

Vigilante groups mushrooming countrywide

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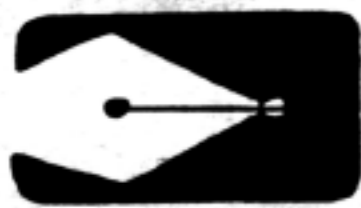
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Apartheid loses control as civil war continues

SOUTH AFRICA'S state of emergency continues.

Despite the official lifting of the Emergency in March, many townships, rural areas and bantustans are still in a state of civil war.

Mass democratic action against the government and employers continues to escalate.

In response the government has stepped up its armed activities in an attempt to bring the black population under control.

Their bantustans, Lebowa, KwaZulu, Ciskei, KwaNdebele and Bophutatswana have been doing alot of the job for them.

The government and employers on the one side and the democratic majority on the other — are locked in a battle of little or no compromise.

But people faced with casspirs, teargas, bullets and recently handgrenades are still using non-violent weapons such as rent and consumer boycotts and stayaways to pressurise the authorities to meet their demands.

Workers organised in democratic trade unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) are planning mass work stoppages and commemorations on May 1, the one hundredth anniversary of May Day.

It will be the first national stayaway in over twenty years — and probably the biggest in South African history.

Workers are demanding the right to organise, the right to work, student rights, the right to free politi-

cal activity, the unbanning of all banned organisations and the right to free movement and decent housing.

The May Day mass action has the support of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and hundreds of progressive organisations.

On the education front, militant activity is planned. The NECC conference restated demands which have been repeatedly put to the government but never met.

Over 1200 representatives voiced their determination to take over the schools and build "people's education".

The demand for the right to organise SRCs, for democratic education, free schooling and books, better schools and much else has been met with repression and closing down of schools. But this will never silence the demands.

The NECC declared June 16 National Youth Day and has called for a three day national stayaway on June 16, 17 and 18 to mark the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Uprising.

COSATU has thrown its weight behind the stayaway.

Mass action in the form of rent, consumer and other boycotts are sweeping across the country. And mass stayaways are being staged as thousands attend funerals of every victim of repression.

The government hoped to regain control by sending in the army and the police, during the State of Emergency and after.



Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela pays tribute to victims at a Brandfort funeral. After a series of legal wranglings and more than 20 years of banings and banishment she is now back. But her silencing has only strengthened her resolve to fight for freedom in SA. She has featured prominently at mass rallies and funerals throughout the country.



Nchabeleng - died in detention

Nchabeleng combatant and patriot

SLAIN Northern Transvaal UDF president Peter Nchabeleng had a long history of involvement in the liberation struggle.

His life embodied three aspects of the struggle — the rural, national and working class struggles.

In the fifties he was an active member of the Pretoria branch executives of the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The imposition of the tribal authorities at that time sparked off widespread uprisings in Sekhukhuneland. Nchabeleng became a leader of the peasant movement which spearheaded the resistance.

He also served on Sebatakomo — formed as a defence and aid group for people arrested and charged during the uprisings. He worked as interpreter for the accused's lawyer at the time — Joe Slovo — now ANC national executive member. Sebatakomo — a war cry — developed into a rural political movement in the area.

In 1962 Nchabeleng was charged with furthering the aims of the ANC and for sabotage. He was sentenced and served 8 years on Robben Island.

Immediately after his imprisonment, his family was deported from Pretoria to Apel in Sekhukhuneland. And on his release he too was bannished there and banned.

He was again arrested in 1974 and given a suspended sentence for breaking his banning order.

Less than two years later he was charged with harbouring and recruiting people for military training along with Joe Gqabi. They were both acquitted. Gqabi was later assassinated while an ANC representative in Zimbabwe.

On being acquitted in 1978, Nchabeleng was banned for 5 years. Soon after the expiry of his banning order, he became an active member of the UDF Northern Transvaal Coordinating Committee and in February 1986, was elected the first president of the Northern Transvaal region of the UDF.

His leadership was not only at a regional level, but also locally and right in his own village. He was a member of the Sekhukhuneland Parents Crisis Committee and a member of the village committee. Here he is said to have played the role of a people's councillor and people always approached him for help and advice.

He has been called a combatant for life, a patriot until the end.

UDF president dies in detention

THE DEATH of Northern Transvaal UDF president Peter Nchabeleng is part of a systematic campaign being waged by the apartheid government through its bantustans.

This was said in a UDF statement released at a press conference on Nchabeleng's death and the crisis in the Northern Transvaal.

UDF, Cosatu, Detainees Parents Support Committee and the South African Council of Churches at representatives at the press conference strongly condemned the death in police custody.

They said Nchabeleng was in perfect health at the time of his detention. One chief detained at the same time had seen Nchabeleng being tortured and a priest had seen the body lying in the charge office at the Schoonoord police station.

The death came after bomb and handgrenade attacks on the homes



From l to r: Cosatu's Mufamadi, Naidoo; UDF's Mohlala, Ndou, Valli, Mokaba; and Nchabeleng's son Elleck at press conference

of UDF officials, Joyce Mabudafasi and Peter Mokaba, and widespread detentions, bombings and shootings of people throughout the area.

The UDF rejected 'with contempt' attempts to link Nchabeleng's detention with alleged burning of bodies. They said this was an attempt to justify his detention. The claim that he died of a heart attack was an attempt to conceal the real cause of

death.

They praised him as a great patriot and leader of the present rural uprising.

Paying tribute to Nchabeleng, Cosatu said "his long involvement in the workers struggle through his active participation in the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) makes his death a big blow to the workers movement".

"To his family, friends and com-

rades we say— let us carry forward the spirit of Nchabeleng. Let us strengthen the democratic movement, by building organs of people's power in the factories, mines, schools, villages and townships where we live and let the ideas of Comrade Nchabeleng bear fruit".

"Gone are the days when our people from the countryside were servile and unquestioning of this system of injustice. The replacement of tribal authorities by democratic committees had given people there a taste of democracy and a sense of their own strength", said the UDF.

The bantustans were intended to be reservoirs of cheap labour and dumping grounds of surplus people posing no danger to the Apartheid system. "The active participation of these people in the liberation struggle marks the beginning of the end for apartheid".

Those serving in Bantustan structures were called on to state 'wether they would continue acting as pawns for apartheid or would join the people'.

Sabata's death shatters Mandela

"COMRADE KING" Sabata Dalindyebo, who died in Lusaka on April 6, was buried in Umtata on the weekend.

He earned the respect of all freedom loving South Africans. The ANC, the UDF and community organisations in the Eastern Cape have paid tribute to his courage and determination calling him a "a martyr for a free South Africa".

Sabata was a fierce opponent of apartheid. He rejected Verwoerd's homeland policy and independence for the Transkei. "The so-called Transkei independence means nothing for the people in terms of social and economic advancement" said Sabata.

After becoming Paramount Chief of the Tembu in 1954 he formed and led the Democratic Party which opposed the Bantustan system. The traditional leader of more than one million South Africans, Sabata used his position to mobilise people for democracy and against the government.

He was involved in long struggles against his half brother Kaizer Matanzima, sub-chief, who was appointed leader of Transkei. After "independence", Matanzima detained Sabata and charged him with treason. He was found guilty of "injuring and violating the dignity of Matanzima" and sentenced to 18 months or R 700.

Shortly after this he left to join the ANC mission in exile.

Sabata's wife blamed the Apartheid system for her husband's death. "I believe my husband



"Comrade King" Sabata would still have been alive and staying with his children had he not been forced to flee in 1980. But I do not regret his flight to freedom. I believe he took the right step", she said.

Eastern Cape UDF publicity secretary, Stone Sizane said of Sabata: "The fact that he was the King of Tembu, the biggest Xhosa tribe in the Transkei, did not make him irrelevant to the struggle for peace and justice. He will always be hailed for his courage, and commitment to the freedom of South Africa."

Winnie Mandela, who accompanied Sabata's wife Beatrice NoMoscow Dalindyebo to Pollsmoor Prison said Nelson Mandela was "shattered" by the news. "There was agony in his face", she said.



Delegates at the National Education Crisis conference

N.Transvaal UDF condemns repression against its people

THE UDF Northern Transvaal region has accused the SA government of 'state terrorism' against people in the region.

They said this at a press conference only a week before the death in police custody of their president Peter Nchabaleng and grenade attacks on two other regional UDF executive members.

The press was urged to improve coverage of events. Failure to do this would help perpetuate the widespread repression in the area.

The Northern Transvaal, like any other UDF region, adheres to the principal of non-violence, they said.

"The struggle for a unitary, non-racial and democratic SA in this part of SA has reached alarming and dangerous proportions.

"The SADF, SAP, LP, Gazankulu, Venda and KwaNdebele police and others are engaged in widespread and intense state terrorism against our people".

They condemned hand grenade and other attacks against people in the region. The use of vigilantes and white farmers showed that the government had lost control of the situation.

There is an "escalating state of civil war in areas such as Sekhukhune, Moutse, Phalaborwa, Makwelereng and many other rural villages and townships", they said.

"Here the security forces are engaging innocent and defenceless people with military hardware such as guns, helicopters and casspirs and were banning people's meetings".

Concern was expressed over closure of schools and boarding schools, victimisation of progressive students and teachers and the inadequate supply of free textbooks.

"UDF Northern Transvaal condemns all these murderous acts against our people and warns that:

- The people's patience is not endless.
- The introduction of military and other forms of violence against the legitimate and non-violent protest undermines the strategy of non-violence.
- Unless all political prisoners are unconditionally released, Apartheid dismantled, the ANC unbanned, all bandits from the frontline states are expelled and handed over to their governments, our country shall continue to fall into deeper crisis".

The statement called on all people serving in 'puppet Bantustan structures' to resign.

"We call on all our people to rededicate themselves to our just struggle for a free, non-racial, democratic and undivided SA by trying to broaden and deepen their democratic structures".

The Northern Transvaal UDF estimates more than 100 organisations presently working under the UDF banner in the region.

UDF activity in the region took off in 1984. As progressive organisations mushroomed the UDF became a strong force in the region and by May 1985 had over 30 affiliates.

Despite continuous and severe police harassment, detention of key activists and killings, the number of affiliates doubled to 63 by February this year — including organisations in areas like Phalaborwa, Venda, Moutse, Mahwelereng, Sekhukhune, Mankweng, Lebokagomo, Seshego, Steelport and Tzaneen.

Activists said repression had actually mobilised people and they were taking up the call to form village, street and block committees.

STUDENTS, workers, parents and teachers are on the offensive on the education front.

The government has totally failed to meet people's national education demands. After resolutions taken at the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference in Durban, thousands of students are continuing the battle for People's Education inside the schools.

But in many areas severe repression and government refusal to meet demands has forced students out on boycott.

The conference reflected the solid alliance of students, workers, parents and teachers and their organisations built around education struggles.

Both UDF and Cosatu have given strong backing to conference resolutions which include support for May Day celebrations, a national stayaway on June 16, 17 and 18 and support for other national and regional mass action like rent and consumer boycotts.

In the Eastern, Western and Northern Cape, Border and parts of the Southern Transvaal students are back at school.

In line with the NECC back-to-school resolutions, they are

strengthening and consolidating organisation in the schools and starting to implement alternative people's education programmes.

Threatened by this, the government has resorted to closing down schools. Pretoria Education Minister Viljoen criticised People's Education as 'socialist and revolutionary'.

"The DET is trying to disorganise us by closing down the schools", said a Natal education activist. "They want to sow division and prevent us from consolidating student, parent and teacher organisation".

Closures of schools in Bloemfontein, Lamontville, Katlehong and earlier in PE, has led to strong reaction from parents demanding they be reopened.

Other key issues of conflict in schools throughout the country have been:

- expulsions of students and teachers.
- inadequate and poor stationary, lack of textbooks.
- detentions, killings and police action. *lack of water and overcrowding in rural schools.
- the implementation of democratic SRC's.
- corporal punishment in primary and higher primary schools.

● promotions and exam fees. In Cape Town the Parents Crisis Committee went to the DET demanding reinstatement of expelled teachers and that students write exams without paying exam fees.

The DET agreed students wouldn't have to pay exam fees. In the Northern Transvaal, Natal, Free State and East Rand repression has disrupted schooling.

On the East Rand, Vosloorus students boycotted classes after five people were killed at the funeral of MK guerilla Samuel Sekgole. Katlehong schools have been closed down and in Rathanda students only returned to school after a student leader was released from detention. Watville students are out of classes.

The lack of stationary has angered students. In Gugulethu, Nyanga, Beaufort West and Mankweng students burnt paper-thin exercise books, saying they were poor quality and were inadequate.

In PE, students say the DET is stalling on stationary. Students there are implementing the unbanning of Cosas and Cosas t-shirts and banners appear have been appearing in large numbers at funerals, meetings and generally in the townships.

UWO and Women's Front form Cape Town's UWCO

THE NEWLY launched Cape Town United Women's Congress (UWCO) plans to launch a "Campaign against racist laws".

What form this will take is still being discussed by the branches of the organisation.

The United Women's Organisation (UWO) and the Women's Front emerged recently to form the UWCO.

The decision to unite was made at a conference on March 22 attended by over 300 members of both organisations.

"We resolved it was our political responsibility to merge in order to work effectively to organise all the unorganised women. We will not

achieve liberation if half the population is unorganised" said a UWCO spokesperson

"Women play a crucial role in the struggle if we are confused and divided this spills over and negatively affects other organisations" she said.

Helen Joseph addressed delegates on the importance of unity.

Sister Bernard Ncube from the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) spoke about the role of women in the struggle.

A new executive comprising members of both organisations was elected. It was mandated to work sensitively in building and strengthening the new organisa-



Sister Bernard

tion. Noma-India Mafeketo (UWO) and Mrs Hallow(WF) are co-chairs. Lynn Brown and Mamte Ramot-samai are joint secretaries. There are also two education and training officers, two reps to the UDF, two treasurers and two volunteer group conveners who will co-ordinate the work of UWCO organisers.

Delegates to the conference stressed the need to build a national federation of women discussion on this will continue.



in Durban

in education

Meanwhile the Cosas ban is being contested in the Natal courts.

The SA and bantustan police and the SADF have besieged large parts of the Northern Transvaal.

Repression, including detention of NECC delegates from Venda and other areas, has made reportbacks very difficult.

Hundreds of students in Lenyenye, Shiluvane, Julesburg, Tzaneen and Dennilton have been arrested. Students boycotting classes demanding their release have been attacked by police. In Gkapane an SRC member was allegedly killed by Lebowa police.

Some chiefs are against student action and one even threatened to expell parents from his village for this. SRC's at schools in Moria have been threatened by Zion Christian Church officials.

Students at Lebowakgomo, Madisha and Zebediele are boycotting classes. At one Mankweng school students stayed away for a day to mark the anniversary of the banning of the ANC.

In Potchefstroom boycotting students say their schools and the township has been occupied by the SADF.

In the Durban townships of Umlazi, Lamontville and KwaMashu students have faced harsh action from police and Impi's.

Students protested after Lamontville High school was closed down after students demanded:

- adequate books and stationary
- Inkatha lessons in the schools be abolished
- that their schools no longer fall under the Kwazulu Education Department
- reinstatement of eight teachers

A mass meeting of students, parents, teachers and residents demanded the school be reopened. They saw the closure as a deliberate attempt to undermine organisation. One girl was shot dead and others wounded in clashes with police at two higher primary schools protesting against schools closures.

The Lamontville SRC president's home was petrol bombed by impi's and KwaMashu SRC members have been shot at and students are living in fear of Impi attacks.

The KwaMashu Education Crisis Committee went to the KwaZulu education department demanding textbooks and stationary. But they still had nothing.



Students vote in favour of Nusas ANC talks

A nationwide demand: UDF says "unban ANC"

THE UDF, COSATU and hundreds of other organisations have called for the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations.

Since political turmoil deepened last year, the PFP, prominent business men, Kangwane chief minister Enos Mabuza, the PFP, the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, Nusas, Cosatu, UDF and church leaders have held talks with senior ANC members.

Even the Broederbond is said to want to meet the ANC. The Afrikaans newspaper 'Die Vaderland' said "in practice the ANC has already become part of SA's internal political dialogue".

The UDF said the call for the unbanning of the ANC was the result of a groundswell of support for the organisation.

The ANC is a legitimate organisation which expressed the views and aspirations of all South Africa's people, they said.

"Because of the historically significant role that the ANC played and continues to play the UDF calls for its unbanning."

They said the campaign to unban the ANC had spread and was part of campaigns run by youth, student, worker, church and other organisations. "The need now is to give the call a national perspective," said the UDF.

A joint ANC, Cosatu and Sactu statement released after their meeting pledged determination to build a democratic South Africa free of national oppression and economic

exploitation.

They said the meeting arose from common concern at the crisis into which "the apartheid system of national oppression and economic exploitation have plunged our country."

"The Pretoria regime and the ruling class in SA are powerless to provide any real solutions, and lasting solutions can only emerge from the national liberation movement, headed by the ANC, and the entire democratic forces of our country, of which Cosatu is an important and integral part".

The fundamental problem of political power in the country could only be resolved with the full participation of the ANC — regarded by SA's majority as their genuine representatives.

After wide-ranging discussion, the delegations agreed that solutions to SA's problems lay in a system of majority rule in a non-racial democratic SA. Such a system could not be separated from economic emancipation. Victory must embrace more than formal political democracy, they said.

At the same time as representing the working class, Cosatu was "seized with the task of engaging the workers in the general democratic struggle, both as an independent organisation and as an essential component of the democratic forces".

"The advancement of the interests of the workers and the democratic struggle of our people requires that

Nusas to report back to students

NUSAS IS planning a series of mass meetings to report back to students on their recent talks with the ANC. Lawyers are being consulted on how to do this and not break the law.

The campaign leading up to the talks saw widespread mobilisation of white students nationally. Over 96 percent of students at meetings at UCT, Wits, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Rhodes voted in favour of holding talks.

"We went to get information so that students will get a better understanding of the ANC and political conflict in SA", said Nusas president Brendan Barry.

"Whether students agree with them or not doesn't affect the fact that the ANC constitutes a major force in the country" he said.

In a joint statement after the talks the ANC said it "appreciated the significance of, and the democratic manner in which the decision to meet the ANC was taken".

The delegations said they "agreed that apartheid is the central cause of conflict in SA and that the Pretoria government is incapable of resolving South Africa's problems. Apartheid cannot be reformed. As such, the creation of a united non-racial and democratic South Africa on the basis of one-person one vote lies in the hands of the democratic forces of our country".

They also agreed that "the real interests of the majority of white South Africans do not lie in the system of racial domination and national oppression. White South Africans have an important role to play now in the endeavour to achieve a non-racial and democratic society. In this respect, NUSAS has an important contribution to make within its constituency and as part of the national democratic movement", said the statement.

Turfloop mourns student

THOUSANDS attended the Soweto funeral of University of the North (Turfloop) student Josephine Moshobane.

Moshobane, a founder member of the Unin Womens Club and an Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) member, died after spending three months in detention last year.

After her release she was seriously ill and had to have an operation for bloodclots on her brain. Before her death she could hardly eat or speak.

Azaso has blamed the police for the death.

A tribute to her at the funeral said, "We know the state is trying to hide under the disguise that our comrade had a brain tumour, we know they are responsible for her death".

Two students were shot and several injured when Lebowa police disrupted a peaceful demonstration on Turfloop campus. The demonstration marked the start of a five day period of mourning in her honour.

● The Azaso branch at Turfloop has demanded the release of four of their members detained last year.

The four — former Azaso national vice-president and vice president of Turfloop SRC, Blessing Mphela, Calvin Mutheiwana, Chris Maake and Moses Mamphuru are being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

An Azaso statement said "our determination to be free shall never be deterred by the power of the gun, detentions and assassinations".

LARGE PARTS of Sekhukhune-land have been occupied by massive contingents of SADF soldiers, SA and Lebowa police.

Youth have been forced to flee their villages and are living in the mountains. Activists say the area is in a virtual state of civil war.

Security forces moved into the area in the wake of deepening cracks in SA's Lebowa bantustan rule.

A meeting organised recently by the Sekhukhune-land Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) called on Lebowa MP's and those serving in tribal authority structures to quit.

At least eight Lebowa tribal authority chiefs, three of them Lebowa MP's from Manganeng, GaMasha and Skunoord have resigned and pledged support for progressive organisations.

Growing resistance in the area is developing into outright rejection of tribal authorities and Lebowa. "People are seeing chiefs as part and parcel of Apartheid rule, enriching themselves at the expense of starving millions", said one activist.

"They help implement influx control and regulate the flow of cheap labour from the bantustan rural areas to the factories and mines.

"And they are part of the central government security network. Some landed many comrades in jail or were responsible for their deaths", said a Burgersfort activist.

The SPCC meeting also demanded all troops get out of the villages. Parents were urged to tell their sons to resign from bantustan armed forces. A petition is to be launched to get all newspapers to report on police brutality and other events there in the area.

Police shootings have led to a cycle of funerals. Scores of people have been detained. Others have disappeared or been forced into hiding. Regular police and SADF raids

Lebowa: a call to organise every person



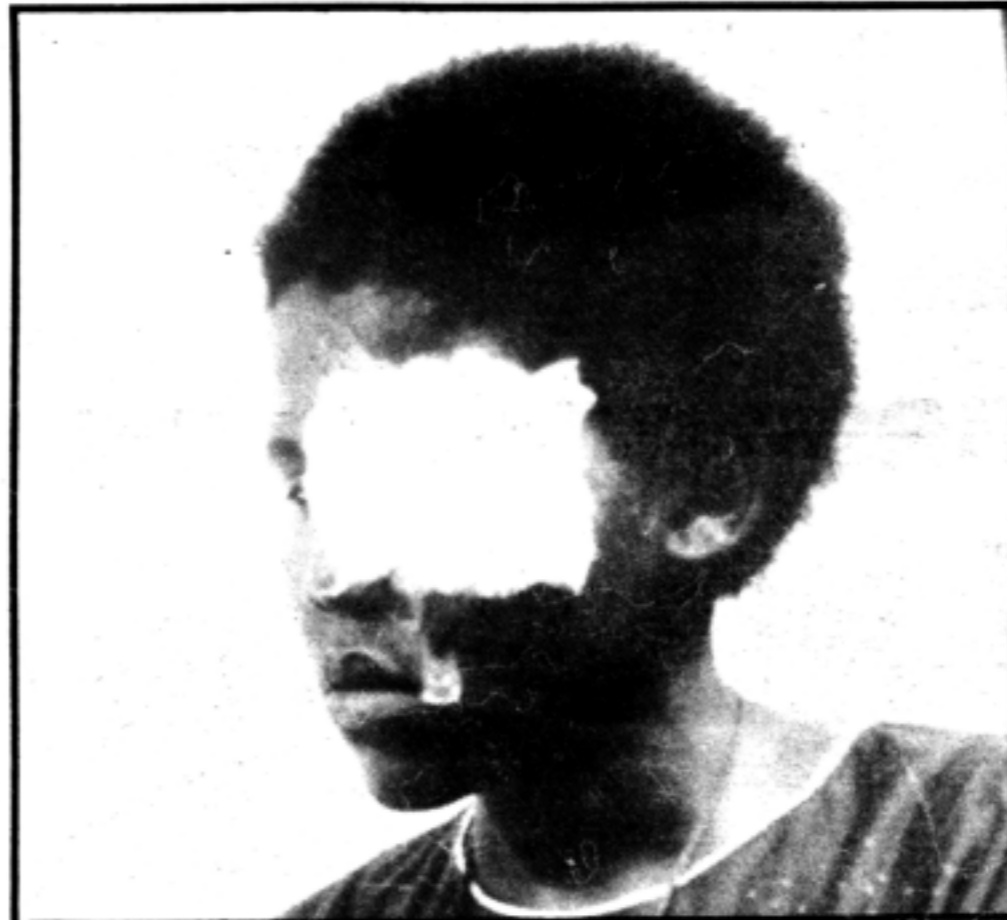
have forced many youths to make the mountains their homes.

Activists say police action has mobilised people. Progressive organisations are rapidly gaining support and have played a key role in cracking bantustan structures.

Village youth congresses have sprung up all over the place and are linking up in the Sekhukhune-land Youth Organisation (Seyo). Some Seyo village committees are starting to function as governing structures in the villages. And Seyo is helping set up youth structures where none exist.

"The call in the villages is to organise every person. Because those who are not with us can be used against the people", said a youth activist.

In March, youth from Apel, GaNkwane, Nchabeleng, Mohlaletse and neighbouring areas marched on the police station demanding that detainees be released. But before they got there SADF, SAP and LP confronted them.



Many have been badly beaten by Lebowa police

Many were badly beaten. Others escaped and hid in the mountains until teargas forced them out. Hundreds were arrested but released because police cells were already full.

Massive contingents of security forces in convoys of hippos still move around the area as SADF helicopters hover above.

There are numerous Parents Crisis Committees, and they have begun to grow into civics organising people around their problems.

Conditions in the Northern Transvaal are bad. Water is scarce, land is arid and mostly owned by chiefs or Lebowa. Villagers find it almost impossible to scratch a living from the unarable land available to ordinary people. Housing is inadequate and most people build houses themselves, many of them mud.

"People here want land", said a village committee organiser. "At the moment a tiny minority owns and controls the land. So the call is that the land shall be shared among

those who work it, even where people don't yet know this is what the Freedom Charter says".

Local jobs are scarce but people are trapped in the villages by influx control laws. Chiefs act as labour recruiting officers. And they misuse traditional laws to force villagers to pay tribal taxes and work for them for free.

Schools are inadequate and overcrowded with few qualified teachers. Many students have to travel long distances, often on foot, to get to school. And their demands around SRC's and other issues often meet a stone wall.

Organisations still face the challenge of overcoming tribalism and the belief in witchcraft.

"People pray and go to so-called witches to seek relief from their suffering", said an activist in the area. "Our task is not only to expose the source of the suffering — the exploitation and oppression of the Apartheid system — but also how to eliminate the source".

In Strydkraal conflict over land and control of a school took on tribal overtones. During the clashes Seyo member Solomon Maditse was shot dead by police.

Seyo branches, including Strydkraal, Masemola, Lobspruit, Magnet Heights, Jane Furse, Apel, Mohlaletse, Nkoana, Nchabeleng and GaNkwane youth organisations met to discuss the problem and solved the conflict. Families and students who had fled the area returned.

In March another youth activist, Lukas was shot after police disrupted a youth meeting in Skunoord. Mourners returning from Lukas' funeral were beaten up. Some of those beaten, from Tswaing were beaten again on their way to Groothoek hospital the next day. Six were arrested and two who had been seriously injured at the funeral were allowed to go to hospital.

Youth, workers are working together

POLICE REPRESSION won't quench our thirst for freedom, says the Steelpoort Youth Congress (Steyco). "We will fight till the end".

Since last year people in Steelpoort, Sekhukhune-land, have been hit by widespread beatings, banning of meetings and arrests.

The recently formed Steelpoort Civic Association (Steca) says they will fight alongside youth and other progressive organisations.

Village and township youth structures are mushrooming. Eerstegeluk, Stocking, GaPasha, GaMampuru, Mangabane have Steyco branches working closely with Driekop, Maandagshoek and Praktiseer youth congresses.

Youth activities have included:
● 'Operation Clean-ups' — clean-

ing the township.

- Workshops and meetings with political discussions.
- Helping set up democratic SRC's in the schools.
- Mobilising support for the Metal Box can boycott.
- Encouraging chiefs to resign from Lebowa Tribal Authorities.

Workers and youth work hand in hand. Many people are both members of Steyco and shopstewards or members of Cosatu affiliated unions.

The Steelpoort Action Committee — two representatives each from the unions, Steyco, Steca, students and the Steelpoort Women's League — coordinates activity.

Police invasions often send youth fleeing to the mountains and bushes. Attacks fuelled an 'isolate police' campaign throughout

Sekhukhune-land, including Jane Furse and Steelpoort areas.

Police are banned from shebeens, shops, churches, sports clubs, taxi's and other public transport. "Now they only use their police vans and hippos for transport", said one activist. Police tried to trick shopowners into serving them.

They said a Steyco leader had said they could be served. When this failed they allegedly threatened the shopowners.

In Eerstegeluk, youth and other resident workers are fighting the Tobatse Ferrochrome mining company bosses who own the township.

After water cuts and electricity blackouts residents demanded the company cut rents and improve the

water supply.

Since December last year they have boycotted the local community centre, demanding:

- Management should stop police from coming into the township.
- the centre should be run by residents.
- workers fired during conflicts around the centre should be reinstated.

Workers say they pay compulsory subscriptions to the centre but it is not being used in the people's interests. They say the centre should be controlled by the community, not by Ferrochrome management.

Steyco says the centre is 'exploitation disguised as leisure'. Eleven Steyco members were arrested and charged after police disrupted a demonstration on the centre in November last year.

More arrests and charges followed. When all the cases came up one day in February, there was a total work stayaway. People went in every car, bus and combi to demonstrate at the Lydenburg regional court. The accused were granted bail.

In late March meetings in Sekhukhune-land were banned. But, youth activists said "no self-respecting people listen to the Lebowa radio", so they didn't know about the ban.

As the youth gathered for a Steyco meeting in Driekop, police arrived, sjambokking people. Six people were arrested.

Five were released on bail, but one, Juice Mojalefa, was refused bail. This sparked off a school boycott with students demanding Mojalefa's release. Later Ummawosa branch executive members and organiser Daniel Makhubu were badly beaten up.

In Praktiseer GaPasha villagers went to tell the chief, Lebowa Minister of Agriculture and Fores-

try, R.P.Pasha, their complaints — women work long hours for the chief but get no food or pay. There is a lack of water and no clinic in the village.

People were angered when money they paid the chief was used to build a Tribal Authority building instead of a clinic.

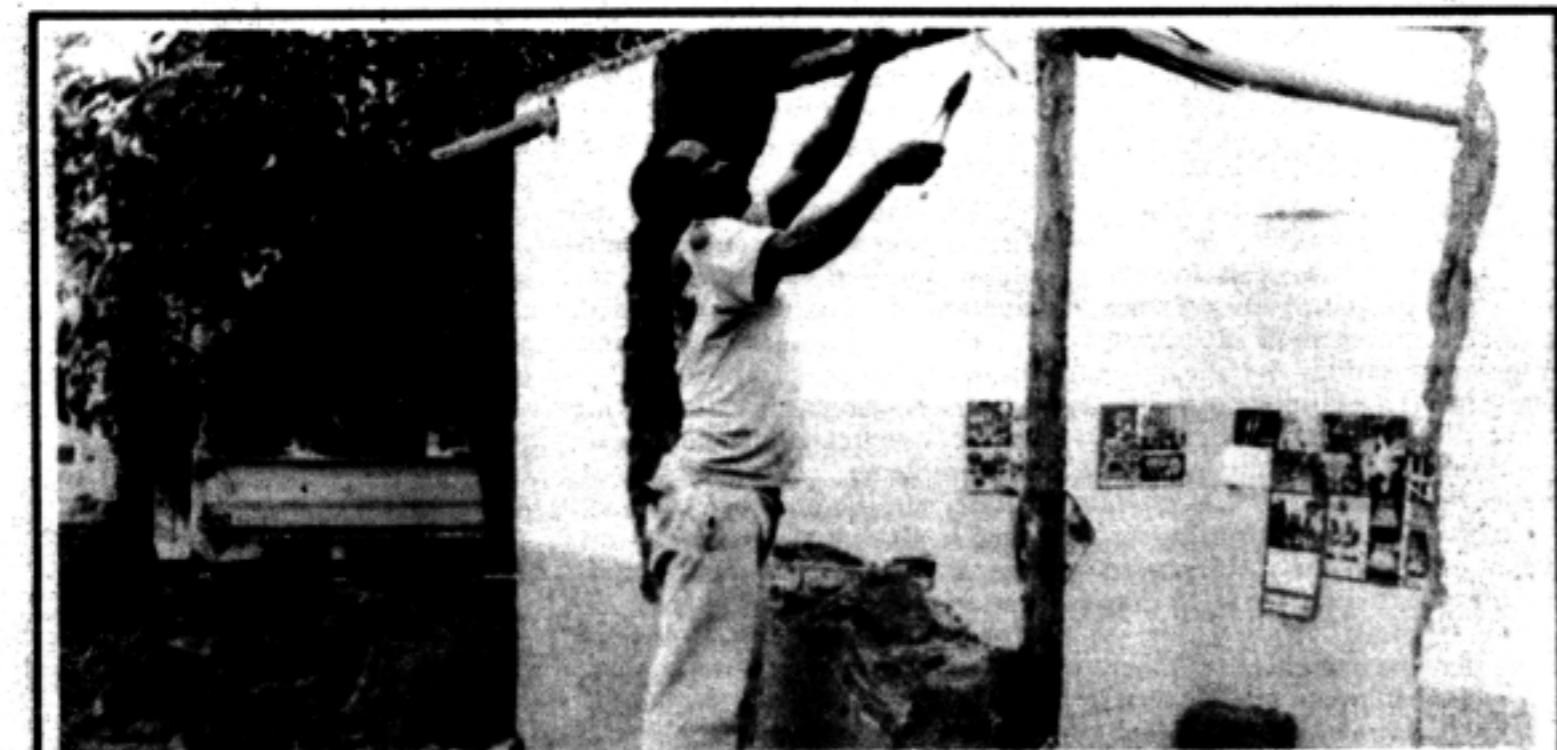
One evening the youth were singing freedom songs. The Chief called the police. Six youth were shot and five were arrested. The next day eight more people were arrested.

But not all Chiefs work with the police. Chief Mampuru and his people were forcibly removed from near Groblersdal and dumped near Steelpoort. He allows meetings and is opposed to some of the action of the police.

Last month John Mamosodi (15) was allegedly shot by a white farmer at GaPasha. Youth burnt farmers' cars in retaliation. They allege farmers work hand in hand with the SADF and police.

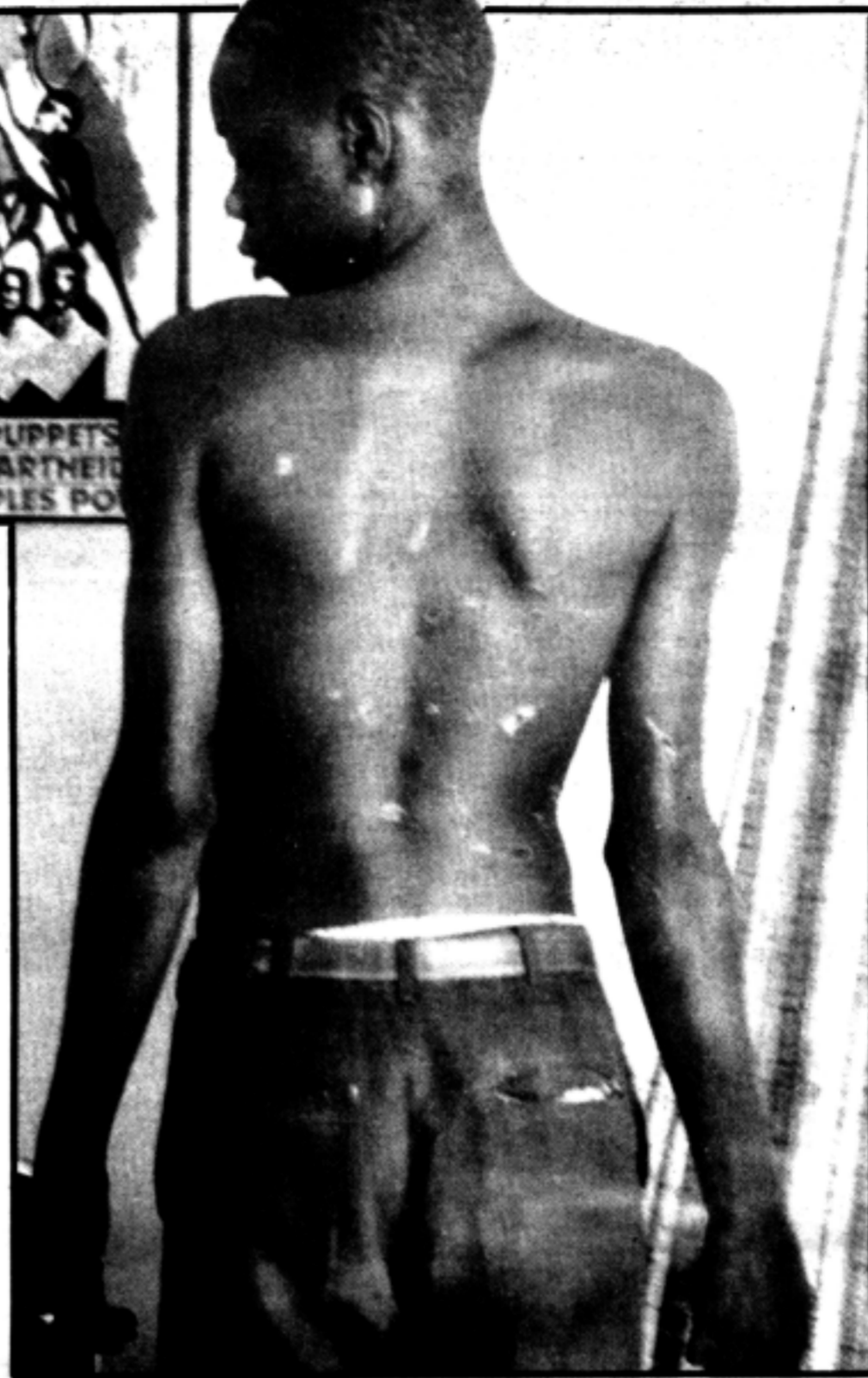
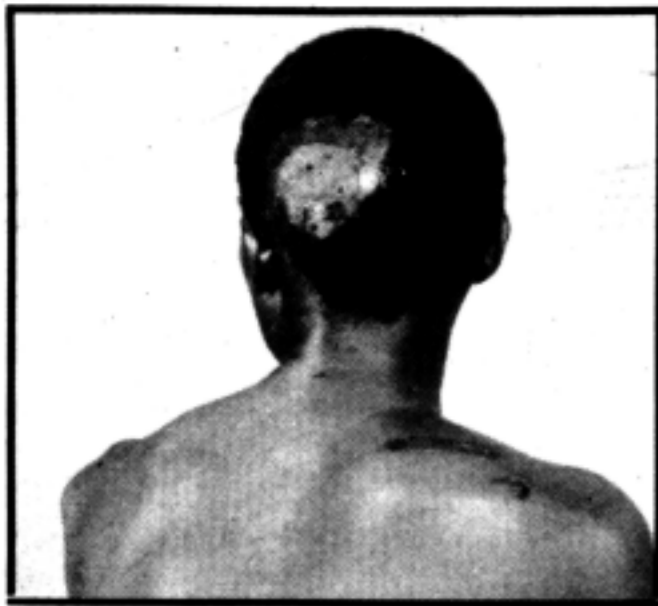
Cases of police action in the area during March include:

- On June 16 last year police tried to disrupt a Steyco workshop of over 800 people. The next day they invaded the area, arresting Steyco leader Korro Manella.
- On Good Friday police surrounded youth in Eerstegeluk preparing for a funeral in Jane Furse. Funeral pamphlets, UDF and Steyco banners were seized.
- In Manganeng, police disrupted a youth meeting on March 13 and beat people in the village. Five were arrested and charged.
- In-Leoreleng, youth decided to join the can boycott in support of striking Metal Box workers. They negotiated with shopowners and lodges and gave them two weeks notice to remove and stop selling cans. In late March they were checking if owners had stuck to plan. Police arrived and beat people.



Breaking down one of the houses of more than 80 families forcibly removed from Uitvlugh village, Moutse, to Immerpan. The Uitvlugh youth congress (UYOCO) condemned the removals saying villagers had lived there for more than 20 years and are resisting the move. They said government officials paid some individuals to recruit more people to move to Immerpan and were trying to

smear UYOCO's name. There has been serious police harassment in the area and petrol bomb attacks on UYOCO leaders homes. Uitvlugh strongly resisted the incorporation of Moutse into KwaNdebele earlier this year. People from Naganeng near Kgabokwane are also being moved.



Seyco members - allegedly assaulted by the police

All-out war in Seshego

AN A-TEAM vigilante squad have launched an all-out war against progressive organisations in Seshego.

Widespread and brutal assaults, death threats, mass detentions and allegations of torture and hit squads are rife.

Key targets have been progressive organisations like the UDF affiliated Seshego Youth Congress (Seyco) and their members.

Victims and other residents allege the A-team have approval from the top. A Seyco leader said the Lebowa government felt threatened by growing support for progressive organisations in its home base, Seshego. But police brutality is mobilising residents against Lebowa and the bantustan system, he said.

Seyco is demanding police move out of the township and has called on councillors and Lebowa MP's to resign.

Uniformed and plainclothes LP have allegedly carried out the attacks. Victims say they know some of the policemen involved.

The reign of terror intensified in early March after police disrupted a meeting to form a Parents Crisis Committee at the Lutheran Church Centre. Many were injured and about 40 people were detained.

There have been at least three petrol bomb attacks on activists houses.

In the past month police have twice disrupted Steyco activities — once during a campaign to clean graveyards and later while youth were building a Mandela park.

The first attack was despite an agreement from high ranking police officials that police wouldn't interfere. Teargas, bullets, birdshot and sjamboks flew. At least three people were shot and many severely beaten. More than 60 people, among them children, were detained and held for a week.

Five youth, including Seyco members were captured by police and taken to an isolated area.

Two managed to escape, but the remaining three were repeatedly assaulted for about an hour. Among them was Billy Ledwaba, who is partly paralysed.

According to Steyco the LP "parade as comrades and give people lifts. They put UDF posters on their combi and play music so people don't suspect they are police. They talk politics and when people respond they get beaten".

One local businessman allegedly hired a hitman and promised to pay him R2000 to kill Seyco president, Patrick Phintsa.

Seyco said the businessman is a well-known puppet in the area and has long been working with the system. Residents are now boycotting his businesses and his car was burnt down. Three police houses in the township have also been burnt down.

Lutheran churchman Timothy Chere said he has had numerous death threats and his home was chemical bombed. Last year an anonymous pamphlet called for his 'total and immediate elimination through any method' by the 31 December. He also had information that police tried to hire a hitman from Tembisa to kill him.

The church has condemned the attacks saying violence begets violence. "No solution to the political crisis can come through violence, especially when it is perpetrated by those who claim to be enforcing law and order".

As the reign of terror continues, Seyco said they have support from the vast majority of Seshego youth and the older people are behind them. Seyco area committees are being set up in surrounding villages.

Renegades' reign of terror is challenged

MOZAMBICAN and Zimbabwean renegades are terrorising residents in townships near Phalaborwa in the Northern Transvaal.

Residents say they were responsible for two recent hand grenade attacks in which eight people were killed.

The first grenade attack, in Namakgale, was on the hotel complex of Namakgale Parents Crisis Committee (NPCC) member, Jackson Mogodi. One youth was killed and several people injured.

Four days later, on Good Friday, seven people were killed in an explosion in a shebeen in nearby Lulekani, Gazankulu.

The Northern Transvaal UDF condemned the attack and has demanded the renegades be handed over to their respective governments. UDF affiliates in the area have appealed to 'all organisations in the liberation struggle to expose these filthy deeds'.

Activists say the renegades were black soldiers who fought against liberation movements and fled after their countries won independence. They came to Phalaborwa and were assisted by the SADF.

They sometimes wear military uniforms and local residents say they work with Lebowa and SA police in trying to crush progressive organisations.

They speak Shangaan and Portuguese, drive around in luxury cars and have lots of money. "These terrorists are paid huge salaries for

destabilising the neighbouring states", said one activist.

"They used their blood money to buy women and liquor. When they are drunk they even boast about their dirty war".

Fearful and hated by Namakgale and Lulekani residents they are reported to be living in Skiet Tocht near Phalaborwa.

"They used to attack people in shebeens and even in the street, moving around armed with all sorts of weapons.

"Every weekend there were fights. People were murdered. But the authorities turned a blind eye".

"These terrorists were the monarchs of all they survey. The money was flowing, especially after every mission of massacre into the neighbouring states".

But last year progressive organisations began to grow in the Phalaborwa area. The reign of terror of the bandits and their masters was challenged.

Youth Congresses supporting the UDF were formed in Namakgale (Nayco), Mashishimale (Mayco) and Lulekani (Luyco) and later Parents Crisis Committees in Namakgale and Lulekani.

Mine and other workers formed trade unions and joined forces with youth and other residents.

But as organisations grew, so did repression from the bandits, the SADF, SA and Lebowa police.

Since January at least 12 people have been killed and hundreds of others injured and arrested.

UDF and youth congress activists

outlined some of the events:

● On January 15 police fired teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot at a meeting of Phalaborwa Mining Company workers (NUM members). Youth, students and workers fought police and barricaded all entrances to the township. Jack Kgwedi was shot dead by police.

● Students demanding SRCs were attacked by police. Many were detained and others allegedly assaulted and raped. This sparked off a two week stayaway from school.

● A policeman shot dead worker Maruping Elvis Setagane on March 8.

● On March 14 police opened fire on people returning to Namakgale from a night vigil. As people fled, a car of bandits drove past and shot dead Nayco member Malope.

● On Sunday, March 23, police invaded a Nayco meeting in the Namakgale Lutheran church. Police and bandits armed with guns and sjamboks surrounded the area.

"They went on the rampage in the streets injuring many people and raiding shebeens", said Mayco.

In the next days police allegedly destroyed Mandela Park, Oliver Tambo Park and Biko Park which the youth had built. Boards with the Communist Party hammer and sickle were confiscated.

SADF, SAP and Lebowa police raided houses, sjambokking people and detaining more than 40, many of them Mayco members. People wearing Release Mandela t-shirts were forced to burn them and were allegedly beaten. Detainees were forced to help destroy parks, told to shout 'Viva SAP' and call Mandela to help them.

Youth attacked policemen's houses, burning government offices and Lebowa Education Minister S.P.Kwakwa's car.

A police roadblock tried to stop local delegates to the Durban National Education Crisis Conference.

Mayco condemned the police action and demanded troops get out of their township. "These people know nothing about law and order, only how to perpetuate violence and disorder", said a Mayco statement.

Villages are uniting

A RECENT hand grenade attack victim in Namakgale was recovering from a bullet wound at the time of his death.

Shiluvane Youth Congress (Syco) leaders said Aaron Mhlangu, a Syco member, had been shot in the head on March 22 when Lebowa police opened fire on youths singing freedom songs.

After seeing a doctor Aaron and friends went to Namakgale hotel for food. He was killed instantly when a grenade hit the hotel.

Thousands attended his funeral at Mahwibidung village, where there is a Syco village committee. Syco was formed in July 1985 and now has more than nine village committees.

In Burgersdorp, another village organised by Syco, villagers are protesting against the local chief. They said he took R400 bail money they collected and he won't return it.

The Muhlaba Youth Congress (Muyo) has area committees in

more than seven villages nearby.

Recently youth were singing freedom songs when the chief, Gazankulu MP S.M.Muhlaba, called the police. More than 30 youth were arrested and others are in hiding.

Parents, students and youth who went to court to see them were turned away. The youth were refused bail, allegedly on instructions from the chief. Students at Mpumulana High School came out on boycott saying they won't attend classes until their colleagues are released. And villagers are calling on the chief to account for why he called in the police.

'Isolating' SAP violence

POLICE have retaliated violently against being banned from hotels and shebeens in Mahwelereng. The ban is part of the 'isolate police' campaign in the Northern Transvaal.

The Mahwelereng Youth Congress (Mayco) alleges police fired teargas and shot at people leaving a hotel one night near the end of March.

Middleburg remembers March 21

Middleburg was a hive of political activity over a weekend near the end of March

Local residents flocked to an Eastern Cape Students Council workshop — mistaking it for a mass meeting.

The following day, there was a commemoration service to remember the victims of 21 March Sharpeville and Uitenhage killings.

Hundreds of members of the Middleburg Youth Congress (Miyco), Middleburg Residents Association (Mira), Middleburg Womens Organisation (Miwo), the Middleburg Students Council (Misco) and local churches were at the meeting.

The only people not there were members of the local South African Police.

A Misco leader received loud applause when he announced that the Misco general council had "unanimously agreed to change the name of the local secondary school from St Boniface Secondary School to Govan Mbeki Secondary School".

"It is high time that the people's leaders must be known and not forgotten. At least when a person passes near this school something political will be registered in their mind



"The church stands by the people's leaders" - Rev Visagie

and he/she will know that there are some people who are in jail for the sake of others", he said.

"For this area to be effectively organised, house to house visits must be conducted to mobilize those who are not here with us today. In the old days when a meeting was called to discuss troubles such as the loss of somebody's cow — all people attended.

"The one who did not attend was the one likely to be suspected as the thief of that cow.

"After the house to house campaign we will expect everyone to be here and the one who is not here is against the will of the majority", said a woman from Miwo.

"The good work of Mathew Goniwe will and must be taken for-

ward by all of us here", said the Miyco president.

Rev Visagie of the local Nederduitse Gereformede Kerk pledged solidarity with the families of the Langa shootings on behalf of the Midlands Council of Churches.

"The plight of the people has long been said in the bible but the church has distanced itself from the people.

"But today we in the church endorse what the leaders of the people stand for and therefore join in the campaign for the unconditional release of all the prisoners.

"We remember those leaders, particularly on March 21, because it is due to the events of those times that they were sentenced to life imprisonment".



Langa commemoration service in Middleburg.

Kwathema stays away

AFTER a long break, the stayaway is back in the East Rand township of Kwathema.

Thousands abandoned work and school and flocked to the funeral of police victim Siphso Dlodla in mid-March. Local residents were joined by people from all over the East Rand and other Transvaal townships.

They were responding to a joint stayaway call from the Kwathema Students Congress (Kwasco), Kwathema Youth Congress (Kwayco), Congress of South African Trade Unions local affiliates (SFAWU, TGWU, CWIU, MAWU, UMMAWOSA and CCAWUSA), the East Rand People's Organisation (Erapo) and the Crisis Committee which represents different organisations in the township.

Shops closed, taxis and especially

Putco buses weren't going anywhere but to the funeral. The bus-drivers are members of the Transport and General Workers Union, a Cosatu affiliate, and they were part of the stayaway to attend the funeral.

In the past there has been some tension between the drivers and the community. So the drivers and Erapo met to sort things out.

The drivers said they were part and parcel of the community. With proper notice they could tell management when they wanted to attend funerals to honour unrest victims. The drivers said they too could be victims someday.

This time drivers knew about the funeral and stayaway before the time. They told management they were going to take 20 buses, 19 for mourners and one full of Putco workers. At the last minute man-



agement tried to restrict it to three buses. But the drivers ignored this and just took the 20 buses.

Students were called on not to attack buses. "The busdrivers are members of a progressive organisation which is working with students. And the people in the buses are our parents", said Kwasco.

Kwasco has been implementing democratic SRC's. At four schools students have SRC's and the support of principals and teachers. But two schools still have problems

with reactionary principals. The unpopular local head of Inkatha, Steven Mbatha, is chairman of the one school committee. Students defied his order that they shouldn't go to Dlodla's funeral and sing 'freedom songs'.

At one school students who were reluctant to join in the community activities have started changing their minds. This was after other students in Kwathema and other East Rand townships decided to cut contact, including sport ties, with them.

Stuyco organising the community

THE STUTTERHEIM Youth Congress (Stuyco) was launched in April 1985, to organise youth and students.

A few months later, students at Mzoxolo High saw posters calling on them to boycott classes. At first not everybody did, as "we were not well organised", said Stuyco leaders, but when police action and arrests began to anger people, students went on total boycott.

Students began to involve themselves in community projects to create better conditions in the townships. They shut down the beerhall and encouraged people to stop drinking, and to rather get organised. Membership of Stuyco grew.

They involved the parents in meetings, and people stopped paying high rents.

"One day, when youth were singing and shouting slogans, the police came and answered the songs with bullets. Jongile Nompondo was shot dead."

After seeing their children shot at by the police, large numbers of parents were determined to become more active. Vigilantes invited senior parents to join them, but the parents refused.

The people had many meetings to decide how to stop the growing problem of vigilantes.

In November, the youth decided to attend a vigilante meeting. When they pleaded with the vigilante

group to disband, they were attacked. Thirteen-year-old Them-bisa Botha was axed to death.

"The youth were angry and burnt one of the vigilantes in revenge. Many people were arrested.

The next day, police used teargas to disperse youth singing in the street. The police opened fire, killing nine-year-old Mbulelo Ndondo.

People dug trenches in the road to prevent caspurs from entering the township, forcing police to enter on foot.

"There were pitched battles. Someone was shot dead when some of the youth formed small units and

attacked police vans. Funerals became bigger and bigger.

"The police labelled Stuyco founder member, Pupu Mgangqa, as the cause of all the trouble, and arrested him. But nothing stopped. When people gathered to discuss the funerals, police arrested 280, and detained 160 for four months."

"Organisation spread, especially among wives, mothers and sisters. Residents organised a rents boycott and a consumer boycott. Workers staged work stayaways."

Previously, workers had collected R300 to pay a lawyer to improve their conditions. But when nothing happened they decided to form their own trade union and are hoping to link it with Cosatu.

Liquor was forbidden as part of the consumer boycott, but a policeman in the township was selling it. He had a police guard, because he knew he was not in favour with his community. When a delegation went to ask him to stop selling liquor, he answered by shooting. Three people were killed.

"The SADF set up a military camp inside the township, and their actions have angered the people.

The Stutterheim community is demanding that police and the SADF withdraw from their township.

"Like a war..."

ALL HELL broke loose in Tafelkop recently.

The area was occupied by police and soldiers from the nearby Maleoskop training camp.

The Tafelkop Youth Congress (Tayco) said mourners were peacefully returning from a funeral on March 29 when police intervened.

Three people were shot dead and many were injured as they fled from sjambokking police.

Three days later scores of youth in the township were arrested. A 12 year old boy was shot outside his home and taken into custody. Youth responded by burning two Lebowa transport buses and a truck — apparently because they had transported police.

The whole township was occupied by security forces. Said one activist, "it was like a war zone and people are afraid to walk in the streets".

Many people in the area work in Groblersdal. With the police invasion workers stayed away from work, apparently fearing police action. So the ending of the stayaway depends on the police, said activists.

"Police harassment doesn't discriminate. Young and old get beaten. When all hell breaks loose everyone has to run, no matter how old or sick you are".

Tayco condemned the actions of the SA and Lebowa police. They said it had reached alarming proportions in the Lebowa bantustan. "As long as the bantustans exist these acts are bound to continue", they said.

Chiefs in the area — including Lebowa Minister of Health and Welfare — have kept quiet so far.

Earlier in the month police pounced on mourners at police victim Solomon Matshamane's funeral in Motatema. Six people from Dennilton, Jane Furse, Tafelkop, GaMatlala and Witbank were shot dead.

Motatema people discovered shallow graves of people killed at a previous funeral.

Tayco has a close relationship with the Motatema Youth Congress (Moyco). There are also Parents Crisis Committees, working committees of students and union branches in Tafelkop, Motatema and surrounding villages.

Tension in Ikageng

IN IKAKENG tension has been high since the DET suspended schools in February.

Students there officially returned to school on March 2.

They have been boycotting classes because their demands have not been met. Their first demand is that troops get out of Ikageng.

"The troops occupy our schools full time. At Tlokwe High they have now taken over the admin-

offices and continue intimidating us in various ways," a Tlokwe High student said.

Students are also demanding the release of detained students, some of whom are as young as 12 years old. They say that public violence against students stop. That expelled students be reinstated. That the harassment of members of Ikageng Civic association ceases.

Community organisations have

been meeting to try to resolve the tension in Ikageng. Teachers and priests are getting together to talk about the situation in their township. "At the moment our township is teeming with SADF and SAP. They drive at high speed, intimidating people," a resident said. On March 29, Bishop Tutu held a church service in Ikageng. The army and police were nowhere to be seen. Minutes after he left, they reappeared.

Border UDF plans its year

THE BORDER UDF held its regional Annual General Meeting (AGM) at an undisclosed venue for fear of interference by South African and Ciskeian police forces.

Over 250 delegates drew up a plan of action for the year. The AGM focused mainly on ways to intensify ongoing campaigns and struggles along with other Border organisations outside the United Democratic Front.

The following are the major targets of the region's offensive;

- The release Mandela campaign: The region sees this campaign as pivotal to most campaigns and struggles. When appropriate, rallies will be held. The RMC will encompass the campaign for the unbanning of the African National Congress and the return of exiles.

- The Anti-pass campaign: The formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions has revived the anti-pass campaign of the fifties. Workshops explaining the effects of pass laws will be held. The Border region will align with Cosatu which will spearhead the

campaign.

- Border hopes to involve the UDF nationally in an anti-rent campaign. A national civic organisation conference linked to the campaign is being organised. A national civic association structure to co-ordinate activities was seen as important. Wilber Sbali was elected to co-ordinate civics in the region. The Border region will also work to create and consolidate rural Civic bodies.

- On the education crisis delegates discussed organising alternative schooling if the government closed schools in the region. The idea of 'the people's education' will be defined thoroughly after it has been taken to students and other relevant educational bodies.

- The Cost of Living and Unemployment Campaign was seen as a result of the economic crisis. The two campaigns were initiated by Cosatu's Unemployed Workers' Union (Unewu). The AGM hoped Unewu would frustrate employers' attempts to break the workers' strike by building solidarity between workers.



Part of the crowd came to celebrate International Women's Day in East London on March 8.

- It was resolved that women's groups in the region should unite in preparation for the national launch of a women's organisation. Ms Lumka Jobo was entrusted with the task of co-ordinating women's organisations in the region.

- Smuts Ngonyama was elected youth co-ordinator to prepare for the national launch and to help strengthen Border youth organisations.

The AGM rejected negotiations with the City Council and the government. From time to time, affiliates will put their demands to these institutions and monitor their responses.

Ciskei police stopped

- The East London supreme court granted an interim order restraining Ciskeian Security police from illegally forcing five members of the Dimbaza Youth Congress (DYCO) to answer questions.

Mongezi Tube, Solomon Goni, Ncedani Kwelide, Clifford Twebwe and Thamsanqa Smoyana brought the court action against the minister of Justice, Mr Takane and the Commissioner of Police. They claimed to have been assaulted and detained for questioning several times since last year.

In an affidavit Tube claimed they had been assaulted at the Dimbaza police station in Zwelitsha while being interrogated about their activities and those of their Youth Congress.

Tube listed a number of occasions when he claimed they were either assaulted or made to do strenuous exercises and at times subjected to electric shocks. The alleged interrogations stretched from July last year to March 1986. Tube said police would continue detaining, assaulting and generally ill-treating them unless prevented from doing so.

The return date is August 4.

THE BOPHUTHATSWANA Bantustan government is waging war against people in the area.

A mass funeral for 11 people shot on 25/3/86 March was prevented when Bop refused to release the corpses saying they wanted to have a second post-mortem on the corpses.

The recently established Mabopane Winterveld Parents Crisis Committee (MWPC) said they were determined to have the funeral. "We want to bury our fallen heroes in the proper way", said an MWPC spokesperson.

On the day of the shootings, residents had gathered at the local City Rocks soccer grounds to discuss widespread detentions and police harassment. Bop police Divisional Commissioner, M.A. Molope had been called on to account for police behaviour.

Bop police wage war in Winterveld



Death and destruction at Winterveld

"The shooting of the people was completely unprovoked", said Winterveld residents. "It was a gathering of mainly elderly men

and women who had come to hear the commissioner explain the sudden harassment of innocent people".

Molope wasted no time in making his case clear — Mandela is not wanted in Bophutatswana, if people don't want trouble they must see to it that their children don't burn buses, if the children

continue to destroy, the police will also destroy. The crowd was order to go.

As people were leaving police fired teargas and bullets. The crowd fled in all directions. Some were shot lying injured on the ground.

More than 11 people were left dead and hundreds injured.

Since then 67 community leaders have been arrested, charged with public violence and released on bail. Some MPWCC leaders and others residents have had their homes petrol bombed and many people have been forced into hiding.

Tribute to 7 'heroes' at funeral

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, was a sad day for more than 30 000 mourners who marched from the Guguletu Stadium to the graveyard to bury seven young men.

They came to pay tribute to their 'heroes' who were killed on Monday, March 3 in a shoot-out with police.

The seven were: John Konile; Jabulani Miya; Christopher Piet; Alfred Zola Swelani; Simon Manola Mxixwa; Temba Molifi, and Mzwandile Cekiso.

Soon after the shoot-out, hundreds of angry Guguletu residents gathered at the scene. Some eyewitnesses made shocking allegations to a local newspaper:

- one of the men was shot while trying to give himself up;

- one man was lying on the ground, badly wounded, when a policeman walked up to him and 'finished him off'.

The police reported confiscating arms and ammunition.

Mothers of three of the dead men called for a public enquiry to establish whether their sons were 'terrorists', as the police branded them.

At the funeral gathering, several banners were displayed despite an order by a magistrate.

Amongst the banners was the black, green and gold of the ANC, and the red SACP banner. These have become a common sight at most funerals of police victims in Cape Town's townships.

A Cayco speaker at the funeral said, "Today we are burying our comrades. The government says that they have killed the 'terrorists'. It is clear that they do not know what a terrorist is.

"We in Cayco say that these comrades who we are burying here today are not terrorists. They are heroes who have offered their lives for the cause of freedom."

A UDF speaker expressed deepest sympathy with the families of those killed. "We are not afraid to die in the streets of Steenberg, Manenberg or Guguletu. Our greatest desire is freedom and these comrades in front of us have died for that desire.

"The main thing that we must remember is to join those organisations which stand for freedom.

Alexandra is busy re-organising itself

IN ALEXANDRA township people live in buses, shacks, hostels or the usual four roomed houses — and each unit is organised separately.

"It would have been very naive to have a residents' organisation without structuring it in a way that would accommodate the needs of every resident. Our struggle on the local civic level is about housing, security and comfort and this needs to be decided by all, be they living in buses, shacks or palatial flats," said an organiser for the umbrella body, the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC).

Early in 1986 activists started to organise from street level. They were mainly from affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) and subsequently the Alexandra Student Congress (ASCO).

They soon realised that more than street-level organisation was needed if they meant to strengthen the civic from grassroots level. So there are now yard, shack, flat, bus-town and hostel committees.

"A lot of things deserve united mass action — this must then have mass united organisation. Many of

our comrades were in detention and many others on the run. It was after due consideration of these hard facts that we engaged in this form of organisation. Never will the system have it as good as it used to," said an AYCO activist.

Streets, flats, hostels, shacks and buses are organised from floor up to area committees. Representatives receive their mandate from the people via these committees. They report back after discussing the issues at hand with other committee representatives.

The urgency of problems facing the community means these structures are already acting on issues even as they are being organised.

"Major decisions are already taken concerning rent, refuse removal, people's courts, the attitude to and re-integration of the resigning councillors into the community and the re-developing of the township," said an activist in Alex.

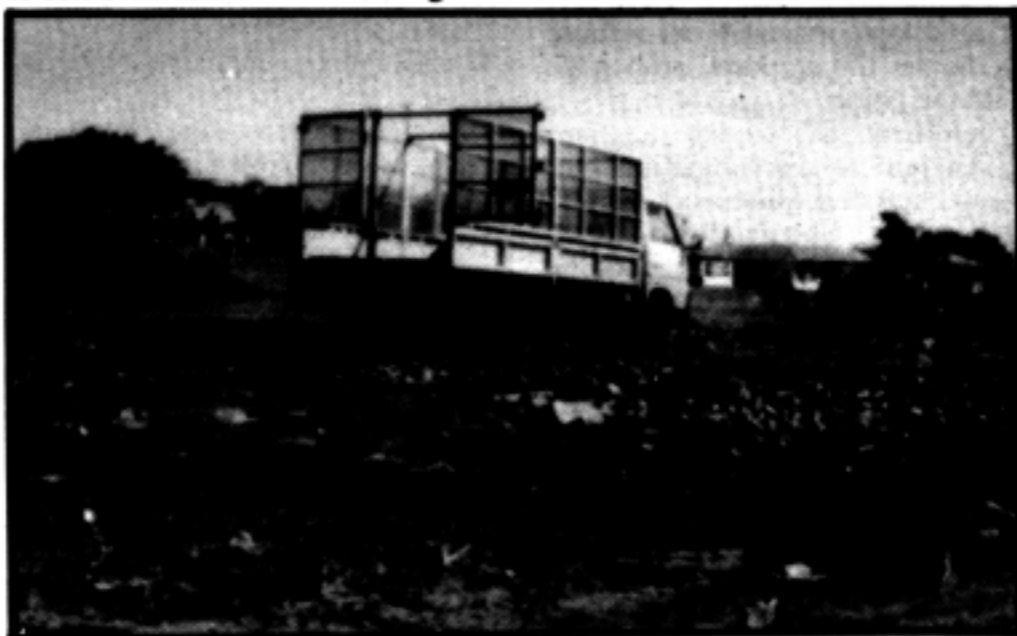
Now plans are underway to run workshops and seminars with all these committees to establish disciplined organisation.

The establishment of street, yard

and block committees is not new in the area. A lot of help has come from older people who operated similar committees until the Peri Urban Administration Board introduced the permit system in 1940. structures has brought back a sense

The re-establishment of these of self-confidence and meaning to

residents, say activists. Many petty squabbles, such as complaints about noise or the spilling of dirty water in the street, are diminishing because people are growing to understand how these come about and where their energies must be directed.



The can boycott in support of striking Metal Box workers is still very much on. Turfloop University students recently stopped a bottle store delivery truck. They emptied out R7 000 worth of beer in cans onto a sports field on the campus after explaining to the driver about the importance of the boycott.

AFTER THE longest sit-in in SA history, 2100 dismissed Mawu members at Haggi Rand forced management to reinstate them and negotiate their demands.

The dismissals follow a long dispute over wage demands. When management refused to negotiate increases, workers began a sit-in. They said they wouldn't leave until management gave in to their demands.

SASPU National spoke to an old man who now has his job back 40 years after he started work with the company. "I was born in the days of the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union). After working on a farm near Newcastle, I came to Johannesburg. I started at the company in 1948.

"There were no fork lifts in those days. We moved everything by hand, or with ropes. It was a small company then. I helped build the company.

"All my life I've sold my labour to Haggi Rand. I've helped build Haggi Rand. But instead of thanking me, they thanked me by kicking me out."

If the Haggie workers had not been reinstated, this man, and

Haggi workers fight and win.

everyone else, would not qualify for a company pension, or any long service benefits.

"That's why we sat in", he said. "We said we wouldn't leave until management gave us our jobs back, and stops paying us starvation wages. The sit-in is the only way to make management listen. We used their language, and they wouldn't listen." The dismissed workers work at two Haggi Rand plants, in Germiston, and Jupiter, in Johannesburg.

The Metal and Allied Workers' Union has been organising at the plants since 1982. There are strong shop steward structures, but Haggi still hasn't signed a recognition agreement with the union.

And the company refused to negotiate a wage increase, or changes in working conditions and benefits.

"But workers will only believe they're serious when they begin talking to the workers. Right now, they talk one language, and then do something else."

"This is typical", said a Mawu official. "Haggie is owned by Gencor, and along with the other big groups like Anglo, they're encouraging workers to join trade unions, and they're calling for change in South Africa, and an end to apartheid.

"Haggie insists that we go through the correct structures, which means going to the Industrial Council.

"But there, Haggie hides behind

the smaller companies, who say they can't pay higher wages. It's the small companies who set the minimum wage level, and then Haggie refuses to negotiate increases above that."

Haggie can easily afford higher wages. 75 percent of its products are exported, and, with the current exchange rates, the company is making massive profits.

Workers are demanding a share of this, instead of their present starvation wages.

Mawu claims wage levels have actually dropped over the years. In terms of what the money could buy, the union has calculated that workers at the plant in 1946 were actually being paid R3,80 a week; now the minimum wage is R2,07.

And in 1962, workers were paid R8 per week; that wage bought more than a wage of R121 a week would buy now, because the Rand is worth less.

They're demanding a minimum wage of R3,50, up from R2,07, and a 50c increase for everyone.

They're also demanding May Day as a public holiday, and big increases in overtime pay to discourage the company from using overtime to make up for retrenched workers. The workers say that overtime takes jobs from the unemployed.

When negotiations with the company deadlocked, workers demanded to meet with the company's shareholders. When they also refused to budge, the workers decided to stage a sit-in. Production was stopped entirely.

They were highly disciplined: no one could leave the plant without the permission of all fellow workers. And if anyone who'd been out came back later than they'd agreed, that person was fined.

When the sit-in began, women came flocking to bring food to the strikers. A meeting was then called where the women came together to discuss how they could raise money to support the strikers and their families.

A committee was elected, and made responsible for collecting money from nearby factories.

"The strike is the right thing," said the secretary of the support committee. "Their wages can't cover all our needs. So now we are supporting them. Its tough but what can we do?"

"And there's no difference between those in the compound and those who live in the township. They're all working for the same thing."

After long negotiations with Mawu, the company backed down, and announced that all workers would be re-instated, and that it would begin negotiating the workers' grievances.



Cawusa members showing solidarity with American retrenched workers.

Solidarity with US workers

OVER 300 Catering, Commercial and Allied Workers' Union (Cawusa) members at the Elandsfontein 3M plant recently downed tools in solidarity with 450 American workers retrenched from 3M in Freehold, New Jersey, when their plant was closed.

"We believe that 3M needs to be informed in no uncertain terms that we take strong exception to their despicable action to impose hardships on fellow workers and their families in America", say the workers in a statement.

At 1 pm on February 28, the Elandsfontein workers downed tools. They marched around the factory with union banners and tried to present management with a letter urging them to reconsider its decision to close the Freehold plant.

Management refused to see them. Workers then gathered round a flag pole flying the SA flag, and lowered it to half-mast.

They said they saw the SA flag as a symbol of the 'unholy alliance' between the bosses and the SA government. Corporations like 3M were

built with the sweat of generations of workers, 'yet they care very little for the welfare of their workers'.

"They are motivated by glutton-like greed for profit. So greedy are they for profit that they are willing to endanger the livelihoods of 450 humble people and their families for a few dollars."

* The sympathy strike follows a week-long strike at the plant over retrenchments. The company agreed to re-hire workers who'd been retrenched earlier, instead of recruiting new casual workers.

A Freestate Foothold for SAAWU

SIX MONTHS after it started organising in Bloemfontein, the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) claims 6 000 members there. And the last month has seen two important victories for Saawu members in Bloemfontein at the Polyflora and Unipipe plants.

73 workers at Polyflora forced management into negotiations after a week-long sit-in.

Although Saawu claims a majority at the plant, management refused to discuss the workers' grievances with the union.

Their demands include:

- An end to discrimination between black and white workers;
- Workers who've been doing casual work for a long time must be recognised as permanent workers;
- An end to racism by supervisors;

they say one supervisor calls them 'kaffirs';

- Clean plates and mugs in the canteen;
- Management must provide workers with overalls, instead of workers having to buy their own;
- Management must provide transport when workers do overtime;
- An end to compulsory overtime,

and proper payment for overtime work;

- Maternity leave for all women workers;
- Workers must be allowed to receive phone calls.

Workers came out on strike when management refused to negotiate.

On Monday, March 3, they clocked in but refused to work, and instead began their sit-in.

It continued all week until March 7, when management fired all the workers.

After meeting with union representatives, the company agreed to reinstate all workers, and 'open its doors' to the union.

160 Saawu members at Unipipe also forced management to negotiate after a two day strike.

The dispute centred on the company's refusal to recognise Saawu, and when it claimed it had 'documentary proof' that Saawu was 'not a trade union', workers came out on strike.

Now the company is promising to negotiate.

Employers' force breaks sit-in

EMPLOYERS ARE now using force to stop sit-ins.

Police, using dogs and teargas, were called in to evict workers from a Germiston factory recently, after earlier attempts to break the 12 day sit-in had failed.

The workers come from two companies, operating from the same premises: Pan African Shopfitters, organised by Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union, and GB Engineering, organised by Mawu. The dispute began when manage-

ment announced it was going to cut the workforce from 300 to 100 people.

When management refused to budge from its decision, the workers opted for a sit-in.

The sit-in began on March 6, and management immediately dismissed the workers. Workers refused to leave.

For two weeks they sat tight in the face of management's manoeuvres. But on March 18 management cal-

led the police in.

Workers say about 200 police were used to drive the workers out of the plant, using dogs and teargas.

One of the workers is now facing charges under the Internal Security Act, for allegedly possessing a petrol bomb.

After long negotiations, most of those arrested were released on R200 bail. Now they're waiting trial on charges of arson and malicious damage to company property.

No freedom in this meat Enterprise

'DON'T BUY meat that has an Enterprise label on it', say Sweet Food and Allied Workers' Union members dismissed from Kanhym's Pretoria plant.

They're launching a boycott of all products distributed by Kanhym, which includes Enterprise meats, sausages and polony, and all meat with the Kanhym label.

Kanhym, which is owned by Gencor, fired 150 workers in February after a strike over retrenchment procedures.

After workers were suddenly told the plant would be closed down, they went on strike to pressurise the management into reaching a compromise settlement, and were fired. They see this as a crude attempt to resolve the retrenchment problem.

"Through the boycott we are going to force Kanhym to recognise its social obligations", said a SFAWU official. "The company must know that they're not the only people with a right to live."

Num goes underground

SIT-INS ARE now being used on the mines to pressurise management into addressing workers' demands.

1 200 workers at the Blyvooruitzicht mine, staged a 36 hour sit-in underground after management refused to discuss a new experimental leave bonus system with them.

Last year the workers, through the National Union of Mineworkers, demanded a bonus system when they produced more than their quota. Management refused and then, without discussion with the workers, introduced a bonus system.

The new system was only introduced in certain sections of the mine, so workers demanded that management discuss the matter with them.

Management ignored this, so they came out on strike on Sunday March 7. Management responded by shutting down the entire mine.

1 200 miners on the Tuesday night shift continued their sit-in underground and stayed down.

They stayed down for 36 hours four shifts without food. Workers only went back to work that Friday.

Management meanwhile had arrested two shaftstewards, and when workers demanded their release, the police were called in. Hundreds were injured and seven people were killed in the clashes that followed.

40 workers are still being held on charges under the Internal Security Act.

Mine turmoil

*A FIGHT at Vaal Reefs left four team leaders dead, sparking further tension on the mine when nine people were arrested in connection with the deaths.

When management refused to release them, thousands came out on strike; within days, 19 000 workers were out.

The strike was called off when three of the workers were released. But March 6 saw the start of a go-slow to force management to address other grievances.

Their demands include an end to the colour bar and discrimination, better protective clothing, and full-time shaft stewards.

Work returned to normal when management agreed to begin negotiations with the mineworkers to reduce the tension. But tension on the mines will remain until the root causes of that tension are abolished like the migrant labour system, and the hostels.

Workers rallies launch two new Cosatu regions

THE FORMATION of regional Cosatu structures is well under way following launches on the Rand and in Cape Town.

Thousands attended a rally at Katlehong's Huntersfield Stadium launch Cosatu on the Witwatersrand.

"The turnout at the rally proves we have the true support of our members, and their shows commitment to Cosatu," said Ban-retary.

The rally followed a conference of 640 delegates who met to discuss policy and elect office-bearers.

They represented over 200 000 workers organised in the massive PWV industrial complex where Cosatu has by far the majority of its members.

Most of the meeting was taken up by elections. It was the first time so many different unions had come together at a local level, and all

those nominated had to be introduced.

Delegates elected NUM's Paul Nkuna as chair; Ccawusa's Mahmood Fadal as vice chair and CWIU's Ronald Mofikeng as treasurer.

The vote was split over the position of Regional Secretary between Moses Mayekiso of Mawu, and Bangilizwe Solo from NUTW. Solo was elected acting regional secretary.

"Almost all delegates participated in the discussions they expressed

their commitment to Cosatu, and to the spirit of unity. The level of debate was very high," said Solo.

"Soon, when we've sorted out all the teething problems of our young organisation, another rally will be organised to explain the resolutions passed by the Congress."

● Ten thousand people packed the University of the Western Cape's stadium for Cosatu's Western Cape launch.

Messages of support came from veteran union organiser Oscar Mpetha, now in Pollsmoor, the

United Women's Organisation, Cape Housing Action Committee, Cape Youth Congress, Western Cape Students' Congress, and the Western Cape Teachers' Union.

The rally followed elections of regional office bearers. SFAWU's Macwellington Mtiya is president; Saawu's Noel Williams is vice president and GWU's Nick Henwood is secretary.

Cosatu president Barayi addressed the crowd. His message to the government was clear: "Freedom is coming!"

He also called on the government to release all political prisoners, and called on people to burn their passes if they weren't abolished within six months.

Responding to Inkatha's attacks on Cosatu, he said, "Buthelezi says that we are a front of the ANC. But we say that Inkatha is a front for the National Party".

He appealed to all unions still outside Cosatu to affiliate — "their home is here in Cosatu".

Oscar Mpetha's message said he was "firmly convinced that Cosatu will help to free this country."

Newly elected regional vice-president, Noel Williams, said: "Today we are making history here in Bellville. We as workers in Cosatu are not only going to fight on the factory floor. Together we are going to fight for freedom."

"Cosatu did not fall out of the air. We are not a tri-cameral parliament of PW Botha. In Cosatu, we decide things democratically".

Vaal residents force OVBD rent concession

THE ORANGE Vaal Development Board (OVBD) has agreed to stop arresting residents and issuing them with summonses to pay their rent.

They agreed the day after a successful stay-away on March 24/25 which was called by the Vaal Stay-away Committee (VSAC) to force the issue.

Residents in the area have been boycotting rents for over 18 months demanding that they be lowered to R30.

The rent crisis took a dramatic turn on February 25, when 60 homes were raided late at night. Some residents were forced to sign declarations of intent to pay and some were forced to pay them there and then. Others were simply arrested.

This is the latest in a series of attempts by the OVBD to recover rent and service charges arrears.

Some months ago water and electricity were cut off in some Vaal townships. Residents have also been threatened with court action, eviction and confiscation of movable property.

Most recently, the OVBD issued 7500 summonses to residents to appear in court for not paying.

The Vaal Civic Association (VCA), through legal representatives, is challenging these. A test case is to go ahead sometime in April.

The VCA is however critical of legal action. "The courts of law can to a certain extent contribute to settling this dispute.

"We as residents must unite in action to make sure that our genuine and legitimate demands are met."

"We are not impressed by the lukewarm response of the OVBD," says the VSAC.

Other demands include cancelling the Delmas 22 trial and all other trials connected to the 1984 rent issue; freeing or acquitting the Sharpeville Six sentenced to death; the resignation of councillors and their so-called community guards; the scrapping of the Black Local Authorities Act; that Mayday be a paid holiday; and that democratic SRC's be recognised.

The VSAC was set up after the VCA was mandated to consult with unions, taxi associations, student and youth organisations and business people about the stayaway in March.

"We had a few problems in preparing for a stay away. We only had three weeks and this was too short a time for the civic — given the vastness of our area — to consult and report-back properly to all organisations."

"The VCA has also been hit hard by repression and some of our leadership is standing trial in Delmas.



Vaal Civic, hard hit by repression, but standing firm.

"The VSAC was formed to take over the organisation of something like a stayaway" says the VCA.

"We are going to work at improving communication and consultation with organisations and residents. Our still very young block

and area committees have played quite a good role in sustaining the civic and keeping the residents informed about actions. But, these still have to be improved and we plan to cover the whole of the Vaal with such grassroots structures."

Viljoenskroon residents ask for answers

UNREST HAS reached the dusty Free State township of Viljoenskroon where residents have shown the authorities that they no longer accept their inferior conditions.

When residents marched on the administration buildings on January 30, police bullets left Letshabo Nthethe dead.

Angry at this unprovoked brutality, the previously quiet township went on a rampage. The mayor's house and government owned property were razed to the ground and informers were dealt with.

When the authorities slapped restrictions on Letshabo's funeral, the township responded with a five-day stayaway. Everyone, including hostel dwellers stayed away.

Tension that had been simmering for years exploded into action.

Viljoenskroon residents demanded the mayor account for:

- Why Letshabo was shot.
- Why they pay for inferior housing and for flush toilets they do not have.
- Why teachers are unqualified and why such a high unemployment rate exists.
- Why the mayor monopolises the high positions in the community.
- The mayor could not face the residents and sent his deputy instead.
- Residents also called for the immediate resignation of the community council so that people could choose their own representatives.
- Their demands were met with further repression.

Viljoenskroon was now practically an occupied zone. The police were everywhere, even in the mortuary and cemetery. People with T-shirts advertising even commercial products were stripped and beaten.

Despite the restrictions placed on the funeral, Letshabo was buried in dignity two weeks after his death.

The police order said no singing, no political speeches and no slogans, but everyone disobeyed.

Nearly seventy people were arrested and charged with trespassing.

Release Mpetha

THE RELEASE Mandela Campaign (RMC) has added another activist to their campaign — Oscar Mpetha.

"On account of his age, poor health and the respect he commands, the RMC demands that he be released," said the Cape Town RMC.

He is a past president of the UDF, a founder member of the African Food and Canning Workers Union and president of the ANC in the Western Province in the fifties. Last year he was sentenced to five years imprisonment for terrorism.

Statements supporting the campaign were received from the UDF, Cosatu and the SA Council of Churches.

Street committees behind successful stayaway

MAMELODI RESIDENTS and activists credit the success of their two day stayaway — called at short notice — to the street committees they have built.

The stayaway was called to protest what residents say was 'uncalled-for police provocation'. A rally to launch the Mamelodi Civic Association (Maca) on March 16 was disrupted halfway by police and SADF.

The stayaway — its duration and how it would be conducted — was immediately discussed at street level. The same night executives of both Maca and the Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo) met, ready with reports from all streets.

"The decision was unanimous and hence the success of the popular action," said a MACA organiser.

"This is the clearest example of how well people's organisation can work" he said.

The stayaway was 98% successful. On both days SADF and SAP vehicles patrolled the township. Houses were raided and even a church meeting was disrupted.

MAYO has been operating street committees since last year. MACA



Mamelodi residents bury victim of repression

did the same and coupled this with groundwork for the formal launch of the civic.

Each street committee has a chairperson, vice chair, secretary, vice secretary and a treasurer. Two representatives from each street committees in a section of the township form the section committees. The executive of the central organisation is elected from an assembly of all these structures.

The structures are based on the policy of accountability — discussion and mandates from the people to the executive and report-backs from the executive of an organisation to the people.

"This is what we understand by people's democracy. People participate in decision-making and in carrying out those decisions", a Mamelodi activist said.

"This form of organisation

became necessary because it was difficult to deal with issues adequately at mass meetings. Also the state clampdown is heightening and mass meetings may soon not be allowed at all. This has already happened in some areas."

"The structures also help draw people's attention to the connection between pressing local issues and those of national and international importance.

Since the rent boycott from November last year, the Development Board stopped collecting refuse. Now the street and section committees organise this, using borrowed vans and lorries. Residents contribute money for petrol.

The committees are busy working out structures and methods for disciplinary action.

"We have to be careful in understanding the role and importance of these structures", say Mamelodi activists. They must be organic and be able to work on their own. This will help them to be vigilant, take initiative, and ensure they survive intimidation to advance their goals under the most difficult conditions."

SASPU NATIONAL

South Africa has recently lost three great patriots — Moses Mabhida, Sabata Dalindyebo and Peter Nchabeleng.

Nchabeleng, a UDF leader, died in police custody. Mabhida, head of the SACP and Sabata, a leading member of the ANC, died as leaders in exile.

All were victims of apartheid injustices and repression. The system that forced Mabhida and Sabata from the land of their birth is the same system in which Nchabeleng died in detention.

It is the same system of violence which has killed over 1000 people in the past one and a half years, detained more than 2000, charged more than 30 000 with 'public violence' and which has left thousands of others injured or maimed for life.

The SADF and the SAP are the only forces which are legally allowed to use violence.

In this system violence is institutionalised, not only in the vast network of security laws, but also in thousands of other measures designed to control movement, housing, where people live and work, education, citizenship and many more.

To this must be added the violence which is part and parcel of an economic system governed by the god of profits. This forces workers to work long hours in dangerous conditions for starvation wages. It uses the migrant labour system and bantustan bullies to feed them cheap workers and keep the 'surplus people' under control.

Caught between non-negotiable demands of the progressive movement and the pyramids of power and privilege they won't let go of, the rulers have resorted to force.

The system of violence and force is being challenged on every front — in the factories, schools, townships and villages, resettlement and squatter camps. People are refusing to submit to the exploitation and oppression any longer.

And despite the violence against them, people are still using peaceful methods like stayaways, consumer, rent and other boycotts to pressurise the government to meet their demands.

The people have carried on mass action to such a degree that, in many townships, the rulers have lost control. This year, it seems, local actions will be joined by regional and nationally organised and co-ordinated campaigns.

This was the call from the National Education Crisis Conference, attended by more than 1000 delegates nationally.

Already in the pipeline are:

- A national May Day work stoppage and commemoration. Cosatu's 650 000 members will be joined by hundreds of thousands of students, workers and residents;

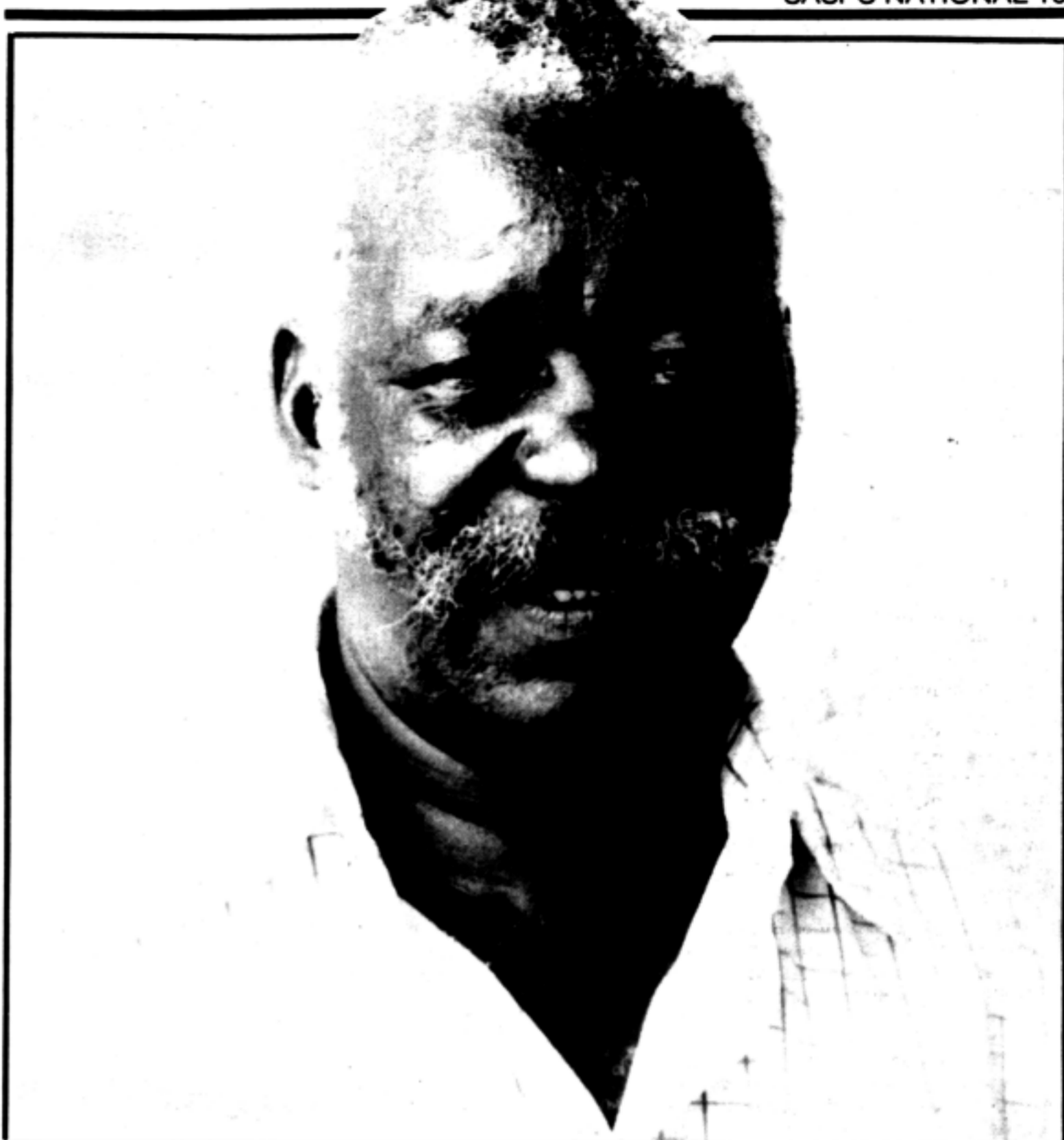
- A three-day stayaway on June 16, 17 and 18 to commemorate Youth Day and the tenth anniversary of the 1976 school uprisings;

- Possible regional and national rent and consumer boycotts.

It is not only the campaigns which are becoming national, but the demands as well. Local demands for lower rents, higher wages, local democratic representation, better houses and living conditions, democratic SRC's and many more have spread throughout the country into one loud, united voice of demands.

Key national demands emerging from the UDF, Cosatu and other progressive organisations are for the return of all exiles, the release of political prisoners, full trade union rights, the unbanning of the ANC and other banned organisations, the dismantling of all apartheid laws and structures, the withdrawal of troops and police from the townships, treason and other charges in political trials to be withdrawn.

These are the bottom line for an end to SA's violence.



"The example of Mabhida's life will nourish the spirit of new generations" - Machel

Full state funeral for exiled Mabhida

"FOR US he was an elder brother. With patience and humility he transmitted to us his long experience of struggle. His advice was always valuable" said Mozambican president Machel at Moses Mabhida's funeral, recently held in Maputo.

Mabhida was to be buried in Pietermaritzburg. Arrangements had to be changed at the last minute after a local magistrate imposed severe restrictions on the funeral.

Only close family and friends could attend; speeches, political songs, flags or pamphlets were prohibited and the procession had to be motorised. Mabhida's family who live just outside Maritzburg, also received threatening calls — allegedly from Inkatha.

Mabhida was elected General Secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1980, a post he held till his death. He was also member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and vice-president of the SA Congress of trade unions (SACTU). At one time he also held the post of political commissar in Umkhonto We Sizwe.

He died of a heart attack in Maputo on March 8 at the age of 63. He had been ill for a year prior to his death and had suffered a stroke in 1985.

Mabhida was given a full state funeral and his body lay in state in the Maputo town hall — the coffin draped in the flags of the ANC and SACP.

Leading the mourners at the funeral on March 29, were Mozambican president Samora Machel, ANC president Oliver Tambo and SACP chairman Joe Slovo. Banners of the ANC, SACP and UDF were carried as well as slogans proclaiming 'long live the friendship between the South African and Mozambican people'.



From left; Curmick Ndlovu, Archie Gumede, Stephen Dlamini, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo and Samora Machel bury Mabhida.

The anthem of the Frelimo Party was played and an ANC choir sang 'Nkosi Sikele'.

"His own country was denied to him while he lived, and now it is denied to him after death. But, he will not be buried on foreign soil. For Mozambique too is his country" said Machel.

"He chose to spend his last days with us — on the borders of his own country. In other parts of the world, where he would have been received with equal solidarity and comradeship, he would have found greater comfort and more advanced medical care. But, he preferred to stay here in a free country next to his own".

"The example of his life" said Machel "will always nourish the spirit of new generations, who will live in the victory he helped to create".

For the ANC, Oliver Tambo, spoke of Mabhida's contribution to

building the 'revolutionary alliance' between the ANC, SACP and the trade union movement.

John Nkadimeng, General Secretary of SACTU and member of the ANC national executive, spoke of Mabhida's deep involvement in the South African working class movement of the 1940's and 1950's.

Also present was Archie Gumede of the UDF, who spoke emotionally of Mabhida's life. Both men were born in Natal and fought together in the mass struggles of the 1950's.

As Mabhida's coffin was lowered into the grave, a Mozambican guard of honour fired three volleys of shots in his honour.

President Machel, Tambo and Slovo laid wreaths on the grave simultaneously. The ceremony ended with a Mozambican military band playing the anthem of the world communist movement — the internationale.

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MAY DAY SPECIAL

Who's winning the power battle - the rulers or the ruled?

THE SLOGAN of People's Power has captured the imagination of millions.

This is not surprising in a country where the vast majority of the people are denied access to power.

Wherever people interact there is power. Groups and individuals may have more power than others because of age, sex, race, organisation, wealth, consciousness, information, access to law and government and many more.

But there is more to power than these differences. Power is the ability to assert and defend class interests against opposing classes.

This involves power and control over every aspect of life - at work, at school, where one lives, local and national government structures, the army, police, courts and prisons, the media, the church, banks, financial institutions and the whole economy.

Democratic control means participating in decision-making, formulating policy and programmes of action — and implementing and administering them.

But not everybody can be part of every structure, so people mandate others to represent their interests and be accountable to them.

To exercise power, people need strong organisation to gain the upper hand over opposing classes.

The balance of power never stays the same. Organisations have had to work out how to keep the power they have won and how to win more. They have had to adapt to changing conditions of struggle and use the strategies and tactics which will advance their interests.

'People' in the slogan 'people's power', refers to groups of people with common grievances and problems, needs and aspirations. The most fundamental of these is their class position — this determines people's place and role in society.

Struggles between competing classes underlie the way society is structured and the way it is changing. Within this, people belong to civic, student, youth and other organisations which take up their common problems and pursue common interests.

Underlying these are class interests. For example, most people can't afford to pay rent because workers earn poverty wages. The battle for houses and security will only be won when people control housing allocation, the means of production and can share in the wealth they produce.

The current balance of forces in SA is a delicate one. The apartheid government has been challenged and shaken and their ideology is in tatters.

Businessmen, bureaucrats, the army and the police agree there are problems. But they have different ideas about what should be done and where they want SA to go.

Their confusion is about how to solve their own problems without destroying their beloved profits and letting go of political control.

The confusion of the government and the bosses opens up new possibilities for struggle. To do this organisations have the task of building and strengthening themselves on every front, and consolidating and defending past gains.

People's struggles around different issues have thrown up organisations which will be most effective



in waging those struggles.

So people form SRCs in the schools, trade unions in the factories, civics in the townships. Some struggles have needed new types of organisation — like the front against the apartheid constitution, or the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the consumer boycott committees, education crisis committees.

These constituency-based and campaign-oriented organisations have developed rapidly since the 1977 clampdown — and have survived many attacks since then.

As conditions of struggle and the balance of class forces change constantly, so do forms of organisation.

Local organisations have dealt with day-to-day needs and problems of a specific sector of the community. Without these, no other organisation can really be effective as it is here where people become directly involved.

These organisations are the most accessible, based as they are in the factories, schools and communities

where people spend much of their lives.

They are trying to bring as many people as possible into organisation, so they can be marshalled and deployed strategically. With a clear analysis and programme, more people have gained experience and understanding.

Many groups have been signing up members to ensure a more organised base than just supporters. Members can vote in elections for office-bearers and take part in drawing up policy, strategy and tactics. Representatives then operate on the basis of mandates received from their members, and are accountable to them.

By adopting this system of participative democracy, organisations have been able to deepen their relationship with their constituency. And they have been able to do more than just take up daily problems. This has been an experience in democracy and organisation which will form the basis of future society.

In the last two years the system has

been attacked head on. People have faced armed might with bare hands, they won't retreat. But activists have learnt that mobilisation and action are not enough. These tactics alone won't defeat the bosses and the government.

Struggles on different fronts, like the schools or the communities, are essential to transform society. They are challenging the methods and means of control.

But each organisation's ability to do this is limited by its scope and mandate, as well as by its strength and preparedness.

Students play a major role in our struggle. But their main concern is the education front. The same goes for trade unions — their first responsibility is to defend the interests of its members at their place of work.

But students and workers problems are rooted in the same Apartheid and capitalist system. So both need to challenge this system at the same time as they fight their immediate battles over textbooks and wages.

If they unite in some overall co-ordinating structure, their activities can be combined and extended. And action against the bosses and their government can be on a much wider front.

The pattern of struggle over the last five years has been one where issues erupt in one constituency. Then they quickly spill over into others, until the entire community is involved in a full-scale confrontation with the security forces.

Some areas have had activity involving all constituencies and organisations eg. student, factory, community, women etc.

But generally, solid structures to take up struggles that go beyond just one sector of the community are still lacking.

These can take advantage of spontaneous outbursts of action that sweep the entire community along, as well as develop systematic programmes where all these groups take part.

Rent and consumer boycotts, stay-aways, have been most effective when run by structures co-ordinating organisations from all sectors of the community. These organisations also had the mandate and base to make the campaigns effective.

Building constituency and campaign-based organisation, and linking this in co-ordinating structures, provides the means for the people to win power. Through these organisations people can fight for their interests against classes which seek to deny them power. This is bringing democracy to the people.

Democratic organs of power have developed along geographical, rather than constituency lines eg. street, block and area committees that include residents, workers, youth, students, women etc.

They have had to work out the tasks and jurisdiction of each sub-structure and how they relate to each other, from street committee level onwards.

These structures are bringing people into a level of struggle that is already happening — but not yet on a structured and strategic basis.

They cater for political training — organisationally and in developing political consciousness. Seminars and study groups have been organised and political schools could even be established.

An important part of all this is the creation of a progressive political culture or style. This would overcome problems of inexperienced and untrained activists exercising authority and leadership in an undisciplined manner.

The organs of people's democracy cannot afford to be accused of abusing power or of using unprogressive methods.

By emulating the type of behaviour and style of advanced activists and learning from them, less experienced activists have developed and become a credit to the progressive movement. In Cuba a 35 point checklist was circulated as the basis for an intensive six month campaign of emulation.

Law 1269 in Cuba, says the organs of peoples power are "empowered to conduct the business of government, manage economic units, undertake new construction and repairs and, in general, develop those activities required to fulfill the social, economic, cultural, recreational, and educational needs of the community."

When the SA government hanged ANC guerilla Solomon Mahlangu in 1978, they clearly meant it to be a lesson to the post-1976 youth and students. Yet today, Solomon Mahlangu's name has been connected to another kind of lesson an experiment in alternative education at Mazimbu, and ANC settlement in Tanzania.

The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somasco), was set up as part of Mazimbu in 1978 "as an educational institution to keep alive and fresh the memory of a heroic young man in the minds of South African youth", says ANC secretary for education, Henry Makgothi. Somasco was intended to "further the struggle on

the educational front of the South African people and to prepare them to make a better contribution to the struggle", he says.

The decision to start Somasco came in the wake of the 1976 uprisings when many of the students who fled SA looked to the ANC to provide education. At first, some were found scholarships in Nigeria, Guinea, Cuba and other countries. But ANC leaders subsequently thought it would be better to gather all students together in an environment where they could keep a strong sense of South African identity, learn more about the liberation

struggle and keep in touch with events at home.

Classes started in 1979 in small old farm buildings, and building began on a modern campus. Today, Somasco has large classrooms, four fully-equipped science laboratories, a big new library and comfortable dormitories. There are more than 600 students.

From its humble start, Somasco has grown to be two schools and a part of a far wider group of projects. The entire Mazimbu complex now includes a children's nursery, the Charlotte Maxeke children's centre, the Kate Molale Maternity centre, a hospital, a creche, and the

A PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

SOLOMON MAHLANGU



Eli Weinberg photo laboratory.

There is also a 800 hectare farm, and various small

industries such as the Vuyisile Mini carpentry factory, a garment workshop, a tailoring unit, a cobblery, a garage and a welding workshop still not quite complete.

The Mazimbu projects are run on land near Morogoro provided by the Tanzanian government.

The Mazimbu complex has attracted much international support. Funding comes from United Nations agencies, Scandanavian and African governments,

state and public organisations in the socialist countries, as well as anti-apartheid, church, student and trade union groups from five continents.

Donors appear to be highly satisfied with the way their aid is used, and the ANC has gained a reputation for competent and honest use of resources. The Mazimbu farm now produces enough maize, sorghum and beans for the entire community and a large portion of the complex's vegetable and meat needs.

The success of Mazimbu has led to the ANC developing a new settlement at nearby Dakawa to serve as an orien-

tation centre for new students on their way to Somafo.

"One of the things visitors comment on is the way that the 1500 people here have created a truly non-racial community," says a Form 2 student. "Considering that we come from the world's most racist country, we are proud to demonstrate that a harmonious non-racial society is possible," she says.

"We are trying to create a new type of South African", says Somafo director, Mohammed Tickley. "A South African dedicated to democratic values, and to non-racialism in activity and perception of society. And committed to social justice."

UCATION

The ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College is their model for a future "people's" education system in South Africa. This is part one in a series that explores various alternatives to apartheid education.

"UNDER BANTU Education everything comes from above, but here the situation is different because we are given the chance to think for ourselves, and to apply ourselves. The curriculum is totally different from Bantu Education," says Wantu Zenzile, former Cosas activist who recently completed form 5 in Somafo.

The Somafo curriculum covers traditional subjects such as English, maths, physics, chemistry, biology, accountancy, typing, geography and history. But there are also new subjects like 'Development of Societies' which focuses on theories of social development and the theory of the SA liberation struggle.

And, many traditional subjects are taught in a new way. The history course focuses on the role of the people and not simply leaders in making history. SA history stresses the African people's resistance to colonialism, and the development of their social, political and trade union movements. Many books by South African and African writers are studied in the English course.

Topics studied in South African schools such as the constitution, changes in government, Afrikaner nationalism and gold mining are also studied at Somafo, but are treated very differently.

"Students tend to do well in the social sciences, but their poor bantu education background in maths and science results in difficulties experienced in these subjects", says one of the teachers.

The South African staff are mainly African, but include members of all national groups. The same is true of the student body.

Students are free to choose their subjects. "In South Africa we were forced to take homecraft and agriculture they were preparing us to be their servants", says a form 3 woman student who has spent two years at Somafo.

"Manual labour is an integral part of our curriculum", she says. "We work together with our teachers for several hours each week to fulfil our aim of bridging the gap between mental and manual labour."

Mazimbu has a production and service sector which supports the school sector as well as developing skills for use in a future South Africa.

When the Education Charter campaign was launched in South Africa, Somafo students ran

their own campaign discussing their idea of People's Education based on the Somafo educational principles.

Students also take part in a wide range of committees which fall under the elected students' council. These committees are responsible for organising entertainment, sports and cultural activities, arranging political discussions and helping in hostel administration.

The committees also help maintain discipline among students. Comments Wantu, "I had previously heard about Somafo and had high expectations, but the practical experience was unbelievable. I never imagined there could be progress without corporal punishment or that persuasion could be used as a corrective measure."

Another student committee monitors broadcasts from radio stations all over the world. "We present a comprehensive news bulletin in the school, and throughout Tanzania". Some have gone on anti-apartheid campaign tours to places like Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Holland and Italy.

When Somafo students complete their secondary education, many go on to colleges or universities abroad in the socialist countries of eastern Europe, independent African states, and Western countries like Britain and Canada.

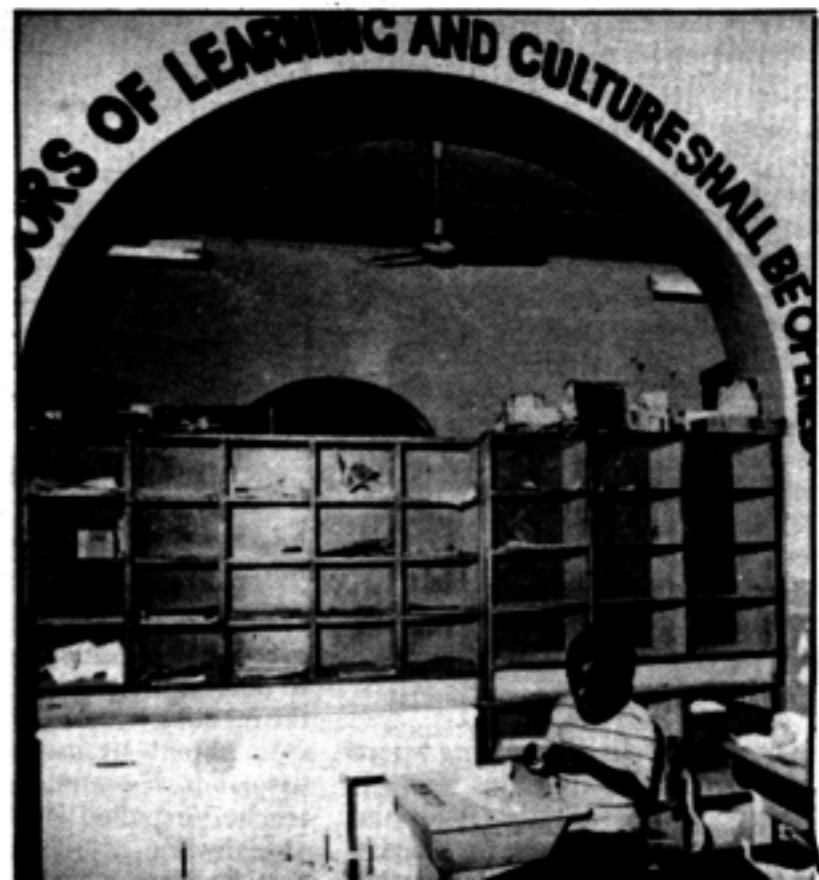
On completing these studies, they are deployed by the ANC in various areas of work. Two former Somafo students who later graduated at the University of Addis Ababa, have recently joined the teaching staff at the school.

About a year after the secondary school was started, it became clear that a primary school was needed for younger students leaving SA, as well as for the children born to members in exile. The principles of education in the primary school are similar to those in the secondary, though adapted for younger children. The birth of new children to ANC families in exile also led to the setting up of a day-care creche and a nursery school.

Adult education needs are also catered for, with literacy as well as more advanced classes being held after working hours. According to the form 3 woman student, "the work by the non student population in the office, factories and farm here is regarded by us as a form of education. New technical, managerial and administrative skills are learnt in this work an opportunity that was denied us in the land of our birth."

"It is a form of training for the future in a liberated South Africa as well as for service in the pre-liberation phase", she says.

"We look forward to the day when we can return home and put into practice what we have learnt here at Mazimbu."



Educating to build democracy



STUDENTS 86

"THE CHALLENGES of 1986 necessitate serious and disciplined student organisation that can create a firm base for building people's power", said delegates at the Cape Town UDF conference on education.

The conference was held on March 8 in preparation for the NECC gathering. After discussion a democratic mandate could be presented to the national conference.

Over 289 delegates — representing 66 schools and 36 organisations — attended. These included delegations from the Boland, the West Coast and the South Cape.

The national consultative conference in December was seen by delegates as a "significant event in the struggle to end Bantu and gutter education" and delegates resolved to popularise the demands it set out.

The conference said that the crisis in education was but one element of the general crisis of apartheid and capitalism and that the education struggle must be part of the broader movement working for change in South Africa.

The need to define clear roles for SRC's was stressed.



Western Cape students during boycotts last year

Problems to be acted on were identified as continued corporal punishment, harassment and victimisation of students, the presence of security guards at the schools and the continued presence of troops in the townships.

The conference noted a lack of coherence and consistency in implementing awareness programmes. To this end, it recommended that students consider implementing such programmes on fixed days every month. SRC's should also

engage in a wide range of activities like sport and cultural events to win general student support.

The lack of organisation in private schools and the selective and individual expulsion of students were also seen as problems.

Priorities for the future included the need to build, extend and consolidate student organisation on a local and national level and at a regional level to strengthen the Western Cape Student Congress (WECSO)

"The achievements of the previous year showed the maturity and ability of students to decide on issues affecting them. It is important that SRC's and students take the decisive action to defend, extend and consolidate these gains" said delegates.

"Reactionary principals who refuse to allow democratic student structures must be challenged".

It was seen as necessary to develop strong links with teacher and com-

munity organisations due to "the general conservatism of teachers and an inadequate understanding by parents of the education struggle".

The need to facilitate community control of education was emphasised. Students should also link up with and support community struggles. "The struggle for a democratic education is part of the general movement to build a non-racial and democratic society".

Students oust principal

In Bloemfontein the students are taking control of the education.

At VULAMASANGO High School, outside Bloemfontein, students have expelled their principal. And classes have been suspended until April 20.

There has been a boycott at the school in solidarity with detained pupils. A teacher said that SRC reps had approached the acting principal to inform him they would not attend classes until detained pupils were released.

It all started when the principal accepted the children of local security police early this year without even asking for their school reports.

But when two parents from Upington brought their daughter to the school, "he used vulgar language and told them to get out," says White Mohapi, former Cosas organiser.

A student saw the mother crying and when she heard the story, she mobilised other students.

They told the parents "you can leave your kid with us, she will school here, no problems" and took her to a class where she was registered by a teacher.

The students then sent a delegation to the principal, but he said he was not interested in talking to them.

They called a mass meeting where they decided that if this was his attitude, there was no place for him in their school, and he must leave by 11 am tea break. A delegation



Student organisation is strong in Bloemfontein

told him this, and he packed up and left.

The school committee called a meeting of parents where they tried to defend the principal, and before the meeting he tried to rally support from parents by visiting them in the township. He wanted to get three teachers expelled as the instigators. Meanwhile, students discovered that he kept a walky-talky in his

office, and had written a letter to a police magazine praising the actions of the police. This was exposed at the meeting.

The letter began: "I have found it appropriate to write this letter of appreciation because of the outstanding and commendable service rendered by Major A.H. Coetzee for black children of school going age in Bloemfontein. I have written

this as a law-abiding citizen of the RSA.

"Teachers and parents then supported the students decision, and decided the school committee should be disbanded and replaced with a parent-teacher committee.

Vulamasango students have now elected an SRC. Each class has elected two representatives. There are 34 classes, and so there are 68

representatives. These 68 elect an executive of 12 - the others go to the subcommittees.

While the principal saw fit to praise the police action, students at all the local schools came together to commemorate the death of Moses Kaibe, killed last year.

The commemoration was broken up by police - an estimated 15 were detained and many injured.

Students have also had to face other forms of harassment and interference.

● Recently someone phoned a higher primary school principal saying he is White Mohape.

He said the principal must take the students out of school and send the prefects to Mohape's school. The principal phoned a teacher at Mohape's school who informed Mohape.

Mohape went to see the primary school principal, and after the principal spoke to White, he said the voice was definitely not White's.

They all realised it was a hoax and said "it must have been the system".

They agreed that if student leaders wanted to speak to principals they wouldn't phone, they would meet them personally.

● A meeting in March at another Bloemfontein school was surrounded by police.

Student leaders feared for the safety of students if they went out. About 160 students were barricaded in and had to stay there till 6am the next morning.

Student leaders then accompanied the woman students to their homes. The riot squad followed them. At the homes, students explained to the parents what had happened.

The parents were very angry with the police. When some went to the police station to ask where their detained children were, they got no proper response.

PROGRESSIVE student organisation in the Eastern Cape is stronger than ever.

Saspu National spoke to leaders of the Eastern Cape Students Council (Ecasco) — the co-ordinating body for local student congresses and councils in different townships in the region.

They said democratic structures and programmes in black schools are even more advanced than before the State of Emergency.

Since that time, local student organisations have been mushrooming in places like Cradock, PE, Grahamstown, Graaff Reinet, Alicedale, Port Alfred, Addo, Dispatch, Uitenhage, Kirkwood, Middelburg, Hofmeyr, Alexandria, Somerset East, Cookhouse, Adelaide, Bedford, Richmond, Colesburg, Hanover, Noupoort, De Aar, Jansenville and Steytlerville.

Most areas have democratic SRC's affiliated to the local student structure in their areas. Four delegates from each local structure sit on the Ecasco council. There are already 29 branches and others are still developing.

But, building organisation has been a long hard process.

Last year most areas had periodic or total school boycotts for large parts of the year and students didn't write exams.

Entire communities were under attack. Student and other residents were arrested, detained or killed.

How did organisations keep in touch with students when they weren't in school? They organised meetings, social events and distributed pamphlets.

Meetings were banned. So people had to meet in secret and in small groups.

Police and SADF victims' funerals became platforms for communication. It was here that newly formed student organisations were popularised after the banning of Cosas.

Cosas enjoyed widespread support and many areas had Cosas branches. The ban angered students, but it in no way deterred them. New committees and organisations sprang up almost immediately.

'Unban Cosas' graffiti appeared throughout the townships. PE students, parents and teachers demonstrated outside the DET offices demanding that Cosas be unbanned. Thousands flocked there with placards, chanting slogans and singing freedom songs.

A delegation was to present the demands to the DET. But before this could happen, police disrupted the demonstration. Many people were detained.

In line with the national education conference resolutions in December, students went back to classes on January 28 this year.

"By going back to school, students were in a more powerful position to



Eastern Cape students set out their demands

Ecasco in control in East Cape schools

organise and force the government to attend to their demands. It also meant the new student structures were more directly in touch with students again", said Ecasco.

They immediately started setting up SRC's, using the democratic SRC constitution drawn up by parents. Schools all over were alive with discussions on SRC's.

Most principals cooperated. Ecasco held workshops and emphasised the importance of discussing the constitution and SRC's.

"It was seen as the duty of every progressive student activist to thoroughly discuss and explain SRC's to all students in their schools", they said.

Interim committees were set up in the schools to implement the SRC's. After this, SRC elections started in every school.

Each class in a school elected two representatives. Secret ballots were suggested. People didn't want the SRC to be prefects in another form.

Ecasco said the student representatives should be politically aware. "Students elected were those who proved their worth in past struggles. They are people who students have confidence in, who have a good political understanding, people who are able to provide

progressive leadership and direction".

The class elections in a school were usually held on one day, during school hours. Students just informed the principal about the elections — they weren't asking for permission.

An executive of eight people is elected from among all the class representatives in the school. This includes chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, treasurer and additional members.

Other class reps go into subcommittees, eg. entertainment, cultural, sport etc. And it is the task of each class rep to represent the students in their class. Every two weeks all the class reps meet in the general council.

Some SRCs have even been given their own offices in the school like in Cradock, PE, Graaff Reinet. Others are striving for this local demand at their schools. They are also demanding that students have free access to school libraries.

If there is a decision to be communicated to every student, then it is discussed in the SRC executive, then in the general council — where there are two reps from each class — and from there it goes to every student in the classes.



SRC's in one township are affiliated to and coordinated in the local student organisation. For example, in PE, students are members of the SRC and members of the PE Students Congress (Pesco).

Through their delegates on the Ecasco council, all the local student structures in the Eastern Cape elect the Ecasco executive and decide on regional activities. Ecasco holds regular workshops for all its branches.

So a call from Ecasco can be communicated directly through these structures, without having to rely on mass meetings or media.

In February and March students were still angry that their demands

weren't being met. SADF and SAP still occupied many townships, there wasn't adequate and free stationary and many students were still in detention.

Some people wanted to boycott. But activists wanted to avoid a total or spontaneous boycott.

The idea came up to have a three day protest to pressurise the DET to bow to students demands.

It was discussed in Ecasco, then in the local student organisations, the general councils of SRC's in an area and finally in the classes.

On 11,12,13 March students throughout the Eastern Cape took over their schools. They held alternative education programmes. Discussions were held on topics like 'the role of students in the national democratic struggle', People's Education, the People's Education Charter Campaign, SRCs, the Freedom Charter, especially the clause 'the doors of learning and culture shall be opened'.

Students did short plays and read poetry in the schools.

Mostly the police and the DET didn't interfere. But in Fort Beaufort the riot squad beat up students and the DET closed five schools at Thubalethu and Lawson.

The Education Charter Campaign (EdCC) and the formation of democratic Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSA's) in all areas will be a major part of the programme of action this year.

An Ecasco regional council resolved that Education Charter subcommittees be formed in each area. Each SRC should have an EdCC subcommittee. These are to link up to form the EdCC subcommittee of the local student organisation.

Once formed, they would try to popularise the Education Charter through workshops. After that the EdCC subcommittees would meet with other progressive organisations to form joint EdCC area committees.

While most areas now have democratic SRC's, there are still problems in setting up PTSA's. Many areas don't yet have these structures. Students say some parents and teachers are still conservative, especially those teachers which are still part of Atasa.

The school fees boycott is effective in every area. The government tried to trick people into paying. They spoke about school funds instead of school fees. But during the three day protest in March students clarified that they are the same thing.

Eastern Cape students responded to Ecasco calls to highlight the disappearance of Cosas leader Siphwe Mtimkulu and to observe 21 March as a day of mourning and remembrance.

The government still hasn't rebuilt damaged schools. "It seems that they are adopting a wait and see stand. They want to see what happens after March," said Ecasco.

Mdantsane students not intimidated

THE CISKEI government has virtually declared war on progressive student organisation in Mdantsane, the massive commuter township near East London.

Members and activists of the Mdantsane Students Council (Mdasco) face constant security police harassment.

Last month a Ciskei government minister banned student meetings in schools. And he warned that the government would use its "rawest might" to crush student protests.

But Mdantsane students refuse to be intimidated.

"The Ciskei government's repressive actions show us they are not interested in solving the education crisis. Instead they are harassing students, adding insult to injury", said a Mdasco spokesperson.

Mdasco strongly condemned Ciskei police who dressed up in school uniforms and pretended to be students.

Formed in August last year, Mdasco's task is to activate and

unite students and coordinate student action in Mdantsane.

Despite intense repression, working committees have been set up in all 14 high schools in the township. Students have crushed the prefect system and are now forming democratic SRC's. The SRC's will have a representative from each class and will take over from the working committees.

Two representatives from each working committee and from primary schools sit on the Mdasco student council. A nine person executive and subcommittees — fundraising, publications, womens and disciplinary — are formed from the council.

Last year students put forward their demands to Ciskei Education and 'Injustice' Departments through the Mdantsane Ministers Fraternal. "But they used delaying tactics and refused to meet our demands. We decided to call a total boycott till the end of 1985 as our

demands were not met".

After boycotting classes since August last year, students returned to classes on 28 January.

"We saw the need to reorganise and rededicate ourselves. We decided the battlefield should be in the school premises. So we went back pushing our demands, not forgetting the end of March ultimatum to Botha", said Mdasco executive members.

They said the national education conference demands were also their demands. "Troops in the township affect us — our brothers and sisters, our mothers and fathers are victims of this".

So this year students returned to classes demanding:

- Free and adequate textbooks and stationary
- Abolition of school fees. Some primary school students were sjambokked and expelled because they said 'Asinamali', they had no money to pay school fees.

● The abolition of prefects must be publicly announced.

● Corporal punishment must be totally eradicated — primary school students are still being beaten.

● Expelled teachers must be reinstated.

● Adequate library, laboratory and other facilities at all schools. Mdasco said Ciskei bought their police luxury cars instead of paying for adequate facilities.

● Unrepresentative school committees must be abolished.

● Harassment and repression of students must stop immediately. Students are being hunted and their homes raided by Ciskei security police. School principals have been told to report on student activities.

One Mdasco organiser is living in fear for his life. Now Ciskei security have accused him of being an instigator. And last year his close colleague was allegedly killed by police.

Mdasco has condemned a state-

ment by Ciskei Education Minister Hobson Nabe which said instigators of school boycotts in Mdantsane were based in Lusaka and Duncan Village.

They said the Ciskei government was the instigator because they refused to listen to student grievances.

"We believe education doesn't only affect students but all sections of the community, so education must be under democratic community control" Mdasco said.

Along with other progressive organisations they plan to implement alternative education programmes for students and work towards developing democratic PTSA's.

Teachers and students are being organised. So one priority is to set up parents committees.

Mdasco sees these as important steps in taking control of the schools and working towards a people's education.

How were students mobilised to support the demand for democratic SRC's?

A: Prefects were abolished at many schools in 1984 after students realised the prefect system was not based on their will. Students discussed SRC's as a replacement. The Congress of South African Students (then unbanned) drafted an SRC constitution which students favoured.

Parents were called in to discuss it before it was implemented. Students at some schools also spoke to the principal. But in the schools where students were completely united and had total control of the situation — like Mndeni Junior and Bopa-Senatla High — students just implemented SRC's. The principals were obliged to accept them despite the DET's opposition.

What campaigns were run alongside the demand for SRC's?

A: We addressed the demands for the abolition of corporal punishment, free textbooks, school uniform not to be compulsory and an end to the age-limit law. These campaigns and the subsequent victories mobilised even the most stubborn students. These demands were linked to the major one — for SRC's, and so the need for an SRC became crystal clear to many students.

How did the authorities respond to students' demands for democratic SRC's?

A: Principals at some schools wanted to impose the DET's Pupils Representative Council (PRC). The authorities could then wield an enormous amount of control over students by getting them to channel their grievances through PRC's.

The old prefect system had shown that the 'channeling' system was undemocratic. The principal would always have the final decision, regardless of how students felt.

The DET also tried hard to enforce their own SRC constitution. Students rejected both of these.

The police were the busiest ones responding to students demands with repression.

What were the repressive actions?

A: Police detained and harassed student activists, and sometimes went to ordinary students demanding to know the whereabouts of activists.

The state banned student meetings outside the schools. But they did not ban them in schools because they did not know what kind of meetings were held. But this did not hamper us in anyway because we were able to discuss and keep in touch inside and outside the schools.

Can you explain how you see a democratic SRC?

A: An SRC is an organ for voicing student feelings about the conditions under which they live and learn. A democratic SRC is a structure of students, by students and for students.

It is not a structure that conspires to overthrow teachers and principals. But because students are in daily contact with teachers, the SRC's must be an instrument for normalising relations between the students and teachers, principals and parents.

Exactly how the SRC functions is a matter to be decided on by those who elected it. It is accountable to no one but those students. If it is not accountable to the student electorate, then it is neither democratic nor does it serve their interests.

Did you win support for SRCs from the teachers, principals and parents?

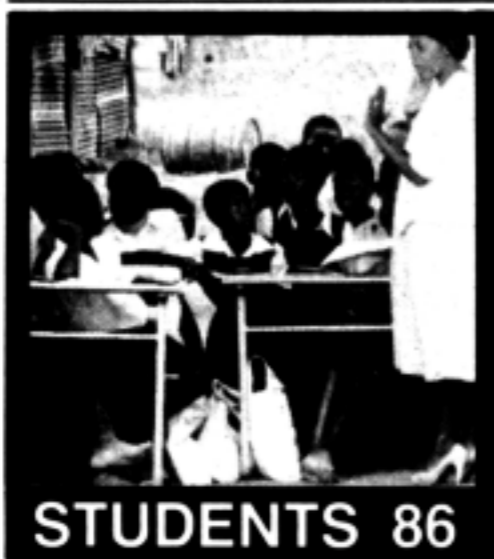
A: We enjoyed support from many teachers and some principals but



A democratic SRC is a structure of students, by students and for students, says SESCO executive

Tight structures make SESCO strong

Students are organising into deep-rooted structures in Soweto schools. Saspu interviewed SESCO president, Eric Nkomo.



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they could not do it openly for fear of victimisation by the DET. Some teachers had serious problems with undisciplined students and there was no one to take this matter to except the student body, so they also contributed to the realisation of SRCs.

Did you discuss SRCs during school hours in the classrooms?

A: If the teacher was not in class for a period we would immediately start a discussion, using the blackboard for illustration. We didn't ask permission for these discussions. So much groundwork was done in this way that sometimes we would not even mention SRC's in mass meetings.

How is the SRC structured in your school?

A: There are two representatives from each standard on the SRC. These representatives then have their own meeting and elect the SRC office bearers.

Most SRC's are made up of many subcommittees - education, disciplinary, organising, fundraising, cultural, sports and the executive committee.

What qualities do you think students are looking for in the people they elect?

A: Students want a disciplined person who would make sacrifices for students when necessary, and who has the interests of students at heart. He/she must be vigilant in tackling student issues and be able to avoid being manipulated out of his/her mandate by other people, especially the principals. The person must be responsible at all times and must not do things that will cause shame to the organisation.

The reps must not neglect their school work and so set a bad example to students. Parents must not be able to think that student leaders are those who, because they are defeated educationally, agitate for 'boycotts and disorders' in order to have 'fellow-travellers' in their state of defeat.

Once the SRC is formed, what is it supposed to do?

A: It must organise workshops and seminars to talk about and define the SRC so it will be understood and supported by all students. Then it must prepare resources to run the SRC efficiently - an office with the necessary equipment, like a phone, and stationery.

Also SRC members must take the problems from students and discuss them in their meetings. If it's a simple problem they can just solve it. But if it's a complex one the SRC must convene a student meeting in the school.

How do you see the role of the SRC in politicising students?

A: Our SRC conducts discussions on the state of the nation to keep students informed. The education committee together with the cultural committee organises workshops and political debates. In our school we also take students to SESCO Councils and mass meetings.

Should the SRC participate in

the decision-making and running of the school as whole?

A: At the moment the problem is that decisions are taken first by the DET and then handed down to principals who want to implement them immediately.

The SRC together with parents and school staff must sit down and decide how the school should run because they know the school's problems better than the DET.

The SRC should at least be informed about whatever decision the administration takes, especially if that decision affects students.

Decisions about teachers can be worked out in a good spirit with them. It won't be 'a decision about teachers' — it can become a simple interchange of ideas. Much as students won't allow themselves to be governed undemocratically — I hope teachers also won't allow it to happen to them.

Once the Education Charter Campaign is completed and a charter adopted students will then be able to contribute to an education policy. But at the moment SRC's can't make a comprehensive contribution in their schools because it is a national issue.

How should the teachers, parents and the community generally participate in the running of the schools?

A: In some areas there are Parent-Teacher-Student Associations. There is an urgent and important need for their participation if the educational crisis is to be solved in this country.

It is not enough for parents to just glimpse at their children's school work and accuse them of 'playing' at school. Neither is it enough to praise their children for 'working hard' and passing. Because what they learn and pass is questionable. This warrants full participation in all matters involving education by parents students, teachers and the community at large.

How many schools in Soweto have democratic SRCs?

A: Out of 64 high schools in Soweto there are 59 with SRC's. Others like Ibhongo High are in the process of forming them.

How do different SRC's in Soweto have contact with each other and how do they relate to SESCO?

A: We have formed Area Committees in most parts of Soweto for the purposes of co-ordination. Through Area Committees SRC structures have been created where they weren't existing. If, for example, there are four high schools in one part of Soweto and there are only two SRC's, the Area Committee will then see to the formation of SRC's in the remaining two schools. There is also SESCO which encourages other areas to form structures.

SESCO co-ordinates and assists SRC's in the whole of Soweto and encourages students to form structures where none exist. If the SRC in a particular school faces serious problems SESCO can intervene. Also SESCO can solve the problems of students outside the schools.

SESCO is a student organisation in the community and is not waging the struggle in isolation from other organisations in the community.

SESCO and the Soweto Youth Congress, for example, have worked together to combat acts of political banditry of the so-called 'abosiyanyova' in many parts of Soweto.

What other organisations does SESCO relate to?

A: SESCO does have a relationship with progressive unions which are affiliated to both UDF and Cosatu. There are still many things to do with the workers organisations. Worth mentioning is that SESCO has been instrumental in forming the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.

How have students helped do away with school committees?

A: The PTSA's are fast replacing the school committees that were functioning in the interests of the DET. We have asked our members to bring together their parents into one single body to replace the school committees which are now becoming a thing of the past in Soweto.

The future of the School Committees is not known at this stage — except that they will be swallowed up by the broad national democratic movement. For instance, we cannot allow a community councillor to be a member of PTSA's.

How do you see the question of boycotts?

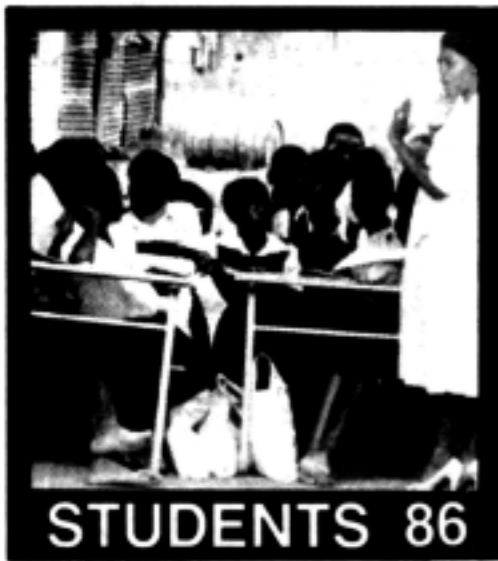
A: Many people mistake a boycott for a principle whereas it is just a tactic to achieve a particular objective. Students are not in a position to talk to the government. We use a boycott tactic to make our grievances heard and it has worked.

The boycott tactic has borne fruits in the total abolition of the notorious age-limit law, the DET bowing to our demand for SRC's and others.

Some students feel it is a waste of time to stay at school fighting for demands and they should rather be in the community fighting the police, army and the councillors? How do you see this?

A: SESCO believes that in the classrooms students can learn, strengthen their unity and consolidate efforts for the liberation struggle. On the question of the police, army and the councillors we say le Grange and Malan have long declared war on the students. Whatever happens when students encounter the belligerence of the police and the army, does not happen as a SESCO instruction.

Trasco calls for joint campaigns



STUDENTS 86

THE TRANSVAAL Student Congress (TRASCO) says it agrees in principle with the resolutions passed at the conference of the National Education Crisis Committee in Natal last month.

"We see schools boycotts in many parts of the country not as deliberate actions undermining the spirit of the NECC conference, but as continued action against a government who refuses to adequately meet our demands. The conference took place with these demands still not met, many schools were boycotting already at the time.

"We understand why many students are frustrated at the seemingly 'soft' approach the conference took. At the same time, we cannot ignore the fundamental problems that continue to exist in our townships and schools.

"We shall continue to engage the authorities in the way we collectively agreed at Wits last year — organising in the schools and working towards people's education", says a TRASCO spokesperson.

Trasco covers the entire Transvaal, comprising of local student congresses and their SRC affiliates. The Trasco Executive Committee is still functioning as an interim structure. Full elections are planned in the near future.

At a Trasco conference in Soweto on March 23, 24 and 25 delegates from 42 Trasco branches made the following resolutions:

● On People's Education:

On commemorative days such as June 16, Mayday, June 26, and August 9, courses would be run on the peoples' history of resistance, and the road ahead.

Other days during the school week should also be set aside for alternative education programmes.



Teachers could assist with these.

The Education Charter Campaign is seen as a vehicle to ensure the implementation of our choice of education.

Trasco is presently collecting various publications on alternative forms of education and will distribute these for workshops.

● On Mass Action:

When the situation demands stay aways and consumer boycotts, broad and thorough consultation shall be made, involving civics, youth, parent and other progressive organisations.

A campaign for the unbanning of Cosas and the ANC shall be backed by such actions.

"The existing democratic parents crisis committees, SRCs, parent teacher student associations will also form part of structures for peoples' education. The programme must not be confined to

classrooms."

"Structural links with Cosatu and many other community organisations are being established. People's education is not established. Peoples' education is not only important to students".

Students will also help organise the unemployed into unemployed worker unions.

"Students will attend Cosatu shop-stewards Council meetings and visit union offices to help with office work to learn the practical working of a union".

Because students in the bantustans face heavy repression, Trasco has resolved to support their struggles. One way is by organising campaigns against bantustan policies, especially against industries operating there. Research into boycott action against these industries and their products must be made.

"All organisations must take up



"We cannot ignore the problems that continue to exist in schools" - Trasco.

people's education, discuss and implement it. This is not the duty of students alone, but all of ours."

"We have already seen puppet community councils give way to progressive democratic civics, democratic unions replace sweetheart company unions and the reactionary tribal authorities increasingly challenged by the people," said Trasco.

SRC's should be formed in all schools and play their proper democratic role. No major problems have arisen in establishing these, but progressive organisations must help students fight for their formation.

● On class suspension and the dismissal of teachers and students:

"We must insist on our right to education — people's education," Trasco resolved. "When DET closes down schools, students and all other sectors of the community must demand they be re-opened. Schools must be occupied if this demand is not met, and the opportunity used to teach people's education."

"If teachers have been transferred,

their reinstatement must be demanded or students must boycott classes until this demand has been met. Stayaway action, consumer and other boycotts must be used to force the state to bend to these demands".

● On repression, the SADF in the townships and the nature of vigilante groups:

To campaign for the withdrawal of troops from the townships and educate students and the community about the role of the armed forces.

"We view the role of the state as a defender and protector of the interests of the wealthy. So we see the occupation of our townships and schools as a means to ensure the perpetuation of capitalist and apartheid education".

Students will also organise their parents around this issue, raise their awareness of being members of the working class. Trasco also resolved to take action against vigilantes. These resolutions have been nationally circulated and are to be compared with the 28 and 29 NECC ones to enable joint campaigns and implementation.

PORT ELIZABETH students have renamed their schools after prominent people in the liberation struggle.

But it is not only the names that have changed in PE schools.

Since the return to classes students and the PE Crisis in Education committee (CEC) have made significant gains in the schools.

"The situation in our schools is more than dual power. We have toppled the scale onto the side of the people", said the CEC.

The CEC represents 28 organisations including students and other UDF affiliates, Cosatu, church, sports and other bodies.

After report backs on the December education conference, the CEC tabled demands with the DET. The DET refused to accept the democratic SRC constitution.

But students are implementing them anyway.

The DET agreed to supply stationary, would consider supplying set-work books and said they would start renovating schools. But two weeks after the agreement, the DET had done nothing.

CEC in PE controls schools their way: the democratic way

The CEC visited the 60 schools in PE townships. They worked out how many classrooms could be used and what renovations were needed.

Along with students and parents they defied the way the DET wanted to organise the schools. They went ahead and implemented their own plans on:

- the allocation of students to different classrooms and schools.
- appointments, dismissals and allocation of teachers.

- alternative education programmes.

While demanding that the DET renovate schools, they made sure that every student could be

accommodated in the existing classrooms.

The platoon system was implemented some students go to school in the morning and others go in the afternoon.

The CEC said ideally there should be 25 students in each class. But because of the shortage of classrooms, there were 60 students in each class.

But this overcrowding meant the failure rate would be very high. This was unacceptable as far as normal

education was concerned, said a CEC spokesperson.

So it was only worthwhile for stu-

dents to go back to classes if there were political discussions and awareness programmes in addition to formal tuition.

When the DET did nothing to renovate the schools, the CEC took it into their own hands. Along with students and principals they worked out which classrooms should be renovated first.

School funds and contributions from parents were used to fix two classrooms at one school. The CEC resources subcommittee was mandated to look into raising funds.

The PE Chamber of Commerce and Industries said they would pay half the money needed to renovate the

schools and provide stationary. They said they would lend the government the rest of the money.

United action from students, parents and the CEC also forced the DET to:

- back down on retrenchments and transfer of teachers and accept a Science teacher chosen by the CEC and students.
- agree to suspend an SADF teacher in one school.
- reopen schools which were closed down.

The CEC said the DET had totally failed to administer the schools. They said PTSA's and the community should take over the running of the schools and be responsible for education policy.

A draft constitution for PTSA's has been drawn up. These will later take over the role of the CEC. PTSA's are to work closely with street and area committees in the townships. Here people will be given questionnaires for the people's Education Charter Campaign to say what type of education they want.

The principals should no be longer accountable to the DET, but to the PTSA's and the community. And school buildings and facilities must be belong to the community, said the CEC.

Natal students moving toward tighter co-ordination

STUDENT organisation in Natal is progressing rapidly.

A regional structure is to be launched and work to consolidate and establish SRC's is well under way.

Saspu National spoke to a Natal student organiser for an overview of organisation in the area.

"There is a strong feeling from SRC's and others students that they need this structure to coordinate activities both regionally and nationally", he said.

A meeting of all existing SRC's in the area is to form the regional body. It will be able to take up campaigns, help students form SRC's and develop alternative education programmes.

Students all over the region are refusing to pay school fees and demanding free and adequate books.

Prefects have been forcibly abolished by students in virtually all schools. But in some of these

schools teachers and principals refuse to recognise democratic SRC's.

The Maritzburg Students Congress (Masco), has already been set up as a sub-regional structure in the Pietermaritzburg area. It has branches in rural areas like Mphopomeni near Howick. Some schools in the area already set up SRC's.

In the Northern Natal area, Sibongile, Dundee students have an SRC, but in Newcastle students are still trying to set them up.

All schools in Lamontville, KwaMashu and Clermont have SRC's. Lamontville SRC's were developed as democratic alternative to the now defunct prefects. They have a good relationship with teachers.

The KwaMashu SRC coordinates SRCs in different schools in KwaMashu.

On the South Coast in Umlazi, Klaarwater and Umbumbulu many

of the schools have SRC's. The Committee of Austerville Organised Students (Caos) is spearheading the campaign for SRC's in Wentworth.

In many areas students still have to overcome resistance from the DET, Inkatha-inspired Amabutho and teachers.

In the 1980 school boycotts Inkatha joined police in attacking students. Ever since then they have been trying to crush progressive student organisation.

Last year a Cosas leader was killed and other student organisers face assassination threats. Inkatha doesn't want democratic SRC's in KwaZulu. SRC members and other students face constant harassment, especially in the rural areas.

School fees were supposed to be abolished, but Inkatha MP Sabello announced on Radio Zulu that students must pay up.

The most recent case was the attack on National Education Crisis Conference delegates in Durban.



Natal students are refusing to pay school fees



Natal workers are paid starvation wages

Kwazulu don't want Cosatu

AMIGO International Textiles in Madadeni is paying workers R15-R20 a week. And they seem to have the Kwazulu government's blessing for these wages.

When Cosatu tried to get recognition for a union to fight these wages, management said the Kwazulu government had told them not to recognise any union, because they did not want unions in KwaZulu.

Now Inkatha says Cosatu organisers should not even live in KwaZulu because they are enemies of Inkatha.

This was said during a raid on Cosatu offices in Newcastle by Inkatha and the police. They searched the offices and instructed organisers to take the posters off the wall.

After this raid, 3000 workers from all seven Cosatu affiliates in New-

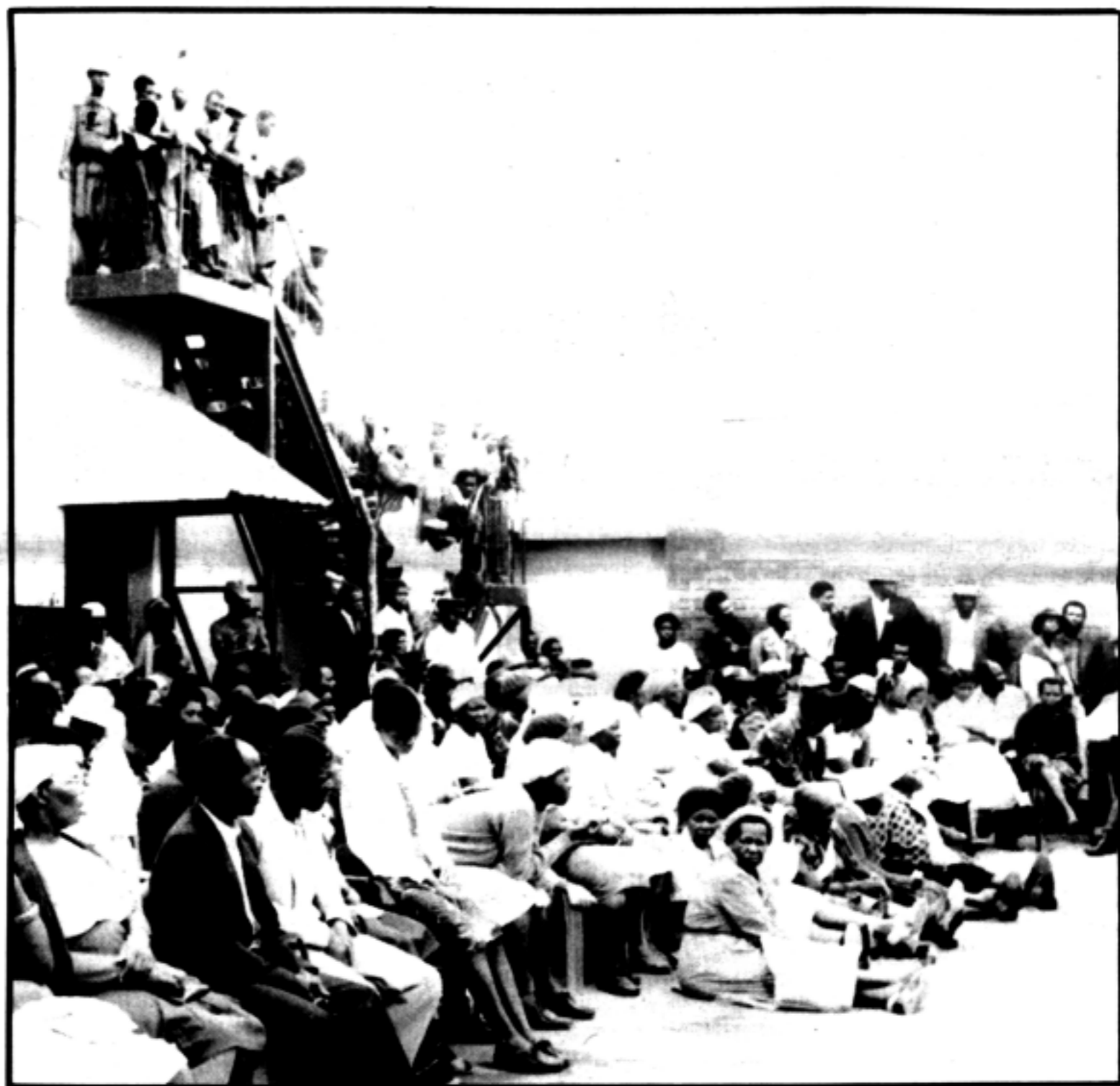
castle met to discuss what was to be done about Inkatha's attacks, and about the bad conditions facing workers.

They condemned the "super-exploitation and starvation wages paid to workers by factories operating in bantustans," listing places in Kwazulu where conditions are particularly bad.

They condemned the KwaZulu Transport Company for increasing fares too often, and resolved to form a democratic Commuters Committee to take the issue up with the company.

Unskilled workers in Northern Natal earn less than R300 a month, and so the fight for a living wage and better working conditions is a pressing issue they will be taking up jointly.

They also resolved to set up joint



Newcastle Cosatu members meet to discuss Inkatha raid

shop-steward councils in the area, and are looking seriously at the issue of one union per industry.

They strongly condemned the formation of Inkatha's Allied Workers Union of SA (Awusa). "The workers do not regard Awusa as a union, because it is going to assist and pro-

mote the free enterprise system," says Mandla Cele, Mwusa organiser.

"This move is divisive and can only benefit the employers and their collaborators," the meeting agreed.

The meeting expressed full confidence in Cosatu and its leaders, condemned the attacks by Inkatha, and encouraged workers to participate in forming civic, youth and student organisations in the area.

● At a meeting of all Cosatu unions in Newcastle at the end of February, representatives of the eight unions present passed these resolutions:

● that they have full confidence in Cosatu and Cosatu's leaders;

● they support one union per industry because its strengthens worker unity;

● they condemn super-exploitation and the payment of starvation wages to bantustan workers in places like Madadeni, eZakheni and KwaSithembe;

● that a joint shop stewards' council will be formed in Newcastle and surrounding areas;

● they will fight for a living wage and better conditions of employment;

● they condemn the government's failure to create more jobs; where jobs are created, this must not be in the bantustans;

● they condemn the KwaZulu Transport Company for increasing fares too often, and resolved to elect democratic Commuters Committee to handle the issue of bus fares, and meet with the Board of Directors of the company;

● they will encourage workers to participate fully in the formation of Civic, Youth and Students organisations in and around Newcastle;

● they condemn in the strongest possible terms the formation of a rival union to Cosatu, and disagree that there were workers who were dissatisfied with the resolutions taken at the formation of Cosatu; the rival union can only benefit the employers.

The last resolution followed the invasion of Newcastle's Cosatu offices by Inkatha members who assaulted people there.

Community unity in Sibongile

RESIDENTS IN Sibongile near Dundee may never have to pay rent again.

When councillors tried to increase rents to R28 in February last year, people stopped paying altogether.

They later discovered that according to the township title deeds, after twenty years, Sibongile residents no longer had to pay rent.

The township was built in the 1960's, and since then, with every rent increase, residents have been promised roads and water-borne sewerage. But the councillors have consistently broken their promises.

As community unity grew around the rents issue, community councillors brought in vigilantes from sur-

rounding areas like Washbank, Newcastle and Ladysmith.

They were however, driven away by the youth.

The Youth Organisation and Civic Association were both formed in February last year to oppose the rent increases and the alliance between the two has strengthened their struggle.

Sibongile students were also so strongly organised, that Mr Mazibuko, the principal of Talana High School in Dundee, warned other principals to refuse them admission because they were 'trouble makers'.

Mazibuko had admitted students from other areas claiming there was

no room for the Sibongile students.

When schools opened on January 8, students demanded the resignation of Mazibuko, blaming him for the resignation of two very popular teachers.

Students marched in protest to the principal's office. The police were called and used teargas, birdshot and sjamboks to 'deal' with the students.

Fifteen students were detained. Those detained alleged further assault inside the police hippos.

On January 12, parents met to discuss the issue, despite a heavy police presence outside the hall.

Students returned to school on January 20 and succeeded in forcing Mazibuko out of the school.

Consumer ban lifted as leaders take note of community demands

"IF YOU are leading the people, you must always look behind to see if they are still following," says Wonga Nkala, president of the Uitenhage Youth Congress (Uyco).

He was commenting on the lifting of the consumer boycott in Uitenhage last month after detainees were released and the emergency lifted. The boycott had led to shops closing down and some white shopkeepers dropping racist attitudes.

At the time a national consumer boycott was on the cards. It was felt a continuous consumer boycott would be too taxing on people.

Since the Uitenhage killings in March last year, Nkala was twice charged and acquitted, refused bail, and detained from court on acquittal. In an interview with Saspu National, he spoke about some of the lessons and gains of the past year.

A major victory won by the people was the demise of the town council.

After this, organisations were left with the question what now?

This is when the idea of street and area committees came up, says Nkala. Many people were drawn into activity through these. Every person can participate and decisions

can be taken democratically.

Street and area committees grew to be the foundations of progressive organisations and the foundations of people's power in Uitenhage.

"These were a great leap forward. If a decision or action is to be effective, it has to be taken and done by the people themselves. Even government accusations of instigators are hollow now because decisions are taken and carried out by the community as a whole at all levels".

It helped especially during the State of Emergency. Organisations couldn't communicate with the people through mass meetings and media. The democratic structures were able to resist the clampdown and communication wasn't totally broken".

But the structures are not yet perfect. Coordination and the political aspect are still lacking, says Nkala.

"Some area committees thought they were just courts, since people were reporting all cases to them. They had to be educated about the broader political duties of the street and area committees. This is an ongoing process and attention is being paid to educating people and developing progressive leadership".

Uyco is concentrating on education programmes and discussing political issues, including past campaigns and lessons. But repression still makes meetings difficult.

In dealing with discipline, area committees have to decide which cases they are able to deal with.

The aim is to get the person who

commits a crime is made to understand why it is wrong. Sentences avoid physical punishment.

Emphasis is on changing the way people think. This is what made them commit the crime in the first place. Only if a person understands why a crime was wrong will they accept the punishment.

Some sentences have been to assist elderly people or organisations, eg. cleaning yards and washing windows, or distributing pamphlets.

Street committees have helped heal past tensions with Naawu. "In the past, they were saying that the struggle ends on the factory floor. Now the workers, the members and leaders of Naawu, are being organised into the street committees.

On March 21 60 000 people gathered in Uitenhage to commemorate the anniversary of last year's Langa massacre.

PEOPLE didn't come to the Langa memorial meeting to shed tears. They came to rededicate themselves to the struggle.

The struggle has reached new heights and there is no turning back. More than ever before people are determined to fight. People are prepared to die and nothing can stop them.

This was the message as about 60 000 people gathered at KwaNobuhle stadium, Uitenhage, to commemorate the victims of the Langa massacre on March 21 last year.

In Uitenhage and PE, workers and residents, staged a massive stayaway, called jointly by the UDF and Cosatu to commemorate the day.

Speaker after speaker at the rally said democratic forces would intensify their struggle for the demands in the Freedom Charter.

"The oppressed and exploited people are fighting against the system. Through mass action and mass resistance the people are sowing the seeds of popular organisation", said an Azaso speaker.

"We need to unite as students, workers and residents, we need to consolidate our gains".

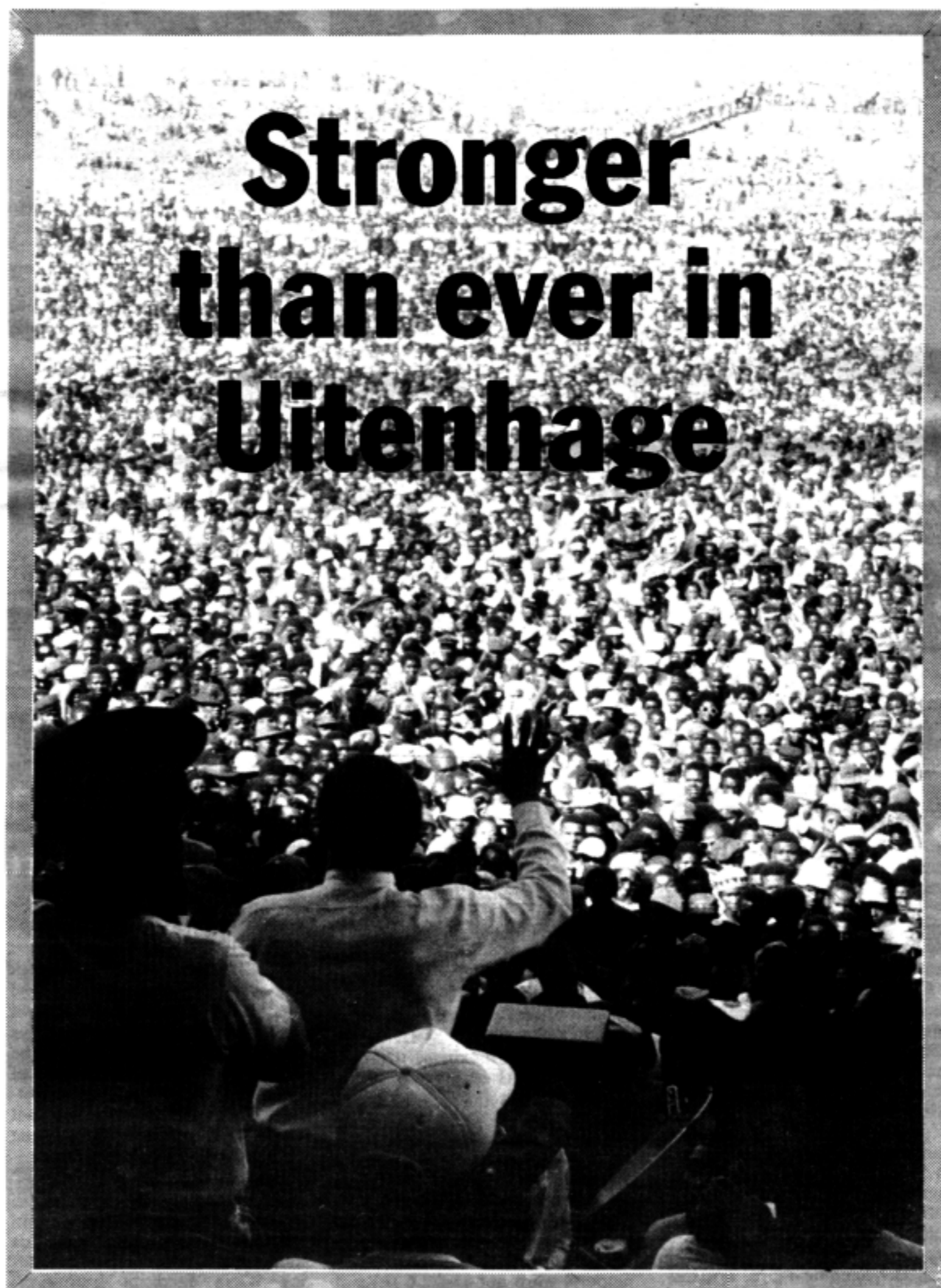
"The progressive movement will continue to strive for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners", he said.

Uitenhage Youth Congress (Uyco) president Wonga Nkala said those killed in the Langa massacre last year had made the supreme sacrifice. On that day the government revealed its true colours.

"We are here so the fallen heroes can speak", he said, "so our mothers shot in Sharpeville, our sisters in Soweto, our brothers who died on the ninth floor of John Vorster square, can speak through us".

People's opposition in Uitenhage led to the demise of the community council. They had made apartheid unworkable, he said. "The struggles we are waging are not only for a non-racial and democratic SA, but for a SA where the interests of the working class are paramount", he said. "For this we are prepared to die".

The Release Mandela Committee's Aubrey Mokoena read a hard-hitting and rousing message from Winnie Mandela.



60 000 gathered at Uitenhage to remember those killed on March 21 last year.

The people of South Africa want peace, they want to govern SA together, said Rev Mcebisi Xundu. But the SA regime continued its aggression against the people.

UDF patron Allan Boesak said 1985 was a turning point in the history of the struggle. There is no turning back.

"We can't undo what has happened or bring people back to life", he said, "but we can make a promise to ourselves and to our children

that those who died didn't die in vain".

The Botha government would cling to power as long as they could. But the people were determined to be free and no-one could stop them.

Billy Nair from the UDF and Natal Indian Congress said as long as the apartheid system continued more lives would be lost. Stressing the importance of organisation and discipline, he said every facet of

life, every street must be organised.

"If people don't join organisations we won't succeed in destroying apartheid".

UDF national president, Curnick Ndlovu, praised the late Moses Mabhida, ANC, SACTU and SACP leader.

After the commemoration people moved to the graveyard to unveil a tombstone for last year's Langa victims.

And the call for action and the stayaway to commemorate the shootings at Langa came from the factories and the area committees.

Asked about negotiations around the Langa removals and the consumer boycott Nkala said people didn't see the struggle as being conducted only through negotiations. "But where negotiations can further our cause, we will use them".

People didn't put all their confidence in meeting the town council. But they would know they had tried all possible means of resolving the issue peacefully.

One Development Board official called organisations to a meeting and set up an ad-hoc committee of five to 'represent residents' interests'. UDF affiliates didn't attend, but some people did.

Two days later the ad-hoc committee was exposed as a stepping stone to form the Regional Services Council. People have rejected this as perpetuating the community and town council system.

A lesson was learnt from this. People can't just go and do these things on their own. Any structure must come from and be accountable to the people.

Planning their own future in Langa

LANGA RESIDENTS have demanded that the government pay for Langa to be upgraded instead of removing people.

"Our sweat and the sweat of our fathers has made businessmen live in luxury. All we are asking is what is rightfully ours."

Langa has 50 000 residents and lies next to a white suburb in Uitenhage. After the March 21 massacre last year, 350 white residents petitioned the government to remove of Langa residents to Kwa Nobuhle. Soon 426 families living closest to the white suburb were served with eviction notices.

Local residents responded: "We will not move, with a court order or without."

The court case was held in the supreme court in Port Elizabeth on the March 25. Before it started a representative of the community was offered a deal. If the 426 families moved to Kwa Nobuhle they could stay there without paying rent or service charges and the government would upgrade the rest of Langa as the case would then be dropped.

The representative said he had no mandate to accept. The court case went ahead and judgment was reserved.

Langa residents commissioned a group of progressive planners, architects and engineers, Planact, to draw up proposals for upgrading Langa.

Community facilities are bad. There is one small clinic, a few uneven playing fields and only one tap for every 1158 people. There is no school. The roads and storm water drainage are poor.

Planact proposed a two year emergency upgrading process which could bring services up to a minimum standard. This would cost about R3,5 million.

Next would come flush toilets, running water, electricity and tarred roads at the cost of about R22 million. New community facilities such as schools, libraries and halls will also have to be built.

The following principles would be used:

- Langa's democratic structures must have full control over the process, making major decisions and controlling spending;
- Upgrading must be affordable to people;
- Sufficient land must be available;
- The community must get the economic benefits. For example residents should be employed to do the work.
- Land rights must be secure.



The economic crisis continues

The government says its got the answers. But lets face it, the economy's not getting better. The crisis continues, and its not the rich who are suffering.

THE SA ECONOMY is in trouble. And it's not just a passing phase but deep rooted.

More than 16 companies shut down everyday and some industries are shrinking rapidly. Jobs in the auto industry are down 22 percent since it peaked in 1982, and 35000 people lost their jobs in 1985 alone.

The metal industry has shed some 100 000 jobs this decade already. Sales of durables like furniture, fridges and appliances fell 20 percent last year. None of the car manufacturers is able to make a profit at the moment.

Meanwhile inflation goes higher and higher it's been above 12 percent for ten years now and recently went over 20 percent.

First we were told that the problem was too much consumer spending too much money chasing too few goods, encouraging sellers to push up prices.

So the government decided to kill off consumer demand by making it very expensive to borrow and spend money.

But soon the recession was upon us. Economic activity dwindled. There was no demand to pull up prices. The amount of money available hadn't increased yet prices continued to rise.

Economists who said inflation would fall kept changing their predictions. But inflation hit 16 percent, then 18 percent. Petrol shot up 60 percent in 1985 while electricity leaped 20 percent. Rail and road transport cost more, and finance charges rocketed.

With his Rubicon speech PW Botha had managed to talk the rand down to 35 US cents, which meant that essential imports suddenly cost about 35 percent more than expected. The increase of these vital production costs pushed prices upwards.

So who got hurt? The consumer. And in this country that often means someone whose monthly wage is under R300.

In the last year vegetable and fish prices have climbed more than 20 percent. So have coffee and tea. Cleaning materials and transport costs rocketed by more than 30 percent. And yet employers were trying to fight inflation by keeping



du Plessis, mismanaging a troubled economy

wage increases for the year to around 10 per cent!

But the problem isn't spending, or even labour costs; although employers would pass any increase in their wage bill on to their customers. Inflation levels in some overseas countries are below 5 percent, despite the fact that they pay living wages and encourage spending.

The problem lies in the deformed nature of our economy. SA is not a big industrial power. In an international market dominated by the USA, Japan, West Germany and Britain, SA is just another supplier of minerals and metals.

The contribution of gold to SA's export earnings is substantial, but limited. Mineral and metal sales bring in foreign cash but not enough to pay for imports. Base metal and mineral sales contributed around 24,5 percent to total export earnings in 1985 while gold weighed in with a massive 42 percent. In 1970 gold made up only 28 percent of export earnings.

SA is becoming more, not less, dependant on minerals for foreign currency. And SA needs plenty. Every rand of local manufacture involves 68 cents of imported material, and this has increased as the rand plummeted.

In the short term there is no way around this since 80 percent of imports are essential only 20 percent are regarded as luxury or less necessary items.

Much of the time SA imports more than it exports. The government boasts about a balance of payments surplus of R13,4 bn. They say this

indicates an underlying strength in the economy.

Well, it doesn't. In fact it illustrates an underlying weakness.

Exports have increased and imports fallen, but SA has not been able to strengthen its position in the world economy or lessen its dependence on imported materials.

Exports increased because the fall in the rand meant SA's products became relatively cheap overseas. And because foreign currency earned was worth about 35 percent more when converted.

But a surplus of R13,4bn is not as substantial as it looks. SA has to pay for imports in expensive foreign currency. Against the Dollar the SA surplus shrinks to an effective R5,9bn.

Similarly, we have to discount the increase in export earnings by the fall in the value of the rand. Transvaal chamber of Industry figures show that on a dollar adjusted basis exports for 1985 were not up 44 percent but only 5,4 percent while imports were not just 2,6 percent down but 30,2 percent.

Even the artificial advantage enjoyed by exporters won't last long. The rand has strengthened slightly and the dollar has been weakening closing the gap between the rand and the foreign currency earned by exports.

And there is not a growing demand for SA goods. The economies of trading partners are expanding very slowly and SA's goods are not getting any more competitive. They can't when our inflation rate is 5-10 times higher

than in the major economies.

The cost of the high imported content of SA's products has increased by over 30 per cent in the last year helping to push up production costs by an average of 21,3 per cent.

Being so dependent on minerals to pay for imports needed by manufacturing produces serious problems. The economy can only expand through the growth of manufacturing industry. Mining and agriculture have limited potential for expansion.

But the local market for manufactured goods does not justify expansion, and local sales don't generate enough capital to pay for that expansion. So manufacturing needs to grow into markets outside SA. But political tensions complicate trade, and SA goods are not that competitive anyway.

To become more competitive SA would have to import the latest machinery and equipment at great expense. But business hasn't earned the necessary foreign currency and can't until it gets the new technology. Catch 22.

So how can growth be financed? It's obvious that business will seldom earn enough from sales of mineral or manufactured goods to pay for new investment in plants and machinery. In this sense SA is the same as any other third world economy with only one main export and too many imports. Like these economies SA needs to finance growth by attracting foreign investment. But this is not happening.

More money leaves SA than comes in. Between 1976 and 1984 there was a net outflow of long term capital of more than R1bn and this has since increased. From the beginning of 1984 to the middle of 1985 the value of total fixed investment fell by 11,5 percent in real terms, with manufacturing losing even more 13,3 percent.

Local investment has been dropping even more dramatically an estimated fall of over 20 percent in 1985. Businesses are putting less money back into companies holding it in financial institutions instead.

It is not surprising then that growth, measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product, has been low in recent years, averaging only 2 percent each year from 1977 to 1985 against a population growth rate of 2,8 percent. This growth could not be financed through domestic investment, and so big business borrowed from overseas banks.

The Bank for International Settlements (BIS) show that foreign debt financed 25,3 percent of total out-

put (GDP) in 1984, going up to 32,4 percent in 1985. The average for developing countries is 33,8 percent. Between 1980-1984 US bank loans to SA increased 450 percent, at which point they started to get worried about the extent of their exposure to SA.

At that stage our foreign debt commitments were already 88 percent of export earnings, and by the third quarter of 1985 SA had short term debt of \$12bn and a Balance of Payments surplus of only \$5bn.

So the debt crisis wasn't just US bankers acting after the state of emergency was declared. Breaking out of it will be difficult because as the economy picks up and starts producing more it has to import more, and borrow more. The same holds true for any expansion of production capacity.

Unemployment stands at around four million. And there will have to be more than 2 percent growth to overcome this.

Investment in job creating industry hasn't kept pace with the population increase. Local companies, squeezed by the high production costs and dwindling sales are not hiring but firing. Bankruptcies continue to wipe out jobs, as does the rash of mergers and takeovers that are taking place.

Big business is responding by cutting jobs, wages and spending, while at the same time increasing prices. And they're investing the money they are making overseas where they hope it'll be safer and will yield more profits. After all that is what capitalism is all about. Profit.

Guided solely by this motive, business will not undertake the essential restructuring of the SA economy.

Developing local industry that will reduce the need for imports on the one hand and expand our range of exports on the other, doesn't offer the quick profits they seek.

Land won't be redistributed to accommodate the 15 million landless because the farmers would lose profits.

Labour intensive industries to create the necessary 2000 jobs-a-day won't be set up because profits may be lower than those offered by new machinery.

Even though many of these changes would improve the economic potential of SA, opening up more opportunities for business, short term profiteering has tended to blind them to the long term implications of their mercenary approach.

And so the crisis continues.

DEATH COMES IN GANGS



Wherever people organise, vigilante groups emerge carving a path of death and violence.

TIME AFTER TIME, vigilante violence has been linked to the interests of the community councillors often with their direct participation.

The rejection of community councils mean that they rely on force to impose their rule.

"The police, limited by law and by the publicity which inevitably follows extra-legal conduct, are unable to perform the function of terrorising groups and coercing consent to the ambitions of the community councillors," Haysom points out.

"The community councillors now associated with vigilantes have resorted to their private armies which they have either hoped or trusted would be sanctioned or tolerated by the authorities.

It seems they have not hoped in vain.

In January, a Supreme Court acknowledged for the first time that councillors were involved in violent vigilante actions, and were being protected by members of the SAP.

In this instance, three councillors were restrained from assaulting two children in Fort Beaufort, and Sgt. Sijika of Fort Beaufort Police Station was ordered to stop preventing assault complaints being made and from prejudicing investigations.

This was after Nowandle Mathe, the mother of an 11 year old boy, heard her child screaming next door. She saw three community councillors emerge from the house, and found her son lying on the floor bleeding from his stomach.

When she tried to report the matter, Sgt. Sijika prevented a junior policeman from taking the statement, and threatened to tell people she was working for the police if she took the issue further.

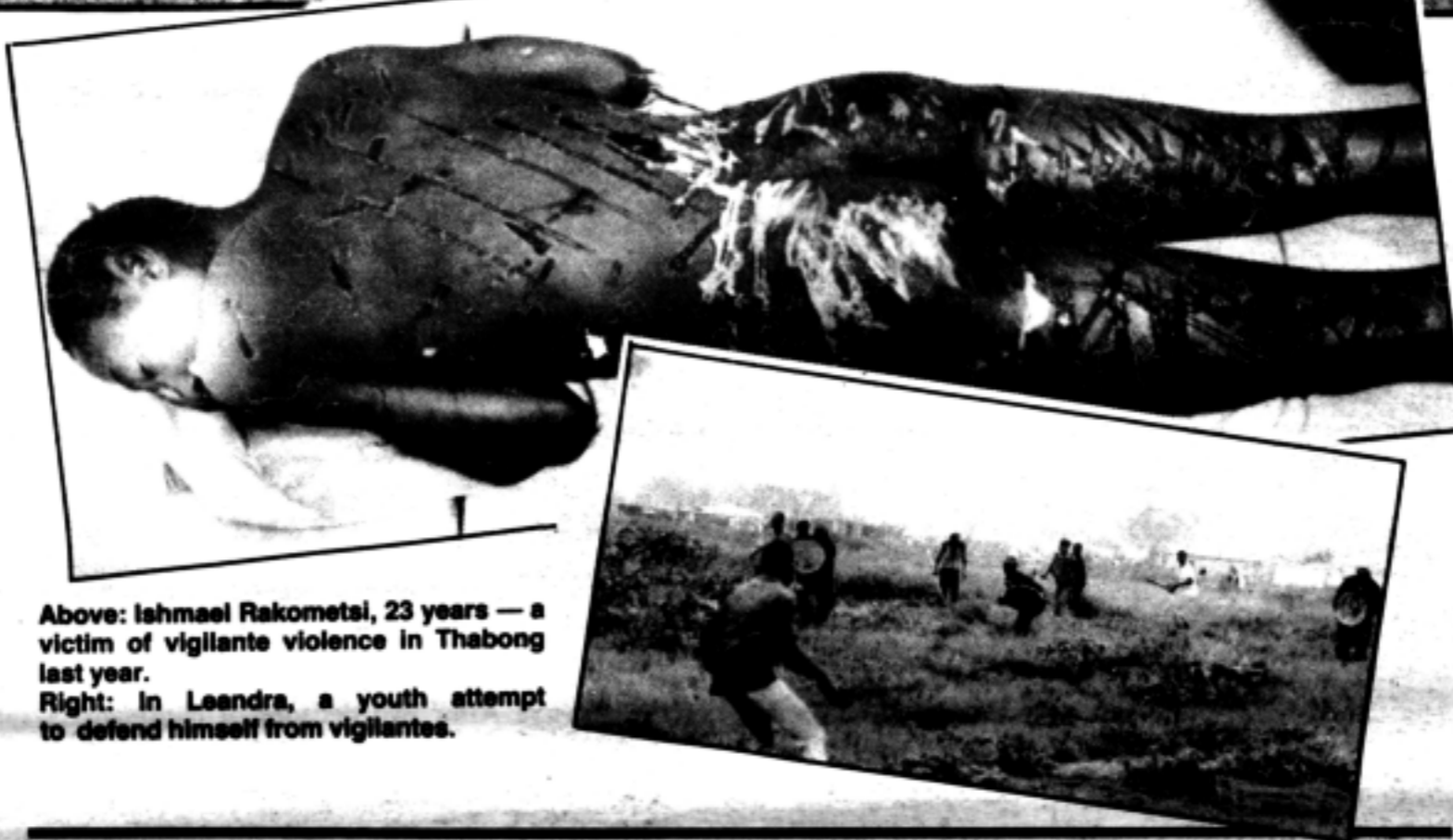
In Huhudi, the civic association (Huca) made enemies of the councillors by organising resistance to the forced removal of Huhudi into Bophutswana.

On 24 November last year, a group leaving a Huca meeting were allegedly attacked by vigilantes. They were taken into a shop owned by a community councillor, and assaulted.

Days later, the homes of two executive members of Huca were burnt to the ground. A youth who fled from one of the houses was hacked with pangas, and his body later found in the mortuary with three bullets in it.

Seven witnesses handed statements to the police, who told them to come back to sign them. But only three were allowed to sign their statements.

Since then, the assaults have con-



Above: Ishmael Rakometal, 23 years — a victim of vigilante violence in Thabong last year.

Right: In Leandra, a youth attempt to defend himself from vigilantes.

'Vigilante violence illegitimate'

"VIGILANTES ARE potentially murderous gangs, intent on intimidating, injuring or killing anti-apartheid activists. They are believed to enjoy police support and this is very often all that binds the A-Team, the Pakathis, the Maban-galala, the Amado, the Amosolomzi, the Amabutho, the Mabhokoto and the Green Berets," says Nicholas Haysom from the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Haysom has recently completed a book examining the mushrooming of vigilante groups. He says "the term vigilante has a distinct meaning in South Africa. It does not mean a concerned citizen intent on preserving the safety of his family and decent values."

In Leandra Chief Mayisa hid in a disused truck while vigilantes burnt his house down. They found him and hacked him to death with axes and pangas. His mutilated body was taken to a scrapper where it was doused with petrol and burned.

In Thabong, Daniel Mabenyane (17) was taken by vigilantes from his home to the infamous room 29 of the council headquarters where he was flogged. Another man, also sjam-

bokked that night, recalled seeing Daniel Mabenyane on Sunday evening at the Thabong community council headquarters. "He had been assaulted and was bleeding from his buttocks. His trousers were down round his knees. His shirt was bloody. He was tired and could not speak".

The witness said that he, Daniel and one other were taken by the Phakathis to the police station, where "Daniel was left lying on the cement floor in the charge office behind the counter. He was still bleeding. He only spoke when he wanted water." Daniel was allegedly taken to the hospital at about 1500 hrs on Monday. He died there on Friday.

On November 25, in Huhudi near Vryburg, vigilantes allegedly attacked a group of youths. Sylvester "Mr Ref" Casebue (17) hid in a nearby house. A witness described how "vigilantes dragged Mr Ref from the house, beat him with spears and assegais, then fired two shots at point blank range, killing him."

In Tumahole the vigilantes are also

known as the A-Team. They allegedly cluster around a member of the local police force. They aim attacks at anti-apartheid activists.

In November 1985 the A-Team allegedly killed youth activists Lefu Rasago (17). They dragged him from a house and hacked him to death with garden implements, said witnesses.

"By the end of 1985, community leaders from regions as far afield as the Cape Peninsula and the Northern Transvaal were reporting right wing vigilantes. Although such groups can have specific regional characteristics, they do have common features. Their targets are members or leaders of anti-apartheid and anti-bantustan organisations.

"It can be no coincidence that vigilante activity emerged in 1985 as the political crisis in SA deepened.

"Vigilantes usually form in smaller townships and rural areas where progressive organisation has grown strong. They strike at organisations involved in challenging the real issues of removals, rents, schooling, transport and inadequate housing," says Haysom.

brings few guarantees of safety.

In Leandra, a shanty town in the Eastern Transvaal, the Leandra Action Committee has been fighting the threat of removal. Since December 1985, assaults on LAC leaders and threats to their supporters have mounted, and Bishop Nkoane appealed to both the Divisional Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order to intervene to stop this.

Chief Mayisa was hacked to death by vigilantes, who also called for the blood of Mr Nkabinde, Chair of the LAC, and burned down his house. At Mayisa's funeral, further violence broke out and hundreds of LAC supporters fled the area.

The LAC won an interdict in the Pretoria Supreme Court temporarily restraining 23 armed vigilantes from harming Leandra residents.

But the community has been torn apart and many LAC members, including about 300 women and children, have fled the area. The unity that characterised five years of resistance against removals has been shattered in two months of vigilante violence, and left the LAC badly crippled.

Vigilante groups aim to undermine unity, and look for weak links in the community.

In Leandra, 'insiders' with Section 10 rights and 'outsiders' with no urban rights were united in the face of removals. But the vigilantes have played on 'insider' resentment that confrontation with the police has arisen because of the LAC's defence of the rights of 'outsiders'.

"Where violence has erupted between different sections of the community, - there has often been strong evidence that division has been skillfully exploited or more openly encouraged by the authorities. It is claimed that in some areas the authorities have exploited the insecurities of one or other of these groups, or stood passively by when violence erupts, indicating at least to one group that their conduct will go unpunished," Haysom says.

At present, the formal incorporation of the vigilantes into the states law and order machinery is a serious trend. In Queenstown, many vigilantes have joined the Queenstown Commando. In Ashton and Thabong, vigilantes have applied to be Community Guards a form of municipal police under the community councils. The Minister of Constitutional Development and planning, Chris Heunis, has allocated money for 5 000 guards to be trained.

In many townships, defence against the vigilantes has become essential for the survival of activists and of organisation. But this defence is not easy.

Where the youth have gone into battle against the vigilantes, they have the advantage of community support on their side. But the vigilantes have the advantages of being well-armed, and the belief that they will not be touched by the law.

The effectiveness of court interdicts are still being tested, but working through the courts has certain limitations not least of which is that it is often a case of activists words against the councillors and police, and even if an interdict is won, the question remains as to how it can be enforced.

The more strongly organisation is rooted at a street level, the harder it seems to be for vigilantes to operate. Those townships where this level of organisation has been possible have been better able to curb vigilante action, and limit attempts at exploiting divisions.

Late last year the second ordinary congress of the MPLA workers party met in Luanda

"WE DON'T WANT our elders just to stay in their offices in Luanda. We want them to get out into the provinces where the people produce," said a message read by an Angolan children's organisation at an MPLA congress late last year.

The Agostinho Neto Pioneers read its message at the second ordinary congress of the MPLA-Workers' Party, held in Luanda in December.

The message reflected the climate of criticism and debate surrounding the congress, which had been canvassed countrywide.

"We held the real congress throughout 1985," said one delegate.

"We only came here to ratify the decisions."

Like other congresses, this one also took place in the midst of war.

But this has been a good training ground for those cadres who have had to struggle to maintain and defend the country's territorial independence, while at the same time providing basic social services and infrastructures in these war zones.

The war is not going to stop MPLA's progress

This accounts for the respect given to the delegates from the southern regions at the congress.

Over the years the Angolan army has learnt to deal with this situation of indefinite war, and has responded by modernising.

The young army commanders, trained in struggles of 1975 against Unita, against the MPLA's second rival movement, the FNLA, and against the South African invaders, came close to capturing the Unita headquarters at Jamba, in the far south-east near the border with Namibia.

They were only prevented from doing so by the massive South African intervention at Mavinga in September. Despite heavy losses, the Angolan army showed its growing strength and increasing ability to stand up to South Africa's military might.

Thus Angola need not be forced to capitulate to Unita, but can continue to defend itself successfully while at the same time conducting diplomatic initiatives.

The young army leaders made a substantial contribution to the con-

gress debate, especially the decision not to negotiate with Unita.

Because of the important part the army plays in maintaining stability in Angola's everyday life the new Central Committee contains 33 members who are drawn from the army.

The Congress Hall also reverberated to declarations of solidarity most notably from the MPLA's comrades in Mozambique and the Congo, who sent delegations headed by Presidents Samora Machel and Dennis Sassou-Nguessou.

President Machel stressed the close historic ties between MPLA and Frelimo. The two revolutions ran on parallel paths, and shared the common denominator of South African-sponsored destabilisation.

Angolan president Jose' Eduardo dos Santos said imperialism in Southern Africa was attempting to reverse Mozambique and Angola's chosen paths of socialist development.

The Soviet Union and Cuba also sent top-level delegations to the congress to show their continued

support for the Angolan revolution.

The Congress examined problems within the party. It looked at the failure to circulate information within and between party structures, and at the neglect of the rural areas, where the majority of the population still live.

This problem was reflected in the class breakdown of the congress delegates. There were 682 delegates, amongst whom: 1,7 percent were peasants; 24,9 percent industrial workers; and 49,9 percent white-collar workers. The congress stressed the need to establish peasants' associations, and to give assistance to the peasant farming sector.

When discussing the economy delegates attacked those who wanted to 're-establish capitalist relations of production'.

Many technicians complained contracts of work were given to foreign countries when there was no shortage of Angolan technicians with similar qualifications.

The report of the outgoing central committee called for a reduction in the amount of foreigners employed.

The congress also stressed the need for the Angolan economy to break free from its dependence on oil exports. About 90 percent of its export income comes from oil. A call was made to rebuild the coffee, timber and diamond industries.

But the situation cannot change overnight, and for the time being Angolan oil must provide the necessary money for Angola to continue defending itself and to buy the goods it cannot produce itself.

The most emotional moments of the Congress came with the election of the new Central Committee consisting of 90 people. The newly-elected members include young cadres who distinguished themselves in military and economic tasks in the country's most difficult provinces.

The new Party leadership forms a cohesive and disciplined group around the figure of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. It is this core of people who are now at the helm of the MPLA.

"We held the real congress throughout 1985," said one delegate. "We only came here to ratify the decisions."

Like other congresses this one also took place in the midst of war. It meant that the defence of Angola's independence was one of the most important themes.

Since independence Angola has been under attack and for most of this time substantial tracts of Southern Angola have been under Unita control.

Unita are the losers in a 20 year war



'Judas' Savimbi, leader of the rebel Angolan movement UNITA.

THE FIRST contact between Jonas Savimbi and the US government was in 1961, while Savimbi was studying in Europe.

After hearing an American spokesperson speaking about US support for self-determination for all peoples of the world, Savimbi arrived at the US Embassy in Bern, Switzerland, and introduced himself as the future president of Angola.

Clearly, the US is now interested in taking Savimbi up on his offer.

Savimbi's politics have swung in many directions since then. It seems Savimbi is a politician whose interest is power, and is not choosy about who or what helps him.

Initially he worked with the Angolan independence movement, FNLA, which the US was backing as an alternative to the Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

But tensions within the FNLA leadership led to a split, and in

1966, Unita the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola was formed, under Savimbi's leadership.

After two decades of nationalist rebellion and guerrilla warfare, Angola won its independence from Portugal in 1975. The Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA soon proved it had majority support, and in 1976 established the People's Republic of Angola.

But this did not happen without determined US and South African moves to put Unita in power.

Through America's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), massive funding was being pumped into Unita. With US backing, SA invaded southern Angola in early-1976 in the hopes of leading Unita to victory. This failed, and when the CIA's involvement was exposed, the US government passed the Clarke Amendment law which banned further aid to the rebels.

Shortly after this SA raid, Cuban forces were brought in to help defend Angola against further raids and destabilisation by Unita and the SADF.

A decade later, the Cuban forces are still there. Ironically, one of their tasks is to protect American oil installations in the northern provinces from Unita attack.

American firms drill over 80 percent of Angola's oil, making it Angola's largest training partner. But, Savimbi has vowed to destroy the most important American oil installation a Gulf Chevron plant in

Cabinda. Support for Savimbi has placed Washington in an awkward position of providing military assistance to an organisation planning to sabotage US property.

Savimbi's explanation that "we don't want to kill Americans, but we have to do something to stop those billions going into the coffers of the Russians and Cubans" disqualifies him as a terrorist in the eyes of the Reagan administration.

Unita's aims are clear: to grind the Angolan economy to a halt; to prevent development; and to destroy agriculture.

All this to stir up discontent with the government.

At present, Savimbi is trying to force the MPLA government to share power with Unita.

He claims control of a third of the country.

But his chances of winning greater power are small seizing power from the MPLA would require resources Savimbi doesn't have, and the MPLA is not prepared to negotiate a compromise.

And although the Angolan economy has been severely damaged by the civil war, the MPLA is supported by the majority of the Angolan people.

An MPLA spokesperson, Gaspar-Martins, summarised the MPLA's position saying, "The US is backing the loser. Savimbi is a loser. He cannot win."

"To us he is known as 'Judas' Savimbi because of his treason linking himself to SA."

Welcoming Savimbi with an

JONAS SAVIMBI, leader of the Angolan rebel movement Unita, recently returned from a highly-successful American tour.

He met with US President Ronald Reagan, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defence, and heads of most major American newspapers.

He left with a promise of between \$10 and \$15 million in US military aid, plus further millions for other forms of aid.

The Reagan administration is eager to prove its determination to 'roll back communism' by backing guerillas fighting Soviet-backed states. It depicts Angola as a battleground between the forces of light and darkness, and Savimbi as

the one leader capable of 'restoring democracy'.

One small problem though, is that this support for Unita lands it in an effective military alliance with Pretoria. The SA government has been backing Unita for many years.

But alliances between the Reagan administration and Pretoria are not new.

Previous administrations favoured increasing isolation of the SA regime, but within five months of Reagan's taking office in 1981 Pik Botha had paid an official visit to the US. It was clear that Reagan's constructive engagement policy meant a closer relationship with the SA government, sup-

Detention is a lasting trauma

Detention is a harrowing experience. But many people think that once bars have been removed, life resumes normally.

DETENTION, INTERROGATION and torture are traumatic. When a detainee walks out of the prison gates, they often don't feel quite like the same person that went in. What they have lived through behind the closed prison doors leaves wounds in detainees' memories, which can take a while to heal.

Many people in detention allege they have suffered fear, humiliation, degradation and extreme pain. Their sleep, eating and exercise routines are upset. They are denied normal contact with other people. They are kept in a constant state of discomfort. Even their ability to breathe can no longer be taken for granted, for some say they have been suffocated with dampened cloths and bags.

Detainees have no control over the most basic functions and needs in their lives. This loss of control, plus pain, discomfort, and fear often has bad psychological effects on the detainee. These after-effects can last years after the detention if the detainee and his or her friends do not take action to overcome the problems.

Under extreme pressures, people can completely lose touch with reality; other people become withdrawn, depressed, feel hopeless about themselves and may even become suicidal.

The most common problem amongst these detainees once they leave prison is called post-traumatic stress disorder. The most common symptom of this is that people remember the traumatic events which happened during detention over and over again.

The ex-detainee feels again the fear and dread they felt at the time. These feelings are so real that they may suddenly start trembling, crying, or become very anxious.

Normal daily events like hearing a car door slam, someone shouting, or waiting in a queue can jolt these memories back. Some people worry that these vivid memories might make them break down crying in a social situation, and they withdraw from other people.

They may also start to hide their emotions from their family and friends for fear of showing their anxieties to others. They may also get irritable with people they are close to.

Many detainees lose their ability to trust others, especially if they



No medicine or pills can take away post-detention problems. The best is to talk thoroughly about the experience to someone the detainee trusts.

have been deceived into believing that their friends have given information about them, or if they have been betrayed.

Often misinformation given in a sophisticated way can confuse people about what really happened in detention, and who has said what. These issues can be difficult to clarify.

Sometimes, informers are put in the cells with other detainees. Interrogators may play psychological games, and may be very understanding one minute and very aggressive the next.

All of this, coupled with long isolation, can break down a detainee's trust and confidence in building up honest relationships with other people.

Their ability to concentrate on work, reading or specific tasks can also be affected by these fears and by their long isolation. Loud noises, unfamiliar people in familiar places, sudden shadows or bright lights can give them a bad fright.

They often sleep badly because of nightmares. The sleep problem can be very serious, and can make it more difficult to concentrate because of tiredness.

Sometimes the fear and worry may be so bad that people feel unreal, as if they have lost direct touch with their bodies and their surroundings, and feel cut off from the world, as if in a bubble.

These symptoms make it difficult to function normally and efficiently in jobs, or with family and friends.

The severity of these problems depends mostly on the severity of the interrogation or torture.

When people do develop these symptoms, it means that they were subjected to cruel and vicious pressures. It has been reported that wherever oppressive governments detain and torture people, in Latin America, Indo-China, Asia, Europe as well as South Africa, these problems are common. Sometimes as many as 70 percent of all detainees show these symptoms.

No medicine or pills can take away these problems. The best treatment is talking thoroughly about the experience, about the fears and the memories. This is best done with a trained psychotherapist, either alone or with others who are suffering from similar problems.

The psychotherapist has been trained through studying the effects of detention in many societies to understand how best to end the problems.

But for people who will not have access to these therapists, talking to trusted friends or family members, or talking to other ex-detainees about the experience is important.

The reason the fears return is that the experience can leave such a huge and horrifying impact on people's minds. One of the most important things for ex-detainees to realise is that their symptoms are a completely normal response to barbaric and inhuman cruelties.

The most important way for family and friends to give support to an ex-detainee is to encourage them to talk about their experiences and their symptoms, and to listen.

The breakdown of trust that happens in detention has to be slowly rebuilt, even with people who are close, and so it is important that they can talk about their experiences, feelings and fears without fearing that this might be repeated to other people.

Detention can be humiliating and degrading, and detainees might have lost a lot of confidence, and fear being made fun of or thought to be weak for their fears by their friends.

But the symptoms of post-traumatic stress are usually worst for those who have had the worst experiences, and it is no sign of weakness when these symptoms emerge afterwards. These symptoms are often the way in which people come to terms with their experience once the pressure is off, after showing great strength when the pressure was on.

So ex-detainees need to know that their friends and family understand this, and do not lose respect for them. The community must recognise that these are normal responses to a high level of stress.

Ex-detainees often feel very tense. To learn to relax, it can help to tighten all your muscles, and then relax them, and to do deep breathing slowly in and out. It can also help to do regular exercise, and this can help with problems sleeping too, if it is done in the mornings rather than at night.

Cutting down on coffee, tea and smoking in the evening also helps people to sleep better.

The Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in SA (OASSSA) consisting of progressive psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers and the Detainees Counselling Service (DSC) can be contacted for help. Phone Descom in Johannesburg at 011-23 6664.

open purse- Angolan rebel movement leader returns from US tour.

posedly to encourage reform.

The US opposed calls for sanctions against SA. It was the only major Western power which did not condemn SA's raid into southern Angola in August 1981. And all along, the US worked hard to secure loans for the SA government.

But, constructive engagement is not directed only at SA, but at the entire subcontinent: the US is lining up with Botha to impose a 'more stable order' in Southern Africa.

Two months ago, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, toured the subcontinent in a last-ditch attempt to break the deadlock over the issue of Cuban withdrawal from

Angola, which could set the stage for the implementation of UN Resolution 435, which provides for free-and-fair elections in Namibia.

Now, with the massive injection of new foreign funding into Unita, the 30 000 Cuban troops are unlikely to withdraw.

It is against this background that PW Botha is offering to consider moving towards Namibian independence from August 1.

For some time now there has been a stalemate in Angola, and linked to this, Namibia's independence.

SA's linkage of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola has nothing to do with SA ending its illegitimate hold over Namibia.

Pretoria insists it does so long as there are 'communist forces' operating just across Namibia's border, Pretoria says it does, so long as there are 'communist forces' operating just across Namibia's border, Pretoria says it can't withdraw from Namibia.

The irony is that the Cubans are in Angola to defend the government from attacks and destabilisation from Unita, which SA is backing.

So why then has PW Botha announced that independence moves in Namibia will finally begin in August?

One reason is that it looks good. Foreign attention will be diverted from the crises within SA, and it

will appear as if Botha is taking seriously international demands for SA to end its illegal occupation.

Another reason is that SA cannot afford to hold onto Namibia indefinitely. At present, running the puppet government in Windhoek and maintaining SADF troops in the territory is costing SA more than a million rand a day, and in the present economic crises, more useful political gains can be made by spending that money elsewhere.

But it's more probable that it's a shrewd tactical move by Botha the new injection of foreign finance into Unita will strengthen the rebel movement, and make it more difficult for MPLA to withdraw the

Cuban forces safely.

The MPLA has said in the past the Cubans can't be removed until Unita stops destabilising the country, which makes it even less likely that it will happen now.

So Botha will score a tactical victory his offer to grant Namibian independence will be seen as a generous and reasonable gesture.

But, because it will remain linked to the question of a Cuban withdrawal, and because the MPLA will be even more reluctant to ask the Cubans to leave now that Unita has been injected with new American finance, Botha will be able to shrug his shoulders smugly and say, 'But we tried...'

NELSON ROLIHLEHLA Mandela has been "inside" for 23 years. For the past two years Mandela, now 67 years old, has been in Cape Town's Polsmoor prison with Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Elias Motsoaledi.

They have been inside for longer than tens of thousands of their supporters across the country have been alive.

Mandela was born in Umtata in the Transkei in 1918 into the royal Tembu household.

He attended a mission school, and there he was introduced to another world: he was shocked to find that the history books recognised only white heroes, describing blacks as savages and cattle thieves, and referring to the wars between the amaXhosa and the British as the 'Kaffir' Wars.

In 1930 Mandela's father became seriously ill and the young Nelson was taken to the Paramount Chief. His father said, "I am giving you this my servant, Rolihlahla. This is my only son. I can say from the way he speaks to his sisters and friends that his inclination is to help the nation."

After graduating from Healdtown, Mandela went to Fort Hare in 1938. There he met Oliver Tambo, but their friendship was cut short when Mandela was suspended from the college. As a member of the SRC, he had joined a protest boycott after the authorities reduced the SRC's powers. He was among those suspended as a result.

When his uncle tried to persuade him to abandon the boycott and continue his studies, Mandela decided it was time to leave the Transkei.

Another reason was that without consulting, Mandela's uncle had chosen a wife for him. It was all part of his uncle's plans for Mandela to take over the chieftainship. But Mandela was determined never to rule over an oppressed people.

At the age of 22, he left for Johannesburg.

For a short time he worked on the mines as a policeman, but soon resigned, and went to live in Alexandra. A friend there suggested he meet a certain Walter Sisulu, and with Sisulu's backing, Mandela went on to finish the degree he'd abandoned at Fort Hare.

Sisulu also arranged for him to begin work as a clerk in a law firm in Johannesburg while he began studying law, part-time, at Wits University.

A new force was emerging within the ANC at that time, grouped around a militant and determined circle of students and friends.

Sisulu was already a member of the ANC, and part of this circle, and he encouraged his friends, Mandela and Oliver Tambo—now teaching in Johannesburg—to join.

They rallied support for more militant youth action within the Congress and met with ANC president A.B. Xuma to discuss their position. These talks led to the formation of the ANC Youth League in April 1944.

Mandela was a founder member of the Youth League where he began to play an increasingly central role, as he did in the ANC as a whole.

The strike in 1946 by 100 000 black mine workers had implications far beyond the mines and the trade union movement: it stimulated crucial developments within the Youth League. Members had originally united around the need for Africans to organise themselves exclusively.

But, national support work for the strike put them in direct contact with other groups in the struggle against racism and exploitation. The unions were largely led by Communist party members, some of whom were white with unques-

Mandela - the man no prison can silence



tionable commitment and dedication.

Ideological differences began to emerge within the Youth League. In place of the narrow nationalism of some of the members, many, like Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu, began to reject this, and called for a nationalism that organised and united all democratic groups against both racial discrimination and economic exploitation. Their's was a call for action.

The ANC "Programme of action" adopted at its congress in 1949, clearly reflected the assertiveness of the YL. It called for an end to all segregated political institutions, to be achieved by boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non co-operation.

James Moroka was elected president and he was joined on the executive by a new generation of leaders like Sisulu, Moses Kotane and Dan Tloome.

Mandela was elected Youth League president in 1950. The Youth League remained an important grouping in the decade of widespread resistance that followed particularly in the 1954 education boycott against the Bantu Education Act. It was largely responsible for organising teachers to provide alternate classes for boycotting students.

Shortly after being elected Transvaal president of the ANC, he was

appointed national volunteer-in-chief of the 1952 Defiance Campaign against unjust laws — which focussed on a rejection of the pass laws.

His work involved touring nationally, and speaking at house meetings with volunteers throughout the country. His task was to inspire people with the confidence to overcome their oppression, through a direct and non-violent challenge to the government.

This work led to his arrest, along with many thousands of others who took up the campaign, and he was charged with furthering the aims of communism. Mandela, Moroka, Sisulu and others were given suspended sentences.

At the ANC's congress at the end of 1952, Albert Lutuli was elected president-general of the ANC, and Mandela his deputy. Both were immediately banned, as were more than 100 ANC, Indian Congress and trade union organisers.

Mandela was banned from attending all meetings, and was confined to Johannesburg for six months. Yet he continued working behind the scenes: his 1953 address to the ANC's congress was read for him by someone else.

That same year his ban was extended, and laid down that he must resign officially from the ANC and attend no gatherings for five

years. From this time on — except for the Treason trial years when the ANC leaders were together most of the time — his leadership was exercised almost in secret.

In an effort to decentralise and strengthen ANC organisation, he oversaw the implementation of the M-plan, which aimed to build mass membership through organising at grassroots level and which, through a hierarchy of leaders at intermediate levels, would be responsive to direction without the necessity of public meetings.

The branches — which had grown rapidly during the Defiance Campaign — would now be divided into cells at street level. Seven street cells would make a 'zone' and a representative from each zone would unite with four others in a 'ward'.

Ward representatives would then form a further committee, which would administer the ANC in each township.

In 1955 the national executive commented that not enough work had been done to implement the plan. Mass meetings and large public activities were all very well — but house-to-house work, education, and the building of small local branches was just as important, they said.

Mandela, meanwhile, had set up a legal practice with Oliver Tambo. It was not easy — apart from his other

commitments, the Transvaal Law Society tried to stop him practising as a lawyer.

He resisted this attempt, and at one point during the marathon Treason Trial of 1956-60 he was part of the defence team.

In 1960 a State of Emergency was declared. Heavy repression followed and the ANC was banned. Meetings were disrupted and it was many months before leaders could come together nationally to discuss a way forward.

In March 1961 a national All-in African conference was held in Maritzburg. Mandela's banning order had just expired, and he was able to make his first public speech since 1952.

He discussed plans to campaign for a national convention which would take the form of a three day stayaway: the last day would coincide with SA's proclamation of a republic on May 31, 1961.

If the ultimatum to the government was ignored, a campaign of 'mass non-cooperation' would follow. The newly formed National Action Committee of which Mandela was secretary, would supervise arrangements.

Mandela went underground after the conference, to begin organising for the stayaway and to evade charges of incitement.

During this period Mandela and his comrades met to consider what must be done now that the ANC was banned. They considered themselves confronted by two options - to submit or fight. In the end they opted for armed struggle. Out of that meeting Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed - with Mandela as its first Commander in Chief.

For seventeen months he evaded capture. He slipped out of South Africa and made a dramatic tour of independent Africa. He addressed a conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa at Addis Ababa in January 1962.

While outside he received brief training in an Algerian Military camp.

On August 5, 1962 he was arrested and in November was convicted on two charges: leaving the country illegally and incitement.

He was given a five year sentence.

A year later many of his colleagues were arrested in Rivonia, on the edge of Johannesburg. Mandela was taken from prison and made to stand trial as a member of the Umkonto We Sizwe High Command.

His statement from the dock received worldwide publicity. Along with Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others, he admitted that he was guilty of sabotage but denied that a decision had been taken to begin guerilla activity.

Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment.

For 20 years he had been at the centre of South African politics as a charismatic and enterprising leader. But Mandela the prisoner soon became as much a problem to the authorities as Mandela the activist at large.

Local, national and international campaigns are being waged to demand his release.

Mandela has rejected 'with the contempt they deserve' plans to release him with restrictions on his movement, as well as offers to free him on condition that he renounces violence.

The Release Mandela Campaign has this to say:

"Along with the release of Mandela must come the return of exiles; the unbanning of the ANC; the release of political detainees; the repeal of apartheid laws and the demobilisation of security forces.

"Only then will a national convention be possible to secure a future of peace and democracy in SA."