue of boycotts — principle or strategy; how the attitudes of racism, sexism and competition are imposed and how they can be combatted; and finally, the mechanisms of control in education.

The conference ended by unanimously passing a motion of solidarity with the students of Fort Hare.

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# Beating the Bush

Students resist the tight control at black universities

**I**N SOUTH Africa, black education is tightly controlled — financially, technically, but most important, ideologically.

At primary and secondary school level, financing is minimal, with pupils learning in poor conditions and often being taught by unqualified teachers.

But what about the "black" universities — commonly called "bush" colleges by students — which are well — financed and staffed by qualified academics?

According to black university students these universities are tightly controlled — in a way designed to stifle dissent, crush any signs of radical ideology before it can "get out of hand", and course content is as removed from the reality of a developing Africa as Johannesburg is from a rural Ciskei.

One of the main aims behind the ideological control of these universities is, they say, to produce a skilled elite which will slot into roles within the ruling group.

The president of the Azanian Students Organisation, Joe Phaahla says: "For the minority ruling group to survive in a position of strength, it needs assistance ... It is out of those of us who have managed to reach universities and colleges that the system is getting its agents for effecting an institutionalised class division to complement the similarly institutionalised race divisions."

Referring to the vast amounts of cash spent on modernising the bush colleges, Phaahla says: "why is it that so much money is being spent on such a small number of people while millions are crammed in small classrooms, millions have no place for shelter at night and millions are starving in the presence of an obvious abundance of wealth?"



Riot squad on Turfloop campus

"It is to make sure that you come out of the university believing that you are different from the rest of your people. It is to make sure that you come out being totally alienated from the rest of your community and being so accustomed to a privileged life that you will be easily lured into joining the machinery of control of your people

for the sake of a privileged life."

Consider one of the colleges, the University of the North, or Turfloop as it is called at Sovenga near Pietersburg in the northern Transvaal.

Turfloop is typical of the bush colleges, and in many respects, the controls upon it are less than those at say, Fort Hare or the University of Zululand (Ngoye).

Some academics at the university will tell you there are considerable controls on teaching. The use of enlightened methods and course content is met with strong opposition from those who effectively control the campus.

They will tell you that at Turfloop, approximately 65 percent of the white academic and administrative staff support the Herstigte Nasionale Party of Jaap Marais and Andries Treurnicht's SA Conservative Party.

The university's academic registrar, Prof JC Steenkamp is listed as being a Broederbond member in the book "The super-Afrikaners" by Hans Strydom and Ivor Wilkins and is a member of the education committee of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra).

Sabra was established as a Broederbond front organisation and is headed by the present Broederbond boss, Prof Carel Boshoff.

In 1980 the student body and the Black Academic Staff Association (Basa) at Turfloop demanded Steenkamp's resignation, accusing him of being a major cause of recurring student disturbances. In a statement Basa said: "His attitude had consistently reflected his arrogance and impatience which borders on contempt and lack of respect for blacks".

But the problem does not end there.

Several "liberal" academics have resigned out of frustration because they have been unable to get approval for projects or research which were



Students on the march at one of the many Turfloop protests

more relevant to the community than many of the esoteric projects being undertaken at vast expense.

The blocking of funds is seen as having a two-fold purpose.

On the one hand, it is designed to discourage research or investigation which disturbs the status quo and gives students ideas which could result in them questioning the South African system at anything more than a gut level.

Secondly, one way of forcing any such academic out of a university is to thwart any independent thought he or she may try to bring into the classroom. The simplest way to do this is by withholding funds, and resignations soon follow.

During Turfloop's graduation ceremony in May this year the extent of control at the university was demonstrated.

The SRC — which was only recently resurrected after being banned by the rector in 1977 and most of its members detained by security police after only six weeks of existence — called for a boycott of the graduation ceremonies because of the presence of bantustan "leaders", and because the original one-day ceremony had been split into two days, making it impossible for many parents to afford the long journey and accommodation costs.

Within hours of the boycott call going out, the administration appealed for help and police reinforcements were bussed into Sovenga. The boycott collapsed.

The above are just some minor examples of the controls on the "tribal" universities.

Joe Phaala, in his 1982 Azaso president's message to students spelt out a clear alternative to joining the growing black middle class.

"The challenge," he said, "is therefore on us to decide whether we are going to be part of the oppressive system or part of the oppressed majority. Some people amongst us wrongly assume that this is a challenge facing whites only, when we have all the signs before us which show that some black people also form an important part of the oppression machinery."

"This wrong assumption is very dangerous be-

cause some of us in the black elite find ourselves perpetuating the system of race and class division unaware that we are doing so. Some of us also hang onto this assumption very consciously out of fear that joining hands with the vast majority of our people will mean losing our privileged positions."

"If we want to be part of the oppressed, then we must turn all privileges granted us into instruments of strengthening the struggle for democracy as some patriots have done in the past and continue to do today."

Students at Turfloop and other "tribal" campuses have a long history of resistance to the ideologies and rigid controls imposed upon them. At Turfloop, some of the more high profile acts of resistance which have taken place on the campus include:

- 1972 The university was closed down after a sit-in by students protesting against the expulsion of student leader, Onkgopotse Tiro, after he lashed out at Bantu Education during a graduation speech. Police were called in and the sit-in broken up, sparking off nationwide protests by students with Nusas backing the campaign against Bantu Education. For the first time, white students came into direct contact with the brutality of the State when demonstrators at Wits and UCT were baton-charged by police. Tiro died when he opened a parcel bomb addressed to him in exile in Botswana.

- September, 1974: The now-banned Black People's Convention (BPC) and the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) organised Viva Frelimo rallies on the campus. Police moved in and detained the then Saso president, Pandelane Neflovhodwe and the SRC president, Kaunda Sedibe. Both were tried in the marathon Saso-BPC trial and are currently imprisoned on Robben Island.

- June, 1976: The entire student body boycotted classes in solidarity with the demands of the Soweto students. One student was killed after "jumping" from a high building on the campus while fleeing from riot police who baton-charged and teargassed students staging a peaceful demonstration.

- 1977: Both the SRC and the Black Academic Staff Association, a moderate body representing Turfloop's black academics, were banned by the university authorities. The bannings took place shortly after Turfloop's first black director, the late Prof William Kgware, was appointed.

- 1979: The student body came out on a boycott demanding the reinstatement of a student who was expelled because he involved himself in "undesirable political action". He was later reinstated after taking the university to court.

- In the same year, renewed demands from students saw the authorities agreeing to the setting up of an SRC. But the administration demanded amendments to the existing constitution and the students rejected its resurrection on the grounds that it would be nothing more than a puppet body.

- May, 1980: 18 students, claiming to have the backing of the university authorities, launched attacks on members of Azaso, seriously injuring two men. None of the attackers were arrested, although 300 students boycotting lectures in support of the nationwide education boycott in the same week were detained by police. In June, police baton-charged students taking part in the boycott.

- In the same month, the newly-formed SRC demanded that Steenkamp be removed from the campus because "he is inclined to call in the police when there is any misunderstanding between students and the administration. He also has a dictatorial attitude towards students as well as his colleagues.

- Last year, more than 1 000 students from the university surrounded the local police station following an anti-Republic Day protest. Two students were wounded when police opened fire on them, with one of them later have his foot amputated.

These are just some of the many acts of resistance which have taken place at one of South Africa's "tribal" universities. Many more were never reported in the commercial press.

Almost all were met with the same repression students on these campuses have come to expect when they rise against the controls imposed on their education and daily lives.



# Health – a detainee's right

## Support committee puts demands to Minister

**T**HE DEATH in detention in February this year of Dr Neil Aggett and the many political detainees recently admitted to the hospital during their detention has again thrown the issue of detainees health into the Spotlight.

In the past 14 years at least 46 people have died in detention, and at least 10 detainees have recently required hospitalization.

Shortly after Aggett's death, the Detainees Parents Support committee (DPSC) formed a health sub-committee (HSC) to look into the health of detainees, and to urge independent medical attention for detainees.

In a report released recently, the DPSC Health sub-committee outlines its demands in the field of health and its reasons for setting up the committee. "We believe," the report says, "the health care of detainees is inadequate and ignores accepted medical ethics. We therefore feel it is important to work on the issue of detainees' health rights and to alert people to this problem."

The report notes, however, that it in no way condones the system of detention. It says until its demand that all detainees and political prisoners be released is met, the HSC demands improved conditions for those in jail.

It also notes, that access to independent doctors does not guarantee the health of those in detention. "Interrogators have complete control over those in detention. They may use methods which leave no physical marks that can be detected even by a doctor."

It was the death of black consciousness leader Steve Biko in 1977 that for the first time, doctors were seen to be subordinating medical ethics to state interests.

In the Biko inquest one of the State doctors who had attended Biko was asked in court, if, in terms of the Hippocratic Oath, the interests of his patients were not paramount. The doctor answered yes. He was then asked if, in this instance, those interests were subordinated to the interests of the security police. Again he answered in the affirmative.

The HSC report notes that as only state-appointed or state-approved doctors are permitted to see detainees, the system remains a closed one. "There are no safeguards against the physical and mental abuse of detainees."

The HSC says the Medical Association of South



## The Tokyo Declaration

THE TOKYO Declaration was passed by the World Medical Association in 1975. It is based on the conviction that a medical doctor should practice medicine to serve humanity.

The declaration reads: "The utmost respect for human life is to be maintained even under threat, and no use made of any medical knowledge contrary to the laws of humanity".

It defines torture as "the deliberate, systematic or wanton infliction of physical or mental suffering ... to force another person to yield information, to make a confession, or for any other reason".

The Declaration's code for medical doctors is:

- A doctor should not accept or take part in torture or any other form of cruel, degrading or inhuman procedures. This applies to all situations, regardless of the victim's suspected offence, motives or beliefs.
- A doctor should not aid the practice of such methods by providing premises, instruments, sub-

stances or knowledge or by lessening the victim's ability to resist such treatment.

- The doctor should not be present during any such procedure.

- A doctor must have complete clinical independence to decide on the care of a person he or she is medically responsible for.

- When a prisoner — who the doctor and another independent doctor consider capable of making rational judgements — refuses food, he or she should not be artificially fed. In such a case, the doctor should explain the consequences of refusing food to the prisoner.

- The World Medical Association will support, and should encourage the international community, the national medical associations and fellow doctors, to support the doctor and his or her family in the face of threats or reprisals resulting from refusing to condone any form of torture.

Africa's (MASA) attitude to detainees' health has been ambiguous. After a meeting with Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, after Aggett's death, a MASA delegate noted that the State attitude was contrary to medical and professional standards. "But," he said, "within the problems relating to security, this is probably the only way in which it can be handled."

Recently, however, MASA has supported the call for a panel of doctors, independent of the State. It advocates this panel should be appointed by MASA. The DPSC says it has so far had no response to a demand that MASA recognise the DPSC panel of doctors.

The report says another medical ethic being broken with detainees' health care is that of confidentiality. A Department of Health publication says "Permission for the disclosure of diagnosis may be given only by the patient, parent or guardian, next of kin or the medical practitioner in court, under protest."

The HSC report says in the past month, this recommendation has been broken. The South African ambassador to the United States, Donald Sole, alleged in a speech to American politicians that detainees in South Africa had faked illness. He said he had based this on information given to him by security police.

## LEGISLATION

Sole's allegation provoked an immediate outcry, and independent doctors who had treated detainees after their release said Sole's allegations were completely false.

There is also the danger, says the HSC, that when the confidentiality between patient and doctor is broken, medical information may be used by the Security Police to pressurise detainees.

In his recent trial, former detainee Ben Greyling told the court he was maltreated in detention and that he had reported this to a State doctor. He alleged the doctor then referred this back to Greyling's interrogators.

The DPSC says it seems there are no safeguards to prevent such "report backs" by state doctors to security police.

"The isolation of detainees in this closed system is likely to act as a strong deterrent against making complaints of torture or maltreatment to doctors."

Under this same closed system, security police, says the HSC report, can manipulate even the small medical rights a detainee does have.

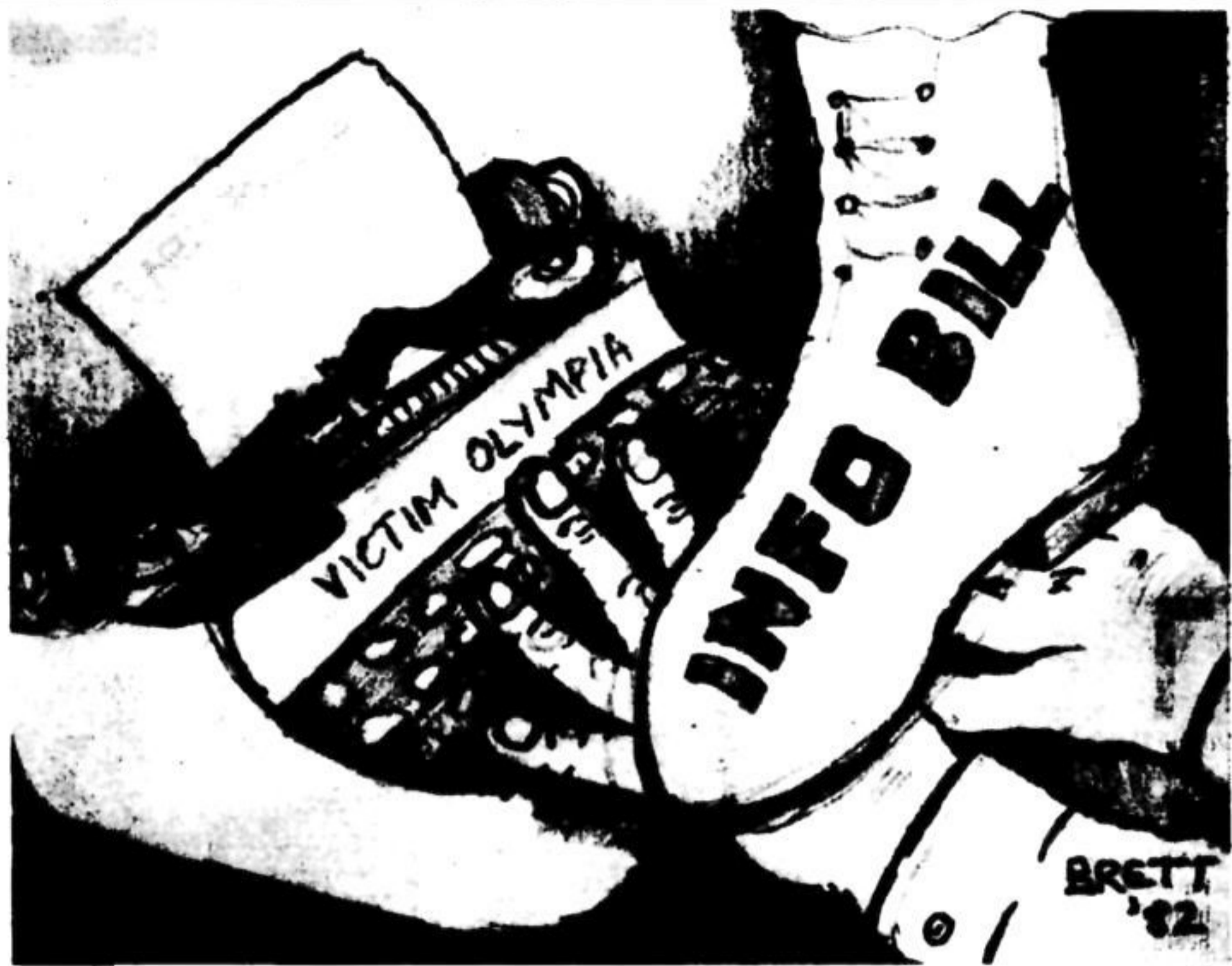
District surgeons are cited as prime examples here. If, for example, a district surgeon acts to prevent the abuse of a detainee by security police, there is nothing to stop police from moving the detainee to an area where there is a District Surgeon more sympathetic to police interests.

"If detainees had the right to chose their own doctors," the report says, "and if the ethics of confidentiality were strictly maintained, these conflicting situations would not arise."

The report quotes top academics and medical schools, as saying that solitary confinement is a form of torture. A report by the UCT medical school, for example, says: "such procedures (solitary confinement and prolonged interrogation) present a high risk of injury and severe psychological disturbance and an ever-present possibility of suicide. As such these practices alone or in combination are tantamount to torture."

The report concludes by outlining the health committee's objectives:

- to mobilise support within the medical profession locally and internationally for the demands of the DPSC.
- to encourage discussion of the Tokyo Declaration (see box) and to encourage organisations and the public to take a stand on the principles contained in it.
- to research, document and publicise where the medical treatment and health of detainees has been abused and where this has violated accepted medical ethics.



## The no-Info Bill

Gilbert Marcus, a law lecturer at Wits examines the new bill. This is an abridged version of his article.

**O**VER THE years, the South African government has surrounded itself by a shield of protective laws seemingly designed to preserve secrecy. The proposed Protection of Information Bill, which is intended to replace the existing Official Secrets Act simply maintains the trend.

Apart from the Protection of Information Bill, The Laws on Co-Operation and Development Amendment Bill also currently before Parliament, aims to preserve secrecy "in connection with matters dealt with by the Commission for Co-Operation and Development." The Internal Security Bill keeps all the harsh features of the Terrorism Act (which it is meant to replace) including provisions preventing access to information on detainees.

If the Bill becomes law, it will be yet another addition to the long list of

statutes restricting freedom of the new media and publishing information. It will be another step by a government obsessed with secrecy.

The information that the news media is allowed to publish cannot be seen as accurately reflecting freedom of speech in South Africa. The real test is to assess what is never published and kept from the public eye by ever-increasing restrictive laws.

The Bill is an offshoot of the recent Rabie Commission on security legislation. Ironically, the Rabie Commission criticised the existing Official Secrets Act for its breadth and vagueness. Yet, the proposed Bill suffers the same problem. For example, Section 2 of the Bill makes it an offence punishable by imprisonment for up to 20 years (without the option of a fine) to approach, inspect, pass over, be in the neighbourhood of or enter any "prohibited place" for any purpose prejudicial to the security or interests of the Republic.

The State President can declare any place or area "a prohibited place". There are no guidelines in the Bill as to the circumstances under which the State President may act. Furthermore there is nothing to show what makes up an approach to or what area falls within the neighbourhood of a prohibited place. Such conduct is punishable not only if it is prejudicial to the security of the Republic but also if it is prejudicial to the interests of the Republic. Needless to say, the interests of the Republic are not defined.

Section 4 of the Bill covers what may loosely be described as the offence of espionage. The breadth of the offence is breath-taking. It provides, for example, that a person commits an offence if he possesses any information which he knows or should know is related to a prohibited place or anything in a prohibited place and publishes such information "in any manner or for any purpose which is or may be prejudicial to the

## LEGISLATION

security or interests of the Republic." The penalty prescribed is a fine not exceeding R10 000 or imprisonment not exceeding 10 years or both. Where, however, the publication takes place for the purpose of disclosure to a foreign state or to a "hostile organisation", the penalty is imprisonment for up to 20 years with no option of a fine. The State President can declare any foreign organisation hostile; this could include the United Nations.

A particularly disturbing feature of this provision is that an offence is made even when publication may be (not necessarily, is) prejudicial to any interests of the Republic.

In terms of Section 3, any person, who, for the purposes of the disclosure thereof to any foreign state or organisation or to any agent or any hostile organisation obtains information relating to:

- any prohibited place or anything in any prohibited place, or to armaments; or
- the defence of the Republic, any military matter, any security matter or the prevention or combating of terrorism; or

• any other matter which he knows or reasonably should know may directly or indirectly be of use to any foreign state or any hostile organisation, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 20 years.

This section is objectionable for several reasons. Its wording and range is extremely wide. None of the important words are defined perhaps the worst feature of the section is that the offence is made purely by the intention to disclose information and not because of any intention to commit harm or possible prejudice to any person or body.

The offence created by Section 3 covers not only disclosing information to a hostile organisation but also to "any office bearer, officer, member or active supporter" of any hostile organisation. It is not inconceivable that the State President would declare the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain a hostile organisations.

The information disclosed need only be directly or indirectly of use to any foreign state or any hostile organisation and which for considerations

of the security or other interests of the Republic, should not be so disclosed. This could not be much vaguer or more mystifying to the man in the street, or for that matter, a journalist.

- In terms of Section 4, any person who has information which he has obtained by virtue of his position as a person who holds office under the government, or as a person with a governmental contract or a contract the performance of which takes place entirely or partly in a prohibited place and the secrecy of which information he knows or reasonably should know to be required by the security or the other interests of the Republic and who publishes such information for a purpose prejudicial to the security or interest of the Republic, shall be guilty of an offence.

This provision is in many respects similar to the present provision in the Official Secrets Act. Similar provisions in the English Official Secrets Act of 1911 have been the subject of several commissions of enquiry and widespread debate over the past 20 years. A former British Attorney General, Sir Lionel Heald said "the Act makes it a crime without any possibility of a defence, to repeat the number of cups of tea consumed per week in a Government Department", the same criticism can be levelled at the provisions Section 4 of the proposed Protection of Information Bill.

The security police are given free reign by the provision making it an offence to disclose, publish or keep information relating to a security matter or preventing or combating terrorism. Publication must be for a purpose prejudicial to the security or interests of the Republic. A security matter is defined as "any matter which is dealt with by the National Intelligence Service or which relates to the functions of that service or to the relationship existing between any person and that service." This provision effectively prevents any investigation and, of course, the publication, of the methods and activities of the NIS.

The Bill also makes it an offence to receive any secret official code or password or any document or information knowing or having reasonable grounds to believe that it is being disclosed to him in contravention of the Act and such person shall, unless he proves that the disclosure to him was against his wish, be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or imprisonment not exceeding 10 years or both. This provision is almost the same as an existing provision contained in the Official Secrets Act. It has particularly serious implications for journalists. For example, there is nothing to indicate in what

circumstances a journalist ought to have reasonable grounds to believe that he is receiving information in contravention of the Act. An accused person may escape liability if he can prove that the disclosure to him was "against his wish". Presumably, the fact that the information was unsolicited would not be sufficient to escape liability.

Journalists are particularly hard hit by the provision making it an offence for any person who obtains possession of any official document, whether by finding or otherwise, and who neglects or fails to hand it over to the person or authority by whom or for whose use it was issued or to a member of the police force. The penalty for contravening this section is a fine not exceeding R5 000 or imprisonment not exceeding 5 years or both. Once again clarity is lacking and "official document" is not defined.

A particularly outrageous provision is contained in Section 7 of the Bill which provides that any person who "knowing that any agent or any person who has been or is in communication with an agent, whether in the Republic, fails forthwith to report to any member of the South African Police or the South African Railways Police Force, the presence of or any information it is in his power to give in relation to any such agent or person, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R1 000 or imprisonment not exceeding 12 months or to both such fine and such imprisonment."

The breadth and uncertainties of the Bill are not matched by providing any special defences for an accused person. The only safeguard is the requirement that no prosecution shall be instituted without the written authority of the Attorney General. One hopes that the Attorney General would not prosecute innocent violations of the Act. But while the all embracing provisions of the Act remain they may be used to prosecute any violation, however trivial.

A danger of drafting statutes in vague and uncertain terms is that they tend to intimidate people and discourage investigations which may be perfectly legitimate and in the best interests of both the people and the country. The dangers for journalists and the press in general are obvious. Until such time as the Bill has been tested in Court (if it were ever allowed to become law in its present form) its provisions will remain uncertain.

Since this article was written, the Bill has been amended in certain minor respects. The most important amendment limits to some extent the circumstances in which the State President may declare an organisation hostile or a place prohibited.

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WS

# "Ons eie punk star"

YOU MAY not appreciate David Kramer's contribution to the revolution: he pulls his punches when he should be knee-jerking, very likely his songs will win him a State President's award before his wit puts

away from political thinking' as he puts it.

By his own admission, he came to this understanding with the help of the audience reaction at Leeds University, a red brick he attended in the early 70's.

Once away from South Africa, he discovered what it meant

to be a South African when the Jay-to-day business of behaving like one had fallen away.

Not only did he come back from England with a marketable idea of this, but also a shrewd assessment of his own sense of gentle irony, an ability to make people laugh at themselves without actually challenging them.

Kramer says he satirises with affection. The manne at the

Royal Hotel may be dead-end juicers, but at least they're so affectionately South African. Tragi-comedy is another term Kramer uses to describe his work.

On the one hand, Kramer owes his success to his own talents. He's witty, clever with words, good at finding the descriptions that fit and sound best —very likely his English-teacher took a special

him under Section Six, but at least he's cute — and ambiguous, quite possibly ambivalent too.

In front of an audience — RAU Wits or civilians — his neat stage steps, the way he sings and swings to his guitar, come very close to matching the finesse and practised polish of his lyrics. The full house gets its money's worth, but what is it paying for? David Kramer won't be pinned into any political pigeon-hole, most probably because that's the way he wants it.

Any South African musician who can make the pop pin-up in Die Huisgenoot and double-bills with the Malopoets in a Rock against Management gig, must have a sense of tact in his appeal that would make Houdini look like the count of Monte Cristo. Thanks to David Kramer, this could well be the first time there has been general consensus on both afrikaans and English campuses since the ASB broke away from Nusas.

In an interview, Kramer says he arrived at his present outlook by coming to terms with himself as an English-speaking South African. "a move

"I want to share things — like people say 'I never noticed letter boxes until David Kramer'. That makes me very happy".

"I don't know what it's like to be thrown out of a window or anything like that. OK, it's relevant to the political cause but for me it's not relevant".

Extracts from "Music in the Mix"

interest in him at school — but ultimately, the success of this singer with the poses derives from a lot more than just his own brilliance.

The emergence of SABC-TV and the consumption of the millions needed to bring such an organisation into operation has given rise to a phenomenon tentatively called Afrikaans new wave, which is also sung by such stars as Mynie Grove and Anton Goosen, arises out of the same national pathological need that sends boxers crashing bleeding and senseless to the ring canvas.

Like a world champion, white South Africa wants an authentic pop star. A man or woman who, David-like in the face of Goliath, can show the outside world that South Africa too has something to offer, that our singers are every bit as good as Bob Dylan and Mick Jagger, our boxer as tough as Mohammed Ali's bootnails.

It is this need that Kramer has come to terms with. "Our own punk star, ons eie man met die woorde."

David Kramer — from Huisgenoot pin-up to Rock Against Management

W.B. Stijger

# From Meths to Mau-Mau

From streetlife to revolution  
 "all the world's a stage."  
 A look at two contemporary  
 african plays:  
 iBlues Train and The Trial of  
 Dedan Kimathi.

By Lucy Mark

It's not often that theatre is laid on free-of-charge but this is what happened at the Market recently when Action Centre, a fokus for research into African Theatre, presented two plays in the tiny Laager Theatre.

iBlues Train, devised by the final year students of Action Centre, is certainly one of the most powerful pieces of theatre this country has produced for a long time.

It's a slice of life — the one lived on the pavements and in the alleys of New-town. The play's action is a night in the life of a group of men who belong to the twilight zone of Apartheid society: the meths and pavement-shanty sector of the economy.

It's a complex weave of humour, violence and tragedy. There are no pearls of wisdom. Had this been a production of the kind one is used to finding in the warm, comfortable theatres of "cultured" South Africa, the tallest man in the play, Day-by-Day, would have been dropping pearls all over the place in true Athol Fugard style. But he doesn't, because people seldom do.

The play is a work in progress. A taut rhythm comes through in dynamic interactions of the various characters: violence against calm — fear against a quivering and double-edged bravado. All the characters are a carefully-balanced mixture of individuals and representative figures. The life experiences they relate once their hearts and tongues have been loosened by the burning warmth of meths, are not unique. Barnard, who

communicates mainly through violence and intimidating those weaker than himself, breaks at one point to tell how he was raped in jail. Typical in the play though, is the others' response. Few feel any pity — that is reserved for people outside their lives of violence and hardship. Day-by-Day, the strongest character and a great story-teller, recounts how he was tortured while working as prison labour hired out to farmers.

What makes this play so powerful is that there is nothing universal about its subject matter. It is indelibly stamped with the mark of "ware Suid Afrika" and there is no escape from this into generalisations about poverty's universality or the so-called eternal truth of "Man's inhumanity to Man." The audience is constantly reminded of the off-stage backdrop of apartheid South Africa.

A heated debate about so-called "homeland independence" is neatly summed up when one character says "I bought a stand there (Bophutataswana) before — now, outside my stand lies *their* independence".

Barnard and Day-by-Day are the central characters and their interactions with each other and the rest of the group give the play much of its movement. When Rooi, a terrified little man, appears pathetically clutching a battered suitcase and Checkers packets, Day-by-Day receives him warmly and tries to quell his fear of the apparently awesome and threatening group. Barnard, however, thrives on the terror he can rouse in the uninitiated youth. (His bush initiation certainly hasn't prepared him for



Fear and violence — household words for the homeless.

## THEATRE



The storyteller, Day-by-Day, tells the group of his close encounter with the "call of nature" and a cop.



Day-by-Day and Barnard struggle over a loaf of bread.

street life )

In a very subtle way, objects which at first seem insignificant become symbols: Rooi's suitcase is an absurd show of private property in a world where such a notion is laughable. It is soon ravaged by Barnard who in this way shatters the last shred of Rooi's false security. The other object is a bottle of Mainstay cane spirits which the meths drinkers regard as manna from heaven. "This must be imported", says Day-by-Day and Barnard is fascinated by the label which represents a world outside his own squalour ("you can stay as you are ...").

Barnard, oblivious to the terror he inspires in Rooi, puts on clothes from the suitcase, stuffing some into his jersey as a paunch and pretends to be an oppressive Portugese farmer. The scene becomes frighteningly real as he forces Rooi into the role of a work seeker and orders him to perform a traditional song and dance from his home area, Tzancen. The group gets caught up in a temporary nostalgia for "home" — a mythical place to be sure.

Day-by-Day, who collapsed after

drinking too much Mainstay, wakes up at this point and sees how Barnard has been terrorising Rooi. His patience breaks and the scene develops a frightening shift of allegiances with Day-by-Day leading the others in a slow advance on Barnard. He manages to win some of them back with his meths supply but Day-by-Day has finally rejected him and his violence, which he sees as a disgusting imitation of the oppressor.

Day-by-Day and Rooi are left on stage as the others flee after discovering that the old Madala has died. Day-by-Day says: "We've been running, running — this time we stay — this land belongs to us. He is not allowed the final say however — this is left to dawn and the bottle collector who passes through with his rickety cart.

So there are no grand statements at the end — no punchline to neatly package the play. It's meaning is not handed out on a plate — the audience have to provide their own answers.

What is important is that no-one is allowed to escape into pity for the meths drinkers. The characters force the audience into thought rather than



The Mau Mau leader, Kimathi, in control.



Kimathi shows his contempt of the colonial court.

participation (eg the audience is requested to wear masks during the play) and what actually happens. The spectators are forced into a passive position — they are not required to think — because they are not watching ideas being worked out and coming to life through the interactions on stage. They hear cut-and-dried clichés such as “the toiling masses” which is repeated endlessly without ever being given a concrete meaning.

It is difficult to sort out where the play itself is weak and where it is just this production to blame. An interesting device is huge animal masks worn by the oppressors; colonial landowners, judges, soldiers, foreign bankers, neo-colonial “cheque-book revolutionaries” However, the effect of mixing these puppet-like characters with the straight portrayal of those involved in the liberation struggle is uncomfortable. It somehow suggests the struggle for change is more “real” than the threat posed to it.

This is not to say subject-matter of plays should avoid the obvious and immediately political — that is impossible since life is obviously and immediately political. On the contrary, plays such as *The Trial* must be thoroughly scrutinised precisely because they are breaking new ground in the theatre and the need to use theatre as effectively as possible. We cannot demand “political” plays (or books, music, painting) and then accept blindly whatever is provided because it is consciously political.

The responsibility for establishing a progressive theatre must be shared by all those involved — audience, actors and writers.

“Theatre belongs to the people and should be performed for a certain purpose,” says Benji Francis, director of Action Centre. Fair enough — but then he says “We could have done it in a classroom in the township but we are a theatre company and want to do it in a proper theatre.”

This seems to contradict the idea of people’s theatre. “Proper” theatres as they exist at the moment are just those venues not accessible to the people. It is all very well to stage plays for free but what is the use if they are staged at elitist venues like the market. This doesn’t solve the transport and time costs of most people. If classrooms in townships are the most accessible venues at the moment then surely this is where more plays should be staged. ■

passive pity

*iBlues Train* shows that technical quality must never and need not ever be sacrificed in socially-relevant theatre. The acting and set of this play are very good indeed.

*The Trial of Dedan Kimathi*, the second play, is disappointing after the impact of *iBlues Train*. It was written by Kenyan writer and ex-detainee, Ngugi Wa Thiongo and Micere Gi-

thae Mugo. It is an historical play built on the circumstances surrounding the trial of a celebrated leader of the Mau Mau liberation struggle in Kenya.

The play is disappointing not because it doesn’t raise certain central socio-political issues, but in the way these dynamics are put across. All the way through there is a jarring rift between the playwrights’ obvious theoretical knowledge of devices that

can be used for ‘committed’ theatre and their actual use in the play.

Much of the dialogue is rhetoric and slogans. These of course play an important role in some areas of popular expression — mass meetings, funerals and so on. However, they are not in themselves educational tools and theatre certainly should be.

There is a contradiction between the authors’ intention to get audience

## SPORT

# Demons and Wizards

## The 1982 world cup in Spain

IT'S HARD to talk intelligently about a tournament of 24 teams when you've only seen players from three of them. What we know of world soccer is sadly limited to the teams and players of the English First Division.

Television brings us English club soccer once every few weeks, an F A-Cup final once a year and an international match once every blue moon. Exciting as these games often are, we have missed out on a whole world of soccer stars and styles.

Over the past two months, the daily papers have carried articles on the World Cup which have helped to widen this narrow view. Predictions about the tournament have become predictable — 'Brazil will win if they can pull together their dazzling skills... if not West Germany have the all-round ability... Spain as the home team cannot be ruled out... Argentina won in 1978, but may be too old in 1982... the Soviet Union must have the best outside chance.'

The bookmakers say the same thing — Brazil 2-1, West Germany 4-1, Spain 6-1, Argentina 9-1, England 10-1, Soviet Union 11-1, Cameroun and Honduras 2000-1.

Most exciting has been an introduction to the rich talents of footballers from all over the world: the immense skills of Argentina's Maradona, at 21 regarded as the best player in the world; the swerving free kicks of the Brazilian, Zico; the ice-cool defensive abilities of Chile's Figueroa; the spectacular goalkeeping of Spain's Luis Arconada; the pace and ball control of the Soviet striker, Oleg Blokhin. The list is

endless.

The 1982 World Cup should have given us a window on all this. Over 120 million people around the world will see it on television. Crowds of up to 120,000 will pack into stadia in Spain. SABC has been refused the rights to screen the 1982 World Cup, live or recorded. That will leave us as ignorant as ever of the magical skills of the world's great players. The next



**Karl-Heinz Rummenigge — West Germany's trump card**

World Cup is in 1986!

So, if we are to say something about the favoured teams, it's best to start with what we know. England's recent 1-0 victory over Scotland was a dull affair, littered throughout with petty fouls. The ball was needlessly given away through careless passing. None of the players seemed willing or able to take on an opponent and dribble the ball into the box.

This was also a feature of this year's F A Cup Final. One couldn't help thinking that Teenage Dladla or Ace Mnini would have shaken things up on the left wing. Even so, I expect England to do very well. They have won their last five games, conceding only one goal (a dubious penalty).

Clemence and Shilton are both excellent goal keepers, the defence is solid especially in the air, and Bryan Robson and Steve Coppell run and tackle hard in the mid-field. Up front, Kevin Keegan has looked to be yards and seconds ahead of everyone else. His running into empty spaces provides a target for the long passes of the midfield players.

What of the other teams? People who watched the Aston Villa/Bayern Munich European Cup Final could not help noticing the skill of the German players. Karl-Heinz Rummenigge, European Footballer of the Year, was in top form at centre forward. He is incredibly fast, with a powerful shot and plenty of ideas — remember his overhead kick in the first half?

There are other stars in the West German line up. Goalkeeper Toni Schumacher has conceded only 38 goals all season. Tiny, Pierre Littbarski on the right wing is reputed to be a great entertainer. He sets off on mazy runs down the touchline, and rounds them off with deft little chips into the penalty area for the forwards.



**Zico celebrates... another Brazilian victory?**

As a team West Germany have performed well — they have not lost to another European team in 39 matches.

West Germany have lost to Brazil three times in the past 17 months. After the 1978 World Cup, disappointed Brazilian fans burnt an effigy of the team manager, Coutinho. Brazil had finished third but people were also angry with the way they had played, dull, defensive 'European' football. The current manager has brought back the old magic of Pele and Co. with new players like Socrates and Zico in midfield, Junior, an adventurous fullback who joins the attack whenever possible; and Serginho at centre



## SPORT

forward who provides the power in the penalty area. After some disappointing warm-up games, Brazil showed all their talent in 7-0 win over Republic of Ireland, just before they left for Spain.

The Soviet Union beat Brazil in Rio de Janeiro last year, the first team to beat them at home in 14 years. They too have changed their game over the past four years. Manager Konstantin Beskov has moved away from their traditional style of dogged defensive play and has built up a team regarded as amongst the most attractive to watch. Blokhin, European Footballer of the Year in 1975 teams up with Ramez Shengalia at the centre of one of the strongest attacking line-ups in the tournament.

Argentina are not expected to win, despite having all but two of their 1978 team.

Talk about the Argentinians invariably turns into talk about Maradona. In 1978, manager Cesar Menotti left him out of the team at 17 he was considered too young for the rigours of World Cup football. Now, Maradona is crucial to the team's success. His combination in midfield with Osvaldo Ardiles, a player well known to soccer fans here, is one of Argentina's strong points.

After the World Cup, Maradona looks set to move from his present club Boca to Spain's Barcelona for a fee of R6 million - if the Spanish government agrees to let the money out of the country.

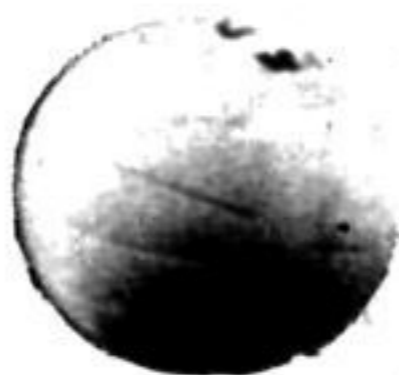
Three of the last four World Cups have been won by the home team. Spain are highly rated contenders for that reason, but also because they have some superb players. Arconada, the captain, is rated one of the best goalkeepers in the world. Two players, both named Jesus could end up being Spain's heroes. Jesus Satrustegui 'The Stiletto' is devastating inside the penalty area. Jesus Zamora in midfield master-minded Spain's convincing win over England at Wembley earlier this year.

So much for the favoured teams. There are other countries who will have a major influence on the tournament, and other players who could provide memorable moments. Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, France and Peru all have strong teams. Michel Platini of France, Italy's Paolo Rossi, Poland's Zbigniew Boniek and Kenny Dalglish of Scotland and Liverpool are all immensely talented.

There are also the 'tadpoles' of the tournament El Salvador, Kuwait,

Algeria, Cameroun, Honduras and New Zealand. Teams like this have pulled off shocks before, and so none of the favourites will treat the unfancied teams lightly.

If any of these countries were to get into the second round, it would mean a small shift in soccer power away from Europe and South America. Yet one wonders how far this could go. Managers of West European clubs will watch the World Cup, cheque book in hand. Players in the smaller teams who excel will be snapped up their own clubs don't have the money to keep them at home. Many



of the best players of the smaller countries already play in Europe.

Actually even the established South American soccer powers are losing players to Western Europe. Players from Eastern Europe are also taking up contracts with Western European teams.

Poland has a rule that players can only leave the country at the age of 28. This rule has been waived in the case of Boniek (27) who will be joining Italy's premier club Juventus for a fee of R1.6 million.

In world football it is the big, big money that talks. Even the World Cup is being played for high stakes. Television rights, stadium advertising and ticket sales will bring in around R61 million. Two thirds of this will be shared out among the teams, depending on how well they do.

The West German players can expect bonuses of around R25,000 each. Even Honduras has already given its players R4,750 each for reaching the finals.

In the midst of all this, South Africa sits squarely on the sidelines. The usual top-heavy delegation from the Football Association of South Africa will be sent to Spain in the 'interests of South Africa soccer'. FIFA, the controlling body in world football has made it clear to George Thabe and Co that they will be regarded as tourists, not officials. FIFA's attitude to South Africa

remains unchanged. 'Either you eliminate the cause of South Africa's expulsion or the status quo remains. There are no partial solutions.'

Thabe has had a lot of experience working in Community Councils. It is highly likely therefore that he will come back and talk about 'fruitful and frank discussions . . . nothing

definite at this stage . . . but doors have been left open . . . ' Indeed! Joe Frickleton was right when he said that South African soccer would benefit more if it sent its coaches to Spain.

The excitement of the World Cup will filter through to us in newspapers and bit of TV news. The great teams and brilliant players will not always get a chance to turn it on. There are also a lot of ultra-defensive teams who will win games on breakaway goals, and a large number of rough-tackling defenders. Other World Cups have been marred by this.

Pele was hacked out of the 1966 World Cup by the second game. Last year we saw Hungarian defenders reduce a potentially attractive game to a string of free-kicks by flattening Keegan each time he got the ball. The hackers and plodders will undoubtedly ruin part of this World Cup, but they have little chance of winning it. Victory will still be decided by the brilliance of individuals and the collective skill of an exciting team.

John B Goode

**Diego Armando Maradona, the 21-year-old star of Argentina, is rated as the biggest soccer genius to hit world football since Pele**

## SPORT

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The 1982 World Cup should have given us a window on all this. Over 120 million people around the world will see it on television. Crowds of up to 120,000 will pack into stadia in Spain. SABC has been refused the rights to screen the 1982 World Cup, live or recorded. That will leave us as ignorant as ever of the magical skills of the world's great players. The next



Karl-Heinz Rummenigge — West Germany's trump card

World Cup is in 1986!

So, if we are to say something about the favoured teams, it's best to start with what we know. England's recent 1-0 victory over Scotland was a dull affair, littered throughout with petty fouls. The ball was needlessly given away through careless passing. None of the players seemed willing or able to take on an opponent and dribble the ball into the box.

This was also a feature of this year's F A Cup Final. One couldn't help thinking that Teenage Dladla or Ace Mnini would have shaken things up on the left wing. Even so, I expect England to do very well. They have won their last five games, conceding only one goal (a dubious penalty).

Clemence and Shilton are both excellent goal keepers, the defence is solid especially in the air, and Bryan Robson and Steve Coppell run and tackle hard in the mid-field. Up front, Kevin Keegan has looked to be yards and seconds ahead of everyone else. His running into empty spaces provides a target for the long passes of the midfield players.

What of the other teams? People who watched the Aston Villa/Bayern Munich European Cup Final could not help noticing the skill of the German players. Karl-Heinz Rummenigge, European Footballer of the Year, was in top form at centre forward. He is incredibly fast, with a powerful shot and plenty of ideas — remember his overhead kick in the first half?

There are other stars in the West German line up. Goalkeeper Toni Schumacher has conceded only 38 goals all season. Tiny, Pierre Littbarski on the right wing is reputed to be a great entertainer. He sets off on mazy runs down the touchline, and rounds them off with deft little chips into the penalty area for the forwards.



Zico celebrates... another Brazilian victory?

As a team West Germany have performed well — they have not lost to another European team in 39 matches.

West Germany have lost to Brazil three times in the past 17 months. After the 1978 World Cup, disappointed Brazilian fans burnt an effigy of the team manager, Coutinho. Brazil had finished third but people were also angry with the way they had played, dull, defensive 'European' football. The current manager has brought back the old magic of Pele and Co. with new players like Socrates and Zico in midfield, Junior, an adventurous fullback who joins the attack whenever possible; and Serginho at centre

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forward who provides the power in the penalty area. After some disappointing warm-up games, Brazil showed all their talent in 7-0 win over Republic of Ireland, just before they left for Spain.

The Soviet Union beat Brazil in Rio de Janeiro last year, the first team to beat them at home in 14 years. They too have changed their game over the past four years. Manager Konstantin Beskov has moved away from their traditional style of dogged defensive play and has built up a team regarded as amongst the most attractive to watch. Blokhin, European Footballer of the Year in 1975 teams up with Ramez Shengalia at the centre of one of the strongest attacking line-ups in the tournament.

Argentina are not expected to win, despite having all but two of their 1978 team.

Talk about the Argentinians invariably turns into talk about Maradona. In 1978, manager Cesar Menotti left him out of the team at 17 he was considered too young for the rigours of World Cup football. Now, Maradona is crucial to the team's success. His combination in midfield with Osvaldo Ardiles, a player well known to soccer fans here, is one of Argentina's strong points.

After the World Cup, Maradona looks set to move from his present club Boca to Spain's Barcelona for a fee of R6 million - if the Spanish government agrees to let the money out of the country.

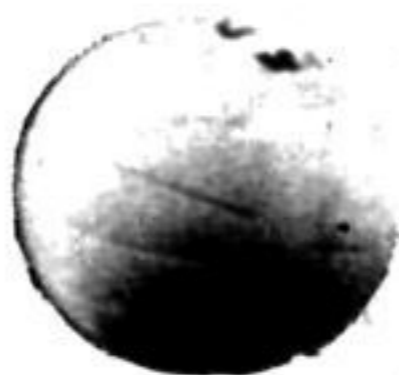
Three of the last four World Cups have been won by the home team. Spain are highly rated contenders for that reason, but also because they have some superb players. Arconada, the captain, is rated one of the best goalkeepers in the world. Two players, both named Jesus could end up being Spain's heroes. Jesus Satrustegui 'The Stiletto' is devastating inside the penalty area. Jesus Zamora in midfield master-minded Spain's convincing win over England at Wembley earlier this year.

So much for the favoured teams. There are other countries who will have a major influence on the tournament, and other players who could provide memorable moments. Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, France and Peru all have strong teams. Michel Platini of France, Italy's Paolo Rossi, Poland's Zbigniew Boniek and Kenny Dalglish of Scotland and Liverpool are all immensely talented.

There are also the 'tadpoles' of the tournament El Salvador, Kuwait,

Algeria, Cameroun, Honduras and New Zealand. Teams like this have pulled off shocks before, and so none of the favourites will treat the unfancied teams lightly.

If any of these countries were to get into the second round, it would mean a small shift in soccer power away from Europe and South America. Yet one wonders how far this could go. Managers of West European clubs will watch the World Cup, cheque book in hand. Players in the smaller teams who excel will be snapped up their own clubs don't have the money to keep them at home. Many



of the best players of the smaller countries already play in Europe.

Actually even the established South American soccer powers are losing players to Western Europe. Players from Eastern Europe are also taking up contracts with Western European teams.

Poland has a rule that players can only leave the country at the age of 28. This rule has been waived in the case of Boniek (27) who will be joining Italy's premier club Juventus for a fee of R1.6 million.

In world football it is the big, big money that talks. Even the World Cup is being played for high stakes. Television rights, stadium advertising and ticket sales will bring in around R61 million. Two thirds of this will be shared out among the teams, depending on how well they do.

The West German players can expect bonuses of around R25,000 each. Even Honduras has already given its players R4,750 each for reaching the finals.

In the midst of all this, South Africa sits squarely on the sidelines. The usual top-heavy delegation from the Football Association of South Africa will be sent to Spain in the 'interests of South Africa soccer'. FIFA, the controlling body in world football has made it clear to George Thabe and Co that they will be regarded as tourists, not officials. FIFA's attitude to South Africa

remains unchanged. 'Either you eliminate the cause of South Africa's expulsion or the status quo remains. There are no partial solutions.'

Thabe has had a lot of experience working in Community Councils. It is highly likely therefore that he will come back and talk about 'fruitful and frank discussions . . . nothing

definite at this stage . . . but doors have been left open . . .' Indeed! Joe Frickleton was right when he said that South African soccer would benefit more if it sent its coaches to Spain.

The excitement of the World Cup will filter through to us in newspapers and bit of TV news. The great teams and brilliant players will not always get a chance to turn it on. There are also a lot of ultra-defensive teams who will win games on breakaway goals, and a large number of rough-tackling defenders. Other World Cups have been marred by this.

Pele was hacked out of the 1966 World Cup by the second game. Last year we saw Hungarian defenders reduce a potentially attractive game to a string of free-kicks by flattening Keegan each time he got the ball. The hackers and plodders will undoubtedly ruin part of this World Cup, but they have little chance of winning it. Victory will still be decided by the brilliance of individuals and the collective skill of an exciting team.

John B Goode

**Diego Armando Maradona, the 21-year-old star of Argentina, is rated as the biggest soccer genius to hit world football since Pele**