

A constitution that excludes the majority gets rejected

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Namibia independence SA - style or liberation?

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The court no union thought would help the workers

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Mourners at the funeral of fellow student Papiki Loape who was shot during the school boycott in Thabong

THE BOYCOTTS BEGIN...



Joseph Ngalo's funeral in Parys.

Apartheid's rule under attack

ANTI-GOVERNMENT feelings are running high as the coloured and Indian elections under the new constitution draw near.

Across South Africa there has been a call for a total boycott of elections under the new constitution. Democratic organisations have rejected all elections based on apartheid rule.

Thousands have gathered at mass meetings to reaffirm their commitment to a non-racial, democratic South Africa, while pro-government forces have only been able to mobilise a handful.

A broad range of organisations — most of them affiliates of the United Democratic Front — are opposing Prime Minister P W Botha's 'new deal'.

However, they are not just mobilising against the new constitution, but against the Koornhof Bills as well.

One year ago, when the UDF was formed, it declared that the constitution and the Koornhof Bills cannot be separated. Since that time, organisations have worked hard to stop the Bills.

The challenge they are levelling against apartheid is a strong one. They are not restricting their focus to the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

●Over 20 000 students have been boycotting classes for the past two months. Now, thousands more have joined them in protest against the poor quality of apartheid education and to register their opposition to the constitution.

●In the first six months of this year over 70 000 workers struck in the fac-

ories and mines against low wages, bad working conditions, unfair dismissals and retrenchments, and for union recognition.

Thousands of workers have attended rallies against the constitution and the Koornhof Bills. In Cape Town, at a rally jointly convened by the UDF, the Cape Action League and various trade unions, 5 000 workers blamed their problems on the power of the employers and the government, and rejected the constitution which entrenches that power.

●Countless residents have staged militant protests against rent increases.

●President Sebe of the Ciskei bantustan has admitted his government has 'lost control' of Mdantsane. It is over a year since the bus boycott was called for, and residents still refuse to use them.

●Lamontville residents are refusing incorporation into Buthelezi's KwaZulu.

●Nyanga residents took to the streets in frustration after their complaints against shack demolitions 'fell on deaf ears'.

The government has relied heavily on the police force to deal with opponents.

In the last two months at least four people have died when police moved in to stop the protests.

Most recently, an unnamed student at Mabopane East Technikon died after he was allegedly shot in the head by police.

In Tumahole, near Parys, Johannes Ngalo died while in police custody after a rents demonstration. Thou-



Manning barricades in Thabong to stop police entering the township

sands attended his funeral.

In Thabong, near Welkom, Papiki Loape (18) was shot dead when police fired into a crowd.

Many others have been injured by police bullets and batons.

At least eighty people are currently in detention, excluding those detained under the state of emergency in the Transkei.

The confrontation between the government and opposition forces is likely to come to a head in the last week of August when the government will urge coloureds and Indians to go to the polls to choose their

representatives in the new parliaments. The government wants a high poll, the UDF wants a boycott.

A call has gone out to students at schools, universities, colleges and technikons to boycott classes in protest against the implementation of the constitution. Thousands have responded. Others have been threatened by principals and the government should they boycott.

On top of all this, the government has to deal with one of the worst recessions in years. The recession has hit the poor the hardest, and they have responded.



Burning tyres and power salutes

Students out for democracy in schools and South Africa

THE APARTHEID education time bomb is exploding.

All over the country students from schools, universities and technikons are on boycott to demonstrate their rejection of the Apartheid elections and in support of their educational demands.

Predictions are that the groundswell of anger and frustration building up could lead to one of the biggest education boycotts in South Africa's history.

So far students from three universities — Western Cape, Cape Town and Durban Medical School, and at least 40 schools in Cape Town, Johannesburg, East London, Port Elizabeth, Graaf Reinet, Queenstown and Grahamstown have resolved to boycott classes to show their opposition to the coloured and Indian elections on August 22 and 28.

This follows a joint call from the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) for a boycott of the elections.

A Cosas statement said voting in the elections would only strengthen 'Apartheid and its inhuman Apartheid education'.

'This won't be a solution to the nationally increasing call by black high school students of our country for a solution to their grievances'.

In the past few weeks boycotts have spread from small towns like Welkom in the Free State to the industrial centres like the East Rand townships of Tembisa and Daveyton.

Students say they are no longer prepared to accept the conditions under which they are expected to learn.



Veteran activists share the stage at Johannesburg Women's Day meeting (L-R) Malydia Ngwenya, June Mlangeni, Mrs Mosololi, Terror Lekota, Amina Cachalia, Albertina Sisulu and Amia Naidoo

Women in Transvaal build up organisation

FOR THE first time in more than twenty years, women's organisations are mushrooming in different parts of the Transvaal.

Representatives from ten different townships came together at a Transvaal Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) weekend workshop recently, to discuss their progress and problems.

Most of the groups are still young but some have already organised projects like food co-operatives. Members put their food money together and buy in bulk, which is cheaper.

Women at the workshop said they faced special problems:

- As women workers they are the cheapest labour and are not protected from the abuse of the bosses.

- Women have to face violence and rape.

- From childhood women are taught they are inferior, so they lack confidence. Men in organisations don't always treat women with respect.

- Women are the 'sponges' at the bottom absorbing all the shocks'. In the family they have to look after the children, the house, take most responsibility and deal with all the financial burdens.

- Traditions and culture make women believe they are weak and inferior.

- On top of all these problems, black women still have to face pass laws, influx control and other apartheid laws.

Because of these special problems the workshop felt women needed a separate women's organisation.

'In their own organisations women can talk more easily and learn to have confidence in themselves and their abilities,' said a report on the workshop.

Women can work with organisations like civics in fighting common issues like rent.

200 people.

A meeting organised by Azaso's Rhodes branch was attended by 500 people, including students from Fort Hare, Unitra and the Cape College of Education. Amanda Kwadi and UDF secretary Popo Molefe were among the speakers. Students put on a play about women to get their message across.

1000 people attended the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO) rally.

Edgar Ngoyi, UDF Eastern Cape president, called on women to join organisations, including trade unions, student, youth and civic groups.

Durban women held a cultural day. The Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) organised choirs, slide-shows, displays, poetry and drama. Women from KwaMashu, Lamontville, Hambañati and Alan Taylor residence were among the contributors.

200 people gathered at the Clements Kadalie hall in Duncan Village for a meeting organised by the National Womens Association, Border region (NWA).

Local speakers from NWA, Cosas, South African Allied Workers Union, East London Youth Congress, RMC and the African Food and Canning Workers Union spoke at the meeting.



"Women awake" — part of an enthusiastic August 9 crowd.

standing as election candidates to resign. 'It's not too late to change your minds. Come here — we will open our arms', she said.

Other activities included a cultural evening and a picket of over 100 women in the Johannesburg city centre. Women held placards saying 'Don't vote', 'Away with pass laws', and 'GSI is killing us'.

In Cape Town over 1000 people attended the United Women's Organisation (UWO) rally in Athlone.

Pamphlet blitzes and pickets led up

to the rally.

Mrs Mtiya from the Langa branch of the UWO said women in the townships had helped build the civics and UWO had helped build the UDF.

UDF Western Cape executive member Cheryl Carolus attacked 'stooges who claim to speak for the African people, those in the homelands and in places like Crossroads and KTC. We tell them we speak for ourselves', she said.

The Womens Front also held a meeting in Cape Town, attended by

August 9 — history inspires

'OUR WOMEN shook the government with their courage, strength and unity on August 9. We need to do the same today in our fight against the new constitution.'

Speakers around South Africa echoed this message as meetings across the country commemorated National Women's Day, adding the voice of women's organisations to the growing campaign against the tricameral parliament.

The Transvaal held its biggest Women's Day commemoration in many years. People walking in Johannesburg's Sunday afternoon streets were greeted by a crowd wearing UDF and Fedsaw (Federation of South African Women) t-shirts, marching behind a banner saying 'Amakhosikazi Vukani — Women Awake'.

Busloads of people from Mamelodi, Soweto, Vaal, Pieterburg, Lenasia, Bosmont, Coronationville, Tembisa and Alexandra, poured into the Methodist Hall.

'The women marched not for themselves, but for everyone in South Africa', said Albertina Sisulu.

Terror Lekota said, 'when our children ask us what we did, we must be able to answer them — we did not vote'.

Vesta Smith, who chaired the meeting, called on the two women

Schoon fought apartheid, knowing the danger

ALL POLITICAL activists, whether they are inside or outside South Africa, have a real fear of assassination.

'Danger is nothing new. Wherever you are, you have to accept that there is danger.'

These were Jeanette Schoon's comments before she and her family left Botswana in August last year.

They had been warned by the International Volunteers Service, for which she and her husband Marius were working at the time, that their lives were in danger.



Jeanette Schoon

Schoon faced that danger daily until she and her six-year-old daughter Katryn were killed.

They died on June 28 when a parcel they were opening exploded at their Lubango home, near Luanda in Angola.

Marius, an activist who spent 12 years in a South African jail for sabotage, was away in Luanda at the time.

Before her death, Jeanette (35) lectured in English at a Luanda University College in Lubango.

Her family has always opposed apartheid. Her father, Mr Jack Curtis, is an outspoken critic of the government and her brother, Neville,

a former Nusas president, was banned and later went into exile in Australia.

Jeanette was a student at Wits University. She was elected to the Nusas executive in 1970, and held the office of Transvaal Regional Director.

During her term of office, wages commissions were set up on all Nusas campuses to assist emerging unions and advice organisations.

She was involved in setting up the Industrial Aid Society in Johannesburg, and later worked as an archivist for the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In 1975 she was detained in solitary confinement for 64 days, and was later banned.

Jeanette's brother, Neville, said it was 'scandalous that any country should attack its own sons and daughters'.

200 people paid tribute to Jeanette at a memorial service called by the Detention Action Committee (ADAC) in Cape Town.

At a service in Johannesburg, Cedric de Beer, who spoke for the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee expressed his outrage and anger and paid tribute to Jeanette.



At a press conference to launch a week of end-conscription activity in Johannesburg, (L-R) Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash, ECC's Pete Harris, and Advocate Anton Lubowski.

End call-up campaign grows

'NEITHER SWAPO, nor the Western Five, nor Angola, nor the Cubans can bring peace to Namibia. Only South Africa can give us peace.'

This was the central theme of Advocate Anton Lubowski's message at a recent press conference in Johannesburg.

Lubowski was the guest of the End Conscription Committee at its first public event - a Namibia focus week.

CO support group hits divisive law

THE BOARD for Religious Objectors, set up by the government after the 1983 Defence Amendment Act was passed, has been severely criticised by the Conscientious Objectors Support Group (Cosg).

At its national conference in Johannesburg it was unanimously agreed that the Board was inadequate as it only recognises 'religious pacifists' and does not acknowledge any political, moral and ethical objection to service in the SADF.

The focus aimed to highlight the situation in Namibia and called for the withdrawal of the SADF, an end to the war and the immediate implementation of UN resolution 435. These demands were linked to the ECC's demands for an end to conscription.

The focus was launched with a picket involving about 70 people lining a road in Johannesburg. The

The conference saw the Board as an attempt to divide 'religious pacifist' objectors from 'political' ones. It was also seen as an attempt to dilute resistance to participation in the military by offering 'alternative service'.

The conference also looked at how conscriptees could be supported. Advice bureaux have been set up in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town to assist people with questions or problems.

picket, organised by the Black Sash, included members of all ECC organisations. The placards read: 'Peace in Namibia Now', 'Troops out of Namibia Now' and 'Cancel the Call-up'.

Despite some hostile responses, Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash said in all her years of picketing she had never received so much support from the public.

The picket was followed by a multimedia concert the following night. Over 300 people watched videos on the war in Namibia, looked at displays on militarisation and danced to the music.

The next night a vigil was held in the Catholic Cathedral.

At the public meeting closing the focus, Sheena Duncan said a government which relied on conscription could not win the war. This was especially true in South Africa, she said, where 'the war is a civil war and not one against a foreign aggressor'.

Education 'time bomb' explodes



Students on the march in Parys ... all over the country students are taking militant action to air their grievances

STUDENTS and education authorities are deadlocked. At least 23 schools in Tembisa, Cradock, Daveyton, Alexandra and Saulsville-Atteridgeville are closed or suspended, affecting over 20000 students.

Observers say that unless the government and the DET give in to students' demands the situation could get worse.

'Students' demands have fallen on deaf ears', said a Cosas member, 'and more and more students are forced to resort to boycott action as their only weapon in winning their demands'.



Barricades in Thabong

Student on boycott is shot dead

BANTU EDUCATION has claimed another victim — this time 18 year old Papiki Loape from the Welkom township of Thabong.

Loape was allegedly shot and killed by police during student protests over school conditions.

The protests began on July 20 after students at Teto High School gave their vice-principal, Mr Hanekom, a list of their grievances. These included:

- Refusal to allow an SRC instead of the prefect system;
- Excessive corporal punishment and racist teachers;
- Bad teaching — too few teachers and they are underqualified.
- Bad facilities, and a very high failure rate.

Students said, when their representatives spoke to Hanekom he wouldn't discuss the problems but blamed students for being 'defiant and not wanting to work'.

Classes were suspended after students decided to boycott. Standard 9 and 10 students were told to reregister on July 30.

On that day all 900 students turned up. Matrics were told to move to one side but refused, saying they would not be divided from fellow students.

Students again demanded their grievances be heard, and began to move out of the school yard.

According to students police were waiting outside and began beating and teargassing them. Students then went to Thutaguata and Lebogang High School where more students joined them.

Angered by police attacks, students began stoning and burning vehicles — six were overturned and beerhalls looted.

The boycott continued the next day. Students planned a meeting at midday to discuss the suspension of 40 students.

Again police went in. Violence erupted throughout the township. At least 18 students were detained, two injured, and Papiki Loape shot dead.

His funeral a week later was not allowed to go ahead in peace. As thousands of mourners carried the coffin through the streets to the Loape house singing freedom songs, police fired teargas at them.

At virtually every school presently on boycott, students are reported to have made persistent attempts to put forward their demands before they resorted to boycotting classes.

Delegations of students and parents, lists of grievances and petitions were given to principals or Inspectors.

'But our demands are not taken seriously. Sometimes we are given promises, but we see no changes, only attempts to crush us', said one student.

'They prefer to close down our schools rather than give in to our demands'.

In Daveyton, Alexandra, Welkom and Mabopane there have been violent confrontations between police and students.

Two students, Hendrik Nkuna from Mabopane East Technikon and Papiki Loape from Welkom were shot dead in these battles. Many others have been injured, detained or arrested.

A Daveyton student, Patrick Phala, is in a critical condition after being shot in the head during boycotts there.

Educationalists say that unless the government and the DET give in to students' demands, the conflict and the boycotts will intensify.

'In addition', said one student leader, 'students are seeing their problems in the schools as part of the entire system'.

'From the time they leave school every day the problems aren't over. The trains and buses home are late and overcrowded or the fares have gone up again.

'When they get home they are hungry but there is no food because the wages are too low and GST and rents have gone up. Police are teargassing them at school and hunting people for passes outside school.

'Now the government has come up with this new constitution and the elections. This same government has closed down their schools rather than give in to their demands.'

'It is not surprising that students are not fooled by the talk of reform and this new constitution.'

'That is why more and more students are throwing their weight behind their own organisations and bodies which will represent their interests — organisations like SRC's, Cosas, Azaso and the UDF.'



Minerva students, Alexandra, boycotted in demand of an SRC

THE STUDENTS DEMAND:

● Establishment and recognition of democratically-elected SRC's and the scrapping of the prefect system. Students say only SRC's can represent their interests in the schools.

● An end to excessive corporal punishment. Students say they face physical violence at school and are not given a reasonable chance to defend themselves. They say punishment should be aimed at correction not assault. Democratic SRC's could help to build and maintain discipline among students.

● Age limit laws must be scrapped. Thousands of students have been forced out of schools and onto the streets because they are 'too old'. Students say education should be available to all regardless of age.

● Free textbooks for all students. This will allow every student to study. Black students who come from the poorest section of the population are still forced to pay for school books.

● An end to sexual harassment of female students. Students say female students must be treated as human beings and not as sexual objects.

● The DET must increase the number of qualified teachers. A high percentage of black teachers are underqualified. Some schools have no teachers in certain subjects.

● DET must end unreasonable suspensions and expulsions of students and teachers.

● DET must stop inviting the police, the security police and the SA Defence Force into school affairs.

THE GOVERNMENT RESPONDS:

Students say the authorities have responded to these demands by:

● Using repressive action. In virtually every school a riot squad have been sent in with dogs, teargas and guns. At least four students have already died in conflicts between police and students and many more injured.

In Saulsville-Atteridgeville Emma Sathekge was run over and killed by a police vehicle entering a school yard. Papiki Loape from Welkom and Hendrik Nkuna from Mabopane Technikon were killed when police intervened.

Students have been detained, arrested or their houses have been raided.

● Closing schools and suspending classes. This has already affected 23 schools and more than 20000 students.

● Blaming the boycotts on 'agitators', Cosas and the UDF. Students strongly reject this. They say the conditions in their schools, Apartheid education and the authorities unsympathetic response to their grievances are the 'agitators' forcing them to take action. Cosas is their own organisation and the UDF unites them with other groups.

● Proposing 'improved communication structures' and Pupils Representative Councils (PRC's).

Students say they have made their demands for SRC's clear and see these as the best structures to represent their interests, create a good relationship between parents, students and teachers and foster a spirit of trust, unity and responsibility.

They say the DET was forced to recognise that the prefect system is unacceptable to students and is now trying to impose PRC's to undermine the overwhelming support for SRC's.

● Quoting increased spending on black education. But students say this spending still discriminates heavily against black students. Annual expenditure per child is: White — R1385, Indian — R871, Coloured — R593, African — R192.

Alex school shuts after prefect attack on students

STUDENT ANGER at Minerva High School in Alexandra boiled over recently when their principal, Mr Baloyi, refused to listen to their demands and prefects attacked them with pangas.

The entire school of 2000 students went on boycott demanding:

- an SRC or the reinstatement of the Minerva Students Council (MSC), banned earlier this year;
- Baloyi's resignation, and refund of woodwork money paid, as they have

had no teacher or materials.

● An end to sexual harassment of female students;

● Scrapping of age-limit laws;

● Use of corporal punishment only as laid down by DET regulations;

● Release of all detained students.

After Baloyi refused to listen to the demands, prefects allegedly attacked students with pangas. At least one student was taken to hospital.

Prefects and Baloyi then barricaded themselves into an office

to escape students' anger.

Riot Squad police moved in and stormed the school with teargas machines and dogs.

The following day a storeroom at the school was set alight and the school was closed down.

Students at the nearby Realogile secondary school joined the boycott

This was the third boycott at Minerva this year in support of the demand for an SRC. The first boycott, in March, lasted six days.

The schools are emptying one by one

● Tembisa: About 5000 students from four schools have boycotted classes since the end of July demanding SRC's, an end to age limits, corporal punishment according to DET regulations and others. Authorities refused the demands and classes were suspended.

● Queenstown: Over 1500 students at three schools, boycotted classes.

Nkwanca High students in std.9 and 10 have been without Maths and Science teachers for about two months. Students said their complaints were 'brushed off with false promises'.

Students went on boycott in mid-July demanding: teachers for their academic subjects, abolition of PRC's and recognition of SRC's, the scrapping of the age-limit law.

● Mabopane East Technikon, Soshanguve: Over 1000 students boycotted classes demanding recognition of a democratically elected SRC. The rector, Mr Wijnbeek, refused to discuss the demand with students and gave them an ultimatum to leave campus.

Students said, before they could leave police arrived and began beating them and firing rubber bullets at them. Police hunted them into the township and conducted house to house searches beating students wherever they were found.

One student, Hendrik Nkuna died after being shot in the head, allegedly by police.

● Medunsa: Students boycotted classes in solidarity with Mabopane

● Ongoye: Students boycotted classes in protest against canteen food.

● Hwiti, Pietersburg: Students boycotted classes in protest against being interviewed by SABC's TV2. They have also demanded an SRC. Students were promised an SRC, but the prefect system was still operating. Now SRC members are reported to have been victimised and at least five SRC members have been expelled.

● Daveyton, Benoni: Four schools were suspended after about 4000 students boycotted classes demanding an SRC, an end to excessive corporal punishment and abolition of the age-limit law. Police have fired teargas at students.

One student, Patrick Phala, is in hospital in a critical condition after being shot in the head.

● Duderstadt, Nigel: Matric students boycotted classes after their demands for the reinstatement of their teacher were ignored.

Students returned to classes when they were granted the MSC.

In May the MSC was banned and students, including MSC president, Peter Makgoba, were detained. More than 40 students were suspended.

Students returned to classes after Makgoba was released and the 40 students readmitted to school. Students said prefects were reintroduced even though they had demanded an SRC.

THE GENERAL and Allied Workers Union (Gawu) recently recommitted itself to building the national and industrial strength of the independent trade union movement.

At its annual general meeting held in Soweto, Gawu expressed its commitment to 'one powerful, united, national trade union and the leadership of the working class in the broad popular struggle for both political and economic liberation.'

Over 100 delegates to the conference, representing workers from Gawu branches in Johannesburg, Krugersdorp, Kuruman and Vryburg, passed the motion unanimously.

Gawu outlined three complementary avenues through which it would achieve its goals:

- full participation in the planned new national federation of indepen-

Gawu's targets both political and economic



Gawu members gather for AGM

dent trade unions. At this stage Gawu has been excluded from full participation in the federation talks, along with the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) and the Municipal and General Workers Union of South Africa (Mgwusa).

- Working in the United Democratic Front.

This was seen as important in the light of 'our commitment to political

and economic liberation, the leadership of the working class in both these struggles, and the need of working class organisations to identify and link up with progressive allies in these struggles.'

- Most important, building Gawu.

The congress represented an important development in building and consolidating the union into industries and branches.

Unions affiliated to Gawu which attended the congress are the South

African Railways and Harbours Workers Union, the South African Mine Workers Union and the South African Scooter Drivers Union.

Expansion into new branches and industries will be limited as far as possible.

In the Kuruman area Gawu is concentrating on organising the mines, furnishing and municipal workers, and in Vryburg, food and municipal workers form the backbone of the union.



Penge miners refused to go back into the mine, but stood their ground in the hostel. After three weeks a Supreme Court order forced them out.

Penge strikers dig in deep

ABOUT 1700 mine workers at the Penge asbestos mine in Lehowa turned their hostel into a fortress of strength against management as they staged one of the first sit-ins in South African trade union history.

The workers went on strike on July 4, 1984, for higher wages and the recognition of their union, the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (Bamcwu).

They were dismissed after six days for not meeting a return to work deadline. But the workers would not accept that they were dismissed and embarked on a form of passive resistance, refusing to leave the hostel.

For three weeks the workers did not budge. They only left after their company, Griqualand Exploration and Finance Company (Gefco) was granted an order by the Pretoria Supreme Court permitting them to eject the workers.

They then rejected management offers of re-employment as none of their demands had been met.

'We are aware that our families are

faced with a bleak future but we are prepared to sacrifice,' said the workers at a meeting held in the small village of Bothashoek.

In the face of intransigent bosses, the workers stood united. Every evening they gathered in a large circle in the hostel grounds. Their spirits high they sang freedom songs and discussed their situation.

They were not deterred when management decided to close the mine canteen and other hostel services, in what the union believed was 'a ploy to starve them out of the hostel.'

Instead, the workers received food and support from the surrounding villages.

Nor did they give in when the management began recruiting 'scab' labour and housing them in an old hostel a short distance away. They retaliated by going to talk to chiefs in the area asking them not to send new recruits.

At least one chief agreed. 'I told the mine we can't be expected to get

people to work for you. These fired people are part of our community.'

And the workers were not intimidated by the presence of mine security and Lehowa police, including riot police and dogs, constantly patrolling the area.

According to files at a nearby magistrate's office, 134 workers — almost 10 per cent of the workforce, were paid out lump sums of workmen's compensation for 'occupational disease' in the past ten months.

In most cases the workers suffered from asbestosis — scarring of the lung tissue caused by asbestos dust.

The district is dotted with thin, coughing men who were dismissed from the mine once they were found to have the disease. Only a few workers are moved to 'soft jobs' like cleaning the mine swimming pool once they have contracted the disease.

The workmen's compensation they receive is a mere pittance in the light of the fact that their health and their chances of getting other jobs have

been destroyed forever.

One worker was dismissed in May this year after working at Penge for 24 years. He received a workmen's compensation payout of R1 790 plus notice pay of R425. He gets no pension.

In a homeland, where jobs are scarce and the homeland government is only too keen to welcome anyone who will provide employment there is little pressure on the company to improve the working conditions.

Many workers are so desperate to keep their jobs that they fear the three-monthly screenings of their lungs because if they were found to have asbestosis, it would mean losing their jobs.

Penge has not been the only site of mine worker unrest recently. The Chamber of Mines announced their annual wage increases in July and as many as 6 500 miners have struck on five mines in protest against the low wage increases.

At Anglo's Vryheid Coronation Colliery one worker was shot dead and four injured when police clashed with them during a strike. Fifty workers were arrested, allegedly for causing public violence.

The Eastern Transvaal collieries of Goedeheop, Kriel, Wolwekrans and Van Dyk's Drift were also scenes of mine strikes for higher wages. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has membership but no formal recognition at some of these mines.

Meanwhile NUM has declared a dispute between itself and the Chamber of Mines because of the failure to come to an agreement about wage increases during negotiations in June.

NUM is demanding a wage increase of 25 per cent as against the Chamber's offer of 13 to 14 per cent which was implemented from July 1.

Presently, the Minister of Manpower has appointed four conciliation boards in the first step towards either the resolution of the dispute or towards a legal strike.

CTMWA determined on wages

THE 12 000 strong Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association (CTMWA) is up against not only the Cape Town City Council in its fight for a living wage, but also against industrial law.

General secretary John Ernstzen said the Council was taking advantage of a law prohibiting industrial action by municipal workers to undercut the union's bargaining power.

According to the law, municipal workers perform an 'essential service' and could face a fine of up to R1 000 or a year imprisonment if they went on strike.

The workers wage demands are based on an eight month investigation into the municipal wage structure by a CTMWA wages committee.

At a meeting in April, 4 000 workers adopted proposals which came out of this investigation.



CTMWA workers demand living wage

'Workers say they are finding it hard to make ends meet and cannot feed and educate their children when they hardly have enough money to pay their rent, bus and train fares,' Ernstzen said.

But where workers demanded an increase from R60 to R120 for workers, Council offered only R75 a week.

At a second general meeting in June, workers mandated the union to take their demands to the Industrial Court.

But the Council went ahead and

implemented their small increase.

CTMWA appealed to the Industrial Court to prevent the Council doing this, but were blocked by a legal technicality.

Many workers took steps to show the Council they did not accept their small increase. They arranged for shop stewards to take the increase out of their pay packets and hold it back.

Over 4 000 workers attended a report-back meeting in July and passed a resolution condemning the Council's action.

Once the issue of the Council's small pay increase is out of the way, the union hopes the workers wage demands will be heard by the Industrial Court.

But the frustration of the long drawn-out dispute is clearly beginning to show.

Bid to join Saawu met with dogs, rifle-butts

'EVERYTHING was in turmoil. Police beat people and dogs bit the workers.'

This is how workers at a Frame Group textile factory in East London described how they were chased off the premises after being fired.

Events began when plant workers decided to ask Frame management to stop deducting membership fees for the TUCSA-affiliated Textile Workers' Industrial Union.

Most of the 4050 workers are members of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) and reject the closed shop agreement the 'sweetheart' Tucsua union has with management.

The workers handed notes to the Frame management asking that the fees not be deducted any longer, indicating their resignation from TWIU.

Management did not respond. A delegation was sent to management demanding a reply, but they were told they would get one from the dummy liaison committee set up by management to negotiate with the workers.

When the delegation returned to work, Frame's personnel manager, Mr W Coetzee handed out notices warning workers that anybody not working could be fired.

While workers were reading the notices they were told they were fired and had three minutes to leave the factory.

Three minutes elapsed, and while we were trying to change our overalls, police entered the department and started assaulting people with sjamboks and let loose the dogs', the statement released afterwards said.

Immediately after the lock-out Frame workers gathered at the Saawu offices. 'Several security policemen arrived', said Boyce Melitafa, a union official who was there at the time.

'They began to beat the workers with their rifle butts', he said. 'Several were injured. It was the worst action taken by the security police'.

However, the head of the security police in the area denies all the charges. He challenged anybody to lay charges against the police.

The workers involved in the incident have said they intend to do just that.

Rawu strike wins change in contract

WORKERS AT Cape Town dairies have loosened the tight grip the migrant labour system has over them.

The workers, who are members of the Retail and Allied Workers Union (Rawu), went on strike demanding that contract workers be given call-in cards. Contract workers are forced to return to the Transkei and Ciskei at the end of every year to renew their contracts.

This causes many hardships, say the workers. 'When our contracts end each year, we must sit and wait four, five, six months without pay. We are never sure if we will get our jobs back. What must our families live on in this time?' asked one worker.

Workers who have call-in cards are able to renew their contracts in less than a month after they have ended. And it is more difficult for employers to fire them for no reason.

The strike at Dairybelle lasted for three days before management agreed to meet with worker representatives and not to victimise any strikers. They also agreed to the demand for call-in cards.



'Reject divide and rule' says a speaker. The crowd agrees.

Across South Africa, crowds rally against apartheid vote

Across the country — in the townships, the rural areas, and even the heart of the white areas, rallies are being organised against the apartheid elections. Nearly 50 such meetings have already been held.

In stark contrast to this activity, are the parties standing in the elections. Notwithstanding their heavy presence on radio and TV, the Labour Party, Solidarity, and others have been conspicuously absent from public platforms.

UDF has organised many of the anti-election rallies. But the different groupings making up the front have also arranged meetings for their own specific constituencies.

●Two broad trade union rallies have been held — in Johannesburg and Cape Town. 4000 workers attended the Cape Town rally organised by a wide range of unions including the General Workers Union, National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, Food and Canning Workers Union and Cape Town Municipal Workers Association.

●Political groups like the Natal Indian Congress, United Committee of Concern, Transvaal Indian Congress and Anti-PC have all drawn large nonracial crowds to their many gatherings.

●Student and youth affiliates of UDF made a powerful political statement with a 2000-strong youth rally in Lenasia. The meeting rejected the constitution, conscription, gutter

education and the Koornhof Bills. ●Ongoing meetings are being called by civic associations in most provinces, one of the highpoints being a joint civic rally in Soweto. The twelve civics there adopted the following statement:

'The Hendrickse's, and Rajbansi's, and their counterparts like bantustan leaders have no right to claim they represent the African majority.

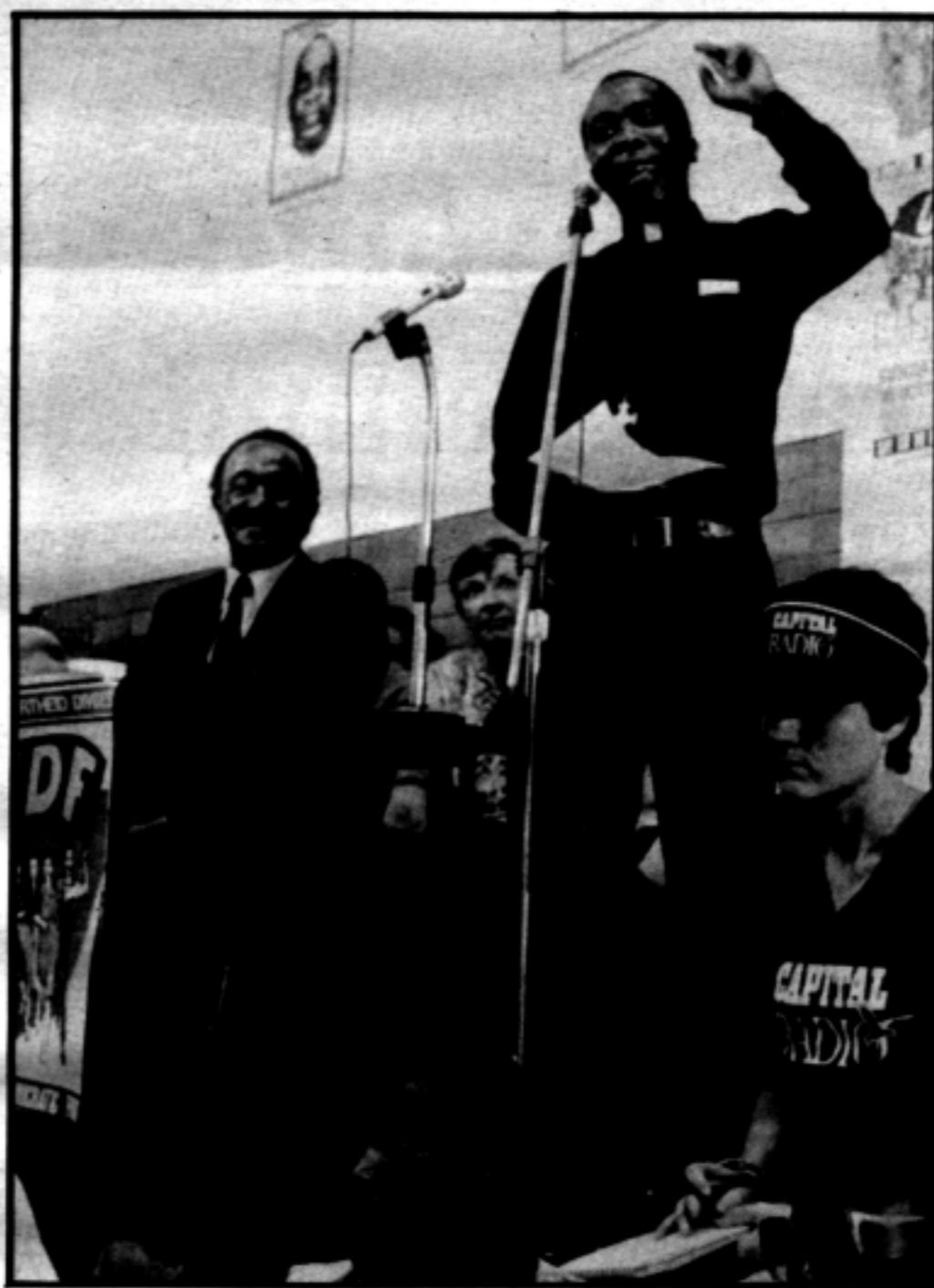
'We wish to remind them that the people's leaders are in prison, exile and in our people's organisations within the country.'

●Religious groupings nationwide have also joined in the mobilization with three rallies targeting the government's policy of removals and resettlement. In Cape Town, 7000 people declared the constitution 'haram' (against Islamic law) at a rally organised by Muslims Against Oppression.

Many of the anti-election gatherings held in outlying areas have been the first public protest meetings held there for many years. The campaign has been taken as far as towns like Oudtshoorn and Graaf-Reinet in the Cape, Kimberley in the OFS, Ladysmith in Natal and Seshego and Potchefstroom in the Transvaal.

For many of the 2000 people who came to the UDF rally in the coloured area of Parkside, East London, it was their first experience of anti-apartheid public meetings.

Anti-election media has followed



Jorac's Rev Xundu addresses a Durban rally

this trend. 'UDF News' has produced four special editions for different rural areas. Stickers, posters and pamphlets have found their way to the small towns. The Million Signature Campaign has also moved into these areas.

Speakers' messages have been aimed at the specific audiences attending each rally. Joyce Mabudaphasi at the Seshego rally warned of the effect Koornhof Bills would have on Lebowa migrants working on the Witwatersrand.

Workers' and womens' rallies and pickets have stressed the economic burden of the new parliaments and

the expanding South African Defence Force budget.

Civics have focussed on the housing crisis and warned that the government's local autonomy plan will reduce municipal spending on housing, services, health and recreation.

Political organisations have said increasing conflict arise out of the 'new deal'. Conscription for coloureds, Indians, and even eventually for Africans has been predicted and rejected in advance. The denationalisation of Africans through the bantustan policy and the retention of Group Areas and other racist laws have also been condemned.

TOIVO VISITS

THE UNITED Democratic Front's solidarity with the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) has been strengthened by a recent meeting between Swapo leaders and members of the UDF national secretariat.

Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and Pastor Hendrik Witbooi met with Terror Lekota, Popo Molefe and Cassim Saloojee at the UDF national office and expressed a joint commitment to:

●A boycott of the elections to South Africa's apartheid parliament, ●UN resolution 435 as the only basis for a free Namibia.

The Swapo leaders said that the constitution meant conscription. Coloured and Indian youth would be called on to enforce South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

Arrangements are being made for Swapo speakers to attend UDF anniversary rallies around the country. Two members of a Namibian youth organisation attended the UDF youth rally in the Transvaal.

Candidates fill pockets with empty promises

VOTERS ARE being offered a mixture of well-known government puppets who proudly wear Management Committee and SAIC badges, and a flock of others falling all over themselves to get into politics. And that fat R48 000 pay cheque.

They are not a choice bunch, these 'people's leaders'. Those who have been around for years have done little to win support.

Some of their efforts include:

●The SAIC takeover of Indian education despite loud and clear protests from teachers, students and parents. Recently, it was revealed a 'black-list' of newly-qualified teachers had been drawn up by the SAIC. Politically active teachers were to be sent to remote rural areas. Rajbansi, the SAIC head, said he 'could not deny the document existed'.

●In Laudium, Pretoria, residents forced the city council to suspend the plot allocations list the Management Committee had drawn up. 78 people who had never been on the waiting list at all were alleged to have been allocated plots including the deputy-chairperson of the Management Committee, the deputy town clerk and the father of a council official.

The political style of opportunists and unpopular 'leaders' has always been to make threats and empty promises - and then to back down.

The Labour Party threatens to withdraw from the election if it can't enter candidates for the Indian House. Then it backs down and agrees to enter as independents. 'This', explains Nationalist Party officials, 'is consensus politics at work.'

There are also the candidates who are more Right-wing than their employers in the Nationalist Party.

Charles Julies of the Reformed Freedom Party wants conscription of coloureds immediately.

Intimidation — who's fooling who?

EVERY VOTER who stays away from the polls in the August elections will be described as 'a victim of intimidation'.

The Labour Party, Solidarity and others - with strong backing from the SABC radio and television - have already been whipping up stories of 'UDF intimidators' at their meetings.

In April, Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis met leaders of the five coloured parties participating in the elections. Afterwards one of the leaders proudly told the press he had requested, in fact demanded, that the government

launch a high-profile pro-constitution campaign.

This must include extensive use of television and a door-to-door leaflet campaign.

The government went a step further. Not only did it launch a massive campaign on television and radio, distribute propaganda, issue statements, it also launched a smear campaign against the UDF and its affiliates.

In June, it accused the UDF of using its 'Million Signature Campaign' to recruit people to the African

National Congress. It claimed there was unspecified evidence to back up this allegation.

The SABC has been in the forefront of creating a climate in which the State can take fierce action against the UDF's campaign. As such:

●Numerous UDF activists have been detained. Publicity secretary 'Terror' Lekota has been detained twice - once in Bloemfontein, once in Parys. ●Over 50 people have been arrested while putting up UDF posters. ●Riot police vans surrounded the

Majority won't vote in August elections

THE government hopes for a high election poll in the forthcoming apartheid elections — but already its statistics are discredited.

And, despite a massive government propaganda campaign to register voters, four of every ten Coloured adults have not responded. This means that even a 50 percent poll represents the backing of a mere 26 percent of the Coloured population.

In elections for local authority councils in African townships last year, conservative groups like the Urban Foundation predicted a 36 percent poll. The official results however showed that not even one in ten African registered voters supported the councils.

Research done by the UDF showed that thousands of Africans were not even registered as voters — and therefore even fewer than one in ten who supported the councils.



Youth raise up a strong voice against the new constitution.

UDF youth rally behind don't-vote call



High spirits at the rally

Azaso gets ready for challenging year ahead

700 STUDENTS from 34 universities, technikons and colleges gathered in Soweto last month for Azaso's four-day congress.

The opening session was addressed by Oscar Mpetha, a United Democratic Front president and Ieror Lekota, UDF publicity secretary.

A highlight of the congress was a panel discussion on 'The Freedom Charter and the Working Class Struggle'. It was led by veteran trade unionist and ex-Robben Islander Curnick Ndlovu, Eric Molobi, Sydney Mufamadi and Firoz Cachalia.

Another UDF president, Albertina Sisulu, spoke at a session on women along with Dorothy Nyembe and Amanda Kwadi.

A new Azaso executive was elected. The new president is Simphiwe Mogodiso from Ngoye university. He said: 'Azaso has expanded to all corners of the country. There is greater preparedness amongst students to take up issues, even on repressive campuses such as Fort Hare.' He expects the following year to be a strong, but challenging one for Azaso.

The students took resolutions on the Nkomati accord, conscription, the tri-cameral parliament and the present education crisis.

Azaso activists have targeted training colleges and technikons for organisation.

They also started planning the introduction of the Education Charter campaign, due to begin in September.

Nusas holds July festival

HISTORY was made last month during the annual July Festival of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

For the first time since the early 1960's, members of each of the five organisations that made up the Congress Alliance gathered on a single platform under the banner of the Freedom Charter.

The theme of the Festival — 'There shall be peace and friendship' — brought together Steve Tshwete, former member of the African National Congress; Helen Joseph, former member of the Congress of Democrats and ANC Women's League; Billy Nair, fifties South African Congress of Trade Unions and South African Indian Congress leader; Curnick Ndlovu, ex-ANC and Liz Abrahams of the Coloured People's Congress.

Invited speakers addressed particular clauses of the Charter during the following five days.

SOUTH AFRICAN youth has called on people to stay away from the polls in the coming elections.

The call was made at the 2 000-strong youth rally recently organised by ten student and youth organisations affiliated to the UDF.

'Instead of these elections, youth should struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa where the people shall govern,' said Murphy Morobe, UDF signature campaign organiser and executive member of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco).

He called on people to bring the tricameral parliament to its knees by staying away from the polls, as people had done in community council elections.

Deacon Mathe, UDF executive member and president of Saulsville-Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo), called on youth to make the anti-election campaign the biggest ever.

Jenny Mohammed of Azaso said: 'This constitution is a rotten carrot dangling before us. It condemns Africans to the bantustans. It conscripts coloured and Indian youth into the army.'

She said the Women's Charter demanded 'peace and friendship' and free movement, but the constitution was a programme for violence and more control. It would bring more poverty, hunger, higher rents and lack of schools and hospitals.

GST was up to 10 percent. Women were struggling to make ends meet but this money went to the army and to Hendrikse and Rajbansi's salaries for their expensive houses and cars, she said.

The rulers are committed to the fragmentation of the country and the bantustan system, said Firoz Cachalia from the Benoni Students Movement and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Pass laws, influx control, population registration, group areas and the migrant labour system would remain firmly in place. Removals and struggles like Magopa, Driefontein, Kathlehong, Crossroads, KTC and Nyanga Bush would continue, he said.

The 'SAIC' and the Labour Party would not bring free, compulsory and dynamic education, said Lulu Johnson, president of the Congress of South African Students. He warned that conscription of Africans would follow the call-up of coloured and Indian youth.

He said part of the government's campaign of winning over sections of the oppressed community was through the militarisation of education.

The South African Defence Force had launched many projects aimed at

youth and students including the Civil Action Programme, the cadet system in the schools, youth preparedness and youth camps.

Johnson and Azaso president Siphwe Mogodiso called on all sections of the community to support the Education Charter campaign which would be launched in September.

The task of the youth now, was to overshadow the elections by united action.

Dan Montsitsi of the Soyco executive made a call 'to counter the proposed co-option of youth from the black communities into the SADF, as in northern Namibia where conscription cannot take place'.

Wits University SRC president Brendan Barry said the campaign against conscription was being taken into the white community. 'There can be no just conscription as long as the SADF oppresses people in Namibia, the Frontline States and in our own country as well.'

'We're not negotiating for any

special reform. We won't stop at anything short of a democratic government where the people shall govern,' said Cedric Kekane from the Saulsville-Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo).

The government had introduced the new constitution despite the clear demands of the people in the Freedom Charter, he said.

'We shall not allow the government to implement the apartheid constitution as it pleases,' said Kekane.

'We must organise the unorganised, and consolidate, defend, strengthen, and expand existing people's organisation.'

Messages of support came from a range of organisations including the South African Allied Workers Union, the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, South African Scooter Drivers Union, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, Young Christian Students and the Mamelodi Action Committee.

Saawu's message to the rally said: 'The time has come for the youth. Less slogan shouting, and more hard work.'

Namibian ally for student movement

DETERMINATION TO build a democratic Namibia and solidarity with the South African student movement were prominent themes at the recent launch of Namibia's first non-racial students' organisation.

The six-day conference was held in the face of strong opposition from certain Namibian school principals who threatened students with expulsion if they attended.

But more than 100 students from universities, colleges, technikons and schools still gathered in Windhoek to form the Namibian National Student Organisation (Nanso).

Papers delivered at the conference included discussions of Southern African politics, community struggles, the role of women in progressive organisation and the role



Delegates at the launch of Namibia's first non-racial student organisation.

of students in fighting illiteracy in Namibia.

The first executive of Nanso was elected as follows: Johannes Damaseb president; Mac A'Hengari, vice-president; Steve Scholtz, Treasurer; Hanno Rumpf, general secretary.

New president Damaseb said: 'I believe through united action we shall overcome. We shall work together with our brothers and sisters in South Africa through the progressive student movement to build a free non-racial and democratic society.'

Throughout the conference stu-

dents sang both political and religious songs. Vice-president Hengari said: 'Because of our peculiar situation in Namibia we are going to forge links with Christian students.'

'We cannot afford division among students. The church is presently playing a meaningful role in our struggle.'

Sechaba Montsitsi represented Saspu National at the conference, and delivered messages of support from Cosas, Azaso and Nusas.

Nanso sent messages of support to Nusas and Azaso which were also holding conferences at the time.

Nusas' message welcomed the formation of Nanso. 'We sincerely hope that with us being part of the progressive movement, we will be in close contact,' Nusas added that it was opposed to military conscription because students were being 'forced to participate in the illegal occupation of your country.'

Nanso's message of solidarity to Nusas' July Festival said: 'We are one in the struggle, fighting for the same things'.

The conference was interrupted at one point when two security policemen questioned Hengari and Samson Ndeikwia of the Namibian Council of Churches which was sponsoring the conference.

High poll brings West Cape SRC back

STUDENTS at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) recently scored the highest poll ever in their Student Representative Council (SRC) elections.

Over 2 000 students — 40 percent of the student body — voted. The eleven new SRC members are all supporters of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso).

They will take over from an ad hoc

committee elected earlier this year which temporarily replaced the SRC.

The last successful elections were in 1982, and for the last two years polls have been less than the 25 percent needed to constitute an SRC.

The results of the election were announced at a mass meeting of over 2 000 students.

The meeting resolved to:

- actively oppose the new constitu-

tion and to support anti-election and anti-constitution groups.

- refuse to be conscripted into the South African Defence Force. They said fighting in the army would mean defending apartheid.

- reject the constitution as the majority of South Africans are excluded.

- reject 'puppet leaders who are betraying our people'.

Councils under fire on rents

IF YOU bash your head against a brick wall you are bound to get a headache.

And community councillors are getting headaches trying to make the government's local authorities idea work.

The recent incidents in Tumahole are testimony to the unbearable living conditions that people face and the extent of their anger at the toothless councils.

While rent increases sparked off the Tumahole protest, many saw dissatisfaction with the community councils as the underlying cause.

It is the local community councils which decide on rent increases. As numerous community councils around the country recently announced increases in a desperate bid to get money, so residents protested.

Democratic organisations have challenged the local authorities to account for their actions.

Daveyton and Tembisa on the East Rand have witnessed large-scale protests against rent and service charge increases. Over 8 000 residents signed a petition against the increases.

The East Rand People's Organisation (Erapo) condemned the July increase, saying it would further burden an already over-taxed community.

At the beginning of July some 2 000 residents resolved to continue paying the old rents until the increases were scrapped.

Unity with other organisations was called for. The meeting was attended by members of the Tembisa Civic Association (TCA). TCA chairperson, Goba Ndlovu, called on all East Rand organisations to form one strong body to fight their campaigns.

The TCA had earlier won a battle against the Tembisa town council's R4 service charge increase.

In Pretoria, angry Saulsville and Atteridgeville residents rejected the town council and called for the councillors' resignations after a rent and service increase was announced. Residents threatened to boycott the councillors' businesses if they refused to resign.

Opposition to the increases was spearheaded by the Atteridgeville-Saulsville Residents Organisation (ASRO). 300 residents attended the first meeting, demonstrating their support for the organisation and the protest with a standing ovation.

One resident said at the meeting: 'I voted last December (in the local authority elections). When people said those who vote are voting for high rents, I did not understand. Now



Top: Tumahole comes out to bury Bonakele Ngalo who died in police custody one day after rent protests began. Right: James Ngalo, brother of the deceased.

I do.'

Asro recently succeeded in having rent increases postponed as residents had not been given the necessary notification in the government gazette.

People of Rathanda, near Heidelberg, have also spoken out against rent increases. Two meetings were held which brought other grievances into the open.

Mr Paul Mokoena, chairperson of the Rathanda Civic Representative

Association, said the township needed a modern sewerage system, rents, electricity and recreation facilities.

The whole council dissolved after all the councillors resigned. A resident commented: 'If they represented us properly they would not be scared of us.'

The issue of land and rents has also been taken up by Huhudi residents near Vryburg in the Northern Cape. They are under threat of removal.

Over 1 500 residents have rejected

high rents and forced removals. At a mass meeting organised by the Huhudi Civic Association (Huca) last month, residents resolved to send a delegation to Koozhof in August.

Huca chairperson, Goatlotsemang Galeng, said the people of Huhudi rejected the community council and it was only recognised by the Northern Cape Development Board.

'They were not democratically elected and they can do nothing for us. They have done nothing about rent increases in Huhudi,' he said.

A pensioners' support committee was formed at the Huca meeting to assist pensioners. Residents say they are among the hardest hit victims of the high cost of living.

Earlier this year — when community council elections took place — candidates all over the country promised reduced rents, service charges and maintenance costs.

They had obviously ignored the minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze. In 1982 he hinted that the government would stop subsidising 'township development'.

If they missed the hint, they need only listen to Koozhof. He says residents must 'bear the burden of their own housing schemes, services and administration'.

The result of this policy is that bankrupt town councils have raised rents and other charges in communities around the country. Residents and their representative organisations have protested.

These democratic organisations warned this would happen when they opposed the town council elections. Now the residents have to bear the brunt of the problem.

Nyanga march to stop shack destruction

MORE THAN 400 Nyanga residents took their demands directly to the authorities recently when they marched to the Western Cape Development Board and asked 'to see the men in charge'.

Instead the police gave them four minutes to disperse, forcing them to drop their placards and scatter.

'There are so many problems here in Nyanga and we have complained so many times, but nothing is done,' one of the residents said.

The most immediate issue was Development Board notices people had received telling them to demolish their backyard shelters.

The Women's Front took up the issue and called two residents meetings in the Jabulani beerhall, each attended by about 500 people.

After the first meeting a delegation went to the Development Board. They were told to first demolish their shelters and then those with big families could apply to rebuild them. They were threatened with fines if they did not do this.

At the second meeting residents resolved not to demolish their backyard shelters until alternative housing was built for them in the existing townships.

They also demanded that all the townships be electrified and that rents be reduced to a level people could afford.

The meeting decided it was time they went to the authorities in person to present these demands. Workers said they would stay away from work to join the march.

The next morning the marchers set out from Jabulani. They acted with great discipline, singing all the way until close to the office and then marching quietly.

The officials locked themselves inside. Police then dispersed the marchers forcefully.

Residents met again afterwards and resolved to continue taking protest action until their demands were met.

One problem they face is finding venues for meetings. They used to meet in the Jabulani beerhall which is burnt out and unused. But recently residents found that barbed wire had been set up all around it.

The only other venue, the Zolani hall is controlled by the Community Council. 'The Community Councillors refuse to allow community organisations to use the hall for meetings. Yet it is the people of Nyanga who have raised money so that the hall could be built.'

Tumahole — a tragic price for more rent

UNTIL A few weeks ago many South Africans would not have known where Tumahole is. But the protests against rent and General Sales Tax increases have put the Parys township on the map.

On Saturday, July 14, 12 000 Tumahole residents gathered in an open veld outside the township. The rally was called to invite Tumahole's town councillors to explain why rent and service charges had been increased by as much as R15 a month.

The councillors failed to arrive. Angered by this, the residents marched to the councillors' homes to get explanations.

The peaceful march was disrupted by police. They ordered the marchers to disperse, then attacked them with sjamboks and hurled teargas canisters.

A clash between police and demonstrators followed and the next day police arrested at least 50 people, charging them with theft, looting and public violence.

The same day Bonakele Ngalo was arrested and taken into custody. He was later found dead in his cell.

Terror Lekota, publicity secretary



Residents pay a last tribute.

of the United Democratic Front, alleges he saw Ngalo being beaten by the police. The police, however, deny they were responsible for his death. They say he died from injuries from an assault before his arrest.

On Monday police called in reinforcements when over 1 000 students protested at being ordered home by school principals.

The next day a number of civic leaders were detained for question-

ing. This provoked a fresh outburst of protests. The situation quietened once word spread that they had been released.

In late July Tumahole came to a standstill when the entire population marched through the streets to bury Ngalo. Several hundred people could not get into the packed hall where the service was held.

The Chief Magistrate of Parys im-

posed strict restrictions on the funeral.

Before the funeral police set up roadblocks outside Tumahole. Two bus-loads of mourners from Johannesburg were stopped and turned back.

Speakers at the service condemned the community councillors and urged residents not to pay the increased rents. 'You elected useless people to represent you,' Johannes Skosana, chairperson of the Tumahole Student Organisation told the people who voted. 'Now you see what is happening to you. I call upon the councillors to resign,' he said to applause.

The people of Tumahole have called their fight 'The struggle of the poor'. There are an estimated 3 000 jobless, and those with jobs are not much better off. The average factory worker earns R18 a week, shop and garage attendants R15 a week and domestic workers about R7 a week. The household subsistence level is about R70 a week.

Mrs Nellie Motsoari, a widow, says: 'I often think it is better to die than to live in this poverty stricken hell.'

SASPU
NATIONAL

Elections that entrench apartheid

THE ELECTIONS of August 22 and 28 are a farce. But that doesn't mean we can ignore them.

On the contrary, these elections — and the domination that will be imposed on South Africa afterwards — are of fundamental importance.

Important not because they are an advance for democracy in South Africa. Quite the opposite.

'The People Shall Govern' is brought no closer by these elections than it was when Transkei was made the first 'independent' bantustan, or the community councils were given a share in running apartheid.

The elections and the new parliaments are important precisely because they take us further away from freedom in our country.

Democracy is easy - one person, one vote, one parliament

The new parliaments are here today because the opposition and the anger of the people have become too intense for the ruling class and their friends in government. The rulers need a new way of doing the same things. A new way of governing, but keeping the same structures of control.

'Reform' is what they call it. And they bring in Coloured and Indian Sebe's to give 'reform' that extra lift, to convince people here and abroad that they really mean well and are treading the path of change.

Through the government, the rulers will remain firmly in control of the machinery of pass laws, group areas and the state media. Through their economic power, the ruling class will retain their control of the factories, the farms, the banks and the commercial media — and over the government.

What is different now is that a new group will help to strengthen the arsenal of control. For the majority of South Africans, the sell-outs in the new parliament will — like Sebe, Matanzima and Tshabalala — have an important part to play in maintaining their hardship.

They are not just puppets

Hendrickse, Rajbansi and friends have no power to change apartheid — the 4-2-1-0 constitution makes sure of that. But they can help make it stronger. Which is why they are being put there.

● They are there to take the process of divide-and-rule a step further.

The government and the ruling groups need them in order to create the impression that Indian and coloured people support a system which not only denies them basic human rights, but which also reserves its harshest workings for African working people.

● The sell-outs are there to collect the blame for housing shortages, for poverty, gutter education, for conscription and for the collapse of the health care system.

This directs anger even further away from the ruling class ultimately responsible for people's problems. After August, it will be all too easy to blame South Africa's worsening ills on the members of the new houses of parliament.

But these houses are subject to the Nationalist Party and its executive president. And this entire structure services a system of vast inequalities of wealth, resources and power. So parliament, the Nats, the president — and even the very 'reform process' — rest on already existing pillars of power and control.

The power of wealth

Ultimately the real power-house, the real rulers of South Africa, are those who will continue to benefit most from the government's plans. They are the owners of the mines, banks, farms, factories and industries.

The challenge to the apartheid elections cannot lose sight of these forces. Ruling class domination exists in all aspects of life — not only in government, the schools and the communities, but also in the factories and the mines, in the media and in culture. The battle to democratise society cannot take place in one site alone.

This is why the campaign to boycott these elections cannot be an end in itself. A low poll will be a victory, but no matter the election results, ruling class power will continue.

Organisers have been challenging the anti-democratic way the entire society is run. They are using the boycott campaign to build up strength in all spheres — in the schools, factories, farms, mines, townships and so on.

Our opposition is exposing the constitution for what it is. Demands for democratic SRCs, struggles for higher wages and union recognition and refusals to accept forced removals are all hitting at the roots of domination.

These struggles, met as they so often are by police action, firing of workers, closing of schools, and banning of meetings, show clearly that 'Reform' can never stand without its parent 'Repression'.

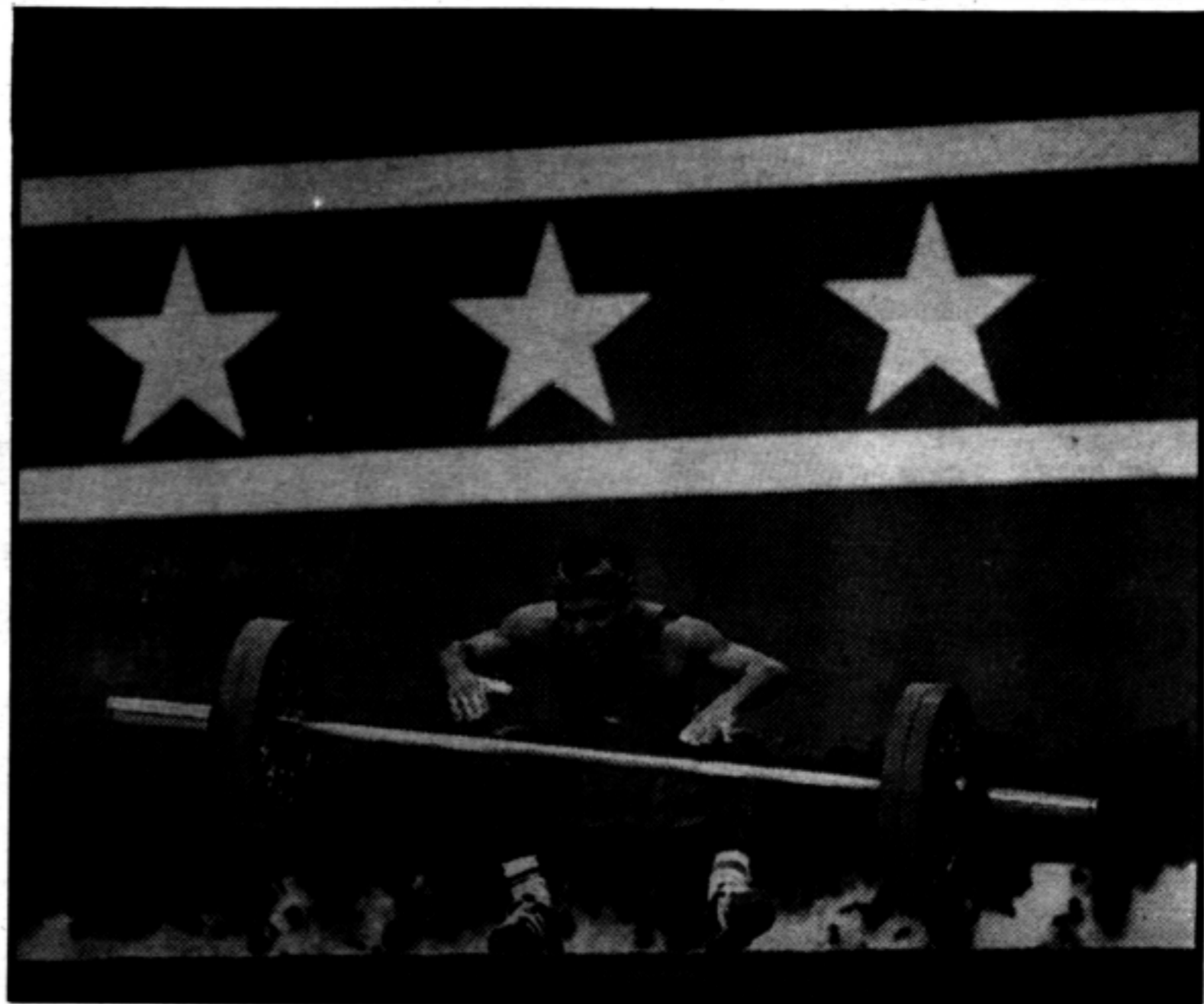
One year of united action

NATIONWIDE, huge rallies have marked the first anniversary of the United Democratic Front. Held under the slogan of 'One Year of United Action', these gatherings have rejected the apartheid elections en masse and pledged themselves to re-double their efforts to end apartheid.

The rallies are the climax of months of hard campaigning for a mass boycott of the elections. They are also the climax of one year's political action by UDF covering Ciskei repression, resettlement, puppet elections for community and management councils, schools crisis, the white referendum and much more.

They come at a time when organisers have valiantly taken UDF's message to the people through the Million Signature Campaign. And they take place in the context of one year's harassment of UDF workers, of disinformation against the front, and of the bannings of scores of many meetings.

'Don't vote in apartheid elections! Forward to freedom!' is UDF's slogan today. In planning the way forward, the front's affiliates now have one year's worth of rich experience to draw from. 'UDF Unites! Apartheid Divides!' is becoming more and more a South African reality.



Olympic ideals crash as USA plays rough

THE 23rd Olympic Games ended in Los Angeles with all the showmanship and commercial slickness to be expected in the home of Hollywood.

But no amount of Reagan razzmatazz could conceal the fact that, without top world athletes from the socialist countries, the games were like a castle without the king.

Why did the Soviet Union and other socialist states decide not to go to Los Angeles? The reason was certainly not because they feared their athletes would not perform well.

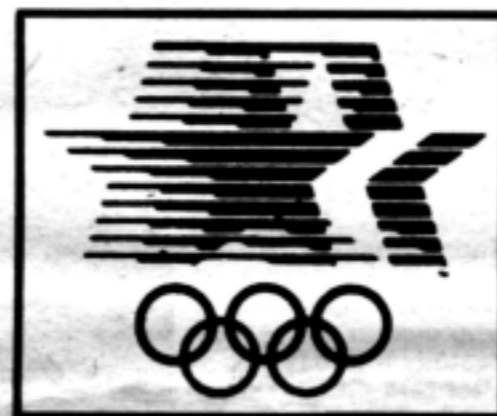
More than half of all world champions in athletics and other Olympic sports, live in the socialist countries. Last year Soviet athletes headed the list of best performers in 62 sports. German Democratic Republic athletes were best in the world in 44 sports, while the Americans were best in 28.

And Soviet athletes had been preparing for these games for years. For them the chance to compete in an Olympiad was a once in a lifetime adventure.

Yet the Soviet National Olympic Committee decided on May 8, that they could not go to the games.

The main reason was the hysterical anti-socialist atmosphere stirred up in America by lunatic fringe groups that received private support and public tolerance from the Reagan administration.

Some 160 ultra-right groups, including the anti-Castro Cuban terrorist group, Omega 7, set up a committee called 'Ban the Soviets'.



According to the widely respected Los Angeles Times, 'Ban the Soviets' received a letter from Michael Deaver, one of Reagan's closest advisors, assuring them that the administration sympathised with the aims of the alliance. Meanwhile, street vendors in Los Angeles were selling 'Kill a Russian' badges.

In the face of this intimidation campaign, all FBI chief William Webster, responsible for anti-terrorist measures inside the USA, could say was that he would be devoting special attention to searching for spies among the athletes from socialist countries.

For these reasons, the Soviet sports' authorities felt they could not risk sending their athletes to Los Angeles. It is important to note that this was not a boycott. The Soviets did not call for cancellation or transferral of the games, as president Carter had done in 1980 when they were held in Moscow.

Olympic rules grant the right to any national Olympic committee not to attend the games.

The decision not to go to Los

Angeles must also be seen in the context of the Reagan administration's overall campaign to whip up anti-socialist feelings and launch attacks around the world on any country or movement that dares to have friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

It is the same campaign that encouraged the South African government to launch attacks on neighbouring independent African states.

President Reagan, who recently 'joked' on national radio that 'bombing of Russia will begin in five minutes', has repeatedly said he is mounting an anti-communist crusade aimed at destroying what he calls the 'empire of evil' — the USSR.

To make up for the disappointment of their athletes not going to the Olympics, nine socialist countries are holding 'alternative games' which aim at showing what the Olympic spirit is all about.

Athletes from African and Asian countries are also taking part in the competitions which will be held also in Cuba, People's Korea and Mongolia.

The standards are high. At the competition in Berlin, Uwe Hohn threw the javelin 104.8 meters, 5.08 meters further than the previous world record holder Tom Petranoff from the USA. Bulgarian high jumper Lyudmila Andonova established a new world record with a leap of 2.07 meters.

These 'friendship games' are to end on August 18 - 20 with a wrestling competition in Mongolia.

Increased GST a crippling blow to poor

IT WAS an all too familiar jolt when General Sales Tax (GST) leapt up for the second time on July 1 this year. Coupled with rising inflation, the hike was met gloomily by people.

Leading economists are already predicting that GST could rise as high as 15 per cent by the end of the year because the government needs still more money to meet its huge bills and to help pay for the new constitution.

Since 1980/81 and 1983/4, the amount of tax collected from GST has risen by 139 per cent. People are also paying more tax than companies.

And the decision to exclude essential items such as coal, paraffin, candles, medicine and school uniforms angered trade union leaders and community organisations.

A spokesperson for the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union said the increase came at a time when workers were suffering from the recession and low

wages.

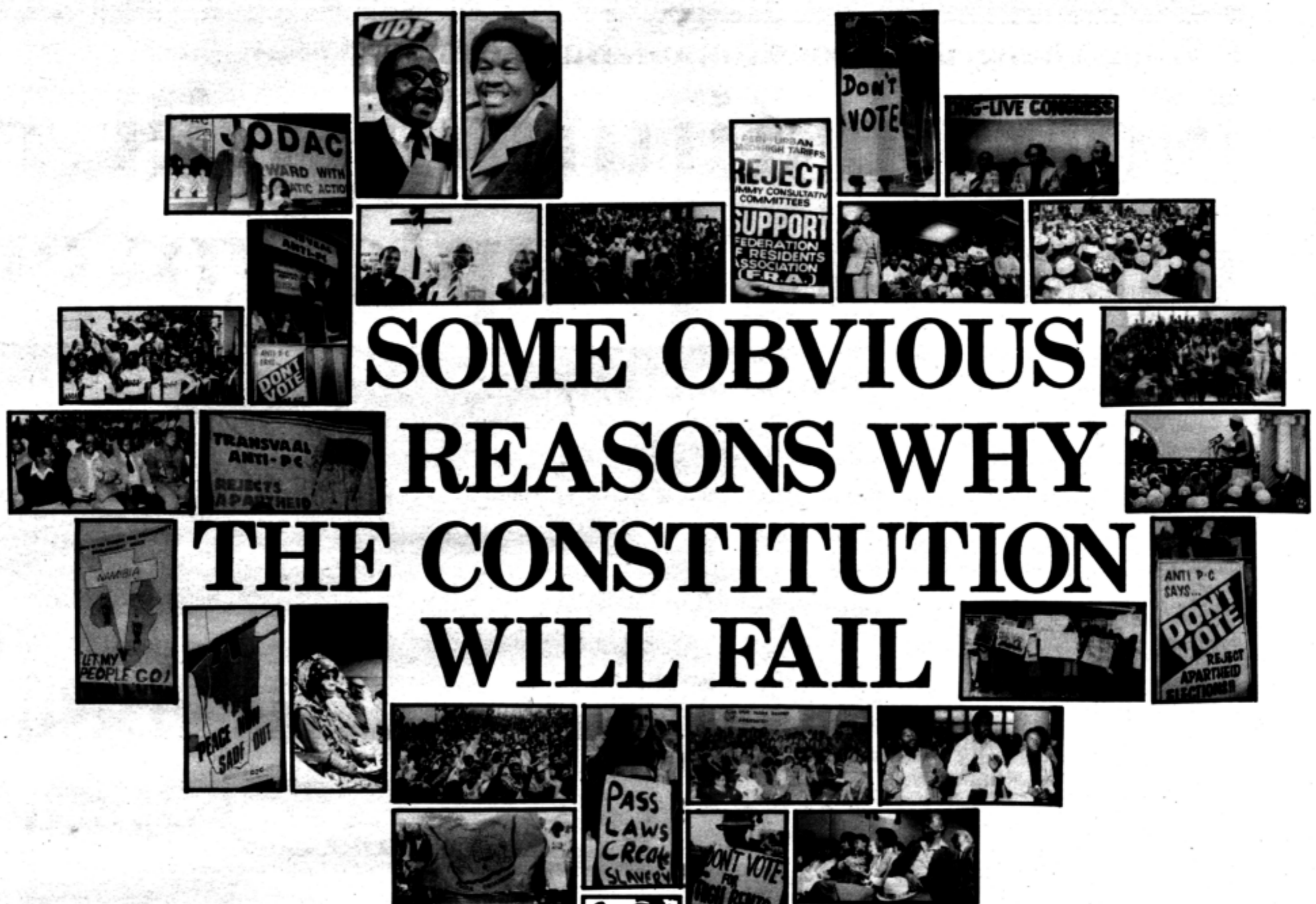
Rita Ndzanga of the General and Allied Workers Union said, 'The fact that foodstuffs are exempted is hardly a relief to us. The 3 per cent increase is enough to choke us. For example, for a mother to feed her child, she has to buy a teaspoon. She has to pay for it.'

The effects of 10 per cent GST will be a severe blow to people living in rural areas who rely on expensive tinned foodstuffs because fresh food is scarce.

Yet items such as bacon and cheese burgers, frozen vegetables in sauce and packets of food supplements are exempt from GST.

Mealie meal, fresh vegetables, fresh meat and fish, plain loaves, eggs, butter and margarine are also exempt. The government will boost its income by R800-million through adjustments in GST made this year.

Of this money, for every R1 spent on defence, 11 cents will go towards health services and four cents will be spent on housing.



SOME OBVIOUS REASONS WHY THE CONSTITUTION WILL FAIL

THERE IS a saying in politics that 'people get the government they deserve'. This might be true of societies where the people have the vote, but it hardly applies when the majority of the people do not choose their government.

Most South Africans did not choose Union in 1910. Nor did they agree to the 1913 Land Act which removed the bulk of their land and left them with far too little to feed themselves.

And there wasn't much democracy after that. African people can either starve, or work on the mines, farms and factories. There is no consultation about what wages are paid, or about conditions at work. Workers are told what to do, and the penalties are harsh for anyone who opposes the system or breaks a minor law or two.

Only where workers organise in strong trade unions are employers forced to negotiate wages and working conditions. Even so, the employers have all sorts of advantages.

Migrants have no rights to remain in the cities once they lose their jobs. Employers can pick and choose their workforce from the millions of landless and jobless Africans trapped in the rural areas.

Even Africans with urban rights are at the mercy of the bosses and the government. It is easy for the bosses to fire them and hire others. Their houses are not their own and the threat of eviction hangs constantly over their heads.

Workers' children are also condemned to lives of wage dependence. The system of Bantu education prepares them to be unskilled and menial labourers.

Most of these controls over the African working class were introduced by force. And, the ruling class has relied on force ever since.

This coercion is based on the power monopolised by business and the government. It is they who make the repressive laws that the police, the courts, prisons and administration boards implement. It is they who command the army and who have total control over every other social, political and economic resource.

A society like this can only survive by force, because it involves a contradiction between those whose interests it serves, and those whose interests it denies. A contradiction between those who own and control the centres of wealth and power and those who don't.

The dominated and exploited groups do not accept this quietly. Their opposition threatens to disrupt the coercive workings of society — both through explicit resistance and through the hundreds of ways in which they duck and dive the controls that seek to pattern their lives.

The dominant group are left with the constant problem of making the system work in the face of contradictions and opposition. This means, as PW has put it, they 'must adapt or die'. They have to readjust the controls to maintain their positions of wealth and power.

Starting the new tri-cameral parliaments is part of the process of adaptation and adjustment by the ruling classes. Old style apartheid control was just not working well enough.

Politically, apartheid stinks. The key groups in business and government — well supported by theologians, academics and professionals like doctors and lawyers — realised that. And, it was breeding resistance and pressure which they could not let mount. Something was going to explode, as it did in Durban during the strikes in 1973, in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976, and the schools in 1980.

The dominant group has set about making the changes it feels are necessary or possible. Their aim is to control the working class in order to exploit it. That motive dooms the new provisions from the start, since they are not the kind of changes workers demand.

The new constitution is like Wiehahn's proposals for changes in the Industrial Relations machinery, the Riekert Commission proposals

on influx control — on which the notorious Koornhof Bills are based — and the De Lange Commission of Inquiry into education.

Like these other 'reform initiatives', the main aim is to discipline and disorganise the dominated classes.

In economic terms certain aspects of old-style apartheid have become counter-productive. As the South African economy has developed, it has drawn on more sophisticated technology. The production lines have become highly mechanised.

This calls for a new generation of worker who is better qualified, and has a more 'constructive' attitude to work.

This requires some changes to the education system. The Verwoerdian aim of Bantu Education was to mass produce African workers with very little skill or responsibility.

Ideologically the dominant group had realised by the late 70's that apartheid could not be sold — locally or internationally — and that they would have to change its shape and colour to make it more marketable. Hence the Total Onslaught Total Strategy scenario: super hero PW and his military industrial establishment save the free world from the communist menace.

Two main themes run all the way through these 'changes': incorporation as a form of control; and transferring the responsibility for the administration of apartheid to black people themselves.

The ruling group is trying to enlist the support and assistance of other classes in controlling the working class. Sections of the oppressed are brought into the dominant group and

the government, apparently as a concession. In reality it is a control.

Politically it involves black people in their own oppression.

Parliaments for coloured and Indian people will manage their 'own' affairs. But the rulers will keep control of the money and have made it impossible for the coloured and Indian collaborators to change policies.

This restructuring of the ruling class alliance by bringing in coloured and Indian junior partners has forced certain adjustment to the ruling ideology as well. The emphasis is no longer on the differences in colour and culture between whites, coloureds and Indians, but on the common class interests that they have.

They are being rallied together to defend 'free enterprise' against the forces of 'revolutionary violence and communism'. The fact that this involves denying Africans any political and economic democracy is carefully hidden.

Economically, the government is trying to bribe their potential allies into collaborating. It is offering them trade in central business districts and houses in formerly 'white' areas.

Not everyone gets these economic bribes. Take resettlement. Africans have been stripped of their land in order to force them to work as wage labourers. But, now there are more job seekers than jobs.

The government has tried to forcibly keep people in the rural areas. But hundreds of thousands of Africans force their way illegally into the urban areas. They do not qualify for houses and squat in tin shacks or squeeze into already overcrowded houses.

The SAP and the administration boards then try to track them down and move them out — a process that can be more easily compared to a guerilla war than to a society that caters for the peace and prosperity of

all its citizens.

The present system needs these pass laws. The latest measure designed to make them more effective is the 'Aliens' Bill. This will place a large responsibility for policing the pass laws on employers who employ 'illegals'. Employers will face a fine of R5 000 for each worker whose pass is not in order and who does not have 'approved' housing.

In the western Cape, the government wants to concentrate the entire African population of Langa, Gugulethu and Crossroads in Khayelitsha.

Designed like a concentration camp with the sea on the one side and an army base on the other, Khayelitsha has only one road and railway connecting it to Cape Town 40km away. In this way Koornhof is trying to eliminate squatters and control the number of migrants allowed in.

No logic in the world will convince the KTC and Crossroads squatters to return to the infertile wasteland of Transkei and Ciskei; or the residents of Lamontville and Hambanati to give up their South African citizenship and become subjects of KwaZulu under Buthelezi.

Nor can employers simply talk their workers into working long hard hours for wages that will not cover food, clothes and rent — let alone education and recreation.

The conflict of interest between the dominant and dominated is so complete and so extreme that coercion and control is crucial to maintain the apartheid system.

There's a saying that only two things in life are certain — death and taxes. It would be wise to add one more certainty, and that is the determination of the dominators to maintain their domination. To do so, they must have the right machinery.

The Koornhof Bills and the new constitution, the government hopes, will add to a more effective controlling machine.

P W has changed the constitution. But the majority say . . .

No constitution will rule until the people govern

FOR MONTHS now South Africans have been preparing, planning, postering and protesting in preparation for 'August'.

The wave of activity was set into motion when, earlier this year, the government announced the dates for the election of the two new segregated parliaments for coloureds and Indians.

August 22 and 28 heralds the second major watershed for the constitutional proposals.

The first came with the drawing up of a new parliamentary structure and its referendum acceptance - in true undemocratic order - by the Nationalist Party, big business, parliament and the majority of white voters.

Now the government is trying to railroad the next phase through with the help of a handful of coloured and Indian politicians, convinced of the wisdom of participating in the segregated parliaments.

Despite holding a referendum for white voters, and calls from some of the major political groups for a similar process for coloureds and Indians, the government opted to hold elections in August.

That decision unleashed a massive campaign by the United Democratic Front, trade unions and other organisations to boycott the elections. Thus began the second phase of a wider campaign started a year ago with the launch of the UDF.

The UDF and its 600 organisations set out to stop the implementation of the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills when it was formed. So far the UDF has scored two major victories.

It halted the passage of the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill through parliament. This Bill was one of the notorious Koornhof Bills which aimed to control the movement of Africans to and from the cities, their access to jobs and housing in the urban areas, and one which would have driven a wedge between rural and urban Africans.

UDF's second success was scored when another Koornhof Bill - the Local Authorities Act - was implemented. The Act set up a new form of community council in the African urban townships.

In the township elections in November last year, the UDF called for a boycott. A majority of Africans rejected these 'dummy councils' and a mere 10,7 percent voted. This was the official figure, and more reliable estimates put the vote around 7 per cent.

But now the UDF has aimed at a third victory - a poll of less than 20 percent in the coloured and Indian elections for members of the House of Delegates and House of Representatives.

But, even a small poll will not affect the constitution itself too severely. According to Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and one of the chief architects of the constitution, the constitution will be implemented whatever the percentage turnout at the polls.

At this stage, the UDF aims to make sure that,



Repression has accompanied the implementation of the constitution ... Here Natal Indian Congress demonstrators are arrested

like the Local Authorities, if the Houses are implemented, they are seen to be working against the wishes of the vast majority of South Africans.

The UDF has argued that the constitution was drawn up without consultation and handed down to South Africa as an unchangeable product.

Furthermore, it was created by a government that has always acted in the interests of the few.

For the UDF, the constitution cannot be separated from the Koornhof Bills. While the new houses were destined to include coloureds and Indians, the Bills were reform's gift to African workers - the majority.

Africans, the UDF points out, will remain rightless, hemmed in by bantustan governments on the one hand, and Local Authorities on the other. Both of these are too weak to provide benefits for Africans, but powerful enough to control their lives.

The press conference that announced the dates of the coloured and Indian elections, took just one hour. During that hour, as with any other average South African hour, 40 Africans were arrested under the pass laws or Trespass Act, 162 workers were injured at work, 16 workers went on strike - nine of them because their wages were too low - four children under the age of one died from malnutrition, 16 people were forcefully resettled and another 12 miners were out of work.

The Transvaal Anti-Presidents Council Committee has set down its reasons for opposing the constitution: 'Participation will mean: junior

While PW Botha is forcing through the new constitution, hundreds of thousands are rejecting it. It excludes the majority, entrenches apartheid and divides the country. They will continue opposing it until democracy is won . . .

partnership in oppression and exploitation; junior partnership in driving Africans out of the cities and denying them citizenship in the land of their birth; call-up to die on the borders fighting for apartheid and repression; positions as informers, and sellouts against those struggling for a non-racial, democratic, peaceful South Africa.'

In a Transvaal pamphlet calling workers to a rally against the constitution and Koornhof Bills, trade unions said: 'We have never had any meaningful political rights. We have had no say in how the country is run, and what is done with the wealth we produce. The government has always tried to crush our organisations to stop us making political de-

mands. 'Now the government is trying to divide us with its new parliament. It is inviting coloureds and Indians into the apartheid system, economically and politically.

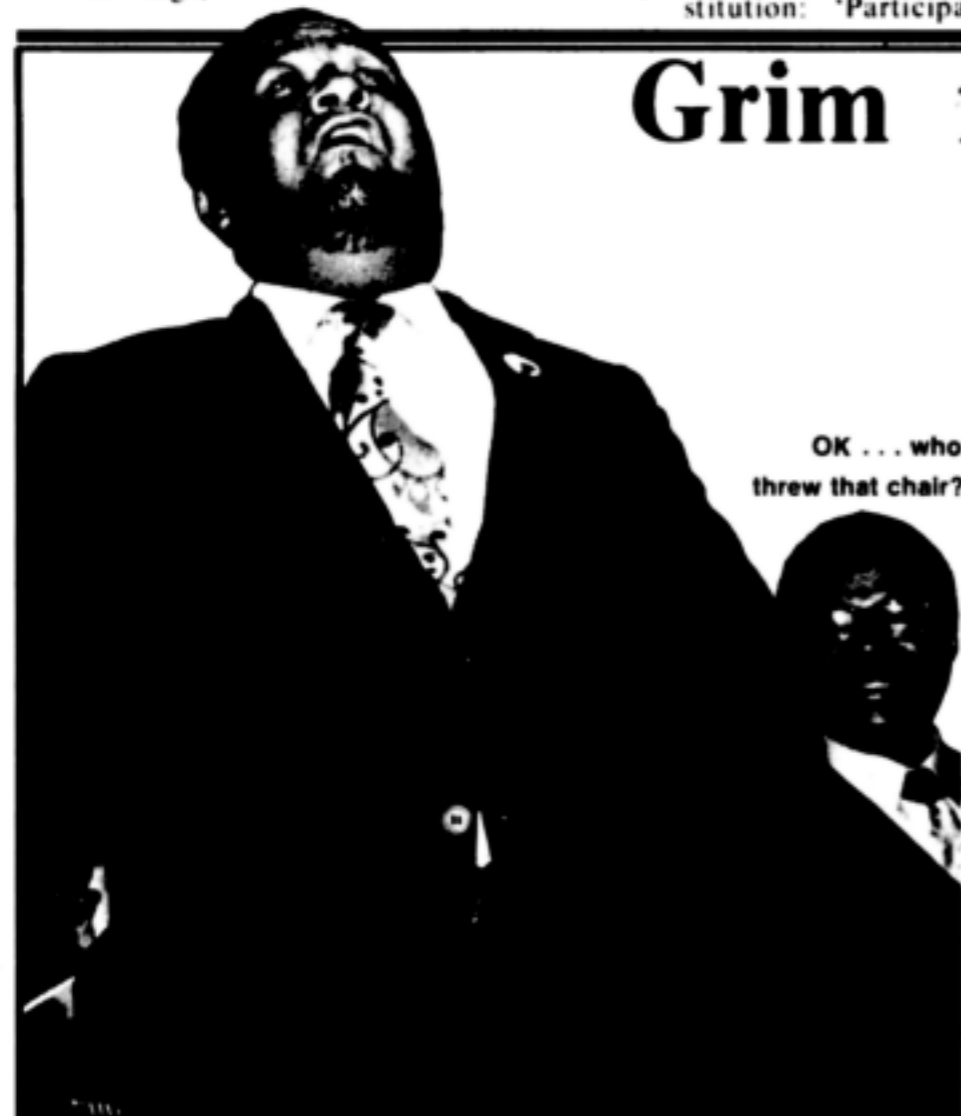
The Federation of South African Trade Unions, which launched its own campaign against the constitution, has labelled the constitution 'divisive' and 'disinheriting'. It says: 'The aim of the constitution is to deepen the racial divisions between workers because the government knows that this will weaken our organisation in the workplace.'

The constitution is disinheriting because the majority of South Africans will have no political rights outside the bantustans. Fosatu calls for a boycott as a 'positive action' because it will 'unite coloureds and Indians with millions of Africans who do not have the vote'.

UDF speakers and pamphlets have stressed that the August elections cannot be isolated from the general thrust of government and business' re-ordering of apartheid.

Since 1976, there has been a constant move to change some of the established ways that government institutions function. All sorts of alternatives have been made in legislation - mostly to tighten up control over trade unions, the movement of workers, housing and others. Under the authoritarian and uncompromising leadership of Prime Minister PW Botha, these changes have been presented to the world as 'reforms'.

Grim facts the constitution can't chan



OK . . . who threw that chair?

SOUTH AFRICA is a grim place. And the new constitution won't change that.

The statistics of South Africa speak for themselves. The situation will not change under the new constitution. It might get worse.

The average African wage, according to official statistics, is R204 a month. The official statistics also tell us that the average income needed to survive is R280, which means that the average African does not earn enough to survive.

On the other hand, the average white wage is R1 380 a month, with Indians earning R819 and coloureds R548 a month.

As if that is not bad enough, three out of every ten people who could work are unemployed. That is, three million people.

But in 1983, only 119 000 got unemployment benefits. And they only got R36 a month.

It is no surprise, therefore, that over three million South Africans under the age of 15 suffer from malnutrition. Or that, of every 1 000 African children born, 80 die of malnutrition before they are one year old while 62 coloured children and 20 Indian children out of every 1 000 also die before the age of one. In Ciskei, a staggering 240 out of 1 000 die, or four every hour.

There has always been a housing shortage - 390 000 houses are needed for Africans. But spending on housing has steadily declined until, last year, it was announced that houses would be built only for the very poor and the very old. In five years the government built only 31 000 houses.

Officially, the government tore down over 27 000 shacks in the matter of a few years. It still wants to pull down another 20 000. 3,5 million people have been removed since 1960, or 400 a day. As

if this is not enough, Koornhof still wants to move another 1,5 million.

Well over 200 000 Africans were arrested last year under the pass laws. Another 100 000 were arrested under the Trespass Act. That means three people are arrested every five minutes under these laws.

325 000 workers are injured at work every year. Most of them are Africans. In terms of the working day, 162 workers are injured each hour.

With all these pressures on wage earners - their children facing death from lack of food, themselves facing arrest for pass offences or endorsement out of the urban areas to join the ranks of the jobless, the risk of being disabled because of dangerous working conditions, the threat of losing a house and never getting another one, of being moved from one place to another - more and more workers are taking strike action.

In the past two years, 200 000 workers went on strike, more than half related to wage disputes.

And they do not live with the hope that their children will have a brighter future.

The schools make sure of this. There are 43 students to every teacher in African schools, 26 in coloured schools, 23 in Indian schools and 18 students to a teacher in white schools. Of those teachers in African schools, a mere 23 percent have Standard Ten. 59 percent of teachers in coloured schools and 17 per cent in Indian schools are underqualified.

So it should come as no surprise that the majority of South Africans reject the government's reforms.

Powerless to end apartheid, powerful enough to back PW up



The sweet-talk runs out fast... Police eject a demonstrator

A PREVIOUS employer of Allan Hendrickse, B J Vorster asked the world for six months to make apartheid unrecognisable. Hendrickse has learnt from that and is asking for five years!

Peter Marais is offering voters a choice and wants three years. Rajbansi just wants to be given a chance

and not judged before people see how he performs.

But what are they going to be doing all this time?

'Dismantling and destroying apartheid', according to Hendrickse and the Labour Party.

'Removing apartheid by negotiation at all levels', says the National Federal Party.

power look a bit more convincing.

The Indian and coloured chambers have no power to tamper with the laws, regulations, departments and finances which keep apartheid going.

Take the Group Areas Act.

Most parties have promised to work for its repeal once in parliament.

Already 121 433

Indian and coloured families have been moved under Group Areas.

Whatever plans the Labour Party and others may have, the government looks determined to hang onto this law — 5 164 coloured and 3 812 Indian families are still set to be moved.

The Strydom

Committee has

recommended greater powers to evict tenants living in the wrong 'Group Area'. Landlords should be given power to evict tenants forcibly without a court order, it says. Courts should be given power to confiscate the land and property of landlords who fail to evict 'illegal tenants'.

But this powerlessness will not excuse Reddy, Hendrickse and others of helping apartheid and its results.

As anti-election campaigner Hassan Solomons says: 'The hand that makes the cross in Botha's election pushes the starving masses into the homelands, helps to pull down the plastic shacks at KTC, pulls the trigger against boycotting schoolkids, pushes up sales tax and signs the youth off to the border...'

Participants in the new segregated parliament are being brought in to share the blame for apartheid, not to dismantle it.

And people who have lived with bantustan governments, community councils and management committees know well that even puppets can make life miserable.

The coloured and Indian chambers will be responsible for 'own affairs', which include health-care, education, housing, and social welfare, such as pensions and grants. These are important areas of people's daily lives.

But the new chambers are taking control under conditions which will make it difficult for them to improve things while the government is taking the opportunity to wash its hands of a huge problem.

With housing 17 297 Indians are on Council's housing list in Durban. In Cape Town, 31 295 coloured families are waiting for homes. In Port Elizabeth, 219 houses belonging to coloured people in Willowdene, are being demolished because of the Group Areas Act while a project to house 557 families has been scrapped because of lack of funds.

In education, the government

The new MP's won't be in parliament 'destroying apartheid'. They'll take over the problems in their communities and help PW keep the lid on...

But a government which created the Orderly Movement Bill, the Internal Security Act, the bantustans and community councils, and Bantu Education to keep themselves in power is not likely to bring in a constitution which will allow apartheid to be dismantled.

Candidates are not promising to change any particular law or policy. The Labour Party says it will 'support the rule of just law'. It does not say it will scrap the Internal Security Act and indefinite detention because it knows it cannot do this.

Rajbansi says: 'Once in parliament we intend to change South Africa, we intend to bring the black majority into the system...' Is he going to scrap the Black Local Authorities, cancel Ciskei Independence, release political prisoners?

Rajbansi says although the Indian and coloured Houses do not have the power to stop laws being passed (never mind getting them scrapped) they have enough votes 'to defeat a government motion in spirit'. J N Reddy of Solidarity says there will be no conscription of Indians after the election - even though senior government officials have said there will be.

Reddy and others have no power to prevent conscription should the government wish it.

The key pillars of apartheid have been classified 'general affairs' - including defence, finance and all laws affecting African people. What does this mean?

General affairs will be decided on by a majority vote across all three Houses - four whites will always out-vote two coloureds and an Indian - or it will be settled by the President's Council (PC).

The PC has 25-members chosen by the president — 20 whites, ten coloureds and five Indians.

Even so, the government won't mind if the new Members of Parliament get angry once in a while. It would make the whole pretence of



Prime Minister Botha - his vision of reform excludes a thought for democracy and non-racialism

Laws passed in parliament are no longer the only way Africans are controlled. Rule by signed administrative orders from the desk of Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof are almost daily occurrences.

Provisions from Orderly Movements were sneaked into the so-called Aliens Act. UDF levelled a challenge at this 'obnoxious' Bill because the Act would lock impoverished Africans into the rural areas, force employers to police the pass laws and make Africans pay to work.

Co-opting coloureds and Indians into the corridors of power, in ways that will not let them hold power, is an essential part of this process.

Ten or eighty percent poll, the constitution will go ahead. The Rajbansis and Hendrickses will take their separate back seats, Botha will be in the driver's seat, with more Aliens Acts - stripping South Africans of their right to work and live in urban areas.

Fundamentally, the new constitution and the new Parliament will change nothing. The UDF has stressed that:

- wealth and resources will be unequally distributed
- governmental power will still be racially divided, with the majority having no access to political control
- the working class will be severely oppressed and exploited

The UDF has six hundred affiliates. There are:

- community organisations taking up housing, services, maintenance, rent, transport and other issues;
- student organisations taking up problems with undemocratic education, lack of SRC's, poor facilities, inadequate teacher training and others;
- trade unions opposing starvation wages, dangerous working conditions, authoritarian management;
- women's organisations face all these issues, plus the burden of being oppressed as women;
- youth organisations are confronting unemployment, lack of access to education; lack of facilities;
- rural organisations are facing removals, starvation, no access to jobs and the cities;
- church organisations battle to practice their religions without perversions from Christian Nationalism; and
- political organisations campaigning for political rights, the release of political prisoners and detainees.

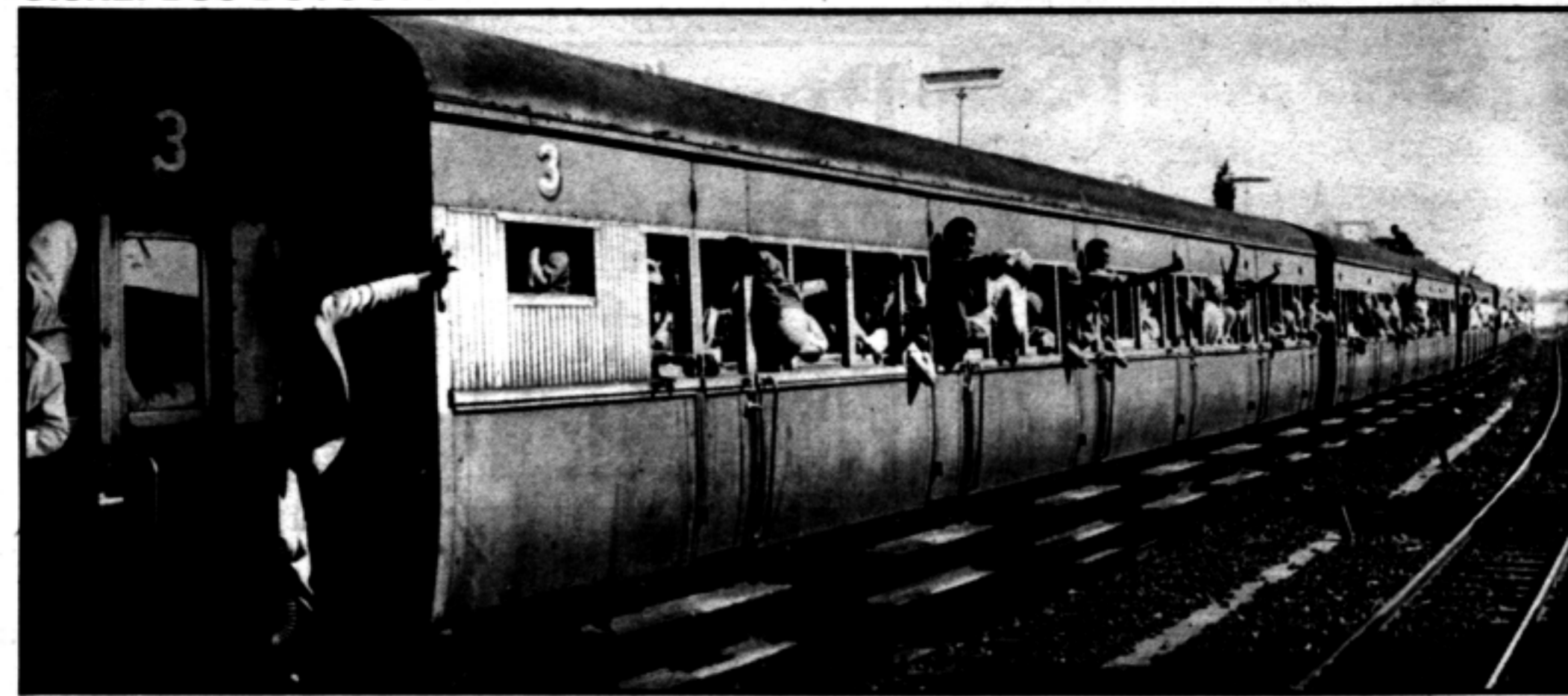
These organisations have all thrown their weight behind the fight against the constitution because none of the problems their constituencies face are going to be solved. Indeed, the problems are going to be entrenched and even worsened through the restructuring of the way South Africa is being ruled.

Whatever the outcome of the elections the stage is set for mass resistance to the constitution, the Koornhof Bills and apartheid. The new constitution will change nothing fundamentally. It just introduces new dynamics into the same system which has been under fire for decades.

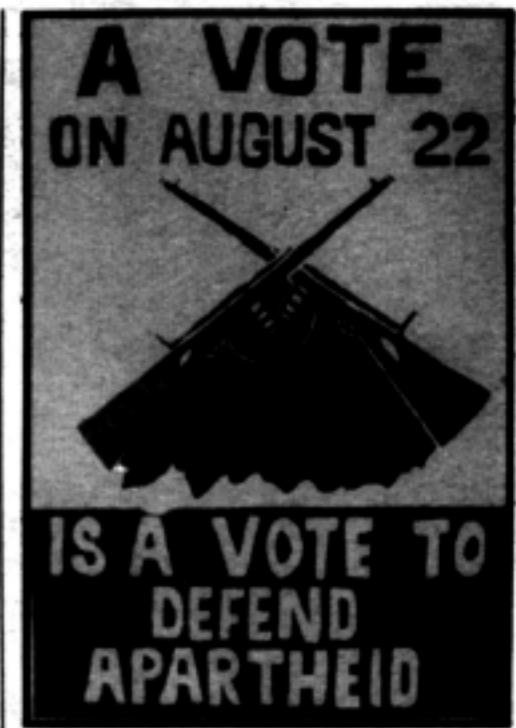
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Rajbansi - a willing upholder of apartheid



'We will not ride the buses. They smell of blood.' Mdantsane workers take trains instead and use them to hold the meetings Sebe tries to ban. They call them mobile parliaments.



'Own affairs' an inheritance of shortages and neglect

● From Page 11

spends R1 221 a year on white children, R798 on Indians, R419 on coloured children and only R165 on Africans.

And decisions on how much of the money collected through sales tax, income tax and company tax will go to Indian education, housing in coloured townships, bantustan governments and the SADF will be made in the same way as other 'general affairs'.

Each house will make suggestions. A 'special committee' will look at the issue and propose a budget. The Houses will then debate the issue. Any disagreements will be settled by the government controlled President's Council.

The new parliaments cannot expect huge sums of the money for housing, education and pensions.

They are not allowed to introduce new taxes or raise loans unless this is approved by a 'general law'. And 'general laws' are not to be fiddled with.

So the old source of finance will be tapped again - township residents, bus passengers, school parents and retiring workers for housing, transport, schools and pensions. Attempts to make people pay more for their services are already well under way.

Since July, rent is being worked out on the basis of an entire family's income, - not just that of the breadwinner.

So households will be pushed into higher income brackets and, therefore, higher rents.

The Black Local Authorities and the Community Councils before them have been unable to provide housing and services without funds. They pushed up rents, which residents have refused to pay. The pattern will be repeated in coloured and Indian areas.

Inadequate housing and services, and conflict around rents and maintenance seems inevitable under the new constitution. Local Authorities will struggle to avoid bankruptcy, while residents hit hard by GST and rising prices will be unable to pay up.

The government hopes to put another line of responsibility and blame between itself and the problem it has created. It will say: 'Blame your 'leaders' for the rent increase, not us'.

After the elections, the government will stand firmly behind local authorities to force people to accept them.

It is a rich person's constitution which is being implemented. It is the poor who will pay for it - with higher rents and taxes, but with less say. Once more the government has created a situation which will inevitably lead to conflicts over issues of survival.

In the long run this might well encourage people to join local community organisations, reject the constitution, and fight the government on bread-and-butter issues.

The buses run empty . . .

The year of the BOYCOTT



Defiant commuters head for the trains.

THE AUGUST 1983 shootings at Mdantsane railway stations have claimed another victim, months after the event.

He is Fuzile Caza, who died in Frere Hospital, East London on June 16. He was admitted to Cecilia Makiwane Hospital after the August 4th shootings at Mount Ruth station with bullet wounds in his stomach. He was later transferred to Frere hospital, where he remained seriously ill, until his death.

Caza was filing the largest single claim by any of the victims of the shootings. He was suing the Ciskei government for R101 680 for loss of support, pain and suffering. It is not known what will happen to his claim now.

restore 'law and order'. From the beginning they detained unionists and handed them over to the bantustan police. They harassed members of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) which was banned in the Ciskei, in an attempt to break the union.

Even the most brutal repression was unsuccessful, and a year later the bus boycott continues, it is still dangerous for the police to enter Mdantsane, Saawu still organises and the resolve of the residents is firm.

After August 4 they said: 'We will not ride the buses. They smell of blood.' A year later the buses are empty.

Conflict continues

The conflict is not over. One year and one day after the boycotts began, the Committee of Ten and the CTC management sat down to negotiate. This was their second attempt.

By this time the bus company had lost five million Rand and had been forced to sell 160 buses.

Talks went well. A commuter's meeting decided that only a few issues still needed to be clarified and the boycott should continue until this was done.

The Committee of Ten accused CTC of negotiating in bad faith and asked why the deal had been announced while talks were still going on.

Committee of Ten chairperson, Mzwandile Mampunye, who had been released from detention just in

time for the talks, said he was optimistic that the issue would be resolved soon.

But a report in a local newspaper painted a different picture. It said the commuters meeting had decided to continue the boycott and had raised a whole set of new demands, including completely free travel for students and old people.

Bantustans rejected

The remaining members of the committee issued a statement saying the commuter's meeting had not made these demands. CTC should have waited to hear from the committee itself before calling off the talks. A meeting had been scheduled for the day committee members were detained, and Kaiser broke off the talks.

Other newspapers repeated this incorrect information. On the basis of these reports, the Ciskei security police decided to re-detain five Committee of Ten members. On the same day, Hans Kaiser, manager of CTC, said the talks were over and accused the Committee of Ten of raising new demands.

The next day the newspaper editor corrected its earlier report. But the damage had been done. One of the detainees is now in hospital.

An earlier attempt at negotiating a solution to the boycott also ended in failure. Commuters presented CTC with a list of 15 demands. These included dropping the original fare hike, paying compensation to the vic-



Massive Mdantsane, SA's second largest township. Sebe has not been welcome there for many months. He sneaked back recently on some business, carefully guarded.

Sebe sneaks back

tims of violence, cutting all ties with the Ciskei government and improving the service.

Before negotiations were concluded, CTC announced a 'package' of concessions to commuters and launched a large advertising drive to sell it.

CTC said they were talking to 'various bodies', and this was the best way of making the deal known to all of them. They never explained who these 'various bodies' were.

Negotiations broke down. The Committee of Ten said there were two demands that the CTC 'package' had not taken into account: cutting ties between the CTC and the Ciskei government, and dropping the original fare increase.

It was not enough to offer the firm for sale to a private business, the committee said. The Ciskei government should stop interfering in the day-to-day running of the bus company.

Negotiations fail

No connection with the Ciskei bantustan would be tolerated after what had been done to the Mdantsane residents.

The brutal actions of the Ciskei police, army and vigilantes turned the issue into a massive protest against apartheid rule. It has become clear the people of Mdantsane want nothing to do with an 'independent bantustan' that puts them at the mercy of Lennox Sebe and his squads.

THE MDANTSANE bus boycott has entered its second year.

A commemoration to mark this anniversary and to honour the people killed while opposing the fare hike was organised by the commuters' representatives, the Committee of Ten. In true Ciskei government style all meetings in Mdantsane were banned.

On July 18 last year commuters from this sprawling township outside East London started boycotting the buses of the Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) in protest against increased fares.

From the beginning of the boycott, commuters faced a campaign of violence and terror which made Ciskei a by-word for brutality and oppression throughout the world.

Dozens of trade union and community leaders were detained and squeezed into the overcrowded cells.

Horrifying torture

Sebe's vigilante squads roamed the streets of Mdantsane, indiscriminately beating people and raiding their homes. Many were picked up by the squads and taken to the Sisa Dukashe rugby stadium. Horrifying tales of torture and sadism filtered to the outside world from the change rooms behind the stadium.

As if that was not enough, Sebe sent in his policemen and army. They harassed the boycotting residents, trying to force them onto the buses.

Then, on August 4, the violent madness came to a head. Soldiers, who had been trying to stop commuters boarding the trains, opened fire at two railway stations. Many were killed and wounded. Bodies were found for days afterwards in bushes next to the railway tracks.

Residents put the death count at as many as 90 in the months of conflict that followed. They accused Sebe's army, police and vigilantes of burying bodies in secret and hiding the real numbers of deaths.

All the hospitals and mortuaries were sealed to stop people finding out the extent of the tragedy.

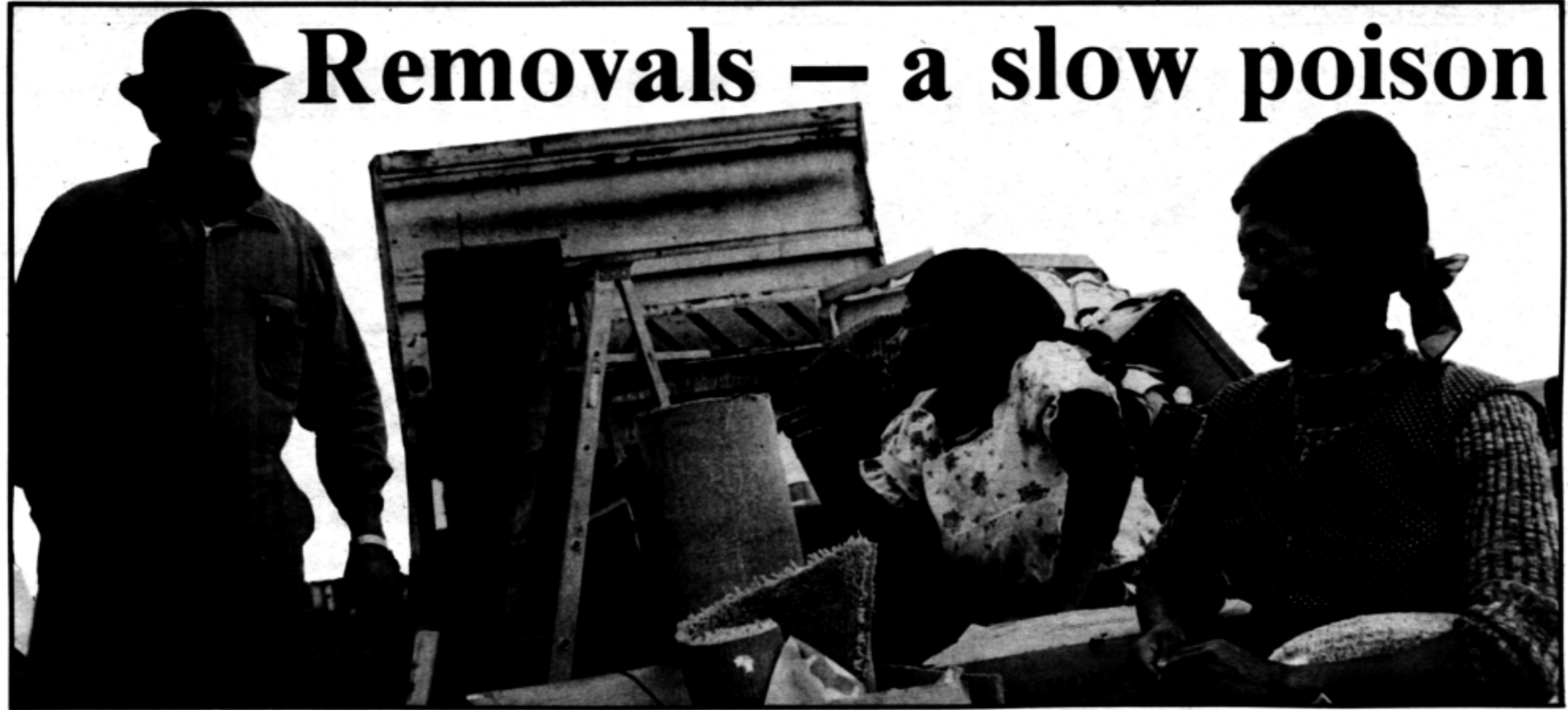
At the height of the conflict, Sebe fled to the safety of a hotel in East London. There he still feared the anger of the Mdantsane residents and surrounded himself with secret service policemen and people to taste his food in case it was poisoned.

He only set foot in Mdantsane many months later to open a new Da Gama textile factory. Commuters at a railway line next to the factory sang for all to hear: 'Sebe, we don't want you in Mdantsane.' He hasn't gone back.

He admits that the bantustan government no longer has any control in the second biggest township in South Africa. The residents have taken over, and it is dangerous for anyone to enter who does not support the boycott and oppose Sebe, bantustans and apartheid.

This includes the South African security police, who have assisted the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service to

Removals — a slow poison



Forced removals — pensions are cut off, schools knocked down, and police move in.

MAGOPA, Limeville, Ekuvukeni, Dimbaza ... bulldozers flattening houses; police in camouflage keeping a watchful eye as hundreds of people are loaded onto GG trucks; dry, barren veld where people struggle to rebuild their community around tents and tin toilets.

Most South Africans have heard about scenes like these.

More than 3,5 million have been removed and experienced their first hand.

Two million more are threatened. If they are moved, one in every five South Africans will have been a victim of forced removal.

The government is anxious to change the bad image of removals. It doesn't fit with peace accords, a new constitution and promises of reform.

Last year deputy minister of Development and Land Affairs Henrie van der Walt said: 'I readily admit that we made mistakes in the past. So much so that black communities had to be removed by force and resettled in critical circumstances.'

But, he said: 'The days when police had to help load people onto trucks and the resistance which followed certain actions among black people are past.'

Divide and rule

Do sincerity, 'consultation' and 'the reasonableness of the government's policy convince people to leave their homes and everything they have, to take part in the destruction of their communities?'

Recent years show they do not, and the 'necessary human kindness' runs out fast, as soon as communities show signs of opposition.

Removals usually attract attention when the government starts to use force. This is exactly what it wants to avoid.

Before force is used government officials do all they can to pressurise people into moving. As nearly every part of people's daily lives falls under government control, there are many ways of doing this.

Communities first learn that they might be moved when the local commissioner and officials from the department of Co-operation and Development (CAD) call them to a meeting. If there is a strong negative reaction from the community, officials usually go away for a few years and watch and wait.

They return at the first sign of weakness and division. The people of Magopa sent officials away empty-handed for many years. In 1981 they voted to depose their headman, Jacob More, for corruption and refusing to accept tribal discipline.

The Commissioner refused to accept this decision and set up an enquiry. While this was going on, Pretoria officials returned and began talks with the deposed headman Jacob More.



Police and trucks ... another 'voluntary' removal

Magopa's removal was negotiated behind closed doors between officials of CAD, the Bophuthatswana government, Jacob More and some of his allies. This group called themselves the 'planning committee'.

When a small number of people allowed themselves to be moved to Pachsdraai, planning committee members took over the white farm houses in the area, as reward for their 'consultation'.

True leaders

CAD officials can't always find leaders who are prepared to negotiate the removal of their people.

The people of Badplaas were ordered to move on January 11 this year. They were offered R200 per family, but no compensation for their houses or improvements.

Their chief Johannes Dlamini was offered a white farm of his choice. He refused, and not one Badplaas resident obeyed the order to move.

KwaNgema in the Eastern Transvaal does not have a chief. One member of the Ngema family is chosen to represent them in dealings with outsiders.

In 1982 Gabriel Ngema was ousted from his position because he was willing to negotiate KwaNgema's removal. He was replaced by the Ngema committee headed by Moses Ngema. But CAD continued to deal with Gabriel, putting numbers on houses and arranging buses to take people 'to view the new area'.

Alfred Ngema, the oldest person in the community said: 'Gabriel is not a chief, and they are wrong when they say that if our chief leaves we must also go. Gabriel's role was that of being a watchman, the same as a security guard at a firm. I don't remember a single case of a security guard selling a firm.'

Even so, dividing communities by manipulating certain leaders sometimes works. Once someone agrees to move, and the government launches into preparations for the new area, people begin to feel doubtful and insecure.

The government knows other ways to cause divisions.

In the Transvaal township of Leandra, for example, the government plans to move section 10 (1)(a) and (b) residents to a model township nearby. All the 'illegals' would have to go to KwaNdebele. Residents say

When police and bulldozers move people, reform looks like a lie. The government's solution is to cover up force, not stop it



Meetings help to overcome divide and rule tactics

there are no illegals, but the government's plan is to cause division.

Another tactic is to offer unequal benefits in the new area. Those who own land or have urban rights are promised tarred roads and lots of taps. Those in weaker legal positions get less.

Making life miserable

Such divisions weaken and disorganise some communities facing removal. Even so, many continue to oppose and so the government has to take persuasion one step further.

People opposing removal are often prevented from holding meetings, even on their own land. At Mgwali in the Eastern Cape the only remaining meeting place is at church services. At Driefontein in the Eastern Transvaal, Saul Mkhize was shot while addressing an open air meeting. KwaNgema residents were forced to break up a meeting in their school because they had not asked the magistrate for permission to hold it.

In some areas, facilities are allowed to deteriorate in the hope that worsening conditions will force people to accept removal.

In Huhudi in the northern Cape, residents have tried to fix their houses themselves, but have been stopped. One man was fined for repairing his own roof!

'Persuasion' doesn't stop at letting conditions get worse. If people are still determined to stay, essential services are simply cut off.

In Magopa, pensions were not paid and annual labour contracts were not renewed. In Driefontein, residents are finding it difficult to get pensions and reference documents.

The schools and churches at Mogopa were also flattened and officials took away the water pump engines.

The iron fist

When some communities stand firm in the face of 'persuasion' and pressure, more force is used.

After the people at Badplaas had refused to move, CAD camped a huge removal squad at the entrance to the location — lorries, buses, tractors, and an army of workmen.

After knocking down schools, cutting off pensions and water, stopping transport and threatening to use

force, the government usually just sits back and waits.

After the demolitions in Magopa, some families began to move off to live with relatives. It took months before the villagers were able to get together and rebuild the schools and the roads.

Courage and determination carried this community through a difficult period of waiting. And so the government moved in and played its final card.

The removal of Magopa was finally carried out with force — not the first time this has happened in South Africa. The entire village was sealed off and declared an 'operational area'.

Community leaders were handcuffed and put into police vans. Children were loaded onto trucks and buses, forcing their parents to go along to Pachsdraai in order to find them.

The Magopa removal showed more clearly than any words or statistics that every single step of the process involves coercion.

Keeping control

Yet in spite of all the government's power, people continue to resist. They know too much about the lives of the 3,5 million people already moved to accept their fate quietly.

Removals are a product of the government's desire to strip Africans of political rights and deny them their share of South Africa's wealth.

The government has tried to use the bantustans to divide Africans along ethnic lines and deceive them that their demands for political rights are being met.

They have kept millions of Africans away from the jobs, houses, hospitals and cities which their labour has helped to create.

Such a system does not work on the consent of the majority of people, so control is essential. And removals are all about control.

In urban areas, removing 'excess people' leaves behind a smaller, more manageable township with fewer unemployed people, less overcrowding, better control.

In the bantustans themselves, the closer settlements where people are forced to live are laid out like townships — rows of plots in squared-off blocks, with few roads leading in and out.

But the government's greatest means of control is the poverty, desperation and isolation that faces those who have been uprooted.

People who have been workers for years now find themselves with no chance of a job and no land to work on. Many become desperate. Some have been known to commit suicide rather than watch their children starve.

Resettlement camps are usually far from transport and far from each other. People suffer there in lonely isolation.

Independent not liberated — SA's plan for Namibia

AFRICA'S last colony is painfully inching its way towards independence. But even after a war that began in 1966 and left more than one percent of its population dead and more than half uprooted, Namibia cannot look forward to any easy path to independence.

South Africa seems to have accepted, at least in principle, that it must at last return control of Namibia to its citizens. But it is trying to do so only under circumstances it dictates.

The complex negotiations now in progress are designed not only to limit Swapo's activities, but to dilute the impact Namibian independence will have, both there and in South Africa.

Pretoria is trying to separate a ceasefire agreement from the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, which calls for stopping hostilities, followed by an immediate election supervised by the UN. South Africa wants to stop the war, but delay elections.

It hopes that demobilising Swapo, followed by a long period of 'reconciliation' between Swapo and the South African controlled internal parties, will undercut Swapo's image as a liberation movement, and thus lessen its support.

It is significant that South Africa has shifted its Namibian strategy. Until recently it has repeatedly tried to find an alternative to Swapo. Now it is looking at a government that would at least include Swapo.

This shift reflects, more than anything else, the extent of Swapo's support, resistance and political awareness which prevents Pretoria imposing any 'internal' solution.

A Swapo government, many think, is inevitable. The question is: what type of government with what kind of policies?

If South Africa has its way Swapo will be drawn into some agreement with the moderate Multi-Party Conference, which would draw up a constitution for an independent Namibia together. The inclusion of the MPC would effectively prevent Swapo forming a government, and adopting a socialist constitution like the one in its 1976 programme.

To achieve this South Africa sent its Minister of Foreign Affairs on a mission. Botha came to an agreement with the Angolan Minister of Internal Affairs that South Africa would withdraw its thousands of troops which have been there to stop Swapo's armed wing from using Angola as a springboard for operations into Namibia. Botha believed this would leave Swapo with little choice but to agree to a ceasefire.

Swapo's position, however, is that it will not agree to any ceasefire which is not immediately followed by UN supervised elections. It has continued to infiltrate guerrillas past the SADF forces. According to reports, at least 800 guerrillas entered Namibia during the recent rainy season.

Swapo is firm on continuing its

armed struggle, and firm on Resolution 435. Both of which South Africa does not like. South Africa's problem with 435 is the large contingent of UN troops which would come to supervise the transition process.

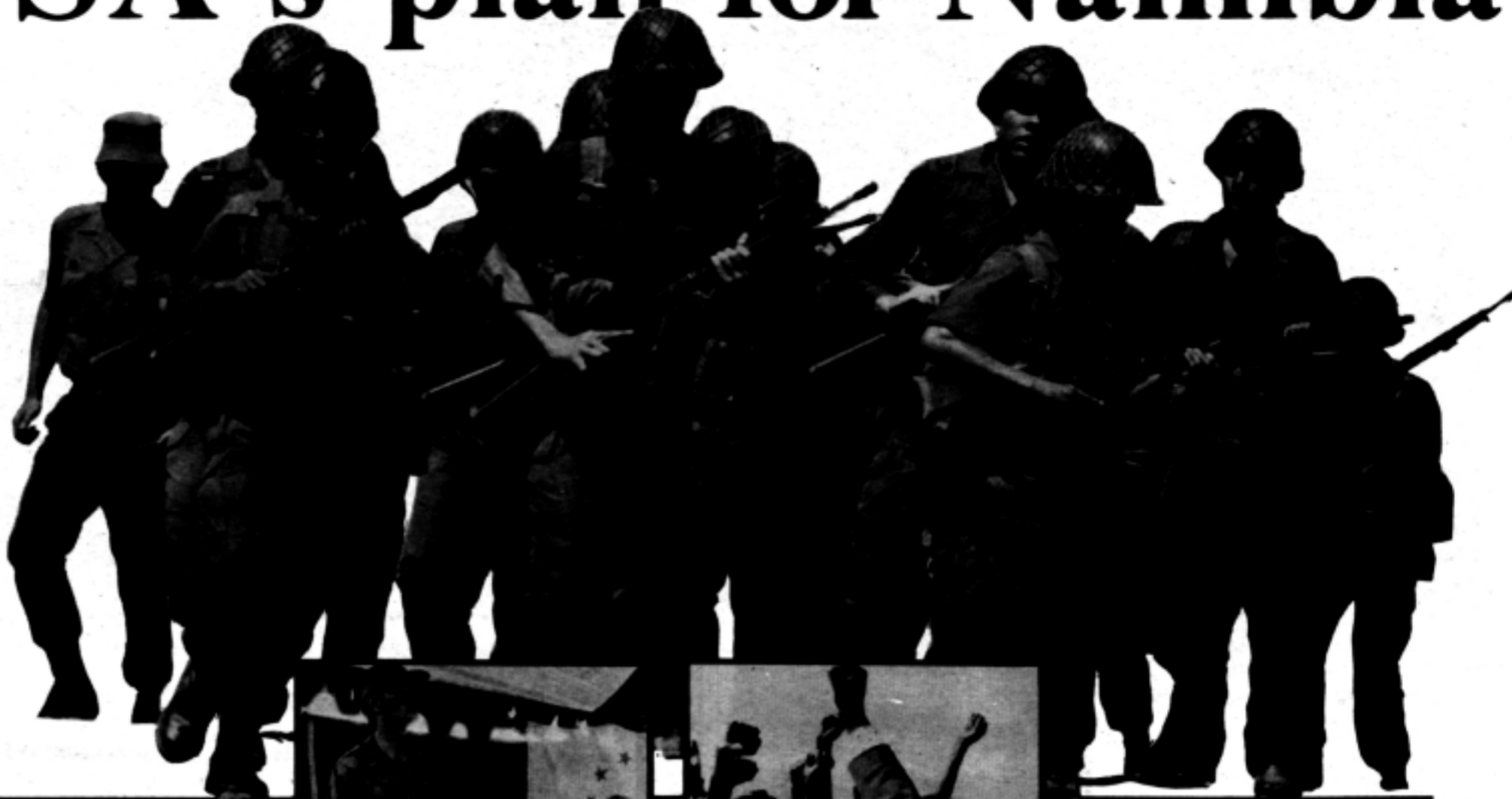
They want Swapo and the 'internal' parties, through negotiation, to find a way to independence which would not involve the UN peacekeeping force (Untag). — No peacekeeping force would be necessary if there is no conflict.

In the meantime South Africa is trying to divide Swapo and Angola. It set as a condition for its withdrawal from Angola that Angola should police the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) troops.

The South African press is saying Angola is 'unable' to do so because it does not have the military might. It is more likely that Angola is reluctant to play this role.

South Africa has adopted another delaying strategy. At the suggestion of the United States it has widened the issue of Namibian independence to include a 'regional' settlement. Botha and Chester Crocker, the US strategist, argue that Cuban troops must withdraw from Angola and the Angolan government must make a deal with Unita.

All these factors in South Africa's strategy add up. While it might



Top: SA's occupying army in Namibia. Left: MPC leader Dirk Mudge. Right: Swapo's Tjongarero.

realise that it will ultimately have to withdraw its administration and army from Namibia, independence could still be delayed for years.

When it does come, South Africa hopes to see a 'watered down' independence — one without the impact of elections forced by armed struggle, won by Swapo and under Resolution 435.

All that stands in the way of that vision is Swapo's continuing commitment to Resolution 435 as the only acceptable plan for Namibian independence, and its ongoing waging of armed struggle.

Resolution 435 makes provision for an election period of seven months. It presents a detailed plan for the release of political detainees, the repatriation of exiles and the return of unarmed guerrillas through

designated entry points.

The special representative of the United Nations, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, will oversee the whole process with the administrator-general as South Africa's representative. Ahtisaari will be assisted by Untag which will have a military component of 7 500 and a civilian component.

However, the South African Police will still be responsible for 'law and order' and they will be monitored by the UN police contingent. This would mean the notorious Koevoet unit would still be allowed to operate.

In 1978 South Africa accepted the Resolution and its provisions. But by the end of that year it was clear South Africa had no intention of implementing the proposals. Instead, it supervised elections which were rejected the world over and brought

the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance to power.

The DTA was declared the 'constituent assembly', and later the 'national assembly'. It was given sweeping powers which Dirk Mudge and his 'ministers' used to scrap some apartheid laws.

After the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act and the Group Areas Act were axed the 'Assembly' turned its attention on AG8, the law which provides for the unwieldy and expensive system of ethnic government.

After this move, and moves on municipal councils controlling schools, hospitals and local amenities, South Africa put its foot down. It had had enough of its own creation which put at risk its apartheid and bantustan policies in Namibia.

It forced Mudge to resign in 1982, and called for the formation of an interim government which would be 'more effective and more representative'.

Willie van Niekerk took over from Steyn and was given the task of forming a 'State Council' made up of all parties except Swapo. The plan failed — mainly because the internal parties refused to be drawn into a government which would be seen as illegitimate.

South Africa finally realised it



Protesters in London denounce Botha and Thatcher.

PW: Europe shakes hands

THE JOB of the prime minister includes many fringe benefits — free house, free car and transport allowance. Trips overseas, however, have been one fringe benefit which South African prime ministers have not been able to take much advantage of.

International public opinion has generally excluded South Africa from open participation in international affairs on the grounds that apartheid denies the majority of South Africans their basic human and political rights.

Solidarity groups throughout Europe have worked continually to ensure that the realities of apartheid are brought to the attention of people there.

They have also pressurised European governments, churches, trade unions and companies to cut ties with South Africa and isolate it.

When P W Botha announced that he was to visit a number of European countries, anti-apartheid groups in



50 000 marched

Europe immediately tried to block the visit.

Opposition was so vocal and widespread that European leaders immediately tried to counter the criticism and cover their own backs.

British prime minister Margaret Thatcher met with the president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, to explain her reasons for meeting with PW.

When P W arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany Chancellor Helmut Kohl deliberately snubbed him by removing the couch from the reception room, in full view of the world press. When Botha entered, there was nowhere for him to sit.

Kohl then added insult to injury by refusing to shake his hand.

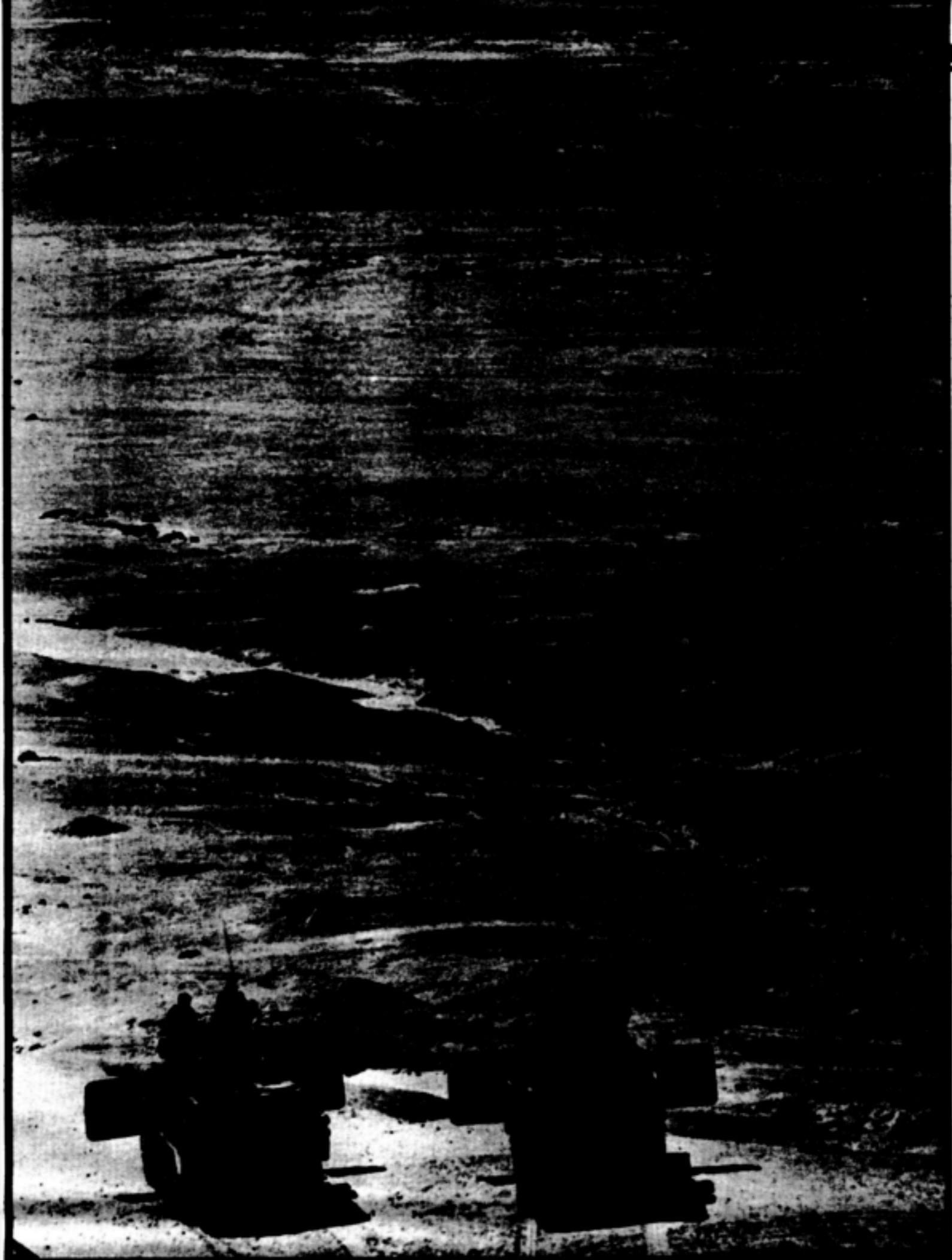
All the leaders who met Botha made their opposition to apartheid quite clear and insisted that Botha agree to some sort of power sharing with the African majority in South Africa.

The British AAM mobilised 50 000 people for a protest march through the streets of London. They distributed millions of pamphlets.

British television showed highly critical programmes on sport in apartheid society, and on the activities of South African security forces operating under the cover of the South African embassy in London.

The church reports on forced removals and a new book on Khayelitsha were distributed all over Europe. Herman Toivo ja Toivo did a speaking tour of Europe, crisscrossing the path of Botha and his entourage.

The heads of state in France and Sweden extended formal invitations



SA tanks patrol the vast spaces of Ovamboland. Last year the war cost R500 million.

could never succeed in promoting any internal solution that excluded Swapo.

In addition, a new set of circumstances in South and Southern Africa led to the new policy decision on Namibia by South Africa's State Security Council.

The factors were:

- The overwhelming 'yes' vote in the white referendum on the constitution. This gave Prime Minister Botha and his cabinet confidence that the right-wing is noisier than it is large;
- Escalating African National Congress activity convinced the government it had to 'make peace' with those neighbouring states from which the ANC operates. This peace, the government knew, could not sur-

vive a continued military occupation of Angola and intransigence on Namibia;

- With assistance from the Soviet Union, Cuba and the German Democratic Republic, the MPLA has built up a sophisticated defence system. Radar now stretches across Southern Angola and formidable surface-to-air missiles wait for attacking helicopters and Mirage strike planes. The Angolan army has new tanks and Mig 23 fighter aircraft, which are more than a match for the Mirage.
- The loss of lives, especially of national servicemen, has become increasingly unacceptable to white voters — and not only from the left and right wing. The futility of the

Rhodesian war brought home a strong message to many white South Africans;

- Namibia is becoming too heavy a financial burden. In 1983 alone the war cost a staggering R500 million, and it cost some R400 million to carry the 1984-1985 Namibian budget. With all the economic pressures on the South African population, that money could be better spent saving a potentially explosive political situation at home.
- Finally, there is growing opposition, not only in Namibia, but in South Africa as well, to South Africa's occupation of its neighbour.

Add to all this the bargaining and carrot-and-stick approach of Chester Crocker and the US, stepped up for



The Namibian right demonstrates against the UN, Swapo and change.

the US presidential election year, and it becomes clear why Pretoria could accept the possibility of a Swapo government in Windhoek.

Since Operation Askari ended in January, developments were swift:

- South Africa agreed with Angola on establishing a Joint Monitoring Commission to oversee the phased withdrawal of the SADF from Angola;

- Swapo founder member Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and several fellow Namibians were released from Robben Island;

- Dozens of detained Swapo members were released from a camp near Mariental. (In one of the security police's worst-timed swoops they were re-detained in a raid on Catholic church property while they were celebrating their release. Prime Minister Botha, in an audience with the Pope the next day, was severely reprimanded.)

- A conference was held in Lusaka where Swapo met with the South African government and representatives of the MPC. As far as South Africa was concerned, it successfully boosted the status of the MPC to that of a negotiating party;

- The talks broke down when the MPC failed to agree to a declaration calling for a ceasefire followed by the immediate implementation of Resolution 435.

- Van Niekerk had an abortive meeting with Swapo leader Sam Nujoma on the Cape Verde Islands. An attempt was made to get Swapo to compromise on Resolution 435 by accepting a ceasefire without immediate elections.

The demand for Cuban withdrawal from Angola remains a main complication. The US insists this is of utmost importance to the future security of the subcontinent, and that withholding Namibian independence remains the best way of bringing it about. South Africa's generals agree.

Swapo is more and more concerned about the state of the country it will eventually take over. Some observers believe South Africa planned it this way: weaken the economy generally, and run it in some places and make the country economically dependent on South Africa.

And then the Swapo government will have to listen closely to Pretoria. In other words, instead of Pretoria controlling Namibia directly — through direct political rule and military presence — it would opt for a neo-colonial solution where it would dominate economically.

The domination is potentially massive. South Africa claims Walvis Bay as its own, and the whole fishing industry is stationed there. The 2 340 km of railway lines, as well as all the trains, belongs to and is run by SA Railways (at a loss of R70 million a year). Almost all Namibia's processed food comes from South Africa.

Namibia has almost no manufacturing industry. In 1980 this sector contributed a mere 4 percent of the national income. Almost all financial institutions are South African based.

Almost every single uranium, diamond, platinum and other mines are owned and run by multi-national companies, the largest of which is the South African based Anglo American conglomerate.

Their mining policies can be strongly criticised. They extract as fast as they can, realise their profit, and reinvest almost nothing. Recently, a study revealed that the mining companies are destroying much of Namibia's mining potential in their race against time.

Namibian independence is many years overdue. Namibians cannot afford another five or ten years of war. South Africa will be judged very harshly if it does not immediately allow Namibia, as the saying goes, to 'be born a nation'.

and fists

to the ANC president, Oliver Tambo.

The Dutch government made it clear that if Botha asked permission to visit Holland, it would be refused.

Botha's dash through Europe came to a clumsy end when he visited the Pope in Italy. Many of Botha's supporters thought this would be the highlight of his European tour, and a major diplomatic breakthrough.

But 36 hours before Botha was to meet the Pope, South African security policemen in Windhoek decided to raid a braaivleis held on Catholic church property and arrested 37 people.

This outraged the Pope, who confronted Botha about the incident.

While the publicity given to Botha's tour went well with the success of Nkomati, his visit generated widespread opposition. The AAMs made very real gains.

The result is likely to be more vigorous opposition and a much higher level of awareness of the South African situation.

THE SOUTHERN African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which held its annual summit last month in Gaborone, Botswana, has made 'steady progress' in spite of the persistence of many major problems.

The heads of state who attended were Samora Machel of Mozambique, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Prince Bhekimpi Dhlamini of Swaziland, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Quett Masire of Botswana, who hosted the summit.

Leaders of the other members states — Lesotho, Malawi and Angola — were represented by senior cabinet ministers.

Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress (ANC) and John Pokela of the Pan African Congress (PAC) also attended as South African observers.

SADCC was set up in 1980 to promote regional development through co-operation, and to lessen dependence on South Africa.

The idea was that if they combined, the Southern African states would have the economic strength and

SADCC grows in the shadow of apartheid

resources to fight underdevelopment and tackle common problems.

This year's progress report listed about 300 projects which are under way, although some of them are at an early stage of investigation and research.

In the priority area of transport and communication, eight capital projects and nine research projects had been completed out of a total of 115 planned projects. Another 17 were being implemented, five were ongoing, and 11 were recently initiated.

Some of the projects completed included the building of roads, the training of technical staff, studies of civil aviation co-operation and the improvement of satellite communications.

Other areas of SADCC projects in-



Quett Masire.

clude agriculture, industry, manpower development, energy, mining and the planned establishment of a development bank.

The three major problems that have plagued SADCC in the last year were listed as world recession, prolonged drought and continuing 'security problems'.

'Security problems' refers to continual attempts by the South African government to undermine SADCC's work and the independence of its member countries.

The apartheid government came under fierce attack, particularly from Nyerere and Mugabe.

Nyerere said certain South Africans were attempting to further their plan for a constellation of states by infiltrating SADCC, though he

declined to give details of how this was being done.

Mugabe made it clear that South Africa could never be accepted as long as apartheid persisted, but both Namibia and South Africa would automatically become SADCC members when they were independent and free.

SADCC's development work would never really be completed until South Africa was able to join, they said.

One of the features of SADCC is that it has an extremely small bureaucracy, with a central secretariat of about four people. The summit reconfirmed its commitment to this approach, in the belief that the priority was to get practical work done rather than to build unnecessary structures.

Dr Simbarashe Makoni, a prominent Zanu-PF member and former Zimbabwean cabinet minister was elected to fill the key post of executive secretary of SADCC. He replaced Arthur Blumeris of Zimbabwe, who died last year.

Quett Masire was re-elected president.

Apartheid makes us . . .



This child, and thousands of others, suffer from malnutrition. A new constitution which leaves the causes of sickness untouched will not change this.

APARTHEID is making thousands of South Africans sick.

Of every 1 000 babies born in the Transkei, 130 die before they reach the age of one. In rural hospitals, 93 per cent of adults suffer from malnutrition. Over 50 000 new cases of tuberculosis are reported each year and that excludes the four 'independent bantustans.'

The government's political schemes of bantustans, community councils and now the new constitution make this situation even worse.

The causes of disease are well known. Overcrowded land and housing, no clean water, wages too low to buy enough food and lack of proper health care are just a few of them.

But the root cause of the problem is the way power and wealth are divided in South Africa. Black people have no say in the making of laws and in the dividing up of wealth.

This poverty and powerlessness is maintained in every corner of daily life. Pass laws threaten migrant workers with banishment to the bantustans, bosses hold unlimited power in the workplace except when challenged by worker strength, the education system tries to confuse, not explain.

Constitution cures nothing

The new constitution with separate parliaments for Indian and coloured people has no power to change the root causes of ill-health in South Africa. Instead, it is aimed at keeping the balance of power just where it is.

It will also not solve the immediate health problems of black people, despite the promises made by government officials and election candidates. In fact health-care is likely to get worse and to shoot up in cost.

The new parliaments will be taking over many of the responsibilities which the government has failed to meet.

The Constitution Act divides areas of government into 'general affairs' and 'own affairs'. Health falls under both of these.

The president and his council make final decisions about 'general affairs'. They will decide how to divide up the money available for health between the white, Indian and coloured health departments, and the department of Co-operation and Development which will be responsible for Africans.

Thus Indian and coloured people will have no effective influence on the crucial decision of how money

SICK!



Can he afford the care needed?

for health should be divided, and Africans will have no say at all.

The effects of this powerlessness are felt every year when the government's budget allocates too much money to strengthening apartheid and too little to people's needs like housing, health-care and education.

'Own affairs' in health include running hospitals and clinics, providing health and nutritional guidance and registering and controlling private hospitals and clinics. The new parliaments will have to meet the pressing daily needs for health-care with no control over the amount of money available to them to do this.

Empty promises

There are clear signs that they will not be able to meet these needs. For a start most hospitals are shared by more than one population group.

How will they be run if services for each population group are financed by a separate health department with its own budget? Will there be a separate administrative and medical staff for each?

Apart from the inefficiency of this, lots of money will be wasted on an overgrown bureaucracy, extra paperwork, offices, officials and equipment.

But most important, the new parliaments will not have enough money to provide adequate health-care. There



Tuberculosis . . . 50 000 new cases each year, and more in the bantustans

is already evidence that health services throughout South Africa are being cut back and the costs to patients pushed up.

In April the minimum fee for a visit at Transvaal clinics was raised from R2 to R7, an increase of 250 per cent. Some people with fairly high salaries and small families had to pay R20!

A single man who burnt himself and needed five days of treatment spent R35, just on his health needs.

A married woman who had her first child, had to attend an ante-natal clinic once a month, while her husband who had recently lost his job also went to the clinic once a month for control of high blood pressure. Their child developed diarrhoea and had to see a doctor twice. This family, spent R80 on health-care in one month.

In Soweto for example, the subsidy for medicine has been reduced. Patients are given antibiotic medicines for four days only, yet the minimum time needed for effective antibiotic treatment is five to seven days.

Vanishing patients

Budgets for laboratory facilities have also been cut. So, for example, blood tests for sexually transmitted diseases are no longer being done.

Increased charges have led to a sharp drop in the number of people

attending clinics. Attendance in Soweto fell by 30 per cent. Baragwanath's Hospital Clinic was reported to be seeing half the usual number of patients.

Those who still attend clinics often wait as long as possible before going, or until the end of the month when they have more money. Their illness is often much more serious by then.

The superintendent of Soweto clinics said there were other reasons for the drop in clinic attendance. He claimed most people were earning more and were able to visit private doctors, who also charge R7 for a visit.

'Don't blame us'

But the government is determined to reduce its responsibility for health-care, whether people earn more or not.

Some do go to private doctors and hospitals and this health care sector is growing all the time. At present 59 per cent of South Africa's doctors work in private practice, and private hospitals hold one-third of all hospital beds in the country.

But private facilities do not meet the health-care needs of the majority, who cannot afford them, and who are now battling to afford state-run health-care.

If government health policies sound familiar, it is because the same

policies have been followed in housing, education and welfare.

Responsibility for these services has been dumped in the hands of undemocratic political structures such as bantustan governments and community councils which cannot cope. People have been encouraged to pay for their own needs. Building houses under 99-year leases and putting part of one's wages into private pension funds are just two examples of this.

People are also being forced to pay more for services, both directly in the form of higher rents and school fees and through big jumps in tax - especially general sales tax.

The new parliaments will inherit all these policies and problems as their 'own affairs'.

Expensive apartheid

If the people who decide to enter these parliaments have any doubts about the effects of apartheid politics on health-care, they should look at the bantustans.

Qwaqwa has one hospital for every 156 000 people. Bophuthatswana one for every 137 000. In 1982 Lebowa had no anti-1B vaccine for the entire year. Only one third of all the full-time posts for doctors have been filled.

It is possible that for a short time more money will be poured into health, housing and education for Indian and coloured people to give the Rajbansis and Hendrickses some credibility and maybe some support.

But this money will have to come from somewhere. The jump in GST to ten per cent, the generous tax concessions that big companies continue to enjoy and the recent increase in health tariffs indicate clearly that the government expects black people to pay as many bills as possible.

It might happen that the government decides to take money away from African people, particularly those in the bantustans. But even if this brings a few short term benefits it will hardly be worth it. South Africa is one country, despite the artificial political barriers apartheid has tried to build within it.

One reason why there have never been 'houses, security and comfort, for all' is because the government spends millions on what it calls security - R3 755 million on defence and R796 million on police this year.

A system which divides people and bases the wealth of a few on the poverty of many will always need huge sums of money for guns. And that will always mean the real needs of the majority - like health-care will not be met.



South Africa's factories — 'prisons where barbaric things happen'

Bosses now fear the court aimed to curb worker action

The government set up the Industrial Court to stop strikes. But not only have there been a record number of strikes in the last three years, but unions have used the Court in their favour. The bosses are worried . . .

BELIEVE IT or not, there is an Industrial Court in South Africa which was set up to curb the power of independent trade unions - but rules in their favour.

After the growth of the independent union movement in the 1970's, the government set up the Wiehahn Commission to look into ways of lessening industrial conflict and incorporating the new unions into a controlled system of collective bargaining.

Among the many Wiehahn recommendations was the establishment of an Industrial Court.

What was new about the court was its power to judge all industrial disputes, not just those where legal rights were broken.

The court could rule on dismissals, wages, retrenchments, working conditions, and on whether managements should recognise a union and bargain with it.

The court was intended to contain industrial conflict by settling disputes which had previously been settled through struggles on the shop floor.

On the one hand, this meant that management actions could be controlled through courts for the first time.

On the other, Wiehahn hoped that unions would settle disputes through the courts, rather than by taking strike action.

Only in the last two years has the court been widely used - and then mainly by the unions against employers.

Union success

The unions have often been successful, winning important cases on such issues as dismissals, wages, recognition and retrenchments.

This has not pleased the employers, who are now pleading with the government to limit the court's powers.

They propose changes which would weaken the court's power in the area where independent unions have won the most victories - the unfair labour practice.

An unfair labour practice is anything that harms the job opportunities, job security or welfare of a worker, or which harms the business of an employer or industrial peace.

The court has often come out on the side of the unions on these issues. In response, business has set its lawyers, industrial relations experts and parliamentarians on the government in the hope of forcing change.

In an interview with SASPU NATIONAL, Andre Lamprecht, lawyer and labour consultant for the giant Barlow Rand group, argued for limiting the issues the court could consider.



The jobless — used against unions by bosses

He wants legislation that clearly defines what an unfair labour practice is and is not. The courts could only interpret this legislation.

At the moment, he points out, there is a wide definition of 'unfair labour practice', and the courts are determining what that means.

He admitted that most employers had initially taken no notice of the court. 'Suddenly, when the decisions (in favour of the unions) started coming out, they had to sit up and take notice.'

Another employer representative, Bobby Godsell of the giant Anglo American Corporation, also argues for curbing the court's power.

He says the best solution to conflicts of interest between workers and employers lies 'in the bargaining process itself, and not the inappropriate domain of a court of law'.

He, like Lamprecht, wants unfair labour practices carefully defined in law. The unions point out that they have no representation in the government which passes the laws.

Reservations

The unions also have reservations about the Industrial Court.

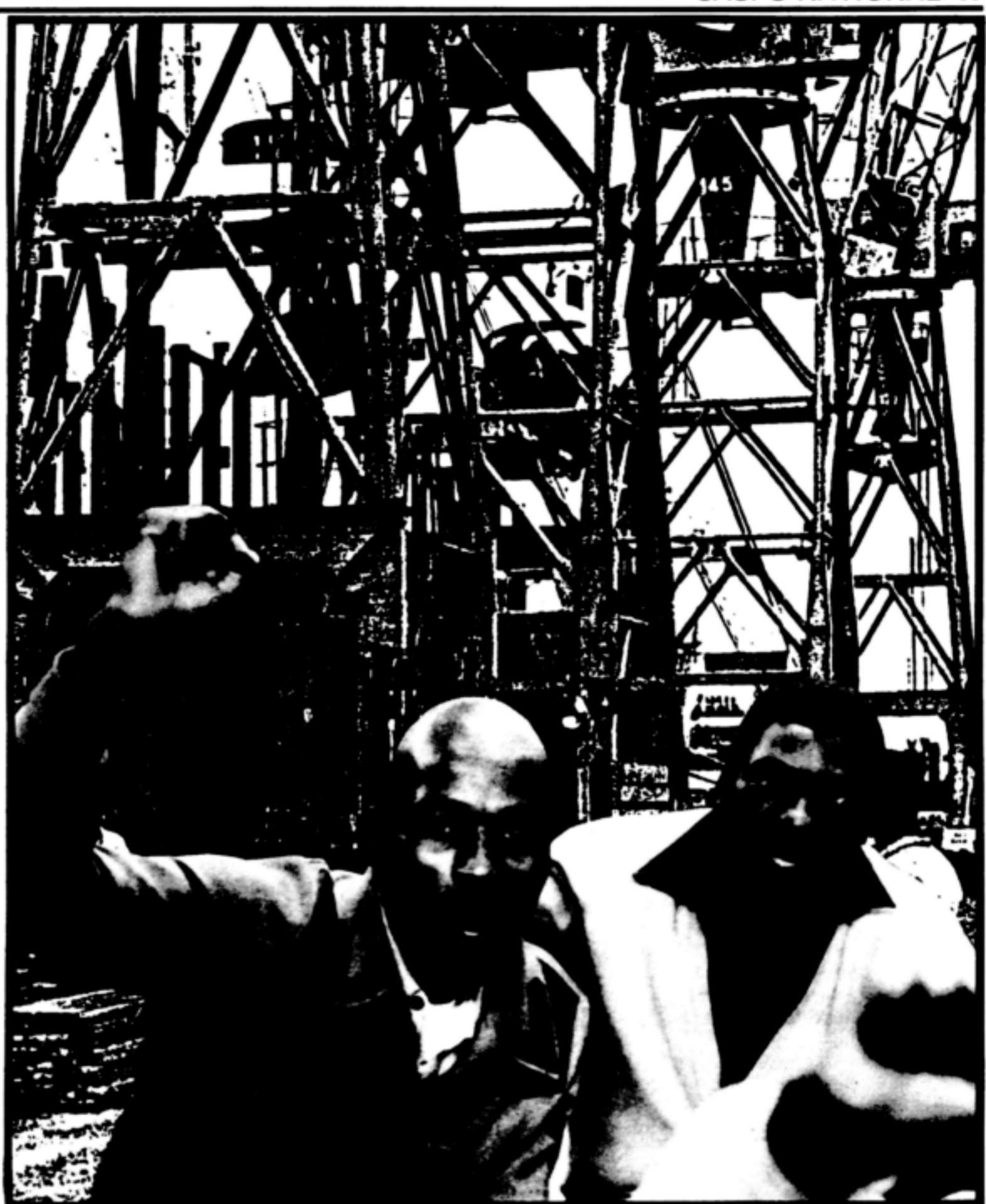
Their concern is what effect the court has on their factory floor strength.

As Dave Lewis of the General Workers Union puts it: 'One of the main problems with the court is time. Cases take a year to get to court, and it is difficult to maintain organisation in the factories for that period.'

Sisa Njikelana of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) is hesitant about the court. 'Saawu is sceptical because the court can never develop any sense of responsibility or consciousness in workers.'

'Using it constantly is dangerous because that will not give workers the confidence to solve their problems through their organised strength.'

This is echoed by Jeremy Baskin of the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers



Striking workers ... the Court was aimed at curbing their militancy



Workers — no longer to be protected from dismissal

Union (PWAWU) who points out that gains made by unions in the court do not always reflect their organisational strength.

'Unions should first be strong - then they might be able to use the court, among other weapons. If this is not the case, workers could interpret a favourable judgement as the union's victory, not their own.'

Distrust control

Moses Mayekiso of the Metal and Allied Workers Union says Mawu would not take cases to the Industrial Court if this failed to build union organisation. His union also prefers to win victories through shop-floor organisation.

Many unionists were initially distrustful of it, as they saw it as part of a strategy to control the union movement.

PWAWU's Baskin explains: 'At first we were distrustful of the court. But then other unions used it as a last resort and, to our surprise, won their cases.'

'This showed us the partial independence of the court. It is made up of people who are neither workers, supervisors nor managers, people who do not realise the extent to which factories are prisons in which barbaric things happen.'

'They rule on what they see as barbaric practices, not realising those things are standard in most factories.'

Mawu, which has led the unions in using the Industrial Court has won some important cases. Bernie Faneroff explains: 'We saw the court as aimed at defusing industrial action, but that it could be used to establish

certain rights.

'We expected that after a while the state and employers would catch on and use it against us. We never saw it as a long-term strategy.'

Mawu and other unions have used the court effectively - so much so that even the threat of Industrial Court action can be enough to settle a dispute.

In August last year, the General Workers Union was engaged in a fight for recognition at African Spun Concrete Company. The company refused to recognise GWU even though it had 80 per cent representation.

After striking against management's refusal to negotiate, the workers decided after a week to go back to work and take the case to the Industrial Court. Management, in the face of the threat, signed a recognition agreement.

At Transpoly, organised by PWAWU, workers struck and were fired after management had dismissed workers and refused to negotiate with the union.

Compensation

PWAWU threatened to take Transpoly to court, and the company softened its approach. Half the workers were taken back, and the other 35 were paid compensation totalling R35 000.

Saawu had a similar case. At Megaplastics, workers struck against unfair dismissals and took the case to the Industrial Court. In the face of this twin threat, the company settled out of court, paying compensation to the dismissed workers.

The independent unions all agree that the Industrial Court should be used as a strategy - a weapon among others - but that strength on the factory floor is the key.

Mawu often resorts to the court when strikes or negotiations fail.

The union points out that with the deepening of the recession and more aggressive retrenchment and firing of workers, especially when they strike, the unions have had severe difficulties in winning their battles.

The strike at B&S in Brits is a case in point. The workers struck, and stayed out on strike for over a year, while management hired a new workforce.

When there was nothing else that could be done, Mawu took the case to court, and won. In the interim the workers maintained a high level of organisation and unity.

The limits

The unions, however, are aware of the limits to which they can push the Industrial Court.

They see that management has strong influence in changing its terms of reference, that judges can be appointed who will not have sympathy for the unions, and that the court can be changed by government legislation.

In the past six months many cases have gone in favour of the employers. This followed the appointment of more judges. One in particular, Justice Erasmus, has made rulings which favour employers.

One ruling says that if workers strike unlawfully, they cannot claim that employers were unfair in dismissing them.

Unions have, in response, argued that there are times when workers are forced to strike because of the way management behaves.

In effect, it has become almost impossible to use the court in any case where workers have downed tools illegally.

Now the government is trying to change the legislation.



Unemployed, aged, disabled . . . all battle to get benefits.

Charter seeks action against unemployment

THE SIGN at every factory says 'sorry no jobs', but thousands continue their search for work.

Unemployment insurance lasts for just six months, but everyone knows people who are jobless for a year or more. Some, like school-leavers and farmworkers have no insurance at all.

Things couldn't be much worse for South Africa's unemployed workers, estimated by some to number as many as three million.

Trade unions and worker advice centres have begun to confront this problem. They have asked their branches what changes they would like to see in the unemployment insurance fund (UIF) and sent a memorandum with their proposals to the minister of Manpower.

The memorandum has been endorsed by the following unions: African Food and Canning Workers Union, Amalgamated Black Workers Union, Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA, the Council of Unions of SA, General Workers Union, Municipal and General Workers Union of SA, Orange-Vaal General Workers Union, Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union, SA Black Municipal and Allied Workers' Union, Domestic Workers' Union, SA Scooter Drivers Union and the Teamsters Union.

It has also been endorsed by the Industrial Aid Society, the East Rand Community Advice Bureau, the In-

dustrial Advice Centre, the Black Sash and the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The drafters of the memorandum say that sending it to the minister will not be enough to bring about changes. 'A campaign to change the UIF can only be built if there is broad discussion of the issues, and common demands are made,' one said.

A draft Unemployment Benefit Charter, based on the memorandum, has been drawn up and sent to as many unions and community groups as possible.

The Benefit Charter's long-term demand is 'jobs for all at a living wage' but its immediate target is changes in the laws governing UIF. Demands in the Benefit Charter include:

- The creation of one fund for all workers in South Africa. At present, domestic, farm, seasonal and most government workers do not qualify for UIF. 'Independent' bantustans like the Ciskei have their own funds.
- Workers must be paid 60 per cent of their last wage for one year. At present they get 45 percent for six months.
- Workers should not wait more than one week for their money, and should be able to decide where they collect it. Migrants should not be forced to collect it in the bantustans.
- If officials decide workers lost their jobs through their own fault, they should listen to the workers' side of



UIF is slow in coming, a job is even slower.

the story and allow them more than one month to fight the possible implementation of a penalty. At present, their UIF is immediately withheld for six weeks.

- A new fund should be set up for school-leavers who have never had jobs and have never contributed to the UIF, and for workers who have been unemployed for more than six months and therefore cannot collect UIF under the present law.
- Employers and the government should contribute the same amount to the fund as workers. At present, employers pay in three cents for every five cents paid in by workers.

In 1982, workers contributed R74-million, employers R45-million and the government R7-million.

Workers should have more control over the UIF, with worker representatives being invited to discuss who should sit on the committees controlling the fund.

Drafters of the Benefit Charter stress that it has not been completed. The list of demands can be changed if people disagree with them and new demands can be included.

Copies of the document are available to all from the advice centres and unions.

Closing off court hits, but not at union heart

● From Page 17

Njikelana says: 'There was an increase in the number of cases won in the court by unions. At the same time, the independent unions have grown in strength. That double threat — where we can choose to take industrial action or use the Industrial Court — was not acceptable to employers and the government. They are now trying to narrow our options.'

The National Manpower Commission (NMC) has recommended that the definition of unfair labour practices be restricted. The only time employers could act unfairly in the area of dismissal is by replacing a white worker with a black worker at a lower wage.

Unfair dismissals, refusal to negotiate with unions, retrenchments and almost every other issue which unions have taken to the Industrial Court would no longer be unfair labour practices.

The NMC has also recommended that all sympathy boycotts and strikes should be unfair labour practices.

Another recommendation of the NMC is that union 'poaching' should be an unfair labour practice. This is where one union organises in a factory already unionised by another. This would help protect unions affiliated to the bosses' 'sweetheart' Trade Union Council of South Africa, which has lost many members to the more effective independent unions.

If the NMC proposals on the Industrial Court are implemented the unions will have to review their use of the court.

This will not radically alter the face of the battle between unions and bosses. It will simply mean that one weapon unions have used — the Industrial Court — will be less effective.

Unions will continue to rely on their factory floor strength to win gains for workers.

They will continue to build the powers and awareness of workers, so that members are able to see that power lies in united and organised action.

'And,' warns Faneroff, 'there are always loopholes in the legislation. If they leave any, we'll find them.'

Gwu unity call

'ALL PROGRESSIVE unions belong in the same organisation,' said General Workers Union (Gwu) president, Johnson Mpukumba at the union's recent national conference in Cape Town.

He said he had chaired a meeting last April which all unions attended. 'I feel unhappy that we have lost the unity we had then - we can regain it before the new federation is launched.'

Mpukumba invited unions which were presently outside the proposed federation 'to discuss their suspicions about it with us'

Mpukumba said the conference had reaffirmed Gwu's support for the unity move. He also stressed Gwu's continued opposition to the new constitution.

Death mine fined

THE OWNERS of Natal's Hlobane mine where an explosion led to the death of 68 mineworkers, have been fined R400 after a court found them guilty of 'irregularities' which led to the blast.

General secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) Cyril Ramaphosa said: 'R400 doesn't compensate for the loss of 68 miners. We are worried that management will see

Labour Shorts



this as a ticket to ignore safety rules.'

Ramaphosa said NUM was planning to make massive civil claims against Hlobane Colliery on behalf of the families of the deceased. These were claims over and above the money paid out as workmen's compensation and would amount to between one and five million rand.

Paper in Council

THE PAPER Wood and Allied Workers' Union has decided to join the Industrial Council for the pulp and paper industry.

The union says this decision paves the way for a resolution of PWAWU's long dispute with Anglo-

American owned Mondi Paper.

Mondi has been refusing to hold further wage talks with the union unless it joins the Industrial Council and negotiates alongside unions representing skilled workers.

A PWAWU organiser said joining the Council did not mean the union had given up the fight for plant-level bargaining. But failure to join would have resulted in an indefinite date being set for wage talks.

PWAWU says it has 4 000 members, three times the number of other unions on the Council. It will demand to be given more seats on the Council than these others.

Closed shop shut

THE PAPER, Wood and Allied Workers Union (PWAWU) has made inroads into the closed-shop system in the furniture industry, which until now has prevented workers from joining the union of their choice.

The Rand Supreme Court recently dismissed an application by the National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers (NUFAW) to prevent PWAWU from recruiting workers at Pat Carrick, a factory in Brits.

NUFAW is an affiliate of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) and has a nationwide closed shop in the furniture industry which forces every worker to join them.

The dispute arose when workers at Pat Carrick wanted to resign from NUFAW to join PWAWU.

The closed-shop is also under attack in other industries. PWAWU is involved in another battle with Iucsa's SA Typographical Union which has a closed-shop in the printing and packing industry.

The Clothing Workers Union (Clowu) in the Western Cape is organising workers in factories dominated by the Garment Workers Union (GWU). Closed shop agreements with the industry have forced 60 000 workers to join GWU.

Clowu has scored a number of suc-

cesses, and has begun to challenge GWU's dominance. At Cape Underwear for example, Clowu helped workers to negotiate a wage increase and the re-employment of fired workers. GWU gave the workers no support and management suggested their officials stay away from the factory.

Maternity victory

TWO AFFILIATES of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) have negotiated important maternity rights for their members.

The Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) recently signed an agreement with NCS Plastics in Pinetown which guarantees women workers 33 percent of normal wages for three months compulsory maternity leave, with a further three months optional unpaid leave. Fathers will get two days paid paternity leave.

This is the first time an independent union has won the right to paid maternity leave. Most unions have demanded unpaid leave.

Subsequently the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU) concluded an agreement with the Kellogg company which gives women on maternity leave a 'lump sum' payment equal to four weeks' pay. They will also get medical aid and pension benefits during this time.

What do you get when you force passes on women?

A march 20 000 strong, and years of resistance

THE PASS Laws are among the most hated and despised of all the Apartheid laws.

When the government tried to extend passes to women it led to one of the biggest mass demonstrations in our history.

On August 9, 1956, 20 000 women marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria. They demanded that pass laws be abolished.

In other parts of the country women who couldn't come to Pretoria held their own demonstrations, marching on their local 'Native Affairs' offices.

The news of the protests spread to every corner of South Africa. They struck fear into the hearts of the apartheid rulers - but brought joy to the millions of people who suffered daily under the apartheid laws.

August 9 became known as National Women's Day and every year since then people have celebrated the day. And, women's organisations today have been inspired by the courage and determination of those women.

The 20 000 women who came from all over the country were well organised and totally united. This was because of the efforts of all the womens organisations making up Fedsaw (the Federation of South African Women).

Fedsaw was formed in 1954 at a time when women were facing increasing hardship.

In 1952 the government introduced a new law to force African women to carry passes.

Women had already seen the misery and suffering caused by the pass laws for their husbands, sons and fathers. Passes meant arrests, prison and fines, and being forced to go back to poverty and starvation in the bantustans.

Suddenly, women could not choose where to work or move freely.

In 1956 women faced pass laws and life in the shadow of fear. These were the women who had to work on farms, in factories and as servants so they could earn money to feed their families.

They faced starvation wages, long working hours, bad housing, food shortages, high busfares and bosses who were only interested in making them work harder.

At that time thousands of men and women were united in organisations opposing the government and the bosses. They struggled to improve their conditions and express their political aspirations.

Umbrella body formed

Women were active in the Congress Alliance, in the African National Congress Womens League, the Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, and the Congress of Democrats. Women formed small organisations in different areas, like the Womens Food Committees and the Cape Housewives League, and were members of trade unions like the African Food and Canning Workers Union.

These women came together in 1954 to form Fedsaw, an umbrella body with these organisations affiliated to it.

To start Fedsaw drew up the Women's Charter which put forward women's demands.

Fedsaws aims were to:

- strengthen women's sections of the Congress Movement, trade unions, and other organisations and to bring them together in joint activity.
- express the needs and aspirations of the



Florence Matomela at the first FSAW conference



Fedsaw leaders, Lilian Ngoyi (ANCWL), Helen Joseph (COD), Rahima Moosa (S.A.I.C.) march to deliver the petitions to the prime minister

The women knocked . . . but Strydom had fled



ANC Womens League members in the demonstration



Knocking at Strydom's door: Lilian Ngoyi, then president of the ANCWL

women of South Africa.

●emancipate women from the special disabilities suffered by them under laws, customs and conventions, and build a democracy based on complete equality and friendship between men and women.

The biggest campaign run by Fedsaw was the anti-pass campaign. But it also took up day to day problems.

These included:

●Rent increases: Fedsaw regional committees and affiliates fought rent increases on sub-economic houses.

●Education: Fedsaw worked with other Congress Alliance organisations in opposing the Bantu Education Act.

●Group Areas and Resettlement: Fedsaw joined in the protests against removals in places like Sophiatown in the Transvaal, Weenen in Natal, and in Cape Town.

●Beerhalls: Many women made their living from brewing beer. But the government made this illegal. Women in Cato Manor marched to the beerhalls with sticks and chased the men out.

●Fedsaw women also opposed price increases for busfares, train fares, and bread prices. They also fought for better street lighting in their townships, toilets, creches and maternity homes.

The anti-pass campaign was a national campaign as it affected women in every town and city.

The laws to force African women to carry passes were passed in 1952, but because of massive resistance they were not enforced immediately.

A Fedsaw pamphlet in 1956 said 'The government is afraid of the African women,

that is why it has delayed the introduction of passes to now.

'The pass laws are to be imposed by the government in a frantic effort to intimidate women, to terrorise them, to control and imprison them.'

Insult to women

Fedsaw said passes were not a matter for African women alone.

'The insult to African womanhood is an insult to every woman. It is the duty of every woman to support the struggle of the African women.

Women all over the world should know of this latest attempt to further enslave the African people.

'Women are not afraid of suffering for the sake of their children and their homes.'

Much of the resistance to passes had been in the cities where Fedsaw and the ANCWL were the strongest. From 1956 the government started by sending their pass units to small towns and the farms.

A Fedsaw woman said: 'They were crawling from dorp to dorp with deceit and tricks to persuade the women to take the passes. They spread like a poisonous weed over the land.'

In 1957 sporadic resistance sprang up wherever the pass units went. Even in these smaller areas many of the women refused to take passes. Or they took passes and then burnt them, like in Zeerust.

They organised demonstrations, and deputations. Many were arrested and charged, but still they refused to take passes.

The government tried the cities. They began

with domestic workers who were unorganised, using the employers to force them to take passes.

Many did. They were afraid of losing their jobs and homes if they disobeyed their 'madam'.

But many joined thousands of Fedsaw and ANCWL women who gave themselves up for arrest. In Sophiatown 2000 women went to jail after a protest march.

Nurses in Johannesburg joined in the protest and many also went to jail. In Cape Town women held placard demonstrations and many were arrested and put in jail.

In spite of the resistance many women were forced to take passes. They were refused jobs, pensions, even train tickets if they didn't have passes — 'life itself was tied to the pass laws'.

The women's resistance continued to the late fifties when the ANC also threw its weight behind the campaign.

The government responded to the resistance with its jails and courts. Then in March 1960 at Sharpeville and Langa police opened fire and many people were killed. A state of emergency was declared and the ANC and the PAC were banned.

Many people, including leaders of Fedsaw and the ANCWL were detained or banned. The organisation itself was never banned and those who survived the repression continued to organise.

They had to start all over, setting up small womens organisations. The repression returned, and from 1961 Fedsaw's voice was stilled. The women, however, were not beaten. It was only a matter of time until they started organising once more...

TO MOST passers by it was just an ordinary small-holding no different from any other in sleepy Rivonia.

But on July 11 1963 the world was to learn that the small farm called Liliesleaf had little in common with its neighbouring rural plots. On that day the South African police, acting through a chance tip-off, captured the underground leadership of the banned ANC.

The scene was set for the most dramatic court case in South African history: State versus Mandela and others, better known as the Rivonia trial. Thirteen people were arrested at Rivonia: Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kanter, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mhlangeni, Bob Hepple, Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe.

But only ten people came to trial. Exactly a month after the arrest, Wolpe and Goldreich escaped from police cells along with other detainees Moosa Moola and Abdulhay Jasset. And of those who remained in prison after the Goldreich-Wolpe escape, Hepple was not charged.

The trial of the remaining ten began on October 9 1963 and ended when sentence was passed on June 12 1964.

They were surprisingly charged under the 'Sabotage Act', and not for the common law offence of treason as many had expected, bearing in mind the nature of the acts for which they were charged. According to a prosecution source at the time, the state was reluctant to proceed with another Treason trial after the setback it suffered during the three year-long Treason Trial of the late fifties when all the accused were acquitted.

Instead they relied on an offence which would be easier for the state to prove.

Eight of the ten were convicted. James Kanter was discharged at the end of the state case and Lionel Bernstein was acquitted only to be promptly re-arrested before he had even left court.

The remaining eight all received sentences of life imprisonment. It is a testimony to the climate of the times that the trial judge found it necessary to justify his sentences not for their harshness but for their leniency, when he said that had the state charged the accused with treason the 'supreme penalty' would have been the proper sentence.

A central theme that ran through the trial was the ANC decision to embark on an armed struggle. In a speech given to a conference of African states in 1962, Mandela explained this: 'All opportunities for peaceful agitation and struggle have been closed. Africans no longer have the freedom even to stay peacefully in their houses in protest against the oppressive policies of the government.'

The ANC's early history was one of decades of protest politics - from the holding of conferences, to petitions to the government and the colonial power Britain, to pass burnings accompanied by the singing of 'Rule Britannia.'

Then, in the late forties the militant ANC Youth League gained control of the ANC which they began to build into a popular mass-based organisation.

The process began with the ANC's 1949 conference which was dominated by the Youth League. From then on, and for the rest of the decade, resistance, rather than representation and petitions became the ANC's strategy.

The defiance campaign itself began in 1952, and the following year, with the introduction of Bantu Education, pupils boycotted classes and parents helped set up alternative educational programmes for their children. Buses were boycotted in protest against higher fares.

In all this the ANC was working with a host of other organisations, among them the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, women's organisations and student and youth bodies.

All came together in 1955 for the Congress of the People, the highpoint of the decade of defiant resistance. The Freedom Charter was drawn up at this massive gathering, outlining basic demands for a free, democratic South Africa. It was very different from the pleas of bodies like the ANC in the past: The document is uncompromising in its demand for a South Africa that is free of all discrimination.

Judge says war pamphlet was treason at Rivonia trial

"We had to turn to violence" - Mandela tells court of A.N.C. objectives

CROWD OF 1,000 AT COURT - Sergeant describes 60 acts of violence

ARRESTS 60 AT RIVONIA - DESCRIBED

Sabotage plans - in Mandela's "writing"

Violence is only road open to A.N.C. - will not appeal

MANDELA: WHY WE CHOSE SABOTAGE - KANTOR FELT RELIEF

Prisoners unmoved by verdict - LUTHULI REFUSES TO ANSWER ON Mbeki: I didn't know of arms

MANDELA cleared - Bernstein immediately arrested

SISULU REFUSES TO ANSWER ON LUTHULI - Mbeki: I didn't know of arms

being sent here by sea - Overseas wave of protests

We had to turn to violence" - Mandela tells court of A.N.C. objectives

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In this spirit thousands of women marched on Pretoria to protest the extension of the pass laws to women, an event that has become a symbol of the women's struggle in South Africa.

The decade closed with still more boycotts, but, just as it had ignored the limited demands of earlier more moderate bodies, so the government ignored the angry shouts that were at the core of the defiance campaign. It responded not by abolishing pass laws and other discriminatory legislation, but by imposing yet more laws: Like the General Laws Amendment Act which made it an offence to call for people to break the law, effectively making the defiance campaign illegal.

Activists involved in drawing up the Freedom Charter were put on trial and on top of this the token representation given to Africans and coloureds in parliament under the 1910 constitution was abolished entirely in 1960.

Finally in March 1960 the ANC and PAC were banned. The bannings came directly after the Sharpeville demonstration when police opened fire, killing many people. Uprisings had followed around the country.

Despite the crackdown non-violent political activity continued. In 1961 on Republic Day, the newly formed All in African Convention called for a national stay-at-home.

The government response was characteristically swift. Five thousand troops were called up and numerous arrests were made. Eleven ANC leaders were charged with furthering the aims of the now banned organisation. Though convicted by a magistrate they successfully appealed and were released a year later.

The ANC, now operating underground, was evolving a new strategy. All its attempts at change without use of force had failed and it had to decide if it was to meet escalating state force with a force of its own. A change from non-violent resistance to armed resistance was the strategy choice the movement's leadership faced.

Other organisations it had worked with in the fifties were able to continue their activities legally, even if the major movements had been outlawed. These bodies, among them the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the Congress of Democrats and the Federation of South African Women kept up their work in their various fields.

For the ANC though, several watershed decisions were taken. On December 16 1961 the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe introduced itself to South Africa with the beginning of a campaign of strategic sabotage acts, aimed at symbolic targets but with the expressed intention of avoiding loss of life.

The date for the beginning of its operations was no accident: the anniversary of the Battle of Blood River, December 16, was an important symbolic day on white South Africa's calendar.

During the Rivonia trial it was revealed that between 1962 and 1963 well over 200 sabotage attacks had occurred. The trial itself led to another significant change in the ANC. The organisation's leadership was now to be based outside the country, instead of maintaining both an exile mission and an internal leadership, as it had been doing for some time. The exile mission was founded by Oliver Tambo who had been sent to London before the Rivonia swoop. During the next ten years the ANC was largely engaged in lobbying support internationally and reconstituting itself.

By 1975, the 'winds of change' had blown through the African sub-continent and the ANC was ready to begin a new phase of military activity. It took the tumultuous uprising of 1976, when many young students fled South Africa's borders to join the ranks of the exile movement, to rekindle the ANC's military machine.

Increasing sabotage attacks occurred inside the country aimed at key installations and symbolic institutions. Pretoria's response to the attack has been to tighten up security legislation, increase military strength and develop a carrot and stick policy of security pacts with brodering states a la Nkomati.

Despite the Rivonia trial, resistance to apartheid continues and the ANC has a larger and more sophisticated military wing than it had in 1964.

And within South Africa, popular democratic organisations continue to grow.



Twenty years ago, police raided Liliesleaf, a house in Rivonia. 12 men were arrested, and 8 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe were convicted for sabotage. They were sentenced to life imprisonment . . .