



Workers have a new weapon in the superunion Cosatu

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Moutse fights incorporation and its apartheid masterminds

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The grief caused by Natal faction fights

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SASPU NATIONAL

A SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT PRESS UNION PUBLICATION VOLUME 7 NUMBER 1 FEBRUARY 1986 PRICE 30c

Num votes for Mandela



NUM President James Mohlatsi

NELSON MANDELA has been elected the Honorary Life President of the National Union of Mineworkers.

This was announced at a massive rally at Soweto's Jabulani Stadium, which marked the climax of Num's annual congress.

James Mohlatsi, re-elected president of the giant union, said the union wanted to honour leaders who have been part of the mining industry.

Mandela had worked for Crown Mines in Johannesburg, and was fired when he refused to collaborate with mine management in searching other workers as they went into the compounds.

Now Num is planning to go to Pollsmoor Prison to take Mandela his Num membership card.

Key policy decisions to emerge from the congress include:

- Num will increasingly get involved in political struggles, and will work with community organisations in the mining towns. It won't affiliate to any political organisation, but will work to ensure that working class interests are advanced;

- Num will not allow the Chamber of Mines to divide workers by offering different wages in different companies; if the Chamber does not come up with a uniform wage deal, Num will call a national strike at all gold and coal mines;

- The compound system must be totally abolished; hostels must be demolished, and mine management must build villages near the mines to house workers and their families.

- Workers will take May Day as a paid holiday, and will celebrate May Day's hundredth anniversary nationally.

- Workers will defend their right to strike, as it is an integral part of working class strategy; if the police and SADF continue to intervene in disputes, workers will have no alternative but to defend themselves;

- Num will not affiliate to the ICFTU, WFTU or other international bodies except the Miners' International Federation; links will be forged with the new Miners' International, and with unions in Southern Africa, Algeria, Nigeria and Uganda;

- Cosatu's policy on bantustans was endorsed, and together with Cosatu, Num will put considerable pressure on Gencor to reinstate all dismissed Impala workers.

- Num condemned SA raids on neighbouring states; as many of its members live in, and have friends and relatives in these states, Num plans to improve contact with unions there, in the hope that through greater awareness, citizens there will be better prepared for SA raids.

Dumped on the other side of the border

"PW'S PROMISES of citizenship for all South Africans are hollow. They do not include the bantustans. "It is there that poverty, starvation and repression is worse than anywhere else in South Africa." This is the message from Kuni, Ciskei, villagers who were dumped on the roadside just within SA's 'border'.

The villagers had rejected the authority of the local headman, and begun to organise themselves

against bantustan rule. Their pensions were cut and, without warning, they were loaded on trucks and driven from the Ciskei. "We were once South African citizens, working on white farms. But when SA's 'borders' got redrawn, our land became part of the Ciskei bantustan," say Kuni leaders. Moutse residents are also fighting this geographical juggling. They have refused to become part of an

'independent' KwaNdebele, and say they want no part in the government's divisive tribalist structures. There are only two water pumps for 5 000 people, only a few schools and the nearest hospital is two hours away. Despite many difficulties, organised opposition in the rural areas is spreading dramatically. On pages 13,15,16,17 SASPU NATIONAL looks at rural resistance.



**THE NEW CONSTITUTION:
APARTHEID'S LAST STAND**

Lekoa: The councillors's L-Plan

A DOCUMENT uncovered late last year has revealed the Lekoa Town Council's plans to make residents pay rent and blow life into the Black Local Authorities.

Having failed to get Vaal residents to pay rent since September 1984, the councillors went back to the drawing board. They now have short term plans for collecting rent and more long term campaigns for winning residents' hearts and minds.

The document deals with:

LEGAL ACTION. Residents who haven't paid rent will be issued with summonses to appear in court.

If they fail to appear in court, they can be given jail sentences. This has already been done in Parys.

More than 7500 Vaal residents have received summonses. Although their lawyers are challenging these, they feel there will be more legal battles to fight. Residents could also be evicted, their possessions confiscated, or have rent deducted from their wages.

The document says 'no acknowledgement through negotiations must be given to revolutionary

groups or organisations'. **CHANGING THE LAW.** The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning is asked to pass new legislation forcing employers to take workers' rent off their wages.

This strategy failed last year in Sharpeville because the courts found there was no law forcing rent payment in this way. The Vaal Trade Union Coordinating Committee also forced the Vaal Chamber of Commerce to stop deducting rent from workers wages.

THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS. The OVDB will recruit first year Vista university students doing the Municipal Administration and Finance course as Liaison Officers. They will do house visits to inform residents about the local authorities and finances, and to answer 'grievances'.

Youth groups are to be taken on weekend camps and given lectures to motivate parents to pay rent.

The document refers to a 'similar campaign successfully launched by the West Transvaal Development

Board'. A report on this says 'moral standards and honesty' have a 'low priority' among black youth and this leads to a breakdown in the social order.

They will be encouraged to work with the community councils to 'repair the social order', and told that 'unrest' causes increased rents. All this is supposed to develop a sense of 'responsibility and willingness to pay rent, because money paid to the council will be used to repair the social order' and 'uplift socio-economic circumstances'.

The OVDB's Youth Action, Town Councils and the Department of Education and Training (DET) are to organise this campaign 'immediately and constantly'.

SECURITY FORCES. Hostel fees are to be collected 'through combined action with security forces'. Community guards must be appointed and police stations set up in all black areas 'as an urgent priority'. Parys, Bothaville and Evaton are first on the list.

SAP stations 'as symbols of law and order' are 'psychologically very important'. They will 'also enable

municipal police, community guards and SAP members to react fast and co-ordinated under the command of SAP', says the document.

Residents are to be drawn into maintaining 'law and order' and protecting people who pay rent. Law and Order committees, with parents, teachers, councillors, priests and SAP are to be set up. One of their tasks will be to deal with 'rebellious youth'.

MEDIA AND POPULARISING THE COUNCILS. An intensive media propaganda campaign is to be launched. The aim is to get residents to support local authorities and to pay rent.

Radio Sesotho, TV 2 and 3, magazines, local newspapers Bula Ditaba, Vaal Ster and other newspapers, films, videos, and slides will be used to promote community councils and rent payments.

They will also be promoted in schools, beer halls, labour offices, taxi and bus ranks and train stations.

The image of councillors and of the state president is to be promoted.

'Joint appearances' of councillors with Cabinet ministers and homeland leaders are to be publicised.

Councillors are to be given political and other training. And they must hold house-to-house discussions with breadwinners and families. In case of problems, 'SAP support' will be arranged.

PRICE INCREASES. The document calls for a central body to decide on price increases nationally. This body will include government departments such as Constitutional Development and Planning, SA Transport Services, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, Finance, Development Aid, Escrom and Water Boards.

Depending on the 'security situation', the government is to negotiate with organised commerce on price increases that affect the black community.

The timing of increases and their possible effects are to be considered. Intensive 'climate creation action' is planned to create a favourable climate in which increases will be accepted.

Detainees fast for demands.

50 EMERGENCY detainees at Diepkloof prison have gone on an indefinite hunger strike. They are demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all detainees, the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of the troops from the townships.

The detainees say they are denied the rights and privileges which political detainees should have, and that even awaiting trial and convicted prisoners have more rights than they do.

The detainees allege that:

- 13 of those held in Diepkloof prison are under 18
- some detainees have never had visits from their families
- detainees are confined to their cells for 23 hours a day
- the Prisons Department provides different diets for prisoners of different race groups
- detainees are subject to arbitrary and humiliating punishment like deprivation of meals, being placed in solitary confinement, and being



We stand by detainees, says DPSC

forced to squat with heads bowed. Condemning detentions, the UDF said, 'these people and thousands of others have been arrested in order to try to smother popular

rejection of apartheid rule. It is also hoped to break the commitment of these people to a democratic South Africa, to break their morale by the conditions of their incarceration.

'On both scores the racists have failed. The removal of any one or one hundred leaders cannot stop the people's angry resistance nor their forward march.'

State tries to prove UDF-ANC-SACP links

THE TREASON trial in Delmas, involving twenty-two men, continues. Among the accused are key UDF leaders.

The state alleges that the accused, allied with the ANC and the SACP in a conspiracy, tried to overthrow the present government violently.

The State has to lead evidence on all aspects of the conspiracy. It first tried to link the UDF and ANC.

Its major witness here was an alleged member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He claimed that on a mission to the Transvaal he showed Cosas youths in Germiston how to make petrol bombs, that he received money from Beyers Naude, and that in ANC training camps and bases, members regard the UDF as the internal wing of the ANC and sing songs in praise of UDF leaders.

Another witness was a man claiming to have been a member of Macwusa and Pebco. He left the coun-

try in 1980 and became a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He claimed he saw copies of UDF 'books' - like UDF News and The Eye - in an ANC training camp.

Colonel Buchner, involved in 'rehabilitating terrorists' for many years, gave evidence on the need for keeping the identity of the witnesses secret.

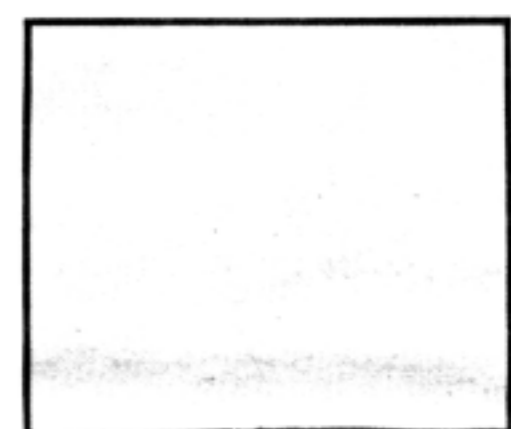
The trial is now focussing on events in the Vaal and the build-up to the stayaway on September 3, 1984, which marked the beginning of a wave of township violence.

The State intends to show that what happened on the 3 September, and after, was a product of the conspiracy, and that the killing of councillors and destruction of property was caused by the organisational activities of the conspirators.

Hundreds of people who attended meetings, demonstrations and marches, could be called to the witness stand. This could take years.



Saawu president, Thozamile Gqweta, and three other Saawu leaders are still on trial for treason. Charges against the 12 UDF leaders in the same Maritzburg trial were dropped in December. Now the state is calling in the managers of many East London companies to testify against Saawu, in an attempt to prove that the union was conspiring to bring down the government. But, in describing a Saawu strike at Johnson and Johnson in East London, all the personnel manager could say was, 'Mr Gqweta must be given most of the credit for getting the workers to peacefully return to work.'



South African law makes it illegal to print photographs of the six people sentenced to death

Shock as Vaal six sentenced to death

SIX SHARPEVILLE residents have been sentenced to death.

Moses Diniso, Reginald Sefatsa, Duma Kumalo, Francois Mokhesi, Reid Mokena and Theresa Ramashamola were found guilty of killing a Vaal councillor in September 1984.

"They are all young and the breadwinners of their families", said a Sharpeville resident.

"Most were toddlers at the time passes were a burning issue in Sharpeville, and were introduced to life with the 1960 massacre still strong in the memories of the community."

The Vaal Civic Association has condemned the sentence, and protests and demonstrations are being planned.

Hundreds on trial in Oudtshoorn

HUNDREDS OF residents of Bongalethu township in Oudtshoorn are on trial.

125 people have been charged with murder, after a community councillor was necklaced. And a further 165 have been charged with public violence for allegedly burning down the councillor's house.

Two 'Saamstaan' workers, Humphrey Joseph and Louis Noemdoe have been accused of subversion, on charges rising out of the consumer boycott in August and September last year.

Their lawyer believes it is a test case to lay the basis for the trial of Alan Boesak, who is also charged with subversion.

And two Oudtshoorn students, Derek Grootboom (17) and Derek Basson (18), have been jailed for seven years each for sabotage.



The slogan says it all... Jubilant UDF supporters attended birthday rallies in their thousands across South Africa

UDF - year of triumph and strength

IT WAS only ten months after its launch that UDF took on one of the toughest tasks a political organisation could face.

Up against a government that had been in power for 36 years, the young front had to challenge the legitimacy of the new constitution designed to split oppressed South Africans as never before.

Van power confronted UDF and its affiliate organisations — government, television and radio, and the wealth and resource of big business. But the UDF stood up to the challenge and the constitution was rejected nationwide.

Between this triumph and its launch on August 19 last year, the UDF has had a year of intense activity. The government's attempt to impose the constitution and Koornhof Bills have been opposed at every stage.

In the process, it has scored major victories. First, the Coloured Management Committees and their well-out supporters were thoroughly discredited by a successful election boycott. Then the African townships rejected Koornhof's Local Authorities with a ten percent election poll.

And because UDF and others had mobilised public opinion against the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, the government decided to shelve it.

These are perhaps the UDF's most dramatic victories. But the real achievements lie in what was done to reach those heights. The UDF has managed to reach out, often to previously untouched areas and constituencies, and touch the imaginations of thousands of oppressed and exploited South Africans.

UDF has warned South Africans that the government still plans to tighten the pass laws. Although it has withdrawn the Orderly Movement Bill, it has replaced this with the Alien Act and the Urbanisation Bill.

One of the first tasks of the new tricameral parliament will be to put these plans into effect. But if UDF's track record is anything to go by, there is a rough road in store for the government.

Through their year of intensive organisation, UDF and its affiliates are now ready for further challenges. They have mobilised 'enough support, generated enough understanding and built enough organisation to guarantee almost total rejection of these 'new reforms'.

Low township poll

AFTER passing the new constitution in parliament the Botha government needed rubber-stamp approval from white voters. It set a referendum for November 2 in which whites were asked to vote 'yes' or 'no' to the new constitution.

In response, the UDF organised a 'people's weekend' for October 30 and 31. A series of rallies were held across the country for those who rejected the referendum.

About half of all whites voted for the constitution. A UDF statement at the time said: 'The white referendum is a calculated step to create a false sense of democratic decision-making. But every step that led to this referendum has been undemocratic.'

Also in November the UDF launched a campaign against town councils and local authorities in African townships. These replaced community councils which had long since been discredited.

The new councils would have to raise their own funds despite inheriting huge debts. They would take over much of



Albertina Sisulu, UDF president, salutes a year of united action

In one short year of united action, the UDF has proved a mighty force. SASPU NATIONAL looks some of the year's highlights...

apartheid's dirty work like checking passes and permits and carrying out shack demolitions.

Under the slogan 'A vote for the Council is a Vote for Apartheid', the UDF stressed the new councils would create greater hardship and suffering for urban Africans. Rents, service charges and maintenance costs would increase.

Civics affiliated to the UDF played a vital role in organising the massive boycott. Pamphlets were distributed. Civics went door-to-door explaining the implications of voting and the need to organise against the new councils. Mass meetings were held.

Election candidates made great promises, like Soweto mayor E.T. Japhalela who said he would drop rents to R5 a month. But UDF and the civics made only one promise: that no candidate would be able to keep his promise.

Civics committed themselves to continue challenging the local authorities once they took office. They also provided a democratic alternative to government-imposed councils. 'We demand a full vote in the government of the whole country. Let us build our organisations, unite in the UDF and organise for a better South Africa,' they urged.

The response was overwhelming. The average poll was a mere 19 per cent of registered voters, but only 10 per cent of those who could have registered. None out of ten Africans rejected the councils. The civics kept their promise — they continued to organise against the councils. The candidates broke theirs. Rents went up, not down. Maintenance costs went up, not down. And they continued the residents less, not more. At the civics and the UDF had predicted, life became more difficult.

CMC's - an early victory

A MONTH after its launch, the UDF called for a boycott of Coloured Management Committee elections.

The UDF and its affiliates pointed out that high rents, increased bus fares and lack of electricity in many areas had never been solved by the committees. Things had, in fact, got worse.

The UDF also pointed out that only the strength of local organisations in such areas could change the situation, not self-interested people taking part in government-created structures.

In the Cape Peninsula polls ranged from a 1.8 percent vote to 11.8 percent. A huge majority of people rejected the Management Committees.

Signature Campaign

LAUNCHED ON January 21, the Million Signature Campaign (MSC) aimed to collect one million signatures rejecting the constitution and the Koornhof Bills, and demanding a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa. By August nearly half a million people had signed.

The MSC was a huge undertaking and was made even more difficult by extensive state harassment.

Cabinet ministers made statements against the MSC. Police claimed to have uncovered a 'plot' in which signatures collected by the UDF were passed on to the banned African National Congress to use for recruiting new members.

Signature collectors were harassed and arrested. In the Border Region, meetings and signature-collecting sites were almost impossible.

The MSC played an important part in popularising the UDF and its affiliate organisations. MSC volunteers went out to strangers from all walks of life, explaining what the UDF was and why the constitution and the Koornhof Bills should be rejected.

The government, the UDF alleges, seized thousands of signatures. If it were not for this and other harassment, UDF would already have reached its million signature mark.

Reaching the far corners

ONE OF the UDF's most remarkable achievements is its penetration into South Africa's vast and isolated rural areas. Early on, the UDF identified this as a major priority: to strengthen existing organisations in these areas, and to help create organisations where none existed.

In February the UDF supported the campaign against the removal of the Magaps community. In consultation with the leaders of this 70 year-old Western Transvaal community, it set about publicising this 'hidden' removal.

But, when attention had died down, Koornhof sent more than 20 trucks to force the community to move. Amid allegations of brutality and assaults, the area was cleared.

The removal may have been carried out, but a blaze of publicity meant it

wasn't as easy and quiet as the government would have liked. Lesiba — another Transvaal community threatened with resettlement — has become a UDF stronghold, and for the present the government has had to back down there.

During the anti-election campaign, considerable anti-constitution activity took place in the rural areas. In the Northern Transvaal a huge 'Rural People's Rally' was held, attracting entire tribes.

New regional structures were set up in areas that were previously isolated from the main centres. The Northern Cape, with its active centre in the Karoo-Vryburg-Kaibler district established a regional committee, as did the Orange Free State areas of Welkom, Parys and Bloemfontein and South-West Cape and Southern Cape.

Solidarity with Ciskei

ONE OF the most emotional moments at the UDF launch was when Steve Tshwete — later to become Border UDF president — stood up and told the crowd what was happening in Mdaniso's bus boycott.

In two weeks 852 people were detained. 90 were shot dead, the South African Allied Workers Union (Sawu) was banned, and its leadership was driven underground.

The UDF, Sawu and eight other trade unions succeeded in generating massive protest and mobilised doctors, lawyers, community and resource organisations to assist in the area.

In support of Sawu the UDF said: 'We take a very serious view of the rights of workers to their unions and to defend themselves against exploitation. We join all unions in condemning the ban.'

Inkatha lashes out

THE RAPID growth of the UDF has not only been a headache for the government.

Inkatha, the KwaZulu-based 'cultural organisation' led by homelands chief Gatsha Buthelesi, has opposed the UDF almost from its launch. This has often led to violence.

But, as the UDF pointed out in a pamphlet after Inkatha's inbred murdered five University of Natal students, this path is not a new one.

In May they attacked UDF supporters at an Empaneni mass meeting. 70-year



'UDF unites... Apartheid divides' - proved true in a year of united action

old UDF president, Archie Gumede, was knocked unconscious. Inkatha members have also been responsible for a number of deaths in Lamontville.

Buthelesi obviously realised he had gone too far, and extended a formal invitation to UDF to meet Inkatha members. But in the light of the deaths, rape attacks and verbal abuse from Buthelesi, the UDF refused the invitation.

On foreign affairs

WHEN PRIME Minister P.W. Botha announced he would tour Europe after signing the National Accord, the UDF appealed to host governments to reject him.

'For as it is strange to hear the Botha government talk of peace and change,' said UDF NEWS in March. 'They talk about change and yet the only change

together in January this year in Witzenburg for a national youth conference.

The minister of defence, Magnus Malan, threatened to conscript coloured and Indian youth into the army once their parents had voted. The UDF resolved to oppose all attempts to draw people into apartheid's army.

Western Cape parents were encouraged not to allow their children to attend camps run by the South African Defence Force. Pamphlets explained the UDF's position: 'We do not bring our children up to war. We do not defend a system that forces us to live in Mitchell's Plain, Atlantis and Khayelitsha in bad conditions; forces our children to go to gutter education schools; and that forces us to pay GST on everything we buy so that the government can spend all its money on the army.'

Opposing Khayelitsha

CAPE TOWN is already feeling the side-effects of the Koornhof Bills. The planned relocation of all Africans in the Cape Peninsula to the barren wasteland of Khayelitsha, 40 kilometres from Cape Town, is part of the plan to control the movement of Africans.

In shacks are already being put up, and the relocations have started. Koornhof clearly hopes that, once all Africans are settled there, his government will have greater control over squatting, the entry of 'illegal', the movement of residents and their places of work.

But they will now have to contend with the Western Cape Civic Association, the UDF and the Cronwold, Nyanga, KTC and Langa residents.

Moving 250 000 people is not easy, particularly when they do not agree to it.

UDF under the whip

HARASSMENT of the UDF started before it was even launched. People travelling to Cape Town for the launch were stopped and detained. Anonymous pamphlets said the launch was cancelled.

Security policemen have intimidated and threatened people, particularly priests, who have given halls as venues for meetings.

UDF meetings have repeatedly been banned. The Border Region was forced to hold its launch outside the area for this reason.

The UDF president-elect, Albertina Sisulu was detained and kept in an awaiting-trial prisoner before she was elected. Some 20 UDF office bearers were put in 'preventative' detention just before the election.

TV and radio attack, slander and undermine the UDF and its campaign, while right-wing student organisations produce expensive pamphlets attacking it.

Numerous people popularising UDF and taking part in its programmes have been arrested, some for 'violent assemblies', others under the Intimidation Act, and others simply for 'slandering'.

There have also been anonymous acts of violence. In Johannesburg alone there have been over 50 attacks on UDF supporters' homes, cars and properties. In Cape Town, one day before the People's Weekend, a fire ripped through the offices of the UDF-affiliated United Women's Organisation.

In East London shots have been fired into the home of a prominent UDF activist.

No to conscription

1981 SAW a large growth in the number of youth organisations around the country.

The national contact promoted by UDF brought over 50 youth groups

COMMUNITYWIDE rent boycotts are proving to be powerful weapons in the hands of township residents.

There are total rent boycotts in at least 25 townships throughout the country, and threats of more to come. In some cases residents are paying old rents but refusing to pay increases.

They just don't have the money. Development Boards and Town Councils have lost millions of rands through the rent boycotts, and seem to be launching a national campaign to force people to pay rent.

The strategies they use include:

- forced evictions,
- legal action such as summonses to appear in court,
- seizure of residents' movable property,
- stopping all township services
- cutting off water and electricity
- changing the law to make it compulsory for rents to be deducted off worker's wages.

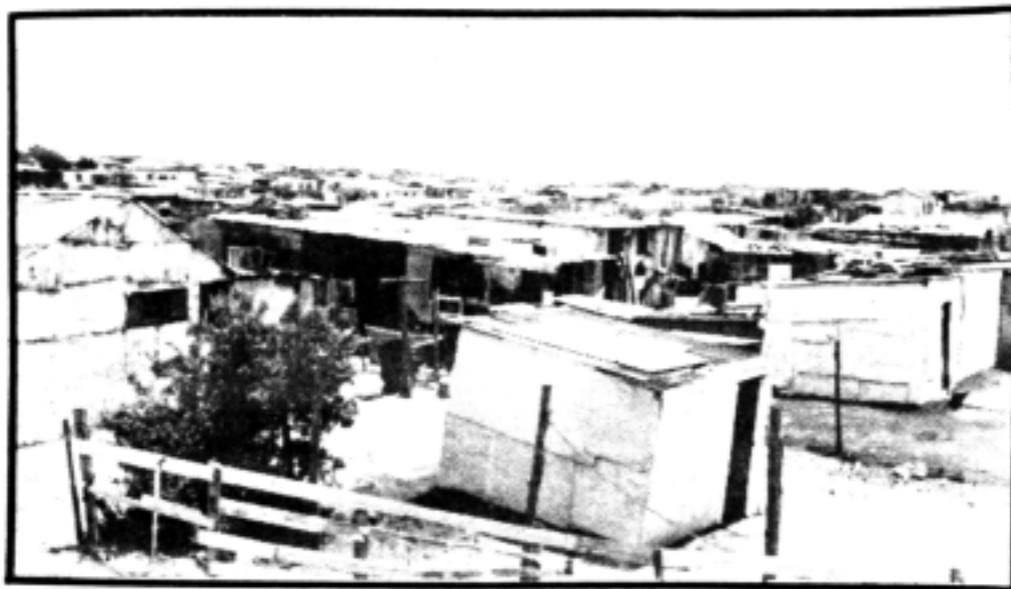
Rent boycotts are a response to the worsening economic crisis. The cost of living is rocketing, growing numbers of people are jobless or being retrenched, and low wages are being stretched to breaking point.

Rent increases, introduced by already unpopular councils, have led to spontaneous protests and have united residents in a common purpose.

In many cases rent protests have led to the birth of civic organisations, and swelled existing ones.

The call behind the boycotts has been more than 'rents we can afford'. Residents in different areas

We can't pay these rents and we won't



Houses are falling but rents are rising

are also using them to push for other demands:

- improved township living conditions
- resignation of councillors and abolition of the councils
- democratic control of townships
- an end to the state of emergency
- the release of detainees
- troops out of the townships

So far local negotiations between community representatives and local authorities have ended in deadlock. Now the stage is set for fiercer battles over rent.

And there is talk in civic and trade union circles of regional and national rent boycotts.

Major legal battles are being waged around rent boycotts in the Vaal and the Eastern Transvaal.

From mid-1985 rent boycotts swept through at least five Eastern Transvaal townships: Emgwenya (Watervalboven), Silobela (Carolina), Kwazanele (Breyten), Emjindini (Barberton), and Ethandukhanya (Piet Retief). Civics and youth organisations grew out of

the rent struggles, and evicted Ethandukhanya residents won their houses back last year after a Supreme Court hearing.

Recently negotiations between residents' lawyers and the Eastern Transvaal Development Board (ETDB), to drop rent increases, ended in deadlock.

After cutting off electricity and taking people to court, the ETDB is trying to evict people who haven't paid rent. They are taking one person in each of five townships to court. The court judgement in these individual cases will affect millions of township residents.

In late January, Kwazanele, Breyten, residents clashed with police and councillors after the ETDB cut off electricity, despite warnings from the community.

70 Kwazanele residents have now been charged with public violence.

Over 7500 Vaal residents have been issued with summonses by the Orange Vaal Development Board. And in Tumahole, Parys, residents have had to serve weekend prison sentences after failing to respond to summonses.

Their lawyers argue the summonses are invalid.

But civic leaders say the courts are

not the only battleground in the rents struggle.

Said a Vaal Civic spokesperson, "We realise that ultimately it is people's unity in action that will get us through. So we are not sitting back and waiting for mercy from heaven."

In Dundee's Sibongile township in Natal, residents are saying 'Ayithelwa' - we won't pay. They haven't paid rent since a R5 increase in April last year. The only people paying are about 10 Inkatha-supporting families.

Even the local chief supports the Sibongile Civic Association (SCA) and is not paying, despite eviction threats.

The SCA sent a memorandum to Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, listing their grievances: the bucket system, poor maintenance of houses, bad roads, lack of schools, sporting and other facilities.

The government's only response was security police harassment.

Clashes broke out when the Natalia Development Board tried to evict some families, and some NDB cars were stoned.

Cradock residents haven't paid rent for over two years, and their demand is still 'rents we can afford'.

In the Border region, people in Fort Beaufort, Duncan Village, Queenstown, Stutterheim, Cathcart, and Molteno have not paid rent since last year.

In Willowmore, in the Southern Cape, coloured and African residents joined forces to oppose rents that increased three times in four months.

After fruitless meetings with the Town Clerk, and a meeting where the local coloured MP didn't turn up to defend himself, residents have boycotted the increases.

High rents was one of the burning issues behind the massive march on Mamelodi Administration Board offices in November last year, when police killed at least 15 people.

Residents said they would boycott rents until funeral restrictions and police harassment end, the councillors resign, and troops leave the township.

Mamelodi civic leaders say the massacre strengthened residents' determination to continue the rent boycott, and organisation has mushroomed. Residents are now also demanding that town councils should be abolished and replaced by democratically elected civics.

Towards the end of January, Administration Board police went to residents and threatened them with legal action and eviction if they didn't pay their rent arrears.

The Town Council later threatened to cut water and electricity, confiscate residents' private property or 'apply any method at its disposal' to recover losses.

In nearby Atteridgeville there is no formally organised rent boycott. But the local Town Council revealed they were owed more than one million rand in rents. They said they had cut off water and electricity in certain cases, but threatened to take more drastic steps.

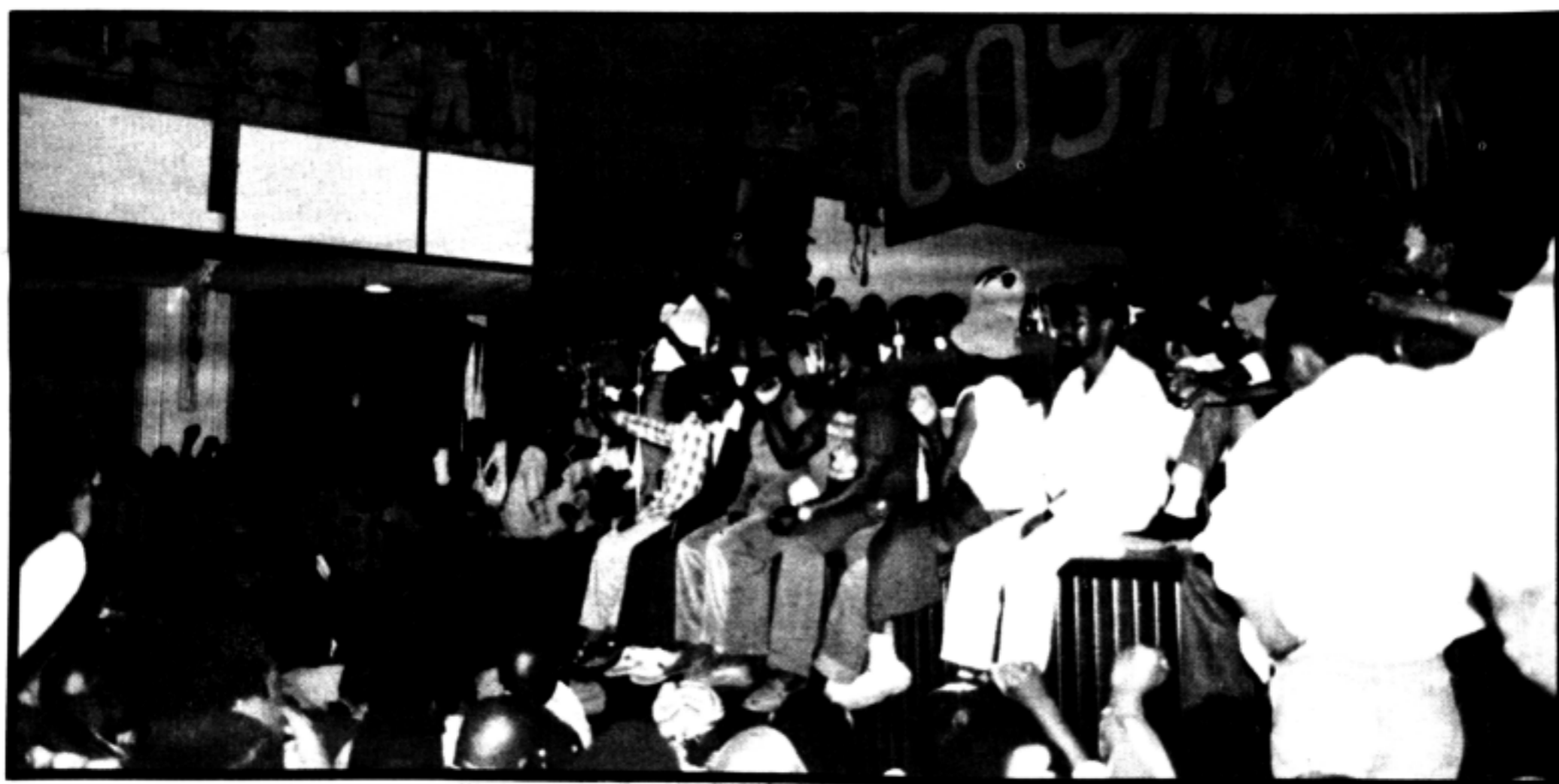
In Rathanda, East Rand residents are still paying their old rent. They refuse to pay the R5.50 increase introduced in September 1984.

Some isolated rent victories have been won. In Port Elizabeth the administration board started evicting people who couldn't afford to pay rent. The PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) had the evictions stopped and won an agreement from the board that unemployed and retrenched people could pay reduced rent.

Unemployed workers organisations on the East Rand won similar agreements.

At a series of mass meetings, Ikageng residents have called for a rent boycott if the council refuses to drop increases introduced recently.

"We see nothing that requires such drastic increases", said an Ikageng Civic Association spokesperson. "There have been no improvements in Ikageng. But still the community council sees fit to raise rents."



Workers pack rally to launch Cosatu's Border region in East London

Cosatu set for worker action

85 DELEGATES, representing 500 000 workers in 33 unions, met in Johannesburg earlier this month for Cosatu's first Central Executive Committee (CEC) meeting.

Key policy decisions taken by the committee include:

- no direct affiliation to any political organisation inside or outside the country, but political struggles will be taken up through 'disciplined alliances' with progressive

Willowmore won't bend

SOLID ORGANISATION in Willowmore, in the Southern Cape, has managed to halt evictions. After a five month boycott of rent increases, the municipality evicted three families.

But residents forcibly brought the families back to their homes.

From the start, there has been united action. Coloured and African residents have joined forces to form a new organisation — 'Die Bekommerde Gemeenskap Groep'.

After many rents discussions, resi-

- organisations;
- united action to challenge the growing power of multinationals;
- immediate action to be taken by all affiliate unions in support of unions or individuals hit by repression;
- May 1 and June 16 to be paid holidays, and present holidays like Republic Day and the Day of the Covenant to be sacrificed if necessary;

dents called the Town Clerk to a mass meeting. But when he couldn't meet the people's demands, residents chased him from the hall, and carried his car off the premises.

Then they decided to put pressure on the local coloured MP, but he didn't turn up to defend himself.

A list of demands was then sent to the municipality after further mass meetings and house-to-house work. But the Town Clerk still hasn't responded.

- no formal affiliation to major international trade union federations, but 'fraternal links' with progressive worker organisations 'committed to the struggle for freedom in SA, and the building of true international working class solidarity';
- strong opposition to the de-regulation of small business, which takes away the protection of minimum wages and working conditions, and weakens worker organisation.

The CEC resolved to launch a major campaign to counter violence against Cosatu, after hearing a detailed report from Natal on Inkatha's 'declaration of war' and other attacks.

'If political differences between Cosatu and other organisations exist, we do not see this as a 'state of war'. Such language benefits no one', said the report.

'We urge those elements who use violence against Cosatu to take note that Cosatu can and will defend itself.'

'Unwarranted attacks' made on

Cosatu by Inkatha, and its moves to set up 'alternative unions' were also condemned, as 'designed to undermine the unity of the working class.'

Delegates condemned the government's denial of trade union rights to farm workers, and plan to form a farm-workers union.

Committees have already been set up to organise farm-workers, together with Cosatu affiliates involved in related industries.

Cosatu also aims to form an Unemployed Workers Union; 'for too long the unemployed have been used by employers and the government as a bulwark against the struggles of organised labour'.

The following additional people were elected to the executive: Eastern Cape: Daniel Dube (Naawu); Western Cape: John Ahrendson (CTMWA); Northern Natal: Jerry Ntombela (TGWU); Western Cape: Lizzie Phike (FCWU).

The CEC will meet every three months. It consists of two representatives from unions with less than 15 000 members, and four from every union over 15 000.

Ikageng teachers help police

WHITE TEACHERS from Ikageng schools helped man a police road-block after a recent Carltonville funeral. They pointed out activists in the crowd by their names.

"The introduction of these unapproachable white teachers has made a bad situation worse," says an expelled student. "Most teach history, and it is a big risk to ask questions because these teachers mark you by what you ask."

When Ikageng students returned to school on the 28th January, they still had to right many wrongs.

Many students have been expelled, detained, charged with public violence or been failed in exams. In

Tlokwe High, from among 251 who wrote exams, only 49 passed. Only one of these was politically active. White teachers tell them: "If you did not throw stones, you would have passed."

The Potchefstroom DET branch is strictly enforcing its rules. Students must not belong to political organisations like UDF; they must greet staff daily; and they must not perm their hair. "Corporal punishment still reigns supreme," say students.

The progressive parent student organisation has been badly harassed, and the Circuit Inspector and councillors set up an alternative when many leaders were in detention. Youth and students were

chased away from its first meeting. But the Ikageng Civic has filled the gap and met with the principals to discuss the Wits resolutions. The civic also discussed SRC's with parents because some parents take SRCs to be "communist" organisations of bad influence.

The principals agreed not to make school fees, uniforms and buying of books a precondition for registration, and SRC's will be set up in February. Each school will convene a meeting of all concerned to iron out any problems.

Four former COSAS activists are in detention in Pollsmoor. Boy Majola, and Kgedi and Bassie Gugushe are serving 6 year sen-

tences for sabotage. IYCO, ICA and ISO — the youth, civic, and student organisations - have also been meeting with priests, progressive teachers and business people to try to end the education crisis.

Ending hooliganism is also high on the agenda in Ikageng. The civic is meeting with shebeeners to plan this.

"We aim to reduce the frustration that leads to heavy drinking. Through cultural activities, sports, and building "people's parks", we will wipe out the harm this decadent social system has created in the minds of the youth," says an IYCO

organiser. "The mushrooming street committees have been our most effective method, through which people's participation is to the fullest," he said.

On 4 January the civic met with the Greyhound Bus Service to discuss their demands that pensioners must be transported to where they collect their pensions; that workers should not be retrenched and their salaries should be increased; and that students should be offered bursaries.

The meeting ended with Greyhound committing itself to contact its headquarters in Klerksdorp.

Leave the youth alone says chief

NO-ONE MUST interfere with the business of the youth, says Chief Brown Malatji of Namakgale in Palaborwa.

He says the SAP and SADF have shown disrespect by coming into his village without his consent, shooting and harassing people, and disrupting Namakgale Youth Congress (Nayco) meetings.

The chief summonsed police chief Colonel Moloto to his house and demanded that troops leave the villages because they 'shoot the peaceful youth who are merely discussing their future and destiny'.

The chief's words follow clashes with cops in the area.

In mid-January, SAP, SADF, Lebowa police and mine security guards fired teargas to break up a meeting of members of the National Union of Mineworkers

Chased by police, the workers ran into the village where the youth joined them, saying, 'come, we are all on the same side'.

All the village people then in. So did SA Chemical Workers Union (Sawu) workers, after police chasing miners disrupted their meeting

The police were forced to flee, and, jumping fences, they ran into the surrounding bushes and nearby police station.

The clashes lasted all night until all police had left.

After the clash, students boycotted schools for a week.

Students at one school demanded the expulsion of the principal and a white teacher who they say are racist. They said the teacher would stand on a table and tell students to repeat 'nou staan ek op 'n kaffer se nek'.

They have threatened a boycott of all local schools

Many of these schools have democratic SRC's, formed without the consent of principals.



Armed vigilantes, blamed for the murder of Leandra Chief Ampie Mayisa, attack a stone-wielding youth at Mayisa's funeral. Leandra civic leader, Abel Nkabinde, says in an affidavit that police 'ignored Chief Mayisa's calls for protection shortly before he was murdered.' Nkabinde has now won a court order restraining the vigilantes from assaulting residents further.

Vendor strike is victorious

News vendors are a common sight on Cape Town street corners, rain or shine. So when 209 of them went on strike, Mswa easily rallied support from the community.

The strike was over bad wages and worse conditions. The vendors are paid R45 a week. "We aren't recognised as permanent workers, so we don't get pension or medical aid. In Winter when it rains, it is terrible. We are given old smelly raincoats, which are no protection," said Amos, one of the striking vendors.

Some of the vendors are under ten years old.

On the 20th January, three days after the strike began, Allied Publishing Company fired them all.

When MWASA's negotiations broke down, Allan Boesak and Mullah Farie Essack from the Muslim Judicial Council stepped in to mediate.

Allied Publishers backed down, reinstated all 209 workers, and gave them permanent status, with all the associated benefits.

Youths challenge white farms

STREET committees and people's courts have spread right into the rural areas.

One village in Letsitele near Tzaneen has been divided into three sections, with street committees in each one.

Youth under the leadership of the Merakoma Youth Congress (Meyco) are the driving force behind the growing people's power in the village.

Meyco was formed last November, but the official launch was postponed because of detentions.

One of their aims is to look into the problems of their parents. Many of them are farmworkers — and their wages and working condi-

tions are terrible.

"We saw it necessary to educate the parents to understand their exploitation by the bosses, the farmers", said a Meyco organiser.

The farmworkers work under terrible conditions, and only earn about R20 a month.

The youth have called on white farmers to provide buses for the workers instead of transporting them to work on tractors.

One farmer pulled out a gun when the youth presented him with a letter listing their demands. They went back the next day and the farmer took the letter, but then chased away the workers, saying he could get other workers from Giyani in Gazankulu.

There are ongoing discussions between the youth and the parents, who the youth invite to meetings.

"The whole village is interested in what the youth have to say. All the youth have become members of Meyco as the fight involves everyone."

The people's courts in the village started after the funeral of Northern Transvaal activist, Ngoako Ramalepe. At the funeral, people resolved to isolate the police.

Meyco took this up as one of its tasks. Police were no longer welcome in the village, and even small children refused to speak to them. Now people report their problems to the people's courts - and not the police.

According to Meyco activists, crime in the village has been eliminated. "People used to fight each other. But this doesn't happen any more." The Freedom Charter is used as the guiding document to solve people's problems and discipline people.

The people are governing themselves, says Meyco. The chief in the village is no longer in power. The parents are against him, and say he is just taking money from them. They are told it is for a school, but classes are still being held in the open air. Other youth activities include cleaning the business area and the graveyards. In the schools, students boycotted classes for two weeks demanding an SRC.

"We are building the future now"

"BUILDING a new society doesn't start after liberation. It starts with building democratic people's organisation now."

That's the message from Youth Forum, the Natal-based youth coordinating structure. Their slogan is "Building the future now".

"We chose this to show that reconstructing the new society does not start only after liberation, but in the democratic people's organisations that we build now," says a YF organiser. YF, which operates under the church group Diakonia, got off the ground after Diakonia had requests for training from youth organisations in 1983.

"Youth groups needed resources and training, and came together to discuss what role Diakonia should play," says a YF report.

Education, training, and regular interaction across racial lines are high on their list of priorities.

YF believes "we need to educate ourselves on issues affecting workers, our communities and our parents" as well as tackling issues directly affecting the youth.

For this reason, they had Jay Naidoo from Cosatu addressing their recent assessment workshop, on the importance of the youth building unity with the workers.

YF also used a simulation game called "Shape of Africa", to try to analyse society from their own experience.

"The game highlighted how we are all moulded by the individualistic and materialistic values that uphold the present economic, political and religious orders", said a participant.

"There is a 'struggle within a struggle' to break old values and instil new ones. We must put values like democracy, collective leadership, non-racialism and non-individualism in to practise in our day to day organising," he said.

Representatives from the youth groups help plan workshops to root them in their needs. And youth leaders themselves help run the workshops with Diakonia staff so training skills are shared.

The evaluation workshop at the end of 1985 was attended by youth organisations from as far afield as Dundee, Newcastle, Vryheid, Glencoe (Northern Natal); Empangeni, Stanger and Groutville (KwaZulu); Umbumbulu and Magabheni (Natal South Coast). Others came from areas near Durban and Pietermaritzburg.



The workshop felt that youth organisations in Natal were seriously affected by the "August unrest" there last year.

For 1986, the workshop identified a need for clear political direction, for educational programmes, and for regular interaction across racial lines and communities. The issue of misdirected youth militancy must also be addressed

DET hits Virginia with cadet camps

STUDENTS in the small Free State town of Virginia are worried.

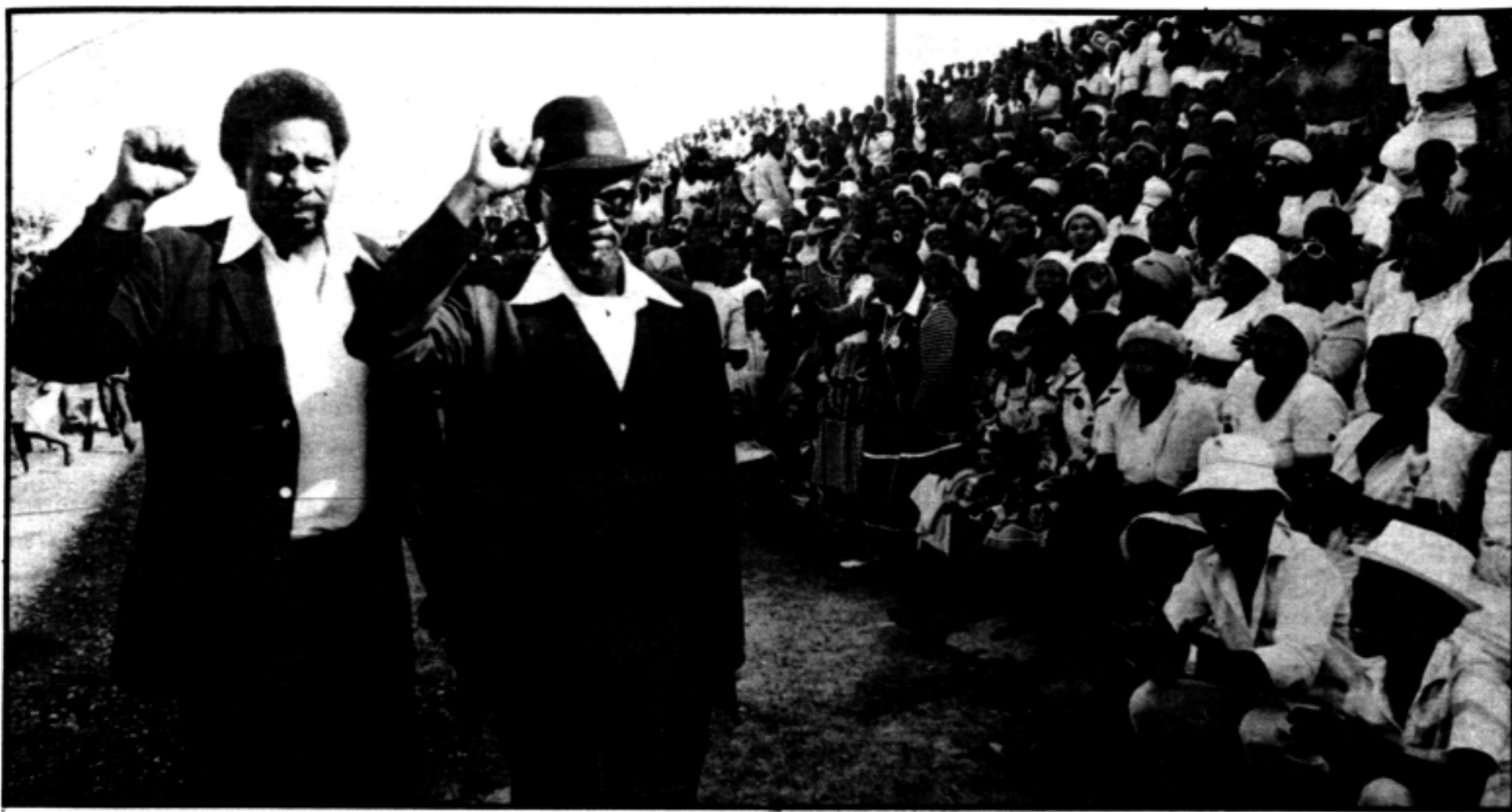
They were demanding SRC's, the scrapping of Bantu Education and boycotting classes. They supported the SPCC resolutions.

But then DET organised three week camps for groups of students. They returned completely changed people.

"They started behaving like cops, harassing others who talked about our horrible education system," says a Virginia student.

At the same time the community council took old people to train as vigilantes. These people started pointing out suspected 'communists' or 'trouble-makers'.

Now people fear to protest about the poor state of their life, said the student.



UDF leaders Edgar Ngoyi and Henry Fazzie at Education Report-back meeting, P.E

Sleepy township roused in action

THE sleepy western Transvaal township of Jouberton, near Klerksdorp, was recently roused from its slumber roughly.

The Administration Board started forcing people to use its liquor outlets instead of shebeens. In the clashes that followed, at least four Jouberton Youth Congress (Joyco) members and two babies died.

Police laid down heavy restrictions on the funeral of three Joyco members on February 8, but mourners defied these.

As they returned from the cemetery, teargas and bullets were fired, leaving a fourth Joyco member dead. Two babies suffocated to death from teargas.

By Monday morning, many properties had gone up in flames. Workers and students staged a work stay-away. Police and soldiers raided the township, and arrested males indiscriminately. Many youths fled to nearby townships.

Education in Cape in chaos

'CARTER EBRAHIM must not test our patience', say students at coloured schools in the Western Cape. Ebrahim, Minister of Education in the House of Representatives, threatened to charge principals who allowed SRC's last year, and closed the schools.

'All Ebrahim has contributed to education is chaos', says the teachers organisation, Wectu.

Wectu organised a march on the coloured education Department in protest at the dismissal of 118 teachers.

Teachers, like UDF executive member Ebrahim Rasool, were among more than 40 people banned when they were released from detention, and can now only teach their own children. A Std 7 pupil at Lavendar Hill is also banned, and is not allowed to attend school.

Banning orders forced students on boycott, says the UDF.

Carter Ebrahim's latest move is to say principals must decide whether exams will be rescheduled.

Wectu says this move comes too late, as many students have already joined the ranks of the unemployed.

Meanwhile Wesco, the students organisation, says schools can never 'go back to normal'. 'Too many of our people suffered or died in the struggle for a decent education, and our memories are filled with their sacrifices,' says Wesco.

NCC improving education

TIME IS running out for the government.

It has until the end of March to meet the National Consultative Conference (NCC) education demands.

Countrywide, thousands have already adopted the conference resolutions and demands for:

- the erection of school buildings where such buildings have been damaged.
- the postponement of exams until March 1986
- the release of all students and teachers in detention
- the reinstatement of all dismissed, forcibly transferred or suspended teachers
- the withdrawal of the SADF and SAP from our townships and soldiers from our schools
- the unbanning of Cosas
- the recognition of democratically elected SRC's
- the lifting of the State of Emergency.

If these demands are not met, another conference will be convened to decide on further action.

At local and regional report-back meetings, students, parents, teachers and other residents have

discussed the NCC resolutions and how to implement them.

In PE, an estimated 30000 people packed the Dan QeQe stadium for a report-back at the beginning of January.

Natal formed a regional education committee of parents, students and teachers to make sure the resolutions reached every area.

Despite serious harassment by Inkatha and vigilantes, the resolutions have already been adopted in Lamontville, Klaarwater, KwaNdengezi and Newcastle, and thousands of pamphlets distributed.

KwaMashu students took over a meeting organised by councillors and the resolutions were adopted.

Where repression is high and meetings are banned, like Soweto and the Vaal, school, house, street and area meetings and pamphlets have been used.

Most students defied the DET back to school date on January 8 and returned on January 28 — the date set by the education conference.

In some Free State townships vigilantes beat up students to force them back before the 28th. And

when students did return after that date, they were chased home.

Parents and students are refusing to pay school fees, and demand free textbooks and other educational material. These were both resolutions adopted at the conference.

The DET has said schoolbooks will be free, but they will take time to get to the schools. Thousands remain without books or stationery.

The DET also agreed to postpone exams till March.

Continuing detentions and the presence of troops in the schools and townships remains a source of anger.

But while students have felt tempted to boycott, they are sticking to the national resolution to stay at school until the end of March.

The SPCC's Rev. Molefe Tsele said the DET was losing control of the schools.

'Schools as factories to manufacture anti-social and anti-community values will be destroyed. We are moving to reclaim these centres of learning.

'We want to see the schools as symbols of growth, upbuilding the com-

munity, developing our children. This can only happen when the community controls the schools.'

He said it was significant that parents and students were taking up the education struggle jointly. Parent involvement gave popular credibility and support to students demands.

Teachers are seen as a key sector to organise. Progressive teachers organisations such as Neusa and the Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu) have already played an important role in education struggles.

'Unless teachers start working towards changing this oppressive education system, tensions between students and teachers will remain'.

Already democratic parent, teacher, student associations (PTSA's) have been set up in many parts of the country. They aim to replace the statutory school committees with democratic structures.

As one student leader said, the development of democratic structures in the schools, is a crucial stage in the process of working towards People's Education.

Amabutho kill Kwapo leader

AMABUTHO HAVE killed the chairperson of the KwaNdengezi People's Organisation (Kwapo).

As Tobias 'Tom Tom' Mgbhozi was walking home, he was attacked by eight men armed with spears and pangas. Two friends walking with him managed to escape, but Mgbhozi was killed.

KwaNdengezi is a small township between Hammarsdale and Durban, and Kwapo, a UDF affiliate, was formed there in late 1984.

Mgbhozi's death on Sunday, February 9, follows recent tension in the township between Inkatha and progressives.

At a Kwapo meeting on January 26, people discussed and unanimously supported the resolutions adopted at the SPCC conference. Soon after this, Inkatha organised transport to take Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi to a meeting in Hammarsdale.

Speakers at the Inkatha meeting

attacked the UDF, and one allegedly said, 'If a person doesn't understand the language Inkatha speaks, whether it is English, Afrikaans, Zulu or French, then the only language they understand is blood.'

Since then, people aligned with Kwapo and the SPCC resolutions have come under attack.

On Saturday February 8, amabutho invaded the Rufaro section of KwaNdengezi, a Kwapo stronghold. Residents fought back, and a member of the amabutho was killed.

But Begi Nkosi, a Kwapo youth member, was kidnapped, and early on Sunday morning his body was found with his head cut off.

Later that day Mgbhozi was murdered, and riot police shot and killed a youth.

Now Begi Nkosi's family want to avenge their son's death. They blame Kwapo for bringing trouble to the township, and have joined forces with Inkatha.

Four Kwapo members have since been attacked, and one person has had his house burnt down.



Rebuilding after the ban

THE CAMPAIGN to unban the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) is intensifying. Students have launched a massive media campaign, and the popular slogan is 'Unban Cosas, Ban Apartheid'.

Student leaders said the education struggle hadn't stopped just because Cosas was banned. 'We can't wait for Cosas to be unbanned before we start organising'.

Local and regional student organisations have mushroomed throughout the country - student congresses like Trasco (Transvaal), Wesco (Western Cape), Nasco (Natal), Pesco (PE), Masco (Pietermaritzburg), Assco (Ateridgeville), Asco (Alexandra) and Sosco (Soweto), and Gasco (Galeshewe) and Huso (Huhudi)

Student Organisations. More are being formed all the time.

According to a national student leader, there was still some unevenness nationally. But all areas were making progress. We are faced with the task of implementing the conference resolutions', he said.

Some of local bodies were firmly based on SRC and other democratic structures in the schools while others were more community based student structures.

The new structures were often reaching students more effectively than in the past. Now there is more contact with the student base', said one student leader.

This would lay a firm foundation for a strong national student organisation in the future.

Pupils say one school for all

In Queenstown, students are not sure they need their school rebuilt. The white school in town is quite big enough for all the pupils of Queenstown, they say.

There were only ten white students in matric there last year, so pupils are saying, 'it's not necessary to build more schools when Queenstown already has enough facilities for all to share.' They are challenging the white community to accept non-racial education.

In towns like Fort Beaufort and East London, student activity is being co-ordinated by student councils, which have representatives from all the schools on them. These councils work closely with the parents committees.

They are calling for school committees to be elected by the community, and be accountable to the community, not the DET. They want the DET-appointed committees scrapped.

Border blinks at big bucks offer

Civics in the Border region are being offered large amounts of money by the City Councils and the Chambers of Commerce to upgrade the townships, rebuild schools, and build clinics.

"This raises important strategic questions," UDF Border President Rev Stofile told SASPU National.

"The amounts range from R200 000 to R4 million. At first they were offering this money to the community councils. But when things hot up, they offered it to the civics.

"This double dealing has tainted the credibility of the City Council in the eyes of the people, and even though they continue promising heaven and earth, communication has broken down.

"The Chambers of Commerce in East London and Queenstown are trying hard to rebuild relations," Rev Stofile said.

In Queenstown they are offering money to restore schools and upgrade services like taps, and have shown the civic in Mlungisi an architectural plan to rebuild the township, to start in March.

The Chamber of Commerce has asked for the consumer boycott to be lifted in the light of all they are doing for the township. But people responded saying they have heard many promises before, and decided to continue the boycott.

After this, several more community leaders were detained, and now the residents say they cannot possibly continue any discussions with the Chamber of Commerce.

"We are seriously considering

Sweethearts are Gatsha's union plan

Gatsha Buthelezi is clearly feeling threatened. After a stream of verbal attacks on Cosatu, Inkatha is now planning to set up committees on the factory floor, and form its own union federation in opposition.

With this plan, Inkatha will be laying its credibility on the line: to win support among workers, it will have to show it is serious about taking up the demands of its members.

But already there are clear signs that what Inkatha has in mind is 'sweetheart' unions, which will work closely with management.

Employers allegedly paid for the buses to the Richards' Bay meeting where Inkatha supporters resolved to form the new federation. And motions were passed supporting the free enterprise system, and foreign investment in SA.

In a Central Executive Committee resolution, Cosatu condemned the move as 'designed to undermine the unity of the working class in the face of massive attacks by the apartheid government, big business and other enemies of working class unity, who would use tribalism or racism to divide workers.'

Cosatu has appealed to Inkatha to denounce these unions. The divisions being created do not benefit workers, employers and the public. It merely creates another dangerous spark of conflict in Natal.

Buthelezi is planning to set up Inkatha committees on the factory floor. Once there are enough of these within a sector, they will merge to form an industrial union.



Border UDF's Rev. Stofile

whether we would simply be taking over the role of the community councils if we accepted this kind of money", said Rev Stofile.

"We are still grappling with such issues. But we are agreed that it is unacceptable for the City Councils to present us with lists of preconditions, and that we will not negotiate on this basis.

"We will discuss local conditions with them, to ensure they fulfil their duties. Our demands, such as one house one tap, and one house one toilet, are clear."

In some towns where people are boycotting rents, services such as nightsoil and garbage removal have been cut off. Some civics have had to consider organising themselves to take over these tasks. They are doing this in Queenstown.

In Duncan Village, people are pressuring the authorities to perform these duties.

Meanwhile organisation mushrooms in more and more small towns.

"There is a common pattern throughout the area - local grievances erupt, organisation emerges, brutal police raids follow, and then people fight back in every way.

"The big centres get press publicity, but there is silence on the brutality in Doordrecht, or Bethelsdorp - and people forget that activists from Fort Beaufort, Adelaide, Bedford and all these places have been in detention since July last year.

"Contact is easily cut here. In many areas, when people are under siege, all the phones are cut, and they cannot reach out."

In Cape Town, UDF organisations in the townships sent a delegation to reason with the 'fathers' who attacked them over the Christmas period.

But the fathers said, "We have still got it in for the maqabane, and we have been given the power by the boere to deal with those who belong to organisations."

The 'fathers' emerged as a force

Rent success boosts Phiritona

THE SMALL Free State township of Phiritona, Heilbron recently staged their own mini, victorious rent boycott.

It all started when the local community council increased rents by R21. Residents said this led to a spontaneous outburst of anger and a six month rent boycott.

The mayor's businesses and other buildings were gutted by fire. Students stayed away from school. 38 students were detained and six of them charged with public violence. Two youths died.



Uitenhage activists Weza Made, Mzwandile Speelman and Bonakele Zealand

Clamp-down in Kabah - but the struggle continues

Until recently, the Eastern Cape Administration Board (ECAB) said that all the people in Kabah settlement, near Uitenhage, must be moved, because their shacks were illegal, and a health and fire hazard. Now they say only the 436 families living below 9th Ave must move.

"We believe this is because these shacks are closest to the white area," says Weza Made.

Residents say if ECAB can change its tune a little bit, it can change it completely.

The ECAB has taken the issue to the Supreme Court.

The community have been ham-

pered in discussing their strategy fully because of the clampdown on meetings, says Made. The 436 families did manage to meet once to elect their lawyer, but because mass meetings have been banned, the street and area committees have been crucial in making democratic discussion possible.

"But building street committees is not easy, and there have been some problems," says Made. "At first, we asked people to elect 10 representatives from each street. But when repression was high, some became scared and withdrew. Now we elect four people, who are bold enough and able to continue under

difficult circumstances to stand for their street."

Other difficulties they face are the lack of resources and funds, which makes it difficult to put educative projects into practise.

"But we are learning through practical experience to deal with the problems we face. And we try to pass this on to the people newly-elected to the street committees.

"We plan to hold workshops with these representatives to plan strategy, and to train people who can be delegated to pass on what they learn to the street committees."

'Fathers' told to behave

after a meeting called by the community council, where problems were raised with the consumer boycott. "People there could see the system driving the fact that the fathers should beat their kids", said a Cayco spokesperson.

Shortly after this, the New Crossroads 'committee' led house to house raids calling on men to get their pangas and join them. This

committee has not been elected but has some informal status in the community.

"For the committee, mobilising these attacks was a way to take the people's mind off the burning issue of the R8 400 bail money we collected when 169 New Crossroads women were arrested last year. People believe it was returned to the committee", said a youth on the 'fathers' hit-list.

Meanwhile, the 'fathers' meant business, and killed several people in their attacks. Mrs Nkosi, of the United Women's Organisation, was abducted and allegedly kept in a packing case for a week. She says she was interrogated by committee members, who wanted her to confess to helping the youth make petrol bombs.

The 'fathers' went around the streets greeting people with the salute "Viva!". If people responded, they were attacked. The 'fathers' also set themselves the task of ending the consumer boycott. In Old Crossroads, they

made youths who had been monitoring the boycott walk through the streets with a white flag, as a symbol of defeat. They were allegedly followed by a Caspir.

The youth also fled from Site C while the 'fathers' there declared they never wanted to hear the word 'comrade' again.

The Western Cape Council of Churches convened a meeting, to which the "fathers" were invited. But they held their own one.

"The people's feelers told us that they decided to come and kill activists at KTC and Nyanga Bush. Meanwhile, our meeting was most fruitful, and our real fathers showed anger at how they had been used, and made to kill their sons.

"The elders there decided to spread the word that the committee members were doing this for their own interests, not the interests of the community."

The Cayco New Crossroads branch issued a pamphlet saying they had not run away because they were afraid, but because they believed the community was unaware of how they were being used by the 'fathers', and that they were looking forward to unity between parents and the youth once more.

'Siyalala la' we sleep here

'We'll sleep until the sun comes up, We'll sleep in the chairs, Then we'll see who'll win!'
(Song sung by Kelloggs workers in the 1985 sit-in, and taken up by Cheeseborough workers.)

Workers have started using a new weapon, the sit-in, against their bosses. On the East Rand they call it 'Siyalala la' — we are sleeping here, as workers are staying inside their factories to fight for their demands.

Workers at Printpak and Kelloggs on the East Rand have already used this weapon successfully.

And 250 workers from Wadeville's Cheeseborough-Ponds factory occupied their factory from January 22 to 24.

"Workers were very angry", says Meshack Ravuku, an organiser for the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU). "On Wednesday when we began the strike we agreed we would only leave the factory on two conditions: if our demands were met, or if the soldiers forced us out."

"We discussed the possibility of a court order demanding our ejection, but still we made this deci-

sion".
'Workers' demands included a living wage of R3,50 an hour, May Day as a paid public holiday, and a 40 hour working week.

"We don't even discuss June 16 nowadays. Management knows we take this as a public holiday", added Morgan Mathebula, who works at the factory.

There are many reasons why workers chose a sit-in.

It's difficult for management to say workers have dismissed themselves if they are occupying the factory, and it makes it much more difficult for the police to interfere. And management feels very threatened by workers taking over its property.

And importantly, the siyalala la helps build the unity of the workers.

"Usually when we strike, there are one or two people who go to the shops, or don't join in discussions", said Meshack.

"But during our action we found all workers discussing. One old man told us how he used to take sick leave when we took strike action before, but for half an hour he praised the young workers for showing the way forward."

"We had many useful discussion in the factory on issues such as Raditsela, the Sasol workers dismissals, the emergency and the education crisis."

"Before, we knew who would speak. Now everyone is speaking". And Morgan says now everyday sings in the factory as they work, and both the foreman and nine white women have joined the union.

"Another reason for staying in the factory was so that we could stop all deliveries. Workers were controlling the gates", said Meshack.

"We were also able to stop production in the factory and so stop any scabbing."

"One night while we were in the canteen, management locked us out of the production area. We knew it was important, so the next morning we left two tough guys by the door waiting for management to come and check the machines."

"When management opened up they were prevented from closing until the rest of us came in."

"It was very important that we had food and money, and communication outside. As soon as our strike began we phoned our union office."

"Very quickly other chemical factories in our union learnt about our struggle and approached their managements, warning them of possible sympathy strike action."

"We had a person by the phone the whole time, so we could speak to the press who really help in publicising the action."

The phone is also useful for other things.

"At night workers decided that if they had to stay awake, then it was only fair that management also stayed awake. So every 15 minutes or so we would phone up two of the managers and make a hell of a noise."

"We slept in the factory for two nights - Wednesday and Thursday. At the meeting with management on Friday there was still a lot of resistance to our demands, but workers were determined to win."

"The old man we spoke of earlier said we should stay the weekend, but we would all miss our wives and children."

"In the factory yard big braais were going, with meat and mielie meal."

"Management knew we were seri-

ous and was told, 'we workers are used to squatting. How many houses has management built us?'

"It wasn't long, then, before management gave in, agreeing to R3,25 an hour and all our other demands, except they only reduced our week to 44 hours instead of 40."

The sit-in had wider impact too. Workers from more than 30 factories near Cheeseborough-Ponds came early to work to greet the singing, placard-holding workers.

"Even on the buses you can hear workers talking about the unity of the Cheeseborough workers", Morgan says.

Workers at other CWIU factories now want to use the siyalala la, and the bosses are quick to know this. Already one factory has given the same wage settlement as Ponds.

And three weeks after the Ponds sit-in, workers at Carlton Paper in Wadeville sat in for several days.

The Cheeseborough-Ponds have one more piece of advice: "You musn't start a sit-in on a Friday. That way, you sit all weekend in your free time, and workers start getting frustrated."

NUM has no rights while Bop lets Gencor hire and fire at will

BANTUSTANS ARE good places for companies to do business.

This was made very clear in Bophutatswana recently, when Gencor dismissed 23 000 workers at the Impala Platinum mine after a six day strike.

The issue at stake was not only low wages and bad working conditions, but the right of workers to join the union of their choice.

Bop's labour legislation is carefully designed to make the region very attractive to business, and ensure that militancy in SA doesn't spill across its borders.

Strikes are virtually illegal, and only unions with their head office in Bop can organise and be recognised in there. This means that no SA union operate in Bop.

The last two years have seen the rise of sweetheart unions within Bop, which are careful to keep on the right side of management.

Last year, Impala workers approached the National Union of

Mineworkers, and asked it to come and organise on the mine.

So Num applied to Gencor for access, to allow it to begin organising workers there.

Gencor refused. It claims Num has no rights in Bop.

But Impala workers are determined to be represented by Num. Their alternative is to join the mining industry's own sweetheart union, the Bophutatswana National Union of Mine Employees (Bonume).

On December 23, workers presented management with a list of demands, covering four key issues: wages; conditions of employment; other benefits, including hostel conditions; and the right for Num to organise there.

Management ignored this. Three days later, on December 26, workers presented their demands again, and backed them up with a work stoppage at several shafts.

When management still refused to

respond, workers at all five shafts and the processing plant came out on strike on January 1.

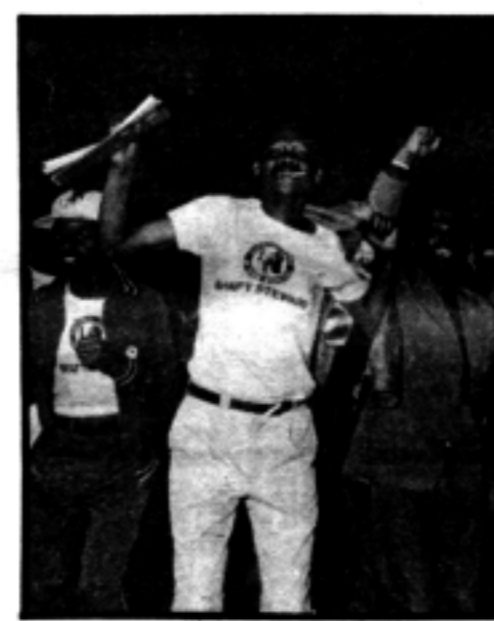
At negotiations, management took a hardline attitude. 48 people were handed over to Bop police, while clashes with police left 26 workers in hospital. Processing plant workers were forced back to work at gunpoint.

On January 6, management announced it would fire all those on strike, and began paying off 23 000 workers.

Gencor is famous for the way it hires and fires its workers; as a Gencor executive said recently, 'We have a shield against irresponsible action: a large reserve of unemployed.'

Despite massive support, Num has no rights at Impala, and can do little directly to get workers reinstated.

But Cosatu has condemned the dismissals, and resolved to put pressure on other Gencor companies. A major international campaign is



being launched, to expose how major companies like Gencor exploit the bantustan system. This will be backed up with solidarity action from international mining, motor and steel unions.

Cosatu will continue to organise in factories with their head offices outside of the bantustans, and intends to force management to extend automatically all gains made to its bantustan plants.

'If foreign' companies are allowed to operate in the bantustans, why not 'foreign' unions?' said a Num official.

Clash leaves 13 dead

THIRTEEN PEOPLE were killed after police broke up a meeting of mineworkers at Randfontein Estates Gold Mine. Those killed include mineworkers, Bekkersdal township residents, and two policemen.

The mineworkers were meeting to discuss their main demands: better job security, and payment of their leave bonuses before, not after their leave.

At the end of each 12 month contract, workers can be fired or retrenched simply by not having their contracts renewed.

When they go on leave, they are not told if they will get their jobs back. But they don't get their leave bonuses until after their leave. So management is guaranteed they will return.

This was the background to strikes by 7 000 miners in December. Afterwards, workers maintained pressure on management through a boycott of mine concession stores and bars.

Management detained leaders, harassed workers, and offered them free beers at the bar, but still failed to break the boycott.

On Tuesday, January 21, workers met on mine property to discuss their grievances, but were dispersed by mine security.

When they gathered on open ground next to the mine, police declared the meeting illegal, and dispersed them. When someone was shot, workers retaliated, and two policemen were killed.

The crowd scattered, and headed for the township at Bekkersdal.

That night mine police and the SADF raided the township, leaving eleven people dead.

Hundreds were arrested the next day, and charges laid against 97 people. JCI announced the dismissal of 571 workers, who it claims were involved in the clashes. The National Union of Mineworkers believes closer to 700 were dismissed.

Last year, JCI refused to intervene when a worker was detained, because it was 'a police matter.' So Num asks why they are intervening now.

Num feels JCI aims to undermine the union by cutting away part of its support base. The union is about to apply for recognition, and claims 8 500 signed up members on the mine.

Mawu strikes ready to roll

MAWU MEMBERS at Asea Electric in Pretoria brought four factories to a standstill during a three day sit-in - and after it.

After management won a court order to evict the workers, they locked up the factories and left to prepare for talks with Mawu.

The workers used the sit-in to get Asea management to agree to plant-based bargaining, after negotiations deadlocked.

This followed a go-slow in November last year, but management still refused to accept long service increments, severance (retrenchment) benefits, and a night shift allowance.

Mawu says workers chose to go slow because management feels the drop in productivity, but it's harder for them to fire workers. The go-slow lasted four days before management agreed to further talks. But again these deadlocked.

At a meeting on February 8, over 800 workers voted to begin an sit/sleep-in that Monday.

"Sit-ins really put pressure on management. They're terrified workers will sabotage their machines", said a Mawu organiser.



Asea workers defiant after their three day sit-in

The sit-in lasted three days before a court order ended it.

Support committees have been formed in Soshanguve and Johannesburg, and solidarity action is being planned at other Mawu factories. Worker representatives and union officials have set up a Disputes Committee to co-ordinate and democratise the campaign nationally.

Mawu members' main demands are:

- a minimum living wage of R3,50 per hour, and a 50c across the board increase;

- four weeks paid leave, plus May Day to be a paid holiday;
 - Employers must double their contributions to the industry's pension fund, and this must be invested in black housing;
 - maternity leave
 - increased overtime rates to stop management using overtime to make up for retrenched workers
 - the working week must be reduced from 45 to 40 hours
 - retrenchment pay must be calculated on the basis of four weeks' wages for every year of service.
- The Industrial Court recently

ruled that the Natal Die Casting's refusal to bargain at plant level was an unfair labour practice.

The company was ordered to reinstate all the workers it dismissed after a strike last April — with six months back pay.

This strengthens Mawu's case against Asea Electric, and against BTR Sarmcol, which involves over 700 dismissed workers.

With the recent decision to appoint a conciliation board to investigate the Sarmcol dismissals, Mawu officials are optimistic that Sarmcol workers be will reinstated.

PW'S M-PLAN

With Rubicon 2 in tatters, PW is under even more pressure to release Mandela. A lot might depend on it - the international bankers don't seem that impressed with the promises PW keeps making and breaking. And with the death toll from the State of Emergency still mounting, he may need something to improve his human rights image.

Whatever his motives, the fact remains that until all political prisoners are freed, there can be no beginning to peace in South Africa. SASPU National joins the call for the release of Mandela and all political prisoners. We hope history will allow us to interview Mandela and all the Rivonia trialists in the next edition.

ORGANISATION GROWS

Since the State of Emergency, the pages of SASPU National have been filled with stories of brutal repression. That repression continues, but, in collecting news for this edition, what was striking was how grassroots organisation is mushrooming in every corner of the country - to a degree that we have not even been able to reflect.

Village committees, street committees, SRC's, Parent Teacher organisations; the spread of youth and women's organisation; plans for farm-workers and unemployed workers unions; and new forms of action, like worker 'sleep-ins'.

Seven months after the State of Emergency started, this indicates that repression has not crushed organisation; that progressive organisation is rooting its structures so deeply that, as Cradora said when interviewed, "they would have to detain more than 500 people in Cradock alone to put a stop to the street committees."

REPRESSION CONTINUES

At the same time, new problems face progressive leadership. Vigilantes are a major obstacle to democracy in many townships, where they try to ensure that fear rules. The threat of repression has not decreased. And it will increase.

Dirty tricks are also on the increase, with agents provocateurs, malicious spy rumours, and unexplained assassinations.

THE RURAL AREAS

Several stories in this edition highlight aspects of organisation in the rural areas and bantustans. On the one hand, there is Moutse, where organisation is ensuring that the issue of incorporation into Kwanabele does not become a tribal issue, but apartheid is identified as the enemy.

On the other hand, there is the faction fighting in Natal, where poverty is taking its toll, and lack of mass organisation and political consciousness has allowed tribalism to come to the fore. This issue has raised its head on the mines and in many communities, and the events in Natal give a clear lesson that the fight against tribalism must be fully part of the fight to end apartheid.

SPCC

The National Consultative Conference, convened by the SPCC, took the struggle for democratic education a giant leap forward. The resolutions from the conference are being discussed in all corners of the country, and thousands have already adopted them.

The government has till the end of March to respond.

The ball is now in the government's court. Meanwhile, the struggle for people's education and people's power intensifies.

No bridge over

ACTIONS SPEAK louder than words, and PW's speech at the opening of parliament is no exception. If one goes by what he says, SA is a developing country with a flourishing democracy.

In the middle of a state of emergency sparked off by protests against higher rents, ghetto-like townships and inferior education, PW tells parliament 'in no comparable country in the world has so much been done for the socio-economic upliftment of underprivileged communities.'

Billed as a make or break speech which could boost the rand and improve the attitudes of overseas bankers and governments towards SA, government and business circles saw it as a chance to make up ground that had been lost since the Rubicon I debacle.

A top advertising agency was brought in which allegedly spent three days coaching PW before he took the stage. Their writing skills are clearly evident in the speech's text. At first glance, many commentators felt SA was in for six months of frantic reform that would finally bury the corpse of apartheid. The real fraud shows only when one starts asking how these promises will be met, given current economic, social and political realities.

Double standards

The speech starts, 'in a world where freedom is becoming increasingly rare, our country today is a symbol of the expansion of freedom....' The only freedoms he mentions are those of religion and free enterprise.

Predictably, he tries rally the folk with grave warnings about the external threat facing SA, and the country's importance as the last outpost against Soviet expansionism.

'Should this republic perish' says PW, 'a one party dictatorship will sever this artery and destroy these freedoms'.

Hitting out at double standards and the hypocrisy of international criticism of SA, PW reaffirms 'our continued commitment to peaceful international co-existence through co-operation and negotiation... particularly to Southern Africa.'

PW conveniently forgets SA's acts of aggression against Botswana, Angola, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Mozambique.

And it is doubtful whether SA has one international relationship of which it can be proud, except where money is the motive.

Unrest

The international community also get blamed when PW deals with 'unrest' which he puts down to 'leftist revolutionary elements controlled from abroad'.

Despite statistics which show that more people are dying in political violence each day since the state of emergency, PW says he is 'greatly encouraged by the calm that is returning.'

The aggressive actions of the SAP and SADF in the killings of Langa, Mamelodi, Queenstown and the 'trojan horse' incident in Athlone in Cape Town are brushed aside. Instead he talks of the security forces promoting 'a climate in which new hope for all our communities can grow.'

New Constitution

Despite the spiralling violence, he says the new constitution has proved 'that our various communities can participate effectively and peacefully in joint decision-making.'

He says the participation of Coloured and Indian representatives in the new parliaments has meant 'that problems in their respective communities received the necessary attention'.

Then why did coloured pupils boycott schools and exams, and why did coloured townships in the Western Cape erupt last year? PW has the sense not to harp on the success of the local authorities. Most have collapsed under the combined weight of low polls, little credibility, huge debts and wholesale resignations.

When he says 'all South Africans must be placed in a position where they can participate in government through their elected representatives', he does not say whether he means one government or several ethnically divided ones.

But he does state his commitment to the tri-cameral parliament, with its rigid separation of 'own' and 'general' affairs. This casts grave doubt on his other reformist announcements.

When he turns to the question of education, he tries to score points by repeating 'the government's commitment to equal provision of education for all population groups.'

But education remains racially segregated; only 17 percent of african children get to school, and at least half of these are forced out before they complete Std 3. Only one percent reach matric - where 50 percent fail.

With Cosas banned, parents committee meetings broken up by police, SPCC report-backs banned, and hundreds of stu-



dent leaders still in detention, he has the gall to say he supports measures to 'extend the participation of all concerned in education'.

The economy

He uses this trick of leaving out certain facts when he deals with the economy. He speaks of the 'excellent export performance during 1985. We exported more than we imported, so our balance of payments on the current account has recovered from a deficit of R1.4 billion to a surplus of about R7 billion in 1985.'

What he doesn't say is that SA exports have become very cheap overseas: the rand has dropped in value, and the dollar can now buy three times as much in rands as it could 18 months ago. And, because SA's exporters are often paid in dollars, they score a huge bonus when they convert these into Botha rands.

As a result their rand profits are very high. Certainly, SA is rich in rands at the moment - but rands don't buy much anywhere else in the world.

And SA is exporting more than it imports because most people can't afford to buy all the goods they used to, and the low exchange rate of the rand has made imports very expensive.

A lot has been said about SA's export earnings having increased by about 40 percent. But five percent is more realistic, if the sharp drop in the rand's value since 1984 is taken into account.

And by the time SA exporters get their five percent increase in profit back home, they have to deal with an 18 percent increase in the cost of living. On balance, they lose 13 percent, and their real earnings in 1985 are below those for 1984.

troubled water

While South Africa burns, Van Zyl Slabbert has managed to make off with the title of modern day voortrekker, and PW's ox-wagon is once again floundering in the troubled waters of the Rubicon.

In fact, there has been no real increase in the export of manufactured goods, and the government continues to rely on gold and other mineral products to prop up the economy. Gold's contribution to export earnings has increased from 28% to 42% over the last 16 years.

As the rand strengthens and the dollar falls in value, the artificial advantage SA exporters have had will end and their products will once again be more expensive and less competitive overseas. At the same time, boycott actions will severely disrupt the sale of SA products on foreign markets.

The result will be lower export earnings, and a return to an economy dependant on gold and mineral exports.

Debt crisis

PW didn't mention the debt crisis which has destroyed SA's credibility as a borrower in international banking circles, and played a big part in lowering the exchange rate of the rand. This silence is also surprising given that one of the speech's major targets was the international banking community.

The big bankers made it clear they would accept no further delays in SA's loan repayments until Botha committed himself clearly to scrapping influx control, and introducing one education department.

Botha addressed both issues so vaguely that only time will tell whether the bankers will buy it.

New legislation

The legislative programme Botha outlines seems far reaching.

He commits himself to 'restoring SA citizenship to black persons who permanently reside in the RSA but who forfeited their citizenship as a result of the conditions of independence of Transkei, Bop, Venda and Ciskei'.

'Forfeited their citizenship'? Many fought hard to keep their SA citizenship, but it was stripped from them.

Botha then says 'we accept an undivided RSA where all regions and communities within its boundaries form part of the SA state ... we accept one citizenship for all South Africans.'

Which boundaries does he mean?

Boundaries separate the 'independent' bantustans from SA: will people living there be able to claim SA citizenship? And what rights will this SA citizenship give black South Africans?

So only people with permanent residence rights within 'white' SA will qualify for SA citizenship.

Influx control

PW promises to draft legislation 'to remove existing influx control measures which apply to SA citizens in the RSA'. But this excludes people with bantustan citizenship, so influx control will still apply to migrant and commuter workers.

Botha says the government wants to facilitate 'orderly urbanisation'. But as squatting remains illegal, this can only mean that the government still intends linking urban rights to housing in some way.

The national housing shortage stands at nearly 400 000. Reducing the housing backlog is almost impossible, given the state of the government's finances.

One estimate is that R5 billion would have to be spent on housing every year until 2000 just to wipe out the existing backlog. This would not even cater for ordinary population growth in the townships, let alone for the millions of people who would move to the urban areas if influx control were removed.

In reality, this government has no solution, and fears the consequences if it stops controlling the movement, location and relocation of African people.

In any case, these controls clearly pose any moral problems for Botha. The only reason he gives for officially scrapping influx control is that 'the present system is too costly and has become obsolete'. Nowhere does he mention the suffering and misery influx control causes.

Botha's says apartheid is an outmoded concept, yet two of its cornerstones - the Population Registration Act, and the Group Areas Act - are left intact. And those reforms he promises must be seen against the backdrop of the hundreds of laws that continue to brutalise South Africans every day.

It's no comfort to own your own home if you are forced to live in a ghetto 40km away from work; to rise before dawn to work long, hard and sometimes dangerous hours for poverty wages; to watch as Bantu education cheats your children; to return home after dark to an overcrowded four room house;

to worry about rising rents, food costs and retrenchments. to fear security laws.

To watch in rage as the SADF occupies the townships; to fear security laws; to watch as millions of SA's are stripped of their citizenship while others are moved at gunpoint to a living death in desolate bantustan areas; to know that children are held for months in solitary confinement without parents even being informed; that some rural areas have unemployment levels of over 70% ; that in some areas, 30-40% of children die before the age of five from malnutrition, and that 50% of those who survive are permanently braindamaged.

Despite PW's promises, the only political forum open for most SA's to express themselves is the street, and the only answer to their demands is the rubber bullet and the shotgun.

The right to learn will still be denied to most children, the right to work, to a minimum wage, to a house, to live where one pleases - will still be refused to most black people.

So will the right to belong to the party of your choice and to vote for the political representative you choose.

Advisory boards

In discussing the framework for the future, Botha speaks of a 'process of negotiation' through which the government has become conscious of black aspirations and needs. He speaks of 'a democratic system of government, which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all the SA communities'.

He says he is willing to consider restructuring the President's Council to allow for leaders of black communities.

Botha announces his intention to establish a national statutory council, which he will chair. It should consist of 'representatives of the SA government, of the governments of the self-governing national states and leaders of other black communities and interest groups'.

Its function would be purely advisory. protection of minority rights without one group dominating the other.' The minority domination that exists today, and is kept in power through force, is not discussed.

Nor does he see any irony in rejecting groups which 'seek to seize a monopoly of power and ultimately rule the nation, through the use of force, by an exclusive political clique ... that make a mockery of liberty'.

But even if Botha was sincere, and even if his party was committed to reform, there remain overwhelming constraints.

Constraints

To defuse the problems that exist would take money that Botha simply does not have.

He needs R5 billion a year to end the housing backlog; another R5 billion to build classrooms; it takes R10-20 000 to create one job, and the government needs to create 1000 jobs a day just to cope with the annual growth in the workforce.

Meanwhile, there are 11 million people who are structurally unemployed, who cannot be absorbed into commerce and industry. The only thing that will save them from starvation is land.

To redistribute land to those who live and work on it would mean a battle with the politically powerful agricultural sector.

He also faces countryside resistance, threats to burn passes, and boycotts of rent and taxes. A national trade union federation is threatening to do battle on the factory floor.

And his own party has lost its ideological initiative.

Pressure in the volcano is building up. On top of the volcano sits Botha and his advertising team, making pronouncements and promises he doesn't seem to even understand.

A lot of his allies and supporters believe him. Foolishly, many may follow him. But it seems inevitable that most South Africans will fight him.



Can you spell out the practical implications of having a federation of 500 000 workers?

The formation of Cosatu brings together the major trade unions and puts them in a fairly powerful position to challenge monopoly capital. This is crucial, because the SA economy is dominated by basically seven monopolies.

The unity we have built will give us the power and organisation to coordinate our strategies and tactics.

In the factories, it will enable us to establish greater workers' rights; and it will allow us to play a more crucial and pivotal role in the broader struggle.

Also, Cosatu is in every part of SA. Worker organisation, as Cosatu, is much more extensive than ever before.

Can you elaborate on Cosatu's five basic principles?

The most important of these is our position on non-racialism.

We believe that SA is a racially divided society, and that apartheid, and its specific aspects like influx control, pass laws, and bantustans, all act as agents of domination of the working class, both politically and economically. Apartheid and economic injustices are integrally related in SA.

More importantly, we regard non-racialism as a principle: we know, in the short term, that white workers are not going to join us in great flocks. But it is important to develop a principled base of what the future society should represent, and from that point of view, we adhere strongly to non-racialism.

Workers' control is the other important principle. For the working class to represent its interests effectively, worker leadership should have control of the structures, and be able to exercise the aspirations of workers through those structures.

As the principle of worker control develops, we, as the working class, would want to apply it to society as a whole.

Other principles are one union per industry, which, as I've said, strengthens our ability to challenge monopoly capital.

Representation based on paid up membership is another Cosatu principle. All Cosatu affiliates' membership figures are on the basis of paid up and fully active members. And the extent of our influence is enormous.

The last one is the principle of national cooperation. Under the present oppressive regime, cooperation not only at a national level, but also at local and regional levels, is one of the most effective ways of countering attacks on our organisation.

How do you see Cosatu's role in relation to the organised working class in SA today?

Cosatu does not claim to represent the entire working class, but we see ourselves as an important weapon of the working class.

There has always been strong resistance from organised labour. Ever since the ICU, there has been consistent militancy and resistance, both to apartheid and to economic exploitation.

But never before have workers been this strong, and never so poised to play a pivotal role in determining the direction of the struggle for freedom.

More broadly, as organised labour, we recognise that the working class must play a leading role in the struggle for liberation, to ensure that the society we build after liberation represents the interests of the working class.

We do not perceive ourselves as a political party, but we do see ourselves having an important political role: working with the progressive-minded sections of our society towards the goal of freedom, not only from apartheid but also from economic injustice.

What are the key issues on the factory floor?

Intense activity is planned for the factory floor level: major campaigns for the right to strike, for the right dispute procedures to be followed, and for a shorter working week.

The only way to win real freedom is through building a powerful base, and as a trade union federation, we have very specific interests in winning workers' rights: particularly the fight for a living wage, and for greater social security.

Cosatu has been called a 'front of the ANC'. How do you respond to this?

These allegations show very little understanding of the democracy of workers' organisation. The formation of Cosatu comes after four years of painstaking and democratic discussions amongst the progressive unions.

Our greatest achievement has been to build structures where our membership and leadership express

their views. All decisions are based on mandates we receive from our membership. So we cannot be accused of being a front, or of having a hidden agenda. Our Congress took a very strong resolution calling for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of banned organisations, the release of political prisoners, and more broadly, the return of comrades forced to flee our country because of the apartheid regime.

It is our right as Cosatu to call for the unbanning of the ANC. Not only is this our right, but our duty and responsibility, reflecting correctly the aspirations of workers themselves.

Can you explain how the merging of unions in a particular sector will take place?

The merger of unions is a top priority. The Central Executive Committee (CEC) has decided to appoint a union to act as a convenor for merger talks in each sector. Each sector will have a Feasibility Committee which will collate infor-

mation and make it available to affiliates.

The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary will assist in the talks, and we would like to see real progress within the next six months.

Already unions operating in the same industrial sector are starting to meet and work towards mergers. There has been particular progress in the food, mining and transport sectors.

How will Cosatu contribute to the development of working class leadership?

Cosatu is committed to generating worker leadership within itself, and, more broadly, encouraging the worker leadership to participate in organisations and struggles outside the factories.

Through this, one would see the spread not only of working class principles of organisation such as accountability, report backs, and discipline, but, more broadly, of working class politics.

In this way the politics of the work-

ing class will become the politics of the oppressed.

What role will Cosatu play in taking up community issues like rents and the education crisis, and how will Cosatu relate to other sectors?

The crises we see, like the education and rents crises, can be traced back to the basic inequality in society.

Cosatu has identified itself with the demands made by the students. We fully support their struggle.

We do this as organised labour because those students are the children of workers. The education system in SA has been very specifically designed to churn out wage labour, and it is education used more to enslave the nation than to free it.

Cosatu sees the youth generally as one of the most important components of the struggle for liberation.

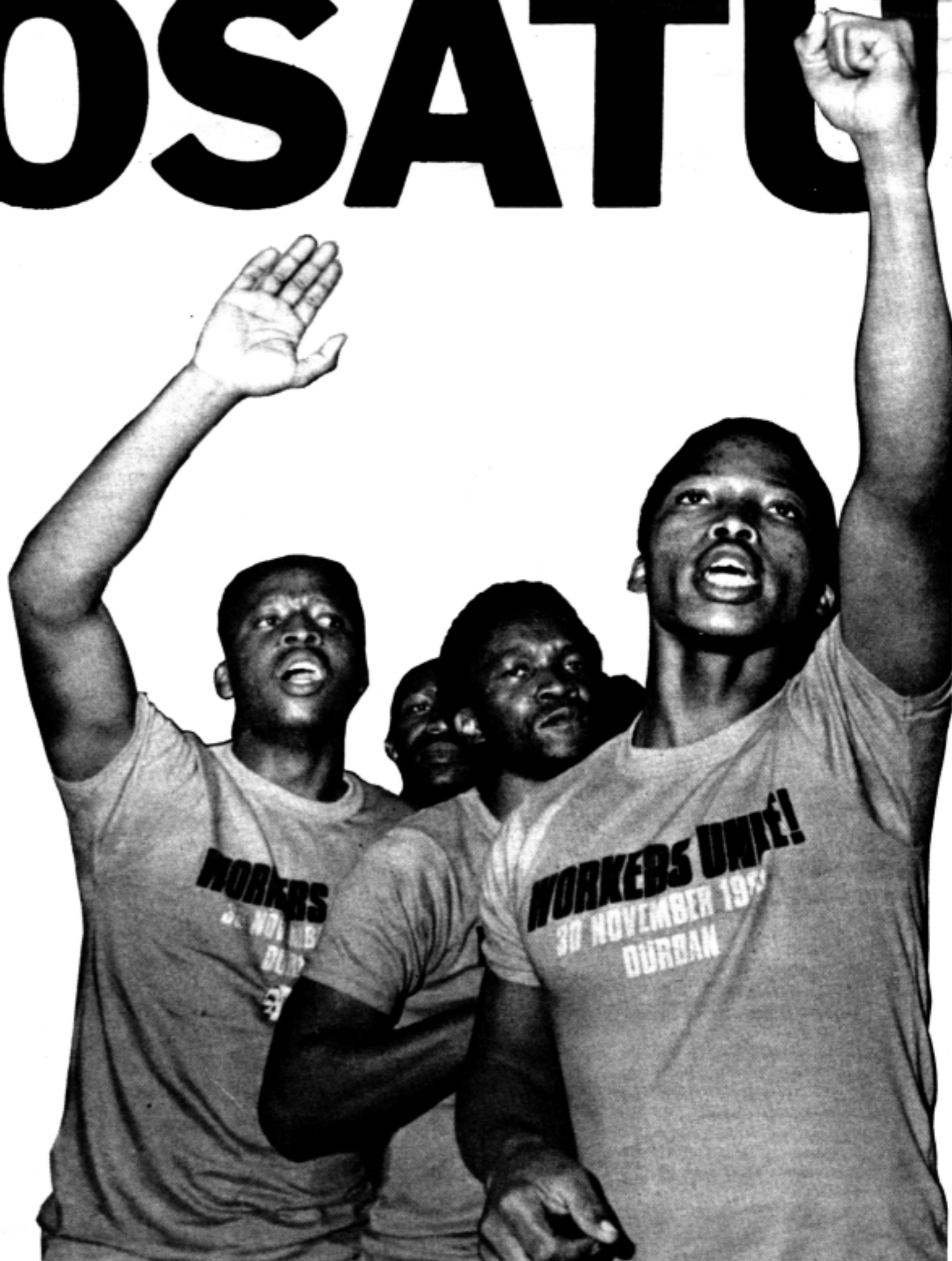
As the future heirs of the working class, their problems, and their struggle for education and liberation, is very much a concern of the working class as well.

Worker liberation with super federation

COSATU



"The working class must play a leading role in the struggle for liberation, to ensure that the society we build after liberation represents the interests of the working class", says Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of the new labour giant, the Congress of South African Trade Unions



The actual form of these linkages, and how they will take place, has still to be worked out more clearly, but the principle of close cooperation with these forces has been accepted.

Cosatu has resolved to campaign against migrant labour and influx control. How will this be taken up?

Clearly, the pass laws and influx control are agents of apartheid. They are central to controlling the movement and super-exploitation of black workers.

The working class is most affected by these laws, and there can be no

doubt that Cosatu is calling for their immediate abolition. But the exact form our campaigns will take has still to be determined within our structures.

Botha's plans to abolish the pass system are merely an extension of the fraudulent reform proposals that started with the tricameral parliament.

Our position on what he has said is that he has not met the demands of people, and quite clearly we reject these hand outs.

Sectors of capital have also been calling for an end to influx control, even though they profit from these

laws. How do you understand these calls?

What big business wants is an insurance policy. The structures of influx control have become so entrenched that one doesn't need to institutionalise them.

The relationship between capital and labour is not going to be changed fundamentally by the abolition of the pass laws, because the structure of the economy is fundamentally undemocratic.

It is like saying if one removed apartheid, then our problems would be solved. But how can our problems be solved, say on the land issue, where 87% of the land is

owned by whites?

Is even an extension of the vote going to solve the problem of land hunger?

How does Cosatu intend to overcome the barriers of operating in bantustans?

Cosatu does not recognise the bantustans. They are all part of SA. And we will continue to organise workers there.

We believe that any anti-working class activity from any organisation or individual takes them directly into the camp of the enemy of the working class.

Obviously there is a very high level

of repression in the bantustans, and we have to be realistic about that.

But we also have a number of SA companies operating in the bantustans, and we are going to use the presence that we have in these companies, in what they call white SA, to gain recognition for the unions in the so-called bantustans.

What is Cosatu's response to Inkatha's plans to set up its own trade union federation, and what is your position on Inkatha more generally?

The position we take on Inkatha is to pose three basic questions; to what extent is it opposed to apartheid and committed to a democratic SA, based on a unitary state and on one person one vote?

To what extent is it committed to liberating the entire nation and to uniting all races and all people in SA?

And thirdly, what are the economic policies of Inkatha?

Quite clearly, Inkatha has failed in its strategy of using the bantustans to advance the struggle for liberation.

And Inkatha has not been able to unite the black people in SA. Evidence of this is the conflict one sees in Natal.

At a third level, Inkatha's commitment to free enterprise represents, for us, the freedom of employers to pay us starvation wages - like in Isithebe in Kwa Zulu, where workers are receiving R20 a week; freedom to dismiss us when we demand our rights - like the dismissal of 23 000 mineworkers in Boputhatswana; and the freedom of the government to implement laws to control us while denying us our democratic rights.

In terms of an Inkatha union federation, Inkatha structures within the factories are going to cause some division. We must be realistic about that.

But its attempts to set up unions are going to fail absolutely. Already there is evidence that they called a meeting in Esikhaweni which very few workers actually attended.

Violence has been directed against Cosatu. Two officials of Cosatu affiliates in Newcastle have had their houses burnt out, our offices in Newcastle have been invaded, and officials threatened with death.

Inkatha has launched massive attacks against us in the bourgeois press. And they have been working hand in glove with big business, as we saw at the Inkatha meeting in Esikhaweni. The buses were supplied by companies and arrangements were made for the companies to set up Inkatha meetings.

To what extent do you intend to link up with unions and federations overseas, and how do you see the disinvestment issue?

As Cosatu, we see solidarity action by workers in other countries as very valuable, in fact much more valuable than the material support that we have received up to now.

We have resolved to strengthen links with progressive workers in all countries which are committed to our struggle for freedom, and to building true international working class solidarity.

But we have decided not to affiliate to international federations like the ICFTU, WCL, or WFTU, because any affiliation is bound to draw us into the web of international politics and introduce the danger of division.

On disinvestment, firstly foreign investment in SA has been mainly to exploit and gain profit from apartheid and its repression of the working class. The social wealth that has been generated should be the property of the people of SA.

Secondly, international action has been important in pressuring the government. We have said that if this government remains intransigent, then the demands should be intensified, including even the question of disinvestment.



Kagiso: riding out repression

The Krugersdorp townships of Kagiso and Munsieville are among the latest Transvaal battle zones. The community's peaceful weapons of resistance - a highly successful consumer and bus boycott - were met with bullets and detentions. But strong organisation has meant the community is as determined as ever to win its demands.

Saspu National spoke to Kagiso activists about their struggles.

When did the boycotts start and why?

1985 was the most traumatic year of our lives. We had nothing to celebrate after the massacres, maimings and destruction. The boycott was our way to get the business community to pressurise the government to meet the people's short term demands.

What made the boycott so successful?

Organisation was crucial. We embarked on a massive information campaign - mass meetings, door to door campaigns, press releases. We organised people in buses, taxis and in the streets. We even reached the hostels, remote rural areas and servants' quarters.

The Krugersdorp African Chamber of Commerce (KAF-COC) agreed to reduce its goods by 25%.

Boycott marshals man strategic places such as big chain-stores to keep people aware about the boycott. Unknown people were recently stationed there too to tell people that the boycotts are over, so naturally people started buying from town.

Because mass-rallies are scenes of death and injuries we had to conduct house-to-house campaigns to clarify that this was a lie.

We didn't use pamphlets because then fake pamphlets could be used in our name to cause confusion.

For those who break the boycott,

the activists explain the issues to them and take the stuff to the pensioners and the needy.



We combined the boycott campaign with the anti-"comrade" thug drive - to put an end to people who were doing bad things in the name of comrades.

The methods we used also helped narrow the gap between the activist and mass element. Every person actually felt they were playing their proper role and participating.

The result was the swelling of the ranks of people's organisations - of Fedtraw, Kagiso Youth Congress and Kagiso Residents Organisation (KRO).

How was the Greyhound Bus Service included in the boycott?

This decision was taken at a mass meeting on Christmas day. Greyhound has been very unco-

operative and exploitative. They never gave us their buses to use when we buried our fallen comrades - even when we were prepared to pay.

They showed unbelievable insensitivity when we pleaded with them to transport pensioners to collect their pensions. They paid workers starvation wages. They contributed nothing towards bursaries and scholarships to people who could not afford education.

Worst of all, they allowed their buses to transport youngsters who went about molesting people, trying to give the impression that we were responsible.

The cops stop the taxis from ferrying people to work, and tried to enforce a limit of two passengers for private car owners. We challenged this and won.

The Krugersdorp Taxi Association has reduced the fares by half for students to everywhere.

How did the hosteldwellers respond to the boycotts?

When the boycotts started, we made sure every single person was informed - including the hos-

teldwellers. We knew about the government tactic of divide and rule which it uses all over SA.

We invited hosteldwellers to our meetings and often went to them to discuss issues we all suffered from. We discussed housing, influx control, the Group Areas Act and the need to live together in peace and friendship.

Now we are starting a joint Housing Charter campaign. Our aim is that the township must be extended, properly built and hostels done away with. The migrant worker system must go and hosteldwellers are to stay with us in the township. The hosteldwellers have now formed their own organisation which has a good relationship with KRO and other people's organisations.

Certain forces have tried to divide us, by killing a hosteler and leaving him in the township, and then killing a township resident and leaving him at the hostel. But this failed.

How have the authorities responded to the boycotts?

With their usual jack-boot and divide and rule methods. As a result, it has become a tradition that we bury every weekend.

Recently the police and Greyhound have been forcing people to board the buses. Police shoot teargas into taxis and actually manhandle and bundle people into the buses.

Motorists have been given tickets for transporting people to work. The admission of guilt fines range from R300 and R500. Shop-keepers have also been victimised.

The slogans, "Asithengi edolopeni" (we don't buy from town) and "Azikhwelwa" (we will not ride) are jealously adhered to by the people.

There is also the problem of agent provocateurs. At meetings and funerals there were always complete strangers whose business was to intimidate and agitate people into actions which would 'provoke' cops to shoot at the people.

Once the shooting started, suddenly these strangers would be nowhere near danger. That was a lesson to us and now it is history.

Can you explain the anti-thug drive?

People's organisations are busy cleansing the township of thuggery. Crime has been considerably lessened, and we have actually ridden the township of youth drunkenness and irresponsibility.

When we get into shebeens we tell all those inside to place their weapons on the table. We point out to them the uselessness of injuring one another. We show them the importance of unity and belonging to an organisation.

The result has been people flocking to join organisations. Deaths and incidents of knife-injuries have decreased. The doctors have actually praised our efforts. They say they treated only motor accident victims over the festive season.

How long are the boycotts going to last?

We will continue the boycott until our demands are met. When Greyhound asked for talks, we said tell Le Grange to release our leaders first. The Deputy Minister of Law and Order and almost the whole of the SADF was here a while ago to "hold talks" with us. We told them same thing.

"We have a funeral every weekend"

On 27 January, police broke up a meeting in Kagiso to discuss the education crisis; they killed 14-year old Francinah Legwete and detained many others. But parents were not prepared to simply run away.

"About 60 parents quickly organised themselves and demanded that the cops release the people they had just detained.

"You leave this place without those comrades you have just taken now. They have done nothing. You even killed one now," the parents demanded. The cops then released them," said a Kagiso Residents Association (KRO) spokesperson. "The next day, over 300

women marched to the Krugersdorp police station to demand the withdrawal of armed forces from the township. They barely arrived when cops fired live bullets, and women scattered in all directions.

"The youth - who the women stopped from marching with them to preclude a violent police response - were furious at this uncalled for vicious treatment. One was shot dead while helping 2 women to recover from teargas.

"On the same day, Rooi Mashigo saw cops beating one of the consumer boycott marshals, but when he intervened he was gunned down.

"At the night vigil before one of

these funerals, the cops fired teargas into the house and the tent, and beat and kicked people out, including the bereaved family.

"They broke the furniture and pots and then kicked open the coffin saying they need "to see if this is not a communist being buried". When people returned, food and drink had been stolen from the fridges.

"To avoid police action, Sisters Bernhardt and Christine led mourners in lines of two from the church to the bereaved home. The cops teargassed them, fired live bullets and detained the two nuns. The people wanted to attack the cops but the leaders stopped this.

Pensioners out on the road, dumped in SA

For the people of Kune village, dumped on the edge of the national road on the South African side of the Ciskei border, the future looks bleak. But that does not mean that they are homesick to go back.

"We don't want to be in Ciskei", says Sidwell Booi, from Kune village. "It is not a life there."

Another resident, Goodman Wandlala, said bitterly, "We were forced to surrender our South African reference book for this travel document. Now Ciskei says we don't belong here either."

Progressive organisations have rallied to aid the homeless Kune villagers, with emergency relief centres, creches, food, etc. "The Ciskei authorities did not mind if we were left to die", said a pensioner.

On January 2nd, pensioners from Kune waited for hours before a Ciskei combi arrived. They were told that pensions were still being paid out at the Kambushe Tribal Authority offices, and they must wait.

They waited 2 days. Then a land-rover with Ciskei soldiers arrived, and told them they must get their pensions from the youth. Since then, they have received nothing.

The Kune villagers used to be farm workers on nearby white farms. When the farms were taken over by the Ciskei, they became classified as squatters, and a Chief and Headman were imposed on them to administer the area, under the Tribal Authority.

"Suddenly the people had to pay so many taxes," said a relief worker.

"They paid a Ciskei development tax, money for schools, money for roads — but all this money just went to the headman, and the people saw no benefit. They became suspicious. There were no receipts. And what's more, the



Kune woman and child dumped on the side of the road.



headman kept changing — they were dismissed or they disappeared. And the people's money disappeared with them.

"Another problem the people faced was this membership of CNIP. If you are not a member, they can make life hard."

Kune residents formed a residents' association which started challenging the headman.

But there was so much anger that

it was not only the residents' association that took action. A headman's house was burnt down, and the house of a local liquor trader who had allegedly shot at residents.

At this point the Ciskei decided to wash its hands of the Kune community. The Kambashe Tribal Authority organised their evictions, and with no warning they were picked up in trucks, and dumped at the side of the national road.

Ciskei says 'clear out'

Ever since the youth in Potsdam went door to door collecting peoples CNIP membership cards and burning them, Potsdam has lost its charm for the Ciskei Authorities.

But the feelings were mutual - ever since the headman announced a police ultimatum that any children found outside their homes after 6 in the evening could be found in the mortuary.

Two young children out after 6 fell over a cliff, and when their bodies were found in the mortuary, the community had its own ideas about what had happened.

Then when people reported rapes, theft, and murder to the police, they refused to look into these

cases. So the headman organised his own courts where people were lashed for such crimes.

Now all those who participated in those courts are being arrested in house to house raids, in which people were also told they had a week to leave Potsdam, or be forcibly removed.

But the Ciskei authorities are not coming clean on their plans for the 12000 people of Potsdam.

"Maybe some of these policemen were being over zealous", one official said. "It all depends on peoples behavior", said another. Residents believe their removal may be tied to people returning to school, but there is no school organisation to discuss and coordinate this.

Street-style democracy

Cradock put street committees on the map last year. Why do you see them as an important form of organisation?

If the street committees had not taken up the reins of organisation during the State of Emergency, I'm quite sure Cradock would have died.

But when the leadership was detained, the street committees were already in place, and our networks running smoothly.

When you have structures like these, detentions of individuals can't destroy you - they would have to detain 500 people in Cradock alone to put a stop to these structures. So mass participation is our best defence.

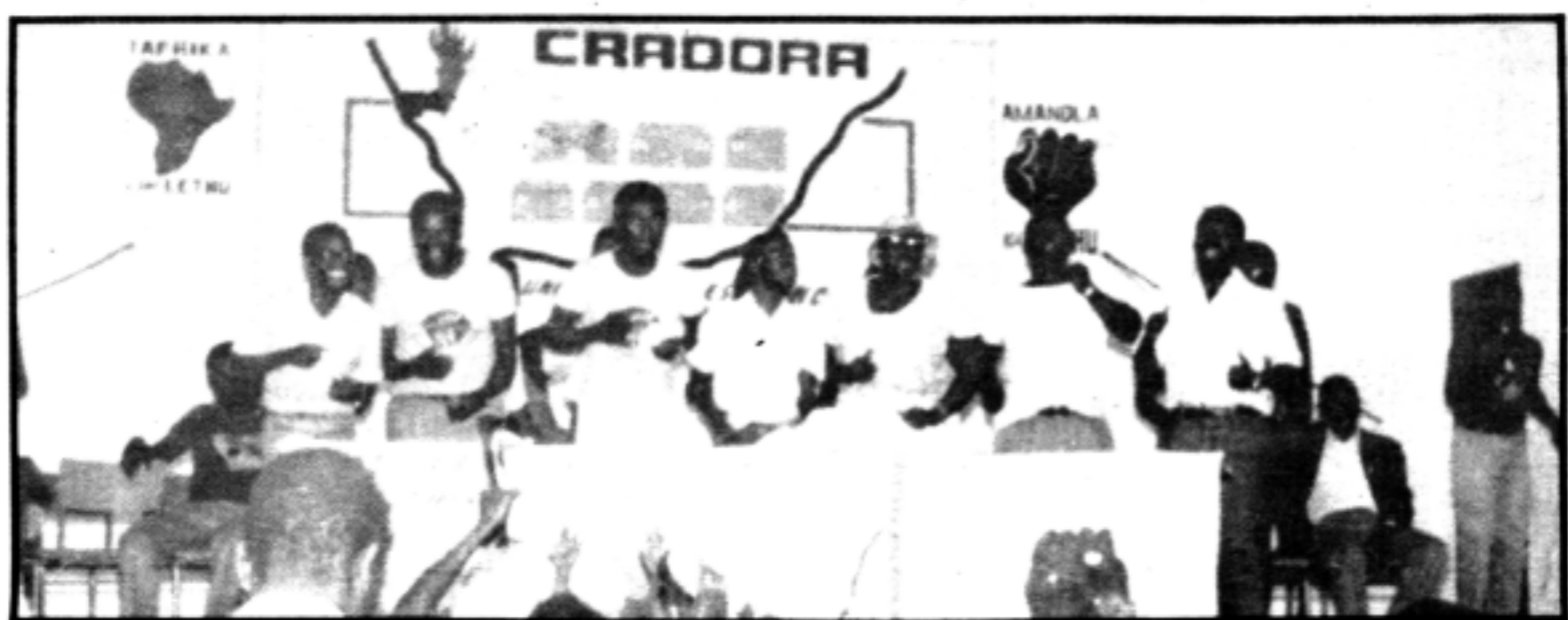
We had also already adapted to meetings being banned, and to using the street committees to establish majority feeling on issues, and to make sure everyone was up to date.

But they harassed people about the street committees in detention, which caused some people to take fright.

What kind of issues are dealt with in the street committees?

The street committees discuss community issues like the consumer boycott, but decisions are made at the level of the township as a whole, once the view from all the streets has been gauged.

Then they also discuss issues like basic hygiene, how to wash babies,



Cradock in the old days

youngster is giving problems because of liquor, the street committee can speak to him, but if he doesn't listen, it must go to the area committee.

Or if the street is very dirty, full of litter, the street committee can decide that this weekend, the youth will clean the street; or this weekend, the fathers are all going to collect their spades and wheelbarrows to mend the holes in the road.

But while one street cannot decide to suspend the school boycott, they should continually assess the issue, so that when the township as a whole sits down, we get a representative view.

And Cradock acts on general grievances that emerge - like the cor-

ruption with the pensions. Very old people were waiting all day in all weather and having to give bribes to get their money, while some elements were able to push in the queue.

So Cradock went there and ensured these old people were properly accommodated, and that people got to the counter on a first come first serve basis. We also educated them about their rights as pensioners while they waited.

What do you see as the implications of using intimidation to enforce decisions?

We need to create consensus around decisions because there is a real danger that if people have not

been involved in a decision, they will not feel that it is their decision, but a decision that has been imposed. In which case they will not be prepared to defend it.

This can develop into a very dangerous situation, where infiltration is also made easy. If you organise mob violence against people who violate your decisions, those people are not going to hang back; they are going to mobilise themselves.

But I don't undermine the problems people face in other areas, especially where there are competing political forces.

Cradock was formed to take up the rent issue. What is happening on that front?

There has been a unofficially declared rent boycott for some time. In the past, people were sent to court for not paying rent, but since the community council became vacant, this has stopped.

How do you see the role of the civic where the community council has collapsed?

Our position is that the next institution in line must be pressurised to deliver the goods in terms of services to the townships. Much as we are not paying rent, we still pay GST, income tax, PAYE, and UIF.

The government earns a lot of interest from this money, and they must spend it on the people. If the civics organised their own waste disposal and services, the government could leave the townships out of the budget, and have more for guns in Namibia.

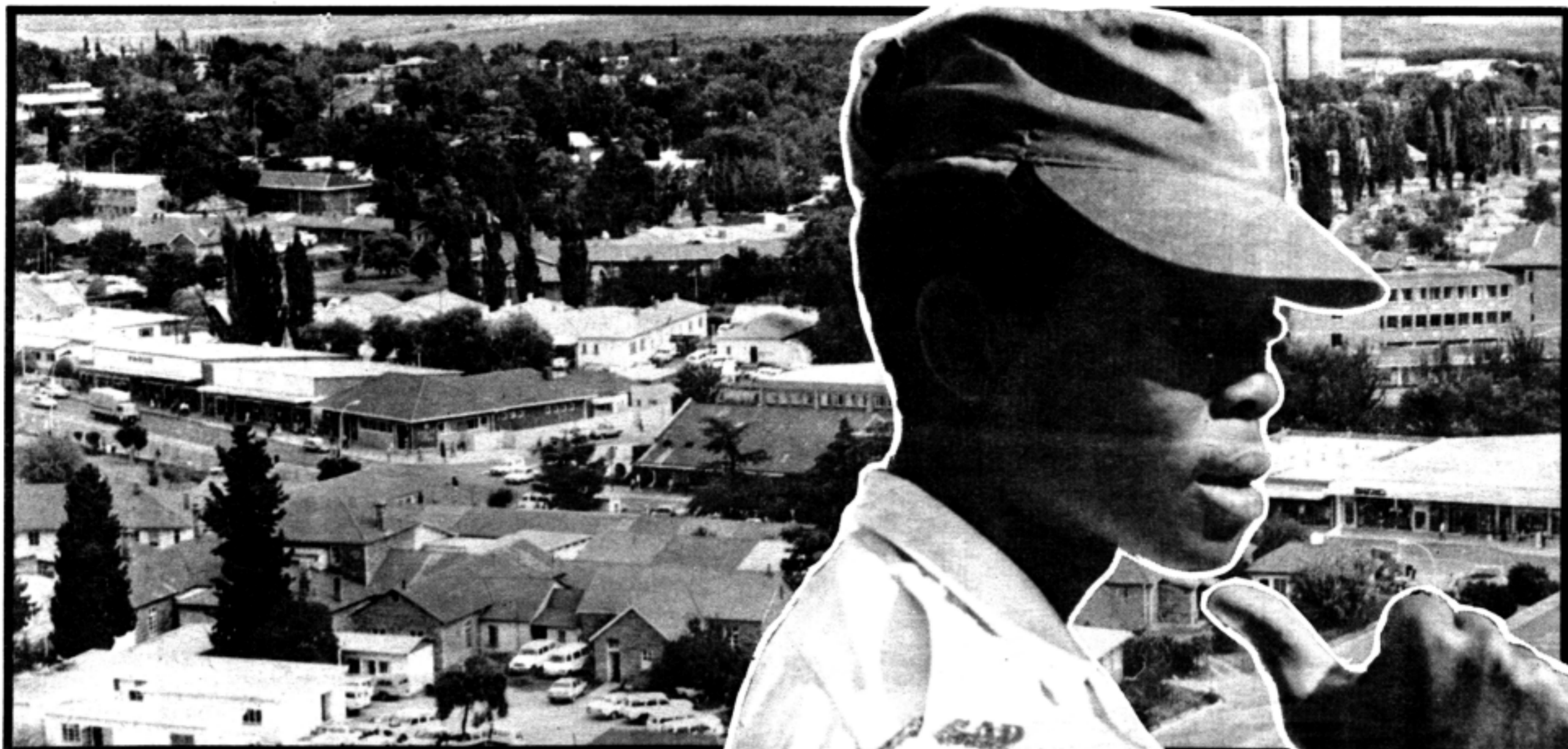
We don't want to become glorified community councils.

So for example when they once failed to collect the night-soil, the youth took the buckets to the Administration Board and left them there. Since then, no more problems.

How do you relate to the Administration Boards?

We have long aspired to having a non-racial municipality, but we are still cracking the dynamics of what to do with the Administration Boards.

Cradock felt that we should look at having a regional civic body, to decide on appropriate action in consultation with UDF. The problem is that we can't take a parochial approach; we need a common strategy.



Lesotho Coup SA smiles

Through military and economic pressure SA has managed to subdue Lesotho. Yet again Pretoria is forcing the States who rely on it to comply with its wishes.

MONDAY, JANUARY 20, saw Maseru's streets thronged with people celebrating the end of Chief Leabua Jonathan's rule. For 21 years he had been Prime Minister, and for 16, Head of State. But a coup, led by Major-General Justin Lekhanye, head of the Paramilitary Force, deposed him.

When Lesotho became an independent state in 1966, it set the pattern for South Africa's bantustans. Lesotho is utterly dependent on SA for survival.

140 000 Lesotho migrants work in SA, mostly on the mines. There are few jobs in Lesotho. All goods to and from Lesotho go via SA. Most of the Lesotho government's money comes from the Southern African Customs Union, which SA controls. Construction starts soon on a massive hydro-electric and water storage scheme. SA will pay for most of it, and will be the only buyer.

At independence in 1966, SA made sure the party it backed, the Basotholand National Party (BNP), was in power. Jonathan, for example, was given open access to Masotho living in SA mining compounds to canvass support for the BNP.

In fact, the BNP had been set up with SA funding to provide a right-

wing alternative to the more militant Basotholand Congress Party (BCP).

The BCP had been formed in 1952 with the support of the ANC, but by 1960 had close ties with the right wing in the PAC. Today the BCP retains massive popular support; its leader, Ntsu Mokhetle, lives in exile in South Africa.

For the first decade of his rule, Jonathan, in return for massive funding, publicly supported Pretoria's policies, and opened his door to SA companies eager to exploit Lesotho's cheap labour.

But when Jonathan was nearly toppled by an unsuccessful BCP coup in 1974, he began to rethink his attitude towards SA.

Criticism of SA made better sense. The SA government was becoming increasingly isolated, and more international finance was available to states who seemed to resist Pretoria's pressures.

From 1975 Jonathan's policies seemed to shift towards the left. He established ties with Mozambique, condemned the Soweto massacre, gave asylum to SA refugees, and refused to recognise Transkei's independence.

But there was no change in his style of government. If anything, it became more repressive. SA responded by backing bandits

operating within Lesotho: the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), armed wing of one of the right-wing factions of the BCP.

If Pretoria had hoped this destabilisation would coerce Jonathan into obedience, it failed. Instead, it radicalised the BNP, increased anti-SA feeling within the country, and mobilised further international support for Lesotho.

In December 1982 SA cracked down hard. The SADF invaded Maseru and killed 42 people, most of them ANC refugees.

Despite world condemnation of SA's violation of Lesotho's borders, the US vetoed a United Nations call for strong action to be taken against the Pretoria regime. In protest, Jonathan formalised his ties with the Soviet Union and the People's Republics of China and Korea.

The SA raid was followed by firm

pressure on Lesotho to sign an Nkomati-type pact and expel all ANC refugees from the country. In the face of border blockades, LLA raids and an attempt by Jonathan's foreign minister — Sekhonyane — to sign a pact behind Jonathan's back, Lesotho held out.

In the early hours of December 19, 1985, a group of armed men invaded Maseru. Using silencers on their weapons, they killed nine people, mostly ANC refugees.

Days later, the Amanzimtoti and Durban bomb blasts provided Pretoria with the excuse it wanted to squeeze Lesotho into submission. Intensified security measures by SA on Lesotho's borders effectively sealed off all supplies of food and fuel.

Tensions within Lesotho's ruling clique now split wide open.

Jonathan had been steadily consolidating his own security with the

heavily armed and highly trained BNP Youth Wing. The beginning of Jonathan's end was marked when the Youth Wing accused the security forces, the Para Military Force (PMF), of disloyalty.

On Wednesday, January 15, the PMF raided the Youth Wing's base, killing 17; Jonathan's bodyguard was now disarmed.

Two days later, a delegation of right-wingers headed for Pretoria for talks on Lesotho's security situation. The significance of these talks was made clear at 3 am on Monday, January 20.

A burst of military music on Radio Lesotho was followed by the announcement that Jonathan had been deposed in a bloodless coup, and replaced by a Military Council headed by PMF leader, Major-General J M Lekhanye.

Pretoria signalled its approval by letting through the first consignment of fuel Lesotho had seen in weeks.

The new ruling group soon made their position clear: no longer would ANC refugees find safety in Lesotho. Within days, the first 57 refugees were flying out of Maseru on an Air Zambia plane, headed North.

For the people of Lesotho, the implications of the coup are unclear. After years of dictatorial rule, Jonathan was clearly unpopular. But the takeover by more reactionary forces is unlikely to spell any improvement in their lives.

In short, the coup signals the beginning of an even more crippling dependency on SA. SA holds all the cards. And for the people of Lesotho, Pretoria's first bantustan, the future looks grim.

Democracy not one of Jonathan's strong points

Lebua Jonathan, head of the BNP and ruler of Lesotho for 21 years, was a minor chief until SA discovered him and propelled him into power.

For 21 years he ruled Lesotho as a virtual dictator.

In the middle of 1970's general elections, when it was clear that the BCP had a majority, Jonathan cancelled the elections, declared a state of emergency, and detained thousands of critics of his government. Hundreds 'disappeared', BCP supporters were purged from the civil service, and Lesotho's

Communist Party was banned. Since then, detentions have continued and, for his more powerful opponents, assassinations.

*One of his critics, Edgar Motuba, was taken from his house by people claiming to be police. His body, and that of two friends, was later found, riddled with bullets. The murderers were never found.

*Odillon Mofu Seheri, a former Education Officer, was abducted on his way from Roma university. His charred remains were later found in his burnt-out car. Little attempt was made to find those

responsible.

*Two people have died in detention. Jonathan was Minister of Police.

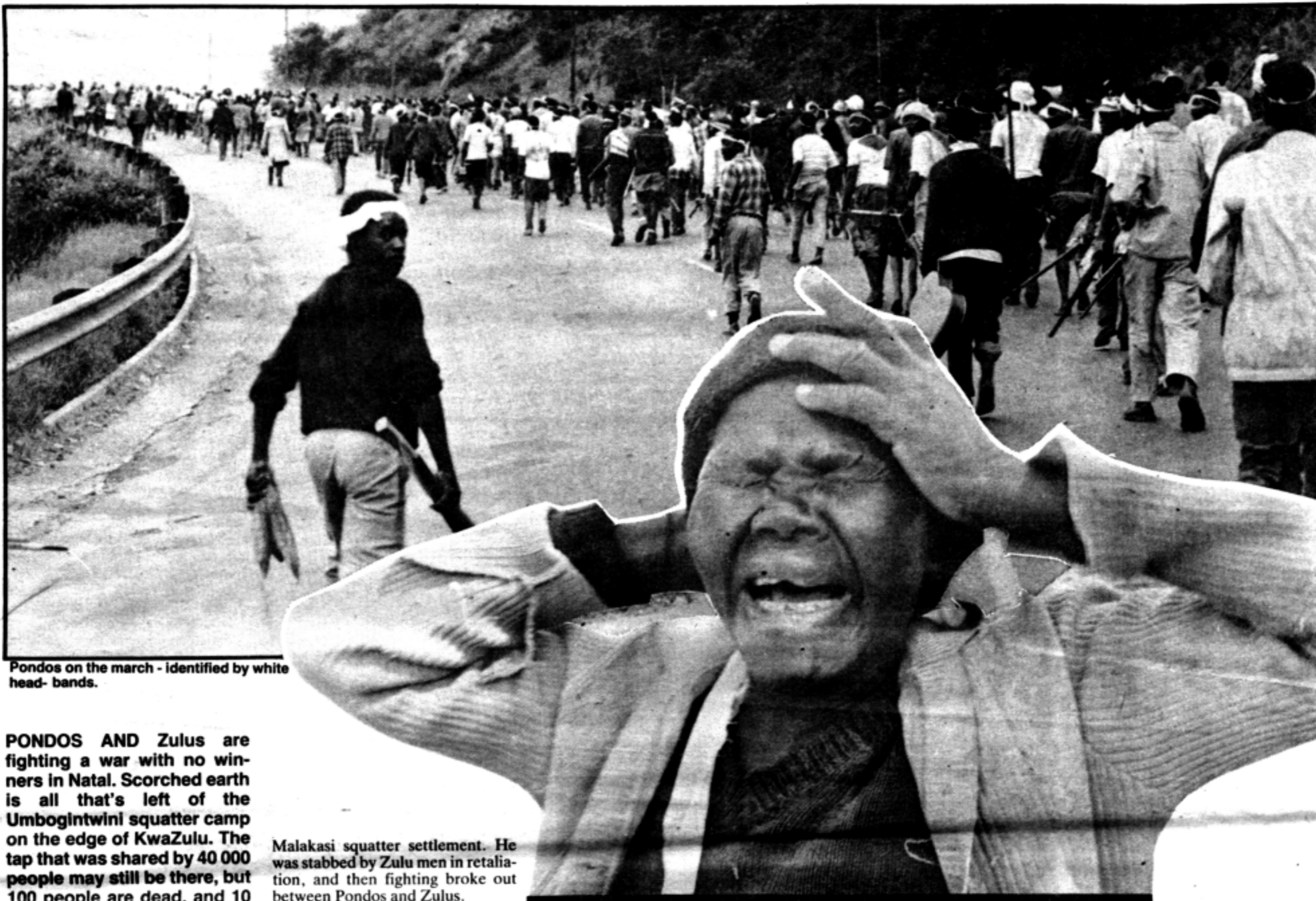
*Last year, Jonathan ran the general elections D the first since 1970 - according to his own rules. In protest, the SA-backed opposition group pulled out, and the BNP 'won' all 60 seats unopposed.

*Students at Lesotho's National University at Roma called a three week boycott in October last year in protest over the actions of the BNP Youth Wing, effectively Jonathan's personal bodyguard.

Students critical of Jonathan's policies were victimised and assaulted by Youth Wing members on campus armed with automatic rifles. When some students retaliated, the Youth Wing demanded that the Vice Chancellor protect them, or resign.

The university's senate expelled the Youth Wing members, who, with cabinet support, ignored the directive, and sent letters to several refugee students ordering them to leave Lesotho as their presence was no longer in the best interests of our country.

The war with no winners



Pondos on the march - identified by white head-bands.

PONDOS AND Zulus are fighting a war with no winners in Natal. Scorched earth is all that's left of the Umbogintwini squatter camp on the edge of KwaZulu. The tap that was shared by 40 000 people may still be there, but 100 people are dead, and 10 000 houses burnt down. And while the Pondos have fled, the land hunger, overcrowding and unemployment these 'foreigners' were blamed for has not gone away.

Before the faction fights, Pondos living in Malakasi and Umbogintwini No 5 were putting down roots. Some had bought land from Chief Ngwenya, and many were loyal members of Inkatha who helped "to restore order" in Umlazi last August.

They had been promised Kwazulu citizenship, and hoped this would end their influx control problems.

But as rural poverty forced more and more people there, tensions arose. People competed for land close to transport routes, for access to water and for jobs.

But until December last year, tensions between the established residents and the new arrivals had not taken a tribal form.

The fighting started with a small incident in November. A Pondo man molested a Zulu woman in

Malakasi squatter settlement. He was stabbed by Zulu men in retaliation, and then fighting broke out between Pondos and Zulus.

The Pondos lost the battle, and were forced to leave their land and flee Malakasi, seeking refuge in nearby Umbogintwini No 5.

"Pondos are angry because most of them are members of Inkatha, and support Buthelezi, but this did not stop Zulus who are also in Inkatha from burning their houses," said a youth activist.

A Zulu resident of Umbogintwini No 5 described to SASPU National how events unfolded:

"After the Pondos were chased from Malakasi, there were rumours that the Zulus were coming to attack them at Umbogintwini No 5. The Zulus at No 5 weren't sure who to side with.

Then the councillor got a letter from the Malakasi Zulus saying they would be coming to attack the Pondos there. The councillor showed the letter to the Pondos living on his land.

"On 24 December, 500 Zulus advanced on No 5, forcing Zulu residents to join them. But they were outnumbered by Pondos, who they didn't expect to be so well armed. They were driven back,

leaving seven dead mostly Zulus. The police then arrived. "On Christmas day the Pondos in No 5 attacked the Zulus living there, because they had joined the Zulu attack the day before.

"Over 50 people died that day. The police only arrived at lunchtime. Zulu homes were looted and burnt down, and we fled to the next door squatter settlement of Kwa Makhuta.

"The reason why Pondos in No 5 were prepared to fight so hard was to retain their land. The Pondos in Malakasi had lost everything and they didn't want that to happen to them," the Umbogintwini resident said.

Then Chief Makhanya announced that all Pondos were there illegally and must leave. This increased the Pondo's fear and anger because their land and security was now clearly at stake. But the Zulus were equally afraid of losing their land and homes.

"An eye for an eye" became a matter of honour, and the ripple effect

was felt far beyond these squatter camps. A Pondo man was killed at Isipingo Station and burnt; a Zulu man from Mgabheni was killed in retaliation; this sparked fighting there and Pondos were driven out.

The police charged Zulus at Kwa Makhuta R10 to escort them to No 5 to get their belongings, but most homes had been looted.

"The Zulus felt insulted at being forced to flee by the Pondos, who they saw as foreigners in the area, and began arming themselves for a counter attack on No 5.

"But Pondos got in first, and on the 23 January, they attacked Kwa Makhuta. 45 people were killed. Mr Mbongwe, MP from the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly, had his house attacked.

"At Kwa Makhuta, women got involved in the fighting for the first time. They drove the Pondo women out, and killed and burnt one woman. The Kwa Makhuta Zulus then decided to drive all Pondos right out of the area, and set off for

"But before they got there, the police arrested 533 Pondos on

charges of public violence. This left the Pondo women of No 5 without protection. They fled, and the whole settlement was set alight." / Both sides were bitter about the lack of police protection. A youth activist working with the local Magabheni Youth Organisation explained: "The Pondo's believe the police are siding with the Zulus — most are from the Kwazulu Department of Police." / He related the events that followed: "That evening the Zulus invaded G.J. Crooks, the local hospital, and killed two Pondo workers. Scores of patients were injured, and some fled from the hospital. / "A nurse, Mrs Mnambe, was raped before being killed by a mob of Zulus. They later burnt her house. Nurses at the nurses home have since left the area in fear of their lives. / "The next day Zulu workers at SAIC-COR, the local chemical factory, killed a Pondo worker. The Pondos have fled. Umbogintwini No 5 is deserted, and Isipingo has become a no-go area for Pondos. Many have been forced to leave their jobs.

This woman's husband was burnt to death

Apartheid manipulates and entrenches tribal division

The pattern of faction fighting at Umbogintwini is not new. Faction fights often happen where there is social tension, where people are suffering and are competing for limited resources.

In this situation, it is easy to see another group that also needs land, water, or a job, as the "enemy", rather than looking at why there are not jobs for all, why 80% of the people are crowded onto 13% of the land, and why conditions are so bad.

The history of conflict over resources goes back some centuries, where wars were fought over land,

power and control. Hostility between groups lives on long after the battles are over, and loses a direct relationship to their historical roots. They become part of racist and tribalistic attitudes.

But apartheid must take the blame for entrenching tribal division and racism. Tribal attitudes still make sense to people because apartheid entrenches a link between ethnicity and access to land, to jobs, to survival.

Bantustan authorities rely on ethnic consciousness to legitimise their "independence", and to blur

issues of inequality and power.

When faction fighting broke out between villagers in the Northern Transvaal last year, the roots of the conflict clearly lay in the land question. Bantustan authorities were manipulating tribal ideology.

At a meeting, it was said that Shangaan people were illegally occupying Pedi land, and villagers were encouraged to break down the fence erected by SA between Lebowa and Gazankulu.

When the SA government changed the boundary between the villages to the advantage of Lebowa, war

broke out between the two groups - the one desperate to relieve the overcrowding in their area, the other desperate to defend their land.

When Africans were forced off their land and into reserves by the colonial authorities, they were allocated new land on an ethnic basis. Many chiefs accepted a salary based on how many followers they had, and crowded more and more people onto their land to get a higher salary.

In the Msinga area in Natal, this led to huge overcrowding, and conflict over boundaries and access to the Tugela River.

Faction fights on the mines show how effectively apartheid still generates tribalism in the schools and bantustans. But they also show a conflict of interests on the mines that mine management has structured along ethnic lines.

On some mines, all indunas are Zulus. They have power over the workers, who are forced to live in tribally-segregated compounds. Anger at the induna may lead to workers defining Zulu's as the problem, instead of the lack of democracy on the mines, and their lack of control over where they live, or their conditions.

KwaNdebele promised Pretoria it would be a 'well behaved bantustan'. So the SA government gave it Moutse as a reward. But their plans awakened flames of resistance that could threaten Apartheid control to its very roots.

THE INCORPORATION of Moutse into KwaNdebele is backfiring on the SA government.

'By forcing the incorporation, the government is making Moutse ungovernable', Moutse activists told SASPU NATIONAL.

'The government whines about agitators and instigators, but it is creating the trouble itself.

'People said, if the government wants peace, let it drop the incorporation. When it refused, people came to the conclusion the government is not committed to peace.'

The incorporation has led to spontaneous outbursts of anger from Moutse residents, especially the more militant youth.

'The SA government is responsible for the killings and the violence. They are forcing people to vent their anger in the only language the government knows — violence', say youth leaders.

Moutse resistance to incorporation is being spearheaded by two main groups.

One group is the government-appointed tribal authorities, chiefs, and ex-Lebowa MP's. Before 1980, Lebowa 'governed' Moutse.

The other is the mass based, progressive organisations — village committees and youth organisations like the Dennilton and Uitvlugh Youth Congresses, Deyco and Uiyco.

Youth leaders say resistance to incorporation has politicised people and swelled the ranks of their organisations.

Deyco leaders said when their organisation was launched at the beginning of 1985, they didn't see it as a political organisation. 'But when incorporation came, when the police disrupted our meetings and people were beaten, killed and detained, we couldn't remain silent', said a Deyco member. Since then Deyco has been actively campaigning against the incorporation.

As one Moutse youth leader put it — the bantustans are modern concentration camps created by the SA government.

The progressive youth in Moutse see their task as building popular organisations and people's power. They support the Freedom Charter and are working towards a non-racial democratic SA where the people govern.

'What is needed now is democratic mass based organisations where all the people participate', they say.

'As a progressive organisation we are against a system of being ruled by chiefs and tribal authorities, KwaNdebele or Lebowa. We don't

Moutse incorporation



A village meeting in Uitvlugh, Moutse. Chiefs and tribal authorities are being replaced by popular village organisations.

recognise apartheid created institutions', says Deyco.

'We are not fighting for Moutse to go back to Lebowa.

'Phatudi (Lebowa Chief Minister) and Skhosana (KwaNdebele Chief Minister) are Pretoria's servants. We don't want Pretoria to rule via its pickanians and boys in the bantustans'.

Deyco feels Phatudi is trying to hijack resistance to the incorporation to win support for the Lebowa bantustan.

Now Deyco is calling on two former Moutse members of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly, Cheou and Mathebe, to renounce their links with Lebowa and become part of the people's organisations.

Since the 1950's, traditional rulers like chiefs and headmen were turned into employees of the apartheid government.

'The chief has all the power, there is no democracy. He decides everything and chooses his own councillors. He has a monopoly over land', said a Uiyco leader.

'The chief says he needs 'feet'. So money is collected from the people for him to buy a luxurious car.

'People saw the chiefs were incompetent to fight against the incorporation. The chief had been demanding money from people. But they were getting nothing for it.'

'People were scared of the chief till the emergence of people's committees and the youth congresses. A lot of myths about the chiefs and the tribal authorities were blown in action, through mass village meetings or village congresses, attended by every person in the village'.

And in Uitvlugh, chiefs and tribal authorities have been replaced by popular village organisations. 'One chief threw his support behind the people and joined our meetings', says Uiyco. Another important development has been the high participation of women. 'When the tribal authorities ruled, only men were allowed to participate'.

The youth organisations say one of their special tasks is still to do away



Ndebele victim of Moutse incorporation

with tribalism and the government's divide and rule strategies, which they see as the cause of the recent Pedi-Ndebele conflict.

'It's not a matter of the Ndebele's fighting the Sotho's', said a Moutse youth leader.

The Northern Sothos (Pedis) have been in the Moutse area for about 200 years. In the 1920's some Ndebeles moved into the area. Today most Moutse residents are Northern Sotho speaking.

Some Moutse people were angry with the Ndebeles, saying 'we hosted the Ndebeles, and now they are turning into bosses'.

Tensions became worse when KwaNdebele vigilantes — the Imbokodo — brutally attacked and kidnapped hundreds of Moutse villagers. The villagers defended themselves and some of the vigilantes were killed. Ndebeles living in Moutse were also attacked and some left the area.

Youth organisations called on the

people of Moutse and the Ndebele people not to fight each other. 'The enemy is not the Ndebele people or the Pedi people, the enemy is the apartheid system and the government'. They said both groups were landless, denied political power and were oppressed and exploited by this system and should unite against it.

And at a recent funeral in the Ntwane section of Moutse, an Ndebele chief, recognised by local Ndebele people as the traditional leader, spoke out against the incorporation of Moutse into KwaNdebele.

He said the people of Moutse gave the Ndebeles a place to stay many years ago, so how would not betray them now.

Skhosana and the Imbokodo deal viciously with any opposition, but there are still pockets of progressive youth inside KwaNdebele.

Pamphlets were distributed in the KwaNdebele 'capital' Siyabuswa, condemning Skhosana and saying he had no mandate from the Ndebele people to go for independence.

Some Ndebele women protested against Skhosana in the streets, demanding their husbands and fathers back from the Imbokodo.

The women said their men were forcefully taken from their homes and made to get drunk to go and fight people who did nothing wrong to them.

Youth organisers claim some of these women were beaten up and the houses of those opposed to Skhosana's rule were stoned.

KwaNdebele repression is what many of the Moutse people hate most. They say the Imbokodo and their leaders are accountable to none.

'Independence' for KwaNdebele later this year is on the cards. It promises to be as repressive as other bantustans. And if KwaNdebele can't cope, SA police and soldiers will be there. The people of Moutse have declared their determination to continue fighting the incorporation till the bitter end. The government has left them with little choice.



An Ndebele victim of the incorporation - moved from Moutse after the KwaNdebele vigilante attack.

The build-up to the battles over Moutse began years ago.

1979: The Commission for Co-operation and Development recommends that Moutse be taken from Lebowa and added to KwaNdebele. Government officials, Lebowa and Moutse chiefs meet frequently. Moutse people flatly reject incorporation.

1980: Moutse excised from Lebowa when government proposes a KwaNdebele homeland, and placed under central government control. Retains representatives in the Lebowa Assembly.

1981: Piet Koornhof visits Moutse. A hostile crowd warns that a KwaNdebele take-over will cause bloodshed.

April, 1982: KwaNdebele granted 'self governing' status.

February 1983: Government plans to increase KwaNdebele to include Moutse 1, 2 and 3, which include Ekundustria and Ekangala.

April, 1983: Lebowa delegation meets Koornhof to discuss Moutse. No agreement is reached.

May, 1983: 3 000 people, including local chiefs and headmen, meet to reject Moutse's removal.

July, 1983: Koornhof says the Moutse proposals will be

finalised. Lebowa Chief Minister Phatudi takes legal action.

August, 1983: PW Botha, Phatudi and Koornhof meet for talks. Transfer of Moutse delayed again.

November, 1983: PW Botha and Phatudi visit Moutse. When PW says the dispute should be settled between Lebowa and KwaNdebele, Moutse people demand a referendum.

December 1983 - May 1984: Talks continue.

October 1984: Government announces that Moutse will be transferred to KwaNdebele.

August 1985: Lebowa and Moutse officials speak to PW again. They oppose the transfer. Lebowa is given further time to discuss it with KwaNdebele.

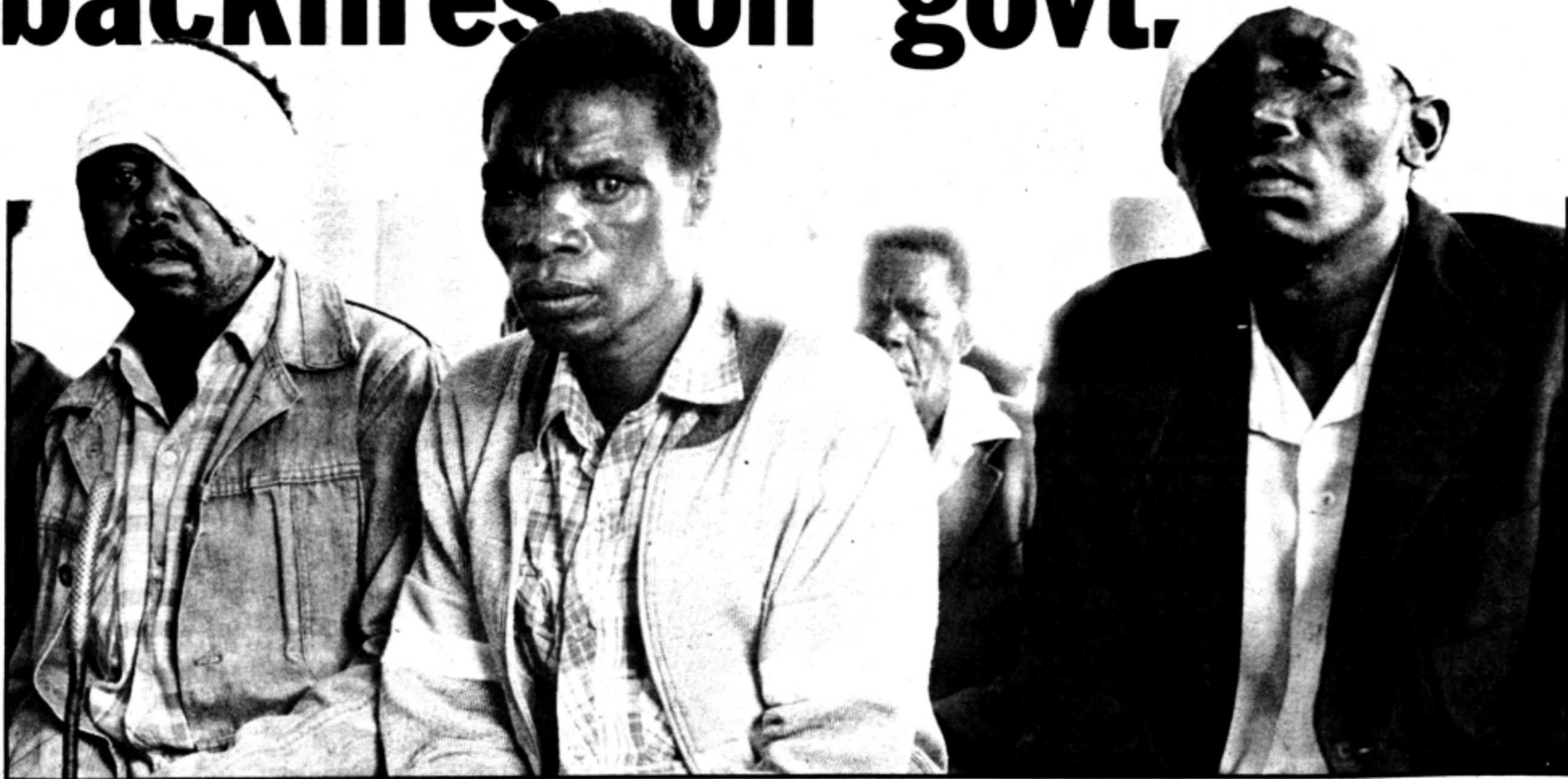
September 1985: Plans are finalised: Moutse is to become part of KwaNdebele.

October 12, 1985: 10000 people at a meeting in Moutse unanimously reject incorporation.

November 1985: Further meetings between Heunis, Moutse chiefs and Lebowa MP's.

November 11, 1985: Heunis asks for cooperation. Again

backfires on govt.



Victims of the KwaNdebele Imbokodo. On New Year's Day the Imbokodo attacked two Moutse villages and allegedly kidnapped, tortured and assaulted hundreds of Moutse people.

Youth organise against Kwandebele

THE YOUTH in the Nutfield area Moutse have played a key role in mobilising villagers.

The Uitvlugh village youth organised themselves and had an IYY meeting in early December. A series of mass village meetings followed. People strongly rejected the incorporation of Moutse, saying they will suffer more under KwaNdebele.

'The community was surprised. They had never been told about these things before, and were happy to hear from the youth', an Uitvlugh Youth Congress leaders said.

By the time the Youth Congress

and parents' committees had been set up, 'the tribal authorities were clear they were being replaced by popular people's organisations', he said.

At a rally for all the villages before Christmas, over 5000 people rejected the transfer to KwaNdebele with one voice.

They resolved to form youth and parents organisations in other villages, and boycott anything connected to KwaNdebele - documents, passes, pensions, schools and shops. These resolutions were also adopted at other rallies in different villages.

In Keerom village, near Uitvlugh,

clashes with police climaxed at New Year.

'It was a situation of hit and run, and running battles between the police and the people', said one youth organiser.

Fighting continued the whole day. One policeman was beaten and disarmed and a police van was burnt. Police withdrew all light vehicles from the area.

The next day there were protest meetings in Keerom and Klopper.

Villages set up a roadblock at Keerom. They stopped a police van and chased the two policemen in it.

At the next village, Klopper, they

met people returning from a meeting. Women cried 'Sebatakomo!' (a war cry) when they saw the police running and shooting at people behind them.

The two policemen were disarmed and killed. One villager died from bullet wounds and two were injured.

Many villagers now ran into the bushes to hide, expecting a backlash.

Security forces moved in the next morning with hippos, and placed the two villages under seige. According to statements made by villagers, police raided house to

house, and allegedly assaulted every person they came across.

Police took local cars so they would not be identified. Everyone fled, some running as much as 50 km into the bushes. For three days they were trapped there without food. But later the youth managed to smuggled some in.

Police roadblocks were set up all over. On the Sunday police came with a helicopter and ground force and raided the bushes. Some people were arrested, but most were still deep in the bushes.

Now the police announced that the Chief said people must come out, and no-one would be hurt, arrested or charged. Some believed this, and over a 100 were arrested when they came out. Now 16 people have been charged with murdering the two policemen.

Youth congress members face constant harassment. One leader's house was shot at and burnt down.

Uitvlugh Youth returning from Malebitsa in four buses were stopped by police in hippos and vans, and allegedly assaulted. Many were injured and had to go to hospital.

But the youth congress is determined to continue organising and urging youth in other villages to form youth and parent structures. The local youth structures all over Moutse hope to link up under the Moutse Youth Congress

Conditions are killing the villagers

MOUTSE VILLAGERS ARE FIGHTING more than incorporation. In Uitvlugh village, poverty and starvation, terrible working and living conditions are some of their worst enemies.

People are dying because water is scarce - two water pumps for about 5000 people. And one is usually broken.

There are no sewerage services, no maintenance of roads or houses, no refuse removal and no local health services.

Life expectancy is short and infants are dying.

Unemployment is high. Most workers in the village are farm workers or commuters working in Pretoria. These workers have to get up at 2.30 am to catch the bus. They return home at 10 at night. After high busfares there is little left of their low wages.

The farmworkers are mostly women and children. They earn R2 or R1.50 for working from sunrise to sunset. They only get paid after six months. So they have to buy on credit from the expensive farm shops owned by their bosses. By the time they get paid there is little left

of their wages.

They are fetched in open trucks. The Youth Congress is demanding that the farmworkers be transported in buses.

On some farms the workers live in converted garages, stables or even pig stys on the farms.

Workers get only one meal a day - pap served on the ground or on manure plastics, and black tea. There are no washing or toilet facilities for the workers. Workers come home after dark, only to face the problem of no water.

If workers get hurt or killed there is

no compensation. The farmer says he is not responsible, they are not registered.

Classrooms are overcrowded, with one unqualified teacher to 60 or more students in a class. Many children can't go to school because they can't afford the school fees.

Principals and school committees are accused of swindling school fees and other money. There is still corporal punishment, sexual harassment of female students and unfair expulsions. The Youth Congress is demanding an end to these things.

but still the government refused to heed warnings of bloodshed.

Moutse people reject incorporation.

November 24, 1985: Moutse youth meet at Chief Mathebe's kraal

November 28, 1985: Teachers and principals in Moutse told to sign forms transferring them to the KwaNdebele education department, or lose their jobs. They protest.

November 30, 1985: Report back on meeting with Heunis banned in Moutse 2. Meeting in Moutse 3 dispersed by police. After legal action, permission granted on condition that Heunis' message is reported without discussion or questions.

December 5, 1985: Heunis says those who don't want to be incorporated can move 'voluntarily' to Immerpan and Saliesloot in Lebowa.

December 15, 1985: Police disrupt rally of more than 2000 people in Moutse 3. Police and youth clash. Residents threaten to take their children out of school if incorporation goes ahead.

December 22, 1985: Over 5000 at a rally reject incorporation. Mpho Monageng shot dead, allegedly by police.

December 23 -29, 1985: Protest meetings in different villages resolve to boycott anything connected with KwaNdebele.

December 31, 1985: Youth and police clash in Keerom village. One policeman disarmed.

January 1, 1986: Armed KwaNdebele vigilantes attack Moutse villagers in a dawn raid. Seven vigilantes, two policemen and one villager are killed. Vigilantes kidnap, assault and torture about 300 villagers. Affidavits later say KwaNdebele Chief Minister Skhosana and Interior Minister Ntuli were involved. Many people flee to nearby hills. Two people die, more than 100 hospitalised.

Protest meetings in Keerom and Klopper. Two policemen are killed.

January 2, 1986: Keerom and Klopper villages under police and SADF siege.

January 3, 1986: Police fire teargas at funeral of Mpho Monageng, attended by 7000 mourners.

A Dennilton man is killed when police fire birdshot and tearsmoke to break up a meeting. 16 people arrested after petrol bomb thrown at police vehicle.

January 5, 1986: Seige ends. 89 arrested. 16 charged with the murder of two policemen.

January 6, 1986: Police fire at people stoning vehicle. One man killed, two wounded. Official death toll now 11, unofficial, 22.

January 9, 1986: Moutse teachers refuse transfer to KwaNdebele.

January 13, 1986: Students in many areas boycott classes. Heavy police presence continues. Villagers in Moutse district continue their general boycott of Kwandebele.

February 1986: Clashes with police and resistance to incorporation intensifies. Many Moutse youth on public violence charges.

'PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER'

LOUD AND CLEAR.....

The Resolutions from the National Consultative Conference on Education have been adopted countrywide



On Bantustan Education

This conference notes:

1. the imminent forced incorporation into the KwaNdebele bantustan of thousands of South Africans in the Moutse district against their will.
2. the fact that Moutse teachers are being forced to sign contracts with the KwaNdebele education authorities upon pain of dismissal or transfer from their schools.

Therefore:

1. condemn this forced incorporation and the victimisation of teachers in Moutse who oppose it.
2. resolve to struggle against bantustan education departments and to support teachers in their struggle against these agents of apartheid.

On Statutory School Committees

This conference notes:

that statutory parents' committees at schools are agents of the state and carry out the work of the oppressive, apartheid education system throughout South Africa.

Therefore resolves that:

1. Parents should not be members of statutory parents committees at schools.
2. Progressive parent-teacher-student structures be formed at all schools so that
 - a) parents, teachers and students can come to understand each other's demands and problems.
 - b) interaction can take place between different schools to develop the education struggle to higher levels.

On the Role of Teachers

This conference resolves that:

1. teachers should work actively with students towards the formation of democratically elected SRC's.
2. teachers should work closely with students and parents in dealing with the current education crisis.
3. teachers should become involved in community struggles and help set up PTA's in all schools.
4. education programmes for teachers

which bring out the history of progressive teacher's struggles, the role of teachers in the community and the role of teachers should be conducted.

5. teachers should work to unify all teachers in a single, progressive teachers body.
6. meetings of teachers should be called in all areas to give student and parent organisations an opportunity to address them on the education crisis.

On Detentions

We call for the immediate and unconditional release of all students, parents and teachers detained in their struggle for people's education in our land.

On school Fees

This conference notes:

1. that there is increasing retrenchment of workers, who are in turn the parents of our students.
2. that the oppressed people of our land bear the brunt of the economic crisis
3. that national resources should be geared towards the education of our people instead of towards the SADF occupying our townships.

Therefore resolves that: parents should refuse to pay school fees in 1986.

On Textbooks

This conference demands: the provision of free text books and other educational materials for our students in all schools.

On Student Organisation

This conference notes:

1. that the banning of Cosas is an attack by the state on student organisation, unity and mobilisation.
2. that the struggle for a unitary, non-racial, democratic education is an integral part of the struggle for a unitary, non-racial and democratic society, free of oppression and exploitation.
3. that the struggle for democratic SRC's is an essential part of the democratic struggle within the schools.

Therefore resolves: 1. to intensify the campaign to unban Cosas.

2. to implement democratically elected SRC's in all schools and tertiary institutions.

3. to forge close links between student, worker and community organisations and to co-ordinate action in these different areas.

4. to strive to establish regional and national co-ordination in the student struggle.

5. to strive to co-ordinate campaigns to publicise the legitimate, democratic demands of students.

6. to endeavour to take the struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa into every school and hence into every home.

7. to seek consciously to break down artificially created racial barriers.

8. to encourage the different student organisations to unite in action.

On the Formation of National Parents Crisis Committee

This conference notes:

1. the good work done by the SPCC and in particular the calling of this consultative conference.

Therefore resolves that:

three members of the SPCC together with one regional representative from each of the following areas: Natal, OFS, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Border, Transvaal, constitute themselves into an ad-hoc Committee to form a National Parents Crisis Committee that will liaise and work with local and regional organisations in the implementation of the decisions of this conference.

On People's Education 1

This conference notes that Apartheid education

1. is totally unacceptable to the oppressed people
2. divides people into classes and ethnic groups
3. is essentially a means of control to produce subservient, docile people
4. indoctrinates and domesticates
5. is intended to entrench Apartheid and Capitalism

Therefore we resolve to actively strive for people's education as the new form of education for all sections of our people, declaring that people's educa-

tion is education that:

1. enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the Apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial, democratic system.

2. eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis.

3. eliminates illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation of any person by another

4. equips and trains all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power in order to establish a non-racial democratic South Africa.

5. allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which enable them to enhance the struggle for people's power and to participate actively in the initiation and management of people's education in all its forms.

6. enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their work place.

On People's Education 2

This conference notes that the implementation of programmes to promote people's education is an urgent matter.

Believing that:

1. all student-teacher-parent and community based organisations must work vigorously and energetically to promote people's education
2. all programmes must enhance the organisation of all sections of our people wherever they may be
3. the programmes must encourage critical and creative thinking and working methods
4. the programmes must promote the correct values of democracy, non-racialism, collective work and active participation.

Hereby resolves:

1. that the recommendations of the commission on people's education be referred to the incoming committee for use as a guideline for the formulation of programmes to promote people's education at all levels.
2. that all local, regional and national structures mobilise the necessary human and material resources in the first instance from within the communities and regions and then from other sources.

On School Attendance in 86

This national consultative conference, having considered in detail the question of whether students of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa should return to school and if so, under what conditions.

1. commends the students and their organisations for the principled and courageous manner in which they have conducted the struggle against racist, inferior and ethnic education.
2. salutes the heroic sacrifices made by our students throughout the country.
3. acknowledges that the boycott campaign has resulted in fundamental political, organisational and educational gains in spite of many problems experienced by students, and that it has also helped to raise the level of consciousness and organisation of other sectors of the oppressed and exploited people.

Therefore resolves

1. to call on all students to return to school on the 28 January 1986 (throughout the country)

2. that unless the following demands are met before the end of March 1986, another conference shall be convened to consider what action to take:

- a. the erection of school buildings where such buildings have been partly or completely damaged
- b. the postponement of all examinations until March 1986
- c. the release of all students and teachers in detention
- d. the reinstatement of all dismissed, forcibly transferred or suspended teachers
- e. the withdrawal of the SADF and SAP from our townships and soldiers from our schools
- f. the unbanning of Cosas
- g. the recognition of democratically elected SRC's
- h. the lifting of the State of Emergency in all parts of the country.

3. to call on all relevant student, teacher and parent organisations to continue the struggle for

- a. the immediate abolition of corporal punishment in all schools
 - b. controls to prevent the sexual harassment of female students
 - c. the abolition of all forms of racist education
 - d. the implementation of people's education in our schools
4. to recommend to all democratic organisations to exhort students to return to the above conditions.

In the old days, the government did not mince its words about the role of Bantu education. In 1945 J.Le Roux, a Nationalist MP, said "We should not give the Natives any academic education. If we do, who is going to do the manual work in the community?"

In SA, a key aim of ideological control through the education system has been to get black students to accept the role of cheap labour, and white students to see themselves as the future leaders, the professionals and managers.

But today, although the politicians are trying to be more subtle about their racism and reform is the name of the game, little has changed in the education system. The ruling class is merely using more subtle ways to entrench inequality.

In 1976, the Soweto SRC said, "We shall reject the whole system of Bantu Education, whose aim is to reduce us to hewers of wood and drawers of water."

When the business sector hears statements like this, they start to panic over the government's failure to reassert control in education. They see a generation of students emerging who have drawn the link between racist education and control of the workforce, and who are not just opposed to racism, but blame capitalism for their domination as well.

Students are refusing to become subservient workers. In fact, they are fuelling militancy on the factory floor, where the demand is not merely for better wages, but for democratically-run factories within a democratic SA.

So the crisis of ideological control in education does not just threaten the legitimacy of the apartheid government; it threatens capital's interests too. Black students are not just challenging the structured inequality of apartheid, but the structural inequality of the capitalist system.

In the face of this, the state is trying to re-impose control. To succeed, it must at least seem to make some real changes.

The 1983 recommendations of the De Lange Commission on Education claimed to do just this, with big promises of new equality in the education system.

But instead of one equal system of education for all, the report calls for 'education of equal quality for all', which allows for separate education facilities and different syllabuses for different race groups.

So education is still supposedly 'separate but equal': administered within the tri-cameral parliament, with black education firmly under central government control.

Failing to adapt to economic needs

The breakdown of ideological control in the schools is a key part of the education crisis.

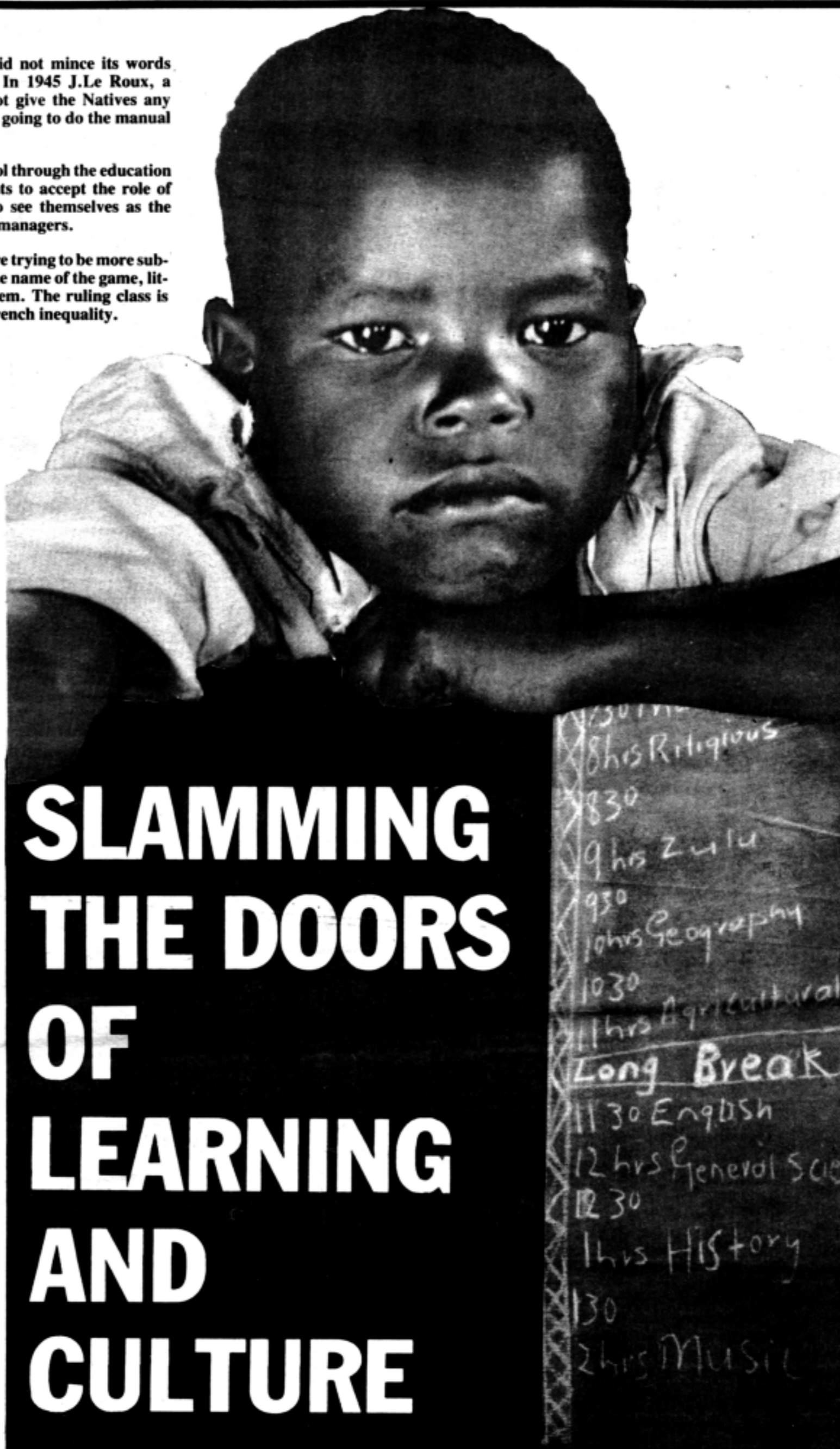
But the education system has also failed to adapt to the changing needs of the economy. It is not producing enough school-leavers who can read, write and do basic maths, let alone enough skilled matriculants to meet the changing needs of industry.

This is a disaster for many sectors of capital.

Over the last decade, workers have increasingly been replaced with machines, to increase productivity. Management hopes to make more profits by producing more goods, while retrenching more militant unskilled workers at the same time.

But profits depend on the goods being sold, and this is one of South African capitalism's big headaches.

Most South Africans can only afford to buy basic necessities, while internationally, SA goods aren't selling well either. Companies in other third world countries are producing the same goods more cheaply.



SLAMMING THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE

Education is a weapon of liberation

Education is a weapon to fight oppression and a tool to build liberation. But it is also a weapon and tool of control and domination.

Which interests it serves depends on what forces in society hold power - and on the struggles waged in the schools and lecture halls. As an SPCC motion said: "The schools are a battlefield. Let us return there and fight."

But whatever interests it serves, education is expected to play a certain role in society:

"Each society organises its system of education to pass on its experience and knowledge to new generations: to maintain and develop its economic and social structures, its values and culture. The way in which production is organised in a

society, the relations of production which characterise it, determines its social consciousness.

"It is in this area of social consciousness that the education system is to be found. In turn, the way in which a society educates its cadres conditions its own social and economic development." Mozambique Ministry of Education and Culture.

In this way, the education system is a form of insurance policy for the future in society.

How the needs of the society are defined, and which values are stressed, will reflect which forces hold power in that society. Children learn many of their ideas at home. But at school, the state controls the syllabus and therefore many of the ideas children are taught.

In South Africa, apartheid educa-

tion instils racist ideology in black and white children. It aims to legitimise colonialism and apartheid, and students are taught how resistance against domination has been crushed.

In this way black students are taught to accept society as it is, or at least to believe they cannot change it.

Denying people more than the most basic education is also a form of control. Without the right certificates, black school-leavers are forced into the factories, down the mines or into unemployment queues.

The denial of education is also an obstacle to liberation. "Until we have won the battle against ignorance, we will always be slaves to poverty and imperialism," said Samora Machel, launching a literacy campaign in Mozambique.

ing than here, and so management gets more for its money.

Business blames Bantu Education for the shortage of workers with

technical skills. Bantu Education continues to train students as unskilled labour, thus failing to adapt to the economy's changing needs.

At this stage, some sectors of capital have so little faith in the government's ability to solve the problem that they have taken matters into their own hands, as an insurance policy for the survival of capitalism in SA.

They have set up on-the-job training schemes, bursaries, and schools like Johannesburg's Pace College.

In 1983, one million people, (15% of the workforce), took part in on-the-job training schemes.

These schemes also try to teach what management believes are 'correct' attitudes towards work and management. In this way, the business sector is trying to fill the gap left by the breakdown of ideological control in the schools.

Capital invests as much as the government in this kind of training at present.

It has also poured millions into education in the bantustans, where three quarters of SA's black students attend school. In 1984, Anglo invested R10 million in primary school education in the Ciskei.

But business sector pressure on the government to deliver the goods in education continues.

Govt restructuring

The 1983 De Lange Commission looked at ways in which the government could restructure education. Its key proposals were:

- Nine years of compulsory education for all races, with the first six years free. The government will pay for some of this, but the rest will come from local community taxes.

- Academic education after the first six years of compulsory schooling will be partly paid for by the student, but technical education will be free. The state and capital will foot the bill.

- A National Technical Certificate will be introduced for those who leave school after nine years.

- Representatives of capital are to be drawn onto advisory boards at school and university level.

- At university level, government subsidies will be tied more directly to the amount of research done that benefits the state and capital.

- All course content in the universities is going to be standardised. This means increased state control on the content of education

- Applied science students will do an initial degree at technikon level before being admitted to university for more specialised education.

Although these proposals are presented in 'non-racial' terms, in practise they will reproduce the same racial division of labour.

If part of the cost of the first six years of compulsory schooling is contributed by the local community, clearly the most resources will be available to white schools.

If technical education is free but academic education is not, then the vast majority of black students will only be able to afford a technical education. Most white students can afford to pay for academic education.

The division between mental and manual work will be entrenched even more than before.

Once you enter the technical stream in Std Five, it is unlikely you will ever have the option of going to university and advancing your studies. Through hard work you can become a highly skilled worker rather than an unskilled one, but in broad terms your class position in the future is defined for you at Std 5.

The small minority of black students able to afford an academic education are likely to come from the black middle class, which PW and capital still hope to co-opt.

Although this restructuring of education is presented in 'non-racial' terms, students are unlikely to accept it. Because it slams the door of learning and culture firmly in their faces.



The call for recognition of democratic SRC's is more than a slogan. There's a parents' draft constitution drawn up, after extensive consultation with students, parents and teachers countrywide

1. NAME

The name shall be the Student Representative Council (hereafter referred to as the SRC) of the school.

2. POWERS AND PURPOSES

The SRC shall be established for the following purposes:

2.1 To act as representatives of their fellow students in all matters concerning their education, e.g. setting up library, study facilities.

2.2 To act as a channel of communication between students themselves, students and staff, and students and the Department.

2.3 To organise social, cultural and sporting activities for students and to form clubs and societies to achieve these ends. 2.4 To affiliate to any other organisation concerned with educational matters.

2.5 To represent students of the school on the Regional Students Council. The SRC shall have all the powers to do all such things as are in its view desirable or necessary to achieve its purposes.

3. STRUCTURE OF THE SRC

3.1 The SRC shall consist of x members elected annually. The number shall be decided by the individual school, provided a steering committee of three comprising of the principal, student and parent has initially been elected by the students to determine the various numbers and percentages in the constitution. Thereafter the steering committee shall disband.

3.2 The SRC shall at its first meeting after its election, which meeting shall not be later than fourteen days after the election, elect from its number the executive comprising of the following persons:

1. A chair person
2. A vice-chair person
3. A secretary
4. A treasurer

5. Two representatives to sit on the Regional Students Council. The chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer shall be members of the executive.

3.3 The SRC shall further elect from its own number, portfolio holders to fill any additional portfolios that may be laid down in the Standing Rules.

3.4 The SRC shall meet not less than once a month, save for the period November 15 to January 15, when the SRC shall only be required to meet once.

3.5 Quorum for any meeting of the SRC shall be 50% plus 1 member and any two office bearers should be present.

3.6 No member may be represented by proxy.

3.7 Decisions of the SRC shall be made by a simple majority. In the event of an equality of votes the chairman shall have a casting vote.

4. DUTIES OF THE SRC

4.1 The SRC shall have the power to make decisions on all matters set out in section 2 above, provided that no decision made by the SRC to affiliate to any other organisation, or make representation on any matter of educational policy to the school or to the department, on an issue that affects all students of the school, shall be valid unless ratified by a general meeting.

4.2 The SRC executive shall meet with the principal and/or the SRC Liaison Teacher not less than four times a year. At all such meetings a parent representative elected by the students shall have to be present.

Proposed Constitution for Student Representative Councils in Secondary schools under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education in South Africa.

4.3 Not less than one week prior to the meeting envisaged in terms of section 4.2, the SRC executive shall prepare a report on all matters it deems necessary to bring to the attention of the principal and staff of the school.

4.4 The SRC shall be required to keep minutes of all its meetings.

5. THE SRC EXECUTIVE

5.1 The executive shall meet at least once fortnightly, save during the period November 15 to January 15, when the executive shall be required to meet only twice.

5.2 The executive shall be responsible for the day-to-day running of the SRC in between meetings.

5.3 The executive shall keep minutes of its meetings, which minutes shall be presented at the following SRC meeting for ratification.

5.4 Quorum for an executive meeting shall be 50% plus 1.

5.5 No member of the executive shall be removed from his portfolio except by a two-thirds vote of either the SRC, or a general meeting.

5.6. GENERAL MEETING

6.1 The SRC shall call a general meeting at least once a term, for the purpose of reporting back to the students on its activities and to pass any resolutions on any matters set out in subsection 2.

6.2 The general meeting shall have the power to amend, vary or set aside any decision of the SRC.

6.3 The quorum for a general meeting shall be 33% of registered students at the school.

6.4 The number of students registered at the school on the 31 March shall be considered the number of students registered at the school for the purposes of 6.3 above.

7. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING The SRC shall be obliged to call a meeting for any of the purposes set out in paragraph 6 above, if it is presented with a petition calling for such a meeting signed by not less than 10% of the registered students. Such a meeting shall be called not more than 10 days after the presentation of such a petition to the secretary of the SRC.

8. ELECTION PROCEDURE

8.1 Any student may vote in an SRC election provided that he: 8.1.1 is in either Standard 7 or a higher grade OR

8.1.2 has been a registered student of a secondary school for at least one year prior to the date of election.

8.2 Any student eligible to vote for the SRC shall be eligible to be elected for SRC.

8.3 The Electoral Officer shall call for nominations for candidates for the SRC in the last week of August every year, or so soon thereafter as may be possible.

8.4 Each nomination shall be supported by the names of ten students who are eligible to vote, and

shall contain the full names, and class of the candidate. After seven days after the date on which he opened the nominations, the Electoral Officer shall close nominations, and if necessary arrange a date for the SRC election which date shall be not less than fourteen days after the close of the nominations.

8.5 If only x number of candidates or less have been nominated, then those persons shall be deemed to be elected. 8.6 Should less than x number of persons be nominated as candidates, the Electoral Officer shall call for an election in the manner prescribed.

8.8 The candidates shall be given an opportunity of addressing classes during school time, between the period after closing of nominations, and the date of the elections.

8.9 On election day, the Electoral Officer and the two scrutineers shall hand out numbered ballot forms for each class to each class teacher.

8.10 The teacher shall hand out the ballots to students in the class who shall in private, complete the ballot form, fold it, and place it in a special box for the purpose.

8.11 The Electoral Officer shall then collect all the boxes and open them in front of the two scrutineers and with the assistance of the two scrutineers count all the ballots for the purpose of determining who has been elected.

8.12 Each student shall be entitled to vote for a number of candidates.

8.13 The candidates obtaining the highest votes shall be deemed to be elected.

8.14 In the event of an equality of votes, the Electoral Officer shall call for a by-election.

9. ELECTORAL OFFICER

9.1 The Electoral Officer shall be appointed in August every year by the outgoing SRC from amongst the parents of students of the school, failing which a teacher of the school.

9.2 The Electoral Officer shall be assisted in his duties by two scrutineers, appointed by the SRC, one of whom shall be a member of the outgoing SRC who is not a candidate, the other of whom shall be a member of staff.

9.3 For the purposes of the first SRC election, the Electoral Officer shall be appointed by a general meeting of students convened by the principal. 10.

REGIONAL COUNCIL OF STUDENTS

The SRC shall be entitled to send two of its number to sit on the Regional Students Council, to represent students of the school. The two Regional Students Council representatives shall endeavour to keep both the SRC and the students informed of the decisions and activities of the Regional Students Council

11. STANDING RULES

11.1 There shall be Standing Rules of the SRC for the better administration of its affairs.

11.2 The Standing Rules shall be drawn up by the SRC in consultation with the principal and an elected parent.

11.3 Standing Rules may only be amended if passed by a resolution supported by two-thirds of the SRC and ratified by the principal and the elected parent.

11.4 In the event of any conflict arising between the interpretation of the Standing Rules and this constitution, the interpretation given to this constitution shall prevail.

12. FINANCE

12.1 The School Governing Council shall grant a budget from the school funds to the SRC annually, which budget shall be administered by the SRC with the assistance of the school's Administrative Officer.

12.2 The funds so granted shall be used by the SRC for the following purposes:

- 12.2.1 Attending to its own administration
 - 12.2.2 Financing a newsletter for students
 - 12.2.3 Financing the activities of its clubs and societies.
- 12.3 The SRC shall be entitled to raise its own funds which the SRC shall be free to utilize for any of the purposes set out in paragraph 2 above.

12.4 The administration of the SRC's finances shall be determined in the manner set out in the Standing Rules.

13. DISSOLUTION The SRC shall be dissolved when one, or more of the following events occurs:

13.1 Seventy-five percent (75%) of students at a general meeting vote for its dissolution.

13.2 The SRC has been guilty of serious misconduct and the principal convenes a general meeting of students to call for its dissolution, and such dissolution is approved by seventy-five (75%) of the registered students.

13.3 Whenever the SRC is dissolved by a general meeting, the general meeting shall appoint an Electoral Officer from amongst the parents at the school, for the purposes of organising new elections.

13.4 Should insufficient candidates stand for elections after an election held in terms of Section 13, then the Electoral Officer shall declare such elections null and void, and report the matter to the principal and elected parent.

13.5 In the event of an election being declared null and void in terms of section

13.4 above, it shall be within the sole discretion of the principal and the elected parent as to when to call for new elections for an SRC, provided that not more than 3 months shall go by without an election being called for by the principal.

14. DEFINITIONS Department shall mean the Department of Education and Training. School - shall mean the -Secondary School. Student - shall mean a registered student of the Secondary School. Principal - shall mean the principal of the Secondary School. Elected Parent - shall mean a parent elected annually by the students.

15. AMENDMENTS Proposals for amendments to the constitution shall be submitted to the SRC executive which shall cause it to be discussed by the Student Body and approved. The said proposals shall be referred to the Regional Councils which shall in turn approve of it and refer it to the National Council.



**THE NEW CONSTITUTION:
APARTHEID'S LAST STAND**



The slogan says it all... Jubilant UDF supporters attended birthday rallies in their thousands across South Africa

UDF - year of triumph and strength

IT WAS only ten months after its launch that UDF took on one of the toughest tasks a political organisation could face.

Up against a government that had been in power for 36 years, the young front had to challenge the legitimacy of the new constitution designed to split oppressed South Africans as never before.

Van power confronted UDF and its affiliate organisations — government, television and radio, and the wealth and resources of big business. But the UDF stood up to the challenge and the constitution was rejected nationwide.

Between this triumph and its launch on August 19 last year, the UDF has had a year of intense activity. The government's attempt to impose the constitution and Koozohof bills have been opposed at every stage.

In the process, it has scored major victories. First, the Coloured Management Committees and their self-out supporters were thoroughly discredited by a successful election boycott. Then the African townships rejected Koozohof's Local Authorities with a ten percent election poll.

And because UDF and others had mobilised public opinion against the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, the government decided to shelve it.

These are perhaps the UDF's most dramatic victories.

But, the real achievements lie in what was done to reach those heights. The UDF has managed to reach out, often to previously untouched areas and communities, and touch the imaginations of thousands of oppressed and exploited South Africans.

UDF has warned South Africans that the government will still plot to tighten the pass laws. Although it has withdrawn the Orderly Movement Bill, it has replaced this with the Alien Act and the Urbanisation Bill.

One of the first tasks of the new tricameral parliament will be to put these plans into effect. But if UDF's track record is anything to go by, there is a rough road in store for the government.

Through their year of intensive organisation, UDF and its affiliates are now ready for further challenges. They have mobilised enough support, generated enough understanding and built enough organisation to guarantee almost total rejection of these 'new reforms'.

Low township poll

AFTER passing the new constitution in parliament, the Botha government needed rubber-stamp approval from white voters. It set a referendum for November 2 in which whites were asked to vote 'yes' or 'no' to the new constitution.

In response, the UDF organised a 'people's weekend' for October 30 and 31. A series of rallies were held across the country for those who rejected the referendum.

About half of all whites voted for the constitution. A UDF statement at the time said: 'The white referendum is a calculated step to create a false sense of democratic decision-making. But every step that led to this referendum has been undemocratic.'

Also in November the UDF launched a campaign against town councils and local authorities in African townships. These replaced community councils which had long since been discredited.

The new councils would have to raise their own funds despite inheriting huge debts. They would take over much of



Albertina Sisulu, UDF president, salutes a year of united action

In one short year of united action, the UDF has proved a mighty force. SASPU NATIONAL looks some of the year's highlights...

apartheid's dirty work like checking passes and permits and carrying out shack demolitions.

Under the slogan 'A vote for the Council is a Vote For Apartheid', the UDF stressed the new councils would create greater hardship and suffering for urban Africans. Rents, service charges and maintenance costs would increase.

Civics affiliated to the UDF played a vital role in organising the massive boycott. Pamphlets were distributed. Civics went door-to-door explaining the implications of voting and the need to organise against the new councils. Mass meetings were held.

Election candidates made great promises, like Soweto mayor E.T. Tshabalala who said he would drop rents to 85 a month. But UDF and the civics made only one promise: that no candidate would be able to keep his promise.

Civics committed themselves to continue challenging the local authorities once they took office. They also provided a democratic alternative to government-imposed councils. 'We demand a full vote in the government of the whole country. Let us build our organisations, unite in the UDF and organise for a better South Africa,' they urged.

The response was overwhelming. The average poll was a mere 19 per cent of registered voters, but only 10 per cent of those who could have registered. Nine out of ten Africans rejected the councils.

The civics kept their promise — they continued to organise against the councils. The candidates broke theirs. Rents went up, not down. Maintenance costs went up, not down. And they continued the residents bus, not more. As the civics and the UDF had predicted, life became more difficult.

CMC's - an early victory

A MONTH after its launch, the UDF called for a boycott of Coloured Management Committee elections.

The UDF and its affiliates pointed out that high rents, increased bus fares and lack of electricity in many areas had never been solved by the committees. Things had, in fact, got worse.

The UDF also pointed out that only the strength of local organisations in each area could change the situation, not self-interested people taking part in government-created structures.

In the Cape Peninsula polls staged from a 1.8 percent vote to 11.8 percent. A huge majority of people rejected the Management Committees.

Signature Campaign

LAUNCHED ON January 31, the Million Signature Campaign (MSC) aimed to collect one million signatures rejecting the constitution and the Koozohof Bills, and demanding a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa. By August nearly half a million people had signed.

The MSC was a huge undertaking and was made even more difficult by extensive state harassment.

Cabinet ministers made statements against the MSC. Police claimed to have uncovered a 'plot' in which signatures collected by the UDF were passed on to the banned African National Congress to use for recruiting new members.

Signature collectors were harassed and arrested. In the Border Region, meetings and signature-collecting blitzes were almost impossible.

The MSC played an important part in popularising the UDF and its affiliate organisations. MSC volunteers went out to strangers from all walks of life, explaining what the UDF was and why the constitution and the Koozohof Bills should be rejected.

The government, the UDF alleges, spent thousands of signatures. If it were not for this and other harassment, UDF would already have reached its million signature mark.

Reaching the far corners

ONE OF the UDF's most remarkable achievements is its penetration into South Africa's vast and isolated rural areas. Early on, the UDF identified this as a major priority: to strengthen existing organisations in these areas, and to help create organisations where none existed.

In February the UDF supported the campaign against the removal of the Magopu community. In consultation with the leaders of this 30 year-old Western Transvaal community, it set about publicising this 'hidden' removal.

But, when attention had died down, Koozohof sent more than 30 trucks to force the community to move. Aerial allegations of brutality and assaults, the area was cleared.

The removal may have been carried out, but a blaze of publicity meant it

wasn't so easy and quiet in the government would have liked. Lesotho — another Transvaal community threatened with resettlement — has become a UDF stronghold, and for the present the government has had to back down there.

During the anti-election campaign, considerable anti-constitution activity took place in the rural areas. In the Northern Transvaal a huge 'World People's Rally' was held, attracting entire tribes.

New regional structures were set up in areas that were previously isolated from the main centres. The Northern Cape, with its active centre in the Kuruman-Vryburg-Kamberg district established a regional committee, as did the Orange Free State areas of Welkom, Parys and Bloemfontein and South-West Cape and Southern Cape.

Solidarity with Ciskei

ONE OF the most emotional moments at the UDF launch was when Steve Tshwete — later to become Border UDF president — stood up and told the crowd what was happening in Mdanase's bus boycott.

In two weeks 852 people were detained. 90 were shot dead, the South African Allied Workers Union (Sawu) was banned, and its leadership was driven underground.

The UDF, Sawu and eight other trade unions succeeded in generating massive protest and mobilised doctors, lawyers, community and resource organisations to assist in the area.

In support of Sawu the UDF said: 'We take a very serious view of the rights of workers to their unions and to defend themselves against exploitation. We join all unions in condemning the ban.'

Inkatha lashes out

THE RAPID growth of the UDF has not only been a headache for the government.

Inkatha, the KwaZulu-based 'cultural organisation' led by homelands chief, Ganda Buthelesi, has opposed the UDF since from its launch. This has often led to violence.

But, as the UDF pointed out in a pamphlet after Inkatha's unprovoked murder of five University of Natal students, this path is not a new one.

In May they attacked UDF supporters at an Empangeni mass meeting. 70-year



'UDF unites... Apartheid Divides' proved true in a year of united action

old UDF president, Archie Gumede, was knocked unconscious. Inkatha members have also been responsible for a number of deaths in Lamontville.

Buthelesi obviously realised he had gone too far, and attended a formal invitation to UDF to meet Inkatha members. But in the light of the deaths, rape attacks and verbal abuse from Buthelesi, the UDF refused the invitation.

On foreign affairs

WHEN PRIME Minister P W Botha announced he would visit Europe after signing the National Accord, the UDF appealed to host governments to reject him.

'For as it is strange to hear the Botha government talk of peace and change,' said UDF NEWS in March. 'They talk about change and yet the only change

together in January this year in Wigganville for a national youth conference.

The minister of defence, Magnus Malan, threatened to conscript coloured and Indian youth into the army once their parents had voted. The UDF resolved to oppose all attempts to draw people into apartheid's army.

Western Cape parents were encouraged not to allow their children to attend camps run by the South African Defence Force. Pamphlets explained the UDF's position. 'We do not bring our children to war but we will not defend a system that forces us to live in Mitchell's Plain, Atlantis and Khayelitsha in bad conditions; forces our children to go to gutter education schools; and that forces us to pay GST on everything we buy so that the government can spend all its money on the army.'

Opposing Khayelitsha

CAPE TOWN is already feeling the side-effects of the Koozohof Bills. The planned relocation of all Africans in the Cape Peninsula to the barren wasteland of Khayelitsha, 40 kilometres from Cape Town, is part of the plan to control the movement of Africans.

Van shacks are already being put up, and the relocations have started. Koozohof clearly hopes that, once all Africans are settled there, his government will have greater control over squatters, the entry of 'blacks', the movement of residents and their places of work.

But they will now have to contend with the Western Cape Civic Association, the UDF and the Crossroads, Nyanga, KTC and Langs residents.

Moving 250 000 people is not easy, particularly when they do not agree to it.

UDF under the whip

HARASSMENT of the UDF started before it was even launched. People travelling to Cape Town for the launch were stopped and detained. Anonymous pamphlets said the launch was cancelled.

Security policemen have intimidated and threatened people, particularly priests, who have given talks at venues for meetings.

UDF meetings have repeatedly been banned. The Border Region was forced to hold its launch outside the area for this reason.

The UDF president-elect, Albertina Sisulu was detained and kept in an awaiting-trial prisoner before she was elected. Some 20 UDF office bearers were put in 'preventative' detention just before the elections.

TV and radio attack, slander and undermine the UDF and its campaigns, while right-wing student organisations produce explosive pamphlets attacking it.

Numerous people popularising UDF and taking part in its programmes have been arrested, some for 'inciting assemblies', others under the Intimidation Act, and others simply for 'slandering'.

There have also been anonymous acts of violence. In Johannesburg alone there have been over 50 attacks on UDF supporters' homes, cars and property. In Cape Town, one day before the People's Weekend, a fire ripped through the offices of the UDF-affiliated United Women's Organisation.

In East London shacks have been fired into the home of a prominent UDF activist.

No to conscription

1982 SAW a large growth in the number of youth organisations around the country.

The national contact promoted by UDF brought over 30 youth groups