

SASPU NATIONAL

A South African Students Press Union Paper Volume 7 Number 3 June 86 Price 30c

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The spirit lives on



THE fighting in Crossroads squatter camp has left at least 42 dead, 3000 houses burnt to the ground, and 30-40 000 people homeless.

The conservative "witdoeke" from Old Crossroads have been on the rampage in Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement squatter camps. And they have done what the government has been trying to do for more than a decade — they have forcibly removed many of the people of Crossroads.

The Crossroads squatter community has long resisted removal. And for as long, the authorities have tried to break this resistance by dividing the community.

In 1978, Piet Koornhof earned his reputation as "Piet Promises" for all his attempts to get the people of Crossroads to move. Finally, he offered permanent status to the minority of

squatters with full urban rights, and a bus ticket back to the bantustans to the rest.

Since then, government strategies have been variations on the same divide and rule theme. And since then, Crossroads has grown into a much bigger problem — with Old Crossroads now flanked by Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement squatter areas.

As more and more people have settled there, some of the original residents have come to resent the newcomers, because they mean an added crush on space and resources. This has made some Old Crossroads residents easy prey for the government's strategies of co-option and favours for the few.

Last year the government announced that all the squatters — legal and illegal — would be moved to Khayelitsha. As the bulldozers arrived, battles with police erupted, leaving 18

Witdoekies — the



SAM NDIMA, Nxobongwana's lieutenant, seems to have made it no secret that the witdoeke get their guns from the authorities. In affidavits collected by the Repression Monitoring Group in Cape Town, and presented to the Supreme Court, it is alleged that on April 3, "Ndima told a meeting at Noxolo School that he had been given firearms by the station commander at Athlone, to use against the 'comrades'.

It is also alleged that the Development Board gave Ndima five .303 rifles, and gave permission for them to be used.

At a meeting on May 18, Ndima allegedly said he had been in touch with a police commandant, who had promised that 600 guns would be provided to the witdoeke.

But not only the witdoeke are armed. The 'comrades' are fighting back with AK 47's and Kasparov pistols. The sound of gunfire and

the rising smoke make the area resemble a war zone.

The fact that the 'comrades' are also armed is a little unnerving for the police. A UWCO activist believes this is part of the reason behind police support for the demolition attacks on Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement.

"These areas have become no-go zones for the police. The infrastructure of the area makes it difficult for Caspirs to move around here, and the police can't conduct house to house searches like they do in other areas. If they do this, the people would stone them and just disappear between the shacks, which are built very close together. The police also suspect that there are armed guerillas and snipers living here".

There are conflicting reports on what triggered off the violence at Crossroads, but a resident says that

for the thousands whose homes were burnt down, "it all started when the witdoeke came with Caspirs and Buffels behind them and started burning down our houses"

Houses were set alight with a blow torch, described by residents as a "machine that spits fire. People claim that as they battled with the witdoeke, police stood by.

Eyewitnesses claim the police only interfered if the 'comrades' were gaining the upper hand. At some points, the witdoeke took refuge behind Caspirs and Buffels, and were even seen being transported in them.

"Every time we formed groups to defend our lives and property, the police came in and dispersed us. At some points, the witdoeke were aided by white men in balaclavas", a youth activist claims.

The witdoeke were allowed to set up roadblocks in Crossroads, where

Nxobongwana — no friend of comrades

grew in strength. But when Nxobongwana was released from detention, he turned his back on these organisations.

According to Mxolisi, the president of the Old Crossroads branch of Cayco, "Nxobongwana worked closely with the police after he came out of detention. He tried to create conflict between the youth and the parents. He was angry because we formed Cayco. He said the youth have sold him out, but that the parents are still on his side."

Nxobongwana accepted the government's scheme to upgrade Old Crossroads, and he and his executive committee wrote a letter to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, offering themselves "as a link between us as a community, the Urban Foundation and your department".

Mxolisi says Nxobongwana lost credibility in Crossroads and started imposing his political control over the area by arming a group of vigilantes (witdoeke), under the control of his lieutenant Sam Ndima. The Witdoeke

were involved in several violent clashes with the members of democratic organisations, known as the 'comrades', from December 1985 to April this year, when 7 of them were killed.

In April, several meetings were held between the leaders of the different squatter camps to discuss peace. At one such meeting, it is alleged in affidavits collected by the Repression Monitoring Group that Sam Ndima told Melford Yamile, Alfred Siphika and Christopher Toise, (the leaders from Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement) that their camps would be burnt down and destroyed.

He threatened to drive all the 'comrades' out of the townships, and allegedly said that he had the backing of the police, who had given him 600 guns to do this.

THE LEADER of the witdoeke is Johnson Nxobongwana — a man with a long history in the feuds in Crossroads. Nxobongwana is described by the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) as "a sellout in his community".

Nxobongwana has long described himself as the only legitimate leader in Crossroads. But in the "election" which made him chair of the Old Crossroads committee, people had to pay R5 to vote. And he regularly asks for money from residents in return for promises of protection.

In January 1985, Nxobongwana and others were detained because of a campaign against rent increases. While Nxobongwana was in detention, a Cayco branch was formed in Old Crossroads. Other UDF affiliates like the United Women's Congress (UWCO), and the Western Cape Civic Association also

tell a different story.

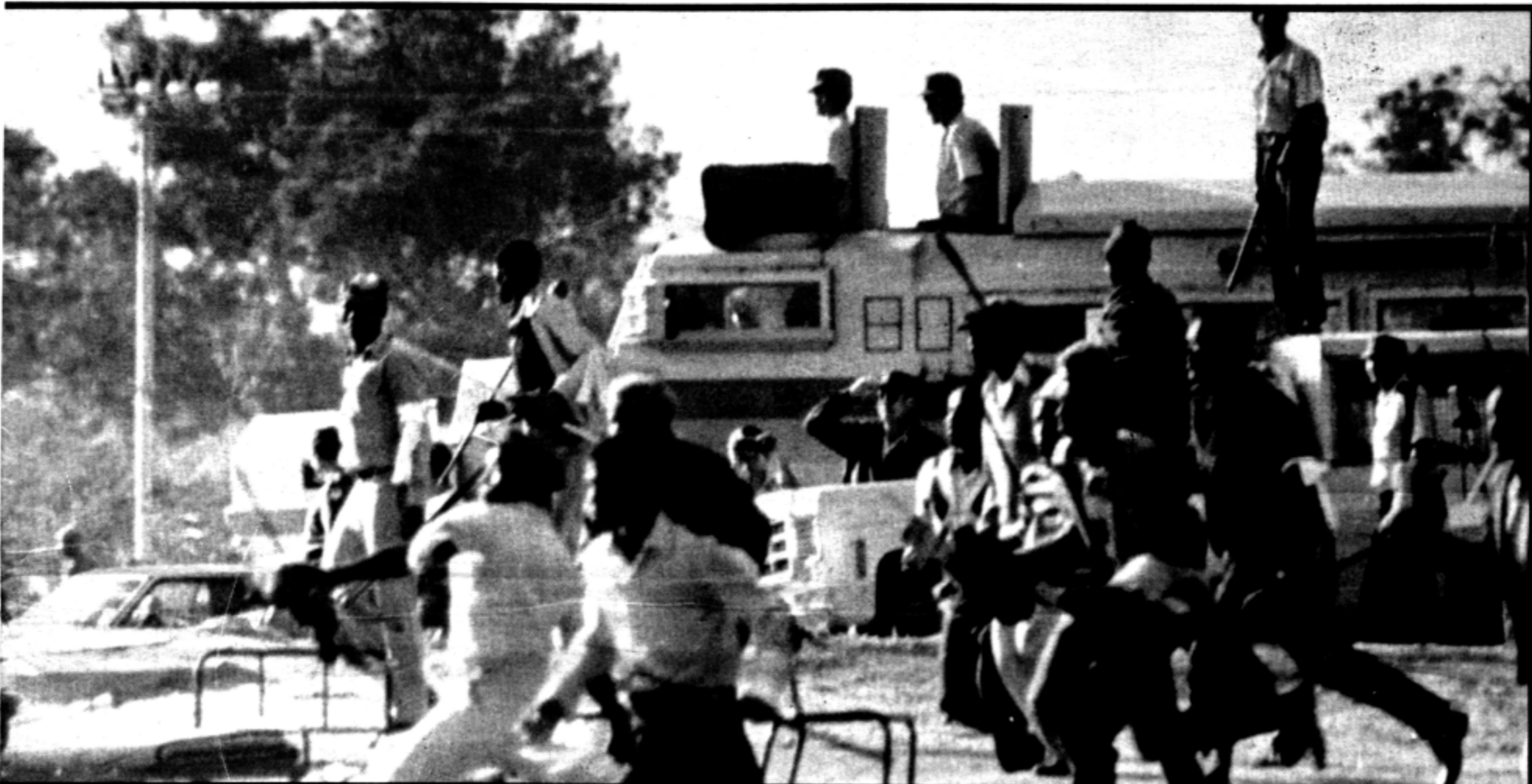
residents dead. In the face of this resistance, the bulldozers withdrew, the state dropped its immediate plans to force people to Khayelitsha, and announced a new plan to upgrade Old Crossroads — but not the other three squatter sections, whose fate was uncertain.

Especially once it was clear that the area was too densely populated to upgrade as planned.

Now it seems the witdoeke have provided the solution to the state's problem. Old Crossroads is the only section they have left standing, the other sections are burnt to the ground. And the authorities have avoided the bad publicity a forced removal would have caused. They can claim to have kept their hands clean. But the homeless people of Crossroads tell a different story.



new Crossroads bulldozers



they conducted searches of all people and vehicles coming in or out. They also prevented the press from entering the Crossroads war zone.

The Cayco chair says, "There are still youth activists and 'comrades' trapped and hiding in Old Crossroads, while the witdoeke try to hunt them down."

At present, thousands of refugees are staying at the Zwolani Centre in Nyanga and other church halls in the townships. Since Tuesday 20 May, the police went around to these halls almost every day and told people that they must move to Khayelitsha.

But people refuse to go there. They say they would not be safe there, as it is also under the control of the witdoeke; the rent in Khayelitsha is R20 higher than in Crossroads; and it is so far out, transport costs are crippling.

On May 20, the women of Crossroads were planning to march to parliament, but police stopped them. A delegation was sent, to ask the government to withdraw the police from Crossroads because "they are helping the witdoeke".

Chris Heunis told the delegation that they would never be allowed to return to live in the area where their shacks had been, and that they will be accommodated in Khayelitsha.

Police have sealed off the whole area with barbed wire.



From left: Crossroads residents flee from witdoeke.

●The aftermath: SAP keep watch over final demolition.

●Affidavits to the Supreme Court allege alliance between Witdoeke and police

●The fighting has left 42 dead and 30 000 homeless.

'We will rebuild'

Many refugees say they are determined to rebuild their shacks. On Sunday 25 at a UDF meeting attended by 2000 in Mitchells Plain, it was resolved that the people from other areas would go and help rebuild the houses at Crossroads.

At UWC students boycotted classes for three days, to "go into our communities to explain to our people what is happening at Crossroads and to collect donations for the refugees."

Leslie Maasdorp, UWC SRC president said: "It is important that our democratic organisations help our 'comrades' in Crossroads. We have seen various charity and liberal organisations moving in and trying to make capital out of the situation. We do not see the relief we are organising as charity, but as an expression of our solidarity with the people of Crossroads".

UCT and Stellenbosch students also assisted in explaining the events and collecting aid for refugees.

In Athlone, 22 organisations have come together to form the Crossroads relief Committee of Athlone.

The committee says "we strongly condemn the police and military actions in Crossroads. We see the combined action of the police and the witdoeke as an attempt to smash democratic organisations of the people at Crossroads, and to forcefully move the people to Khayelitsha — an attempt which the people have successfully resisted for many years"

KTC wins interdict

Now it seems KTC may be the next target. But KTC residents have won an urgent interdict restraining the security forces and witdoeke from attacking their camp,

after claims of threats from security force members which added to belief in their involvement in this new kind of forced removal.

In affidavits put before the Supreme court, a 17 year old KTC girl says that a soldier threatened that

her house would be burnt unless she moved to Khayelitsha.

Patricia Mabuda, of KTC, alleges that a soldier with 10 to 15 others armed with rifles, told her that the army would return to burn down the whole camp if the residents did not move to Khayelitsha.

Three other witnesses support this affidavit.

Mlamleli Nkundla says that 20 white policeman told a 16 year old boy that that his mother must pack all their things and go to Khayelitsha, because KTC was going to be burned down.

Organising against "traitors"

IT IS IRONIC that in the area where the lowest percentage poll (2 percent) was recorded during the 1984 Tricameral elections, the government is now trying to force the rejected puppet MP's on the area by building their houses there.

In February 1986, organisations in the Walmer Estate and Bo-Kaap formed OUT Organisations United Against Traitors to "show our opposition to the building of the houses and to stop these traitors from moving into our area.

"If we allow them to build these houses Marsden Road residents face eviction; schools in the area will be closed; our only sportsfield, 'The Greens' will be taken away from us; police barracks will be built in our area."

OUT has called on all residents to reject the MP's, "As we did in 1984," and called for action to prevent the houses from being built.

In April, students from several schools in the area staged a protest on the land, and succeeded in driving the bulldozers away.

About 200 residents successfully marched in protest the next Saturday, but were stopped by police, who confiscated placards and ordered them to disperse.

On the Sunday residents gathered on the site with spades, plants and swings to build "A much needed people's park".

"We built a volleyball court and started playing," said the OUT spokesperson, "but we were viciously stopped by police, armed with teargas, batons and guns. They declared our volleyball game an illegal gathering."

The organisation is collecting signatures from residents to show how strongly they condemn the action.

It has also organised a 'lights out' campaign every Wednesday evening. This has been a big success in the first few weeks, especially in Walmer Estate, where the response has been 100 percent.

Long list of grievances spark Duduza boycotts

DUDUZA residents on the East Rand have launched a bus and consumer boycott and are threatening a rent boycott if their demands are not met.

The demands behind the boycotts are:

*A proper sewerage system and electricity in the township.

*Decreased busfares.

*The withdrawal of charges against students allegedly involved in hand grenade blasts last year.

*The withdrawal of troops from the township.

*Proper houses for shackdwellers.

The boycotts came after the detention of six Duduza Civic Association (Duca) leaders and the demolition of shacks in the township by hippos.

Many of the Duca leaders spent more than six months in detention under State of Emergency regulations until February this year.

Earlier a mass meeting resolved to

resist Development Board attempts to pull down backyard shacks in the township. Residents demanded that shackdwellers be given proper houses.

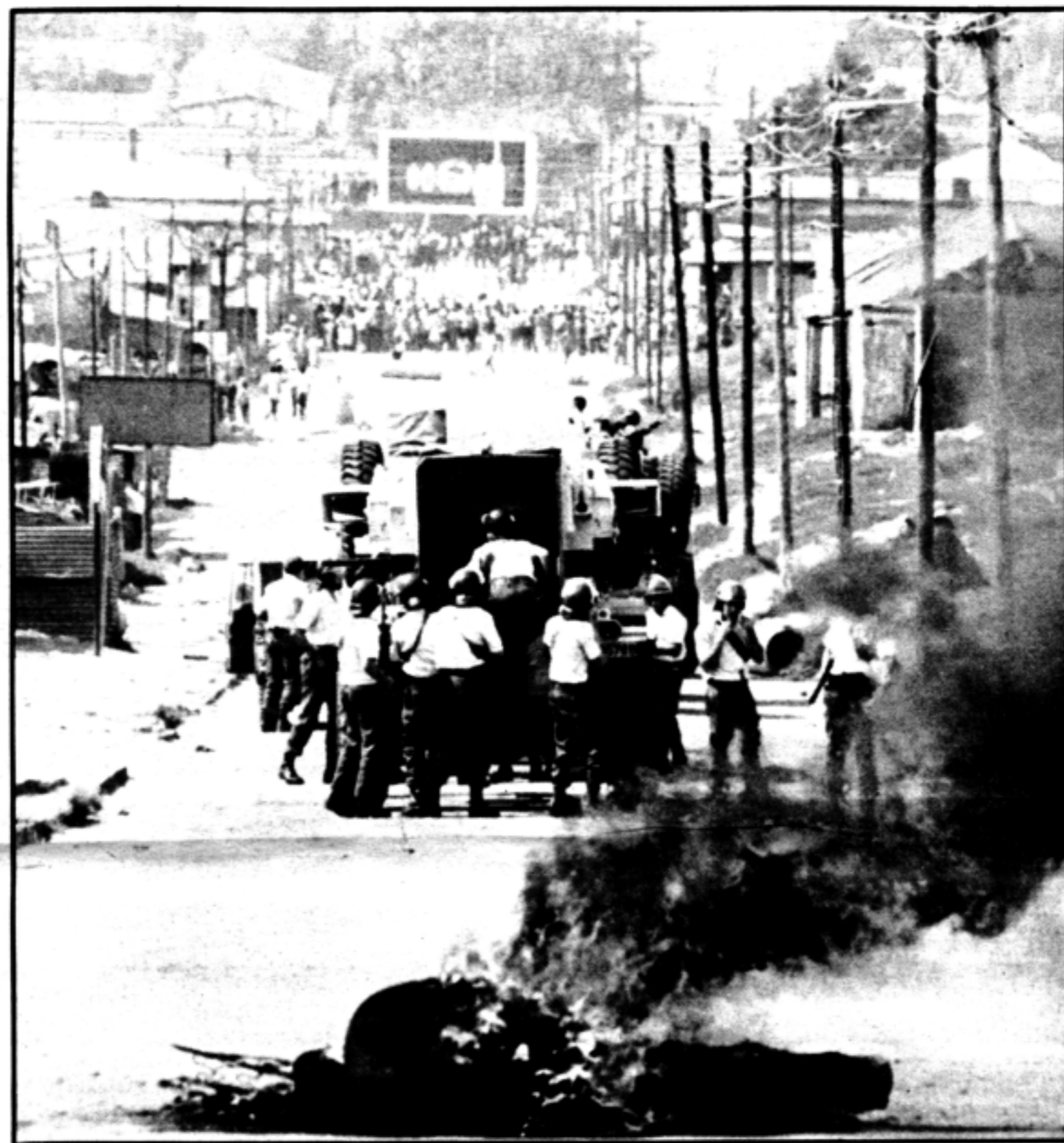
The meeting also demanded a proper sewerage system be introduced by the end of May. They said they would boycott rents if this was not done. At present Duduza still has the hated bucket system.

This has long been a burning issue in the township. It was one of the

grievances that sparked off uprisings there last year.

Duca had written to the Development Board saying the people would move out of backyard shacks once houses had been built for them.

They got no response until hippos came into the township and started demolishing the shacks. Youth and other residents trying to prevent the demolitions were teargassed. Shackdwellers were left homeless.



Troops in the townships and villages are increasing as June 16 approaches

Kwamashu will defend itself

SINCE 20 May, when seven Inkatha members were killed in clashes with students, Kwamashu residents have feared retribution is coming. But they are ready to defend themselves.

The township has been divided into sections, and about 3000 people patrol the township each night.

Residents say when the vigilantes are going to attack, the electricity in Kwamashu is turned off.

The residents support the nightly patrols; parents allow their children to participate, and women have been encouraged to help defend the township.

The night patrols use the schools as their base, and volunteers are also drawn into political discussions and organisations.

A pamphlet praising Inkatha and listing certain activists as "troublemakers" was distributed, and recently four people were killed by the amabutho.

But residents say the only amabutho in the township are those protecting the councillors houses, and they are brought in from the squatter settlements of Lindelane and Nhlungwane.

Ecasco says "Join Neusa"

EASTERN Cape students are calling on their teachers to resign from Atasa and join the progressive teachers' organisation Neusa.

This follows a resolution taken at a regional education crisis meeting in the Eastern Cape in May.

At one PE school students set a deadline and told teachers they wouldn't be allowed into classes without Neusa membership cards. Now all teachers there are Neusa members.

Throughout the Eastern Cape students will be using one day a week to teach and learn People's Education.

They plan to observe National Youth Day, June 16, with awareness programmes, and a week long focus from 10 15 June. On June 16 students, parents and workers will declare Cosas unbanned. People will show their defiance of the ban by wearing Cosas t-shirts.

The Eastern Cape Students Congress (Ecasco) now has 49 branches. Ecasco leaders said SRC's were established. They emphasised the importance of politicising students. This has been done through the Ecasco council and workshops.

A major task was still to set up Parent-teacher-student Associations (PTSA's) and to organise teachers. The DET has been refus-

ing to recognise or meet with PTSA's saying they want to take over the schools.

Groundwork is being laid for the Education Charter Campaign and subcommittees have been set up.

The DET closed down a Fort Beaufort school for the third time this year after student protests there.

Schools in the region have also resolved to write final exams in March next year. This was because of late tuition, lack of textbooks and inadequate stationary.

Worst violence ever at Wits

"THE WORST violence in campus history", said newspaper headlines after a day of battles between Wits students and police in the midst of white Johannesburg.

Some white bystanders screamed "leave them alone" as police laid into students with dogs and sjamboks. But two jumped out of their cars with guns pointed at the protesting students.

"Today we have shown the people of Johannesburg the brutality with which the majority of us live our daily lives", an Azaso spokesperson said. Not only Johannesburg saw it the TV footage was sold to over 100 countries around the world.

Conflict at Wits began on Thursday. Students came out of a mass meeting protesting at the presence of troops in the townships to find

the right wing had set up a big display for Republic Day.

Within minutes of a confrontation developing 150 riot police invaded the campus and arrested a BSS member.

On Friday over 2000 students decided to march in groups to Hillbrow police station to demand his release. The first group was led by Dali Mpofo, BSS president, and Claire Wright, SRC president and Nusas executive member. They got a kilometre before they were confronted by police. Forty eight, among them staff members, were arrested.

The second group did not get as far before police laid into them, and many were injured. A bystander was overheard saying, "This is just like Nazi Germany".

Battles with the police continued on campus until after dark.

On Saturday, an Education Charter Campaign rally was ordered to disperse with 10 casspirs on campus to back up the order.

SADF raids N Tvl colleges

SEVEN teachers training colleges in the Northern Transvaal Lebowa bantustan have closed down following an SADF raid and occupation of Ngoako Ramalepe College in Duiwelskloof.

Ramalepe, Setotoloane, Mokopane, Kwena Moloto, Sekhunekhune Teachers Training,

CN Phatudi and Mamogalakhe Cheune colleges are shut.

The Interim College Coordinating Committee, formed earlier this year, demanded an end to raids and demanded that security police return all documents confiscated from the Ramalepe SRC offices.

College students demands are: *Troops must get out of the townships and villages. *The SADF must get out of Ngoako Ramalepe College. *Transferred lecturers must be reinstated. *Cosas must be unbanned. *Food at the colleges must be improved. Students are dissatisfied with food served by the Lebowa catering management committee.

A recent meeting of teachers from areas throughout the Northern Transvaal formed an interim committee to look into forming Neusa branches in the region.

Stofile and students back

REV ARNOLD STOFILE is back in his office and the students are back at lecturers at Fort Hare University.

This follows a long battle to get Rev Stofile reinstated after the university accepted a letter of resignation delivered by a Ciskei security policeman.

Students went on boycott and the university council responded by closing the university.

Students say that Rev Stofile obvi-

ously resigned under duress he never planned to leave the university, and it is surprising that the Fort Hare administration accepted his resignation after his long record of good service.

"Lamprecht and the Council of the University of Fort Hare have once again fallen short of the standard expected of them, in failing to resolve the issues at Fort Hare, resorting to close the university," the Azaso national exec commented at the time.

Students' demands were: The immediate and unconditional re-opening of the university; the right to elect a democratic SRC; the unconditional readmission of all students; the lifting of the curfew between 19h00 and 6h00.

Students were represented by the Ad Hoc Committee of Fort Hare, elected earlier this year.

Buffalo Flats organises civic

A DEMOCRATIC civic was launched in East London coloured areas recently.

It was formed by residents from Parkside, Buffalo Flats, Charles Lloyd, Dunga and Vergenoeg who are opposed to the Coloured Management Committee.

Near the end of April residents halted a meeting called by the pro-government Buffalo Flats Tenants Association.

Paid to kill says vigilante

ALL THE electricity in Thokoza was turned off just hours before eight activists houses were petrol bombed and attacked by vigilantes.

But the flames that engulfed the room where Satch Chawe usually sleeps lit up the face of one of the vigilantes and to his horror he realised he knew the man.

The next morning, Chawe went to find the vigilante who helped burn his sister-in-law to death.

UDF slams Lady MacBeths

THE UDF in the Eastern Cape was shocked to discover that there are people in the community who are using hired assassins to settle family disputes.

One woman offered two New Brighton men R505 to kill her husband.

"This is like something from Shakespeares's Macbeth", said Edgar Ngoyi, UDF E.Cape president. "We do not want Lady Macbeths in our society."

Ngoyi said the woman in this case even had the nerve to buy the men a new axe.

He called on people to follow the example of two men who came forward at a funeral to expose this issue.

Pressure to pay in Vaal

VAAL residents have been picked up and given 30 day jail terms for contempt of court even though they allege they have never been summonsed to appear.

This is the latest move by the Orange Vaal Development Board, which is still trying to break the 22 month long Vaal rent boycott.

Residents at a meeting in Sebokeng, decided to march to Houtkop police station. "They must release our fellow residents or they must arrest us all. It is not only them who are not paying, it is all of us," said a speaker.

The marchers were dispersed before they got to the police sta-

tion, but those arrested were released the next day. In their place, the police detained a Vaal Civic Association executive member.

When he found him, Abraham Zwane confessed that he was promised R500 by the police for doing the job.

And they told him "Botha will be happy" if Chawe was killed.

And he was paid R120 two months ago for an attack in which a three month old baby was killed.

The 19 year old vigilante told the full story of his recruitment to a packed UDF press conference later that day.

He was recruited after he had been caught with dagga.

On the night of the attacks, he claims the vigilantes were accompanied by security police.

A representative of the SAP said, "The police do not kill people, noR do they pay people to kill people. We are here to restore law and order."

The man who recruited Zwane told him that if he ever exposed the attacks, he wouldn't live until the next day.

"Attacks like these are forcing people to think of defending themselves", said Frank Chikane after the vigilante told his story.

"The Botha government is trying to force us into submission by killing people, and they have only themselves to blame if SA ends up with a people's war," he said.

"Interfering with peaceful marches makes people consider other methods", said a VCA spokesperson.

Meanwhile, the OVDB keeps trying to break the rent boycott. But selective evictions, turning off water and electricity, confiscating of furniture and in some cases even door and window frames, have all failed to get their missing millions paid in.

and non-racial South Africa. The congress is involved in upgrading their community and they are embarking on several community projects:

- *around civic issues such as high rents, poor housing and unemployment.
- *to form co-operatives for the unemployed.
- *running the local health clinic with the assistance of medical and pharmaceutical students from Wits and working on a preventative health scheme for the community.
- *developing an after-school centre, a joint project with the Open School. Here children in the 10-14 year age group are engaged in a variety of cultural activities to instill self-discipline, for example Kung-Fu, Modern dancing, drama and art.

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Rapist released – women stayaway

WOMEN IN Port Alfred recently mounted a week-long stayaway after police released a man accused of raping an elderly township woman.

While men workers went to work as usual, domestic workers and other women stayed home they said they did not feel safe as long as the rapist was loose.

The stayaway was also a protest against the detention of several



A youth, prepared for teargas with a hospital mask, joins others running past a casspir with coffins. Eight Alexander youth were buried while the police kept close watch.

"Dont ever come back" says Turf after raid

THE UNIVERSITY of the North (Turfloop) SRC has condemned a recent police and army raid on the campus.

An SRC statement said raids could never be a solution. "The army, SAP, Lebowa and security police should stay out lest we tell them how we honestly hate and detest them".

The statement also said the kidnapping of students from campus and the presence of spies could not be tolerated. It called for the release of detained students 'before the consequences of their detention become too ghastly to contemplate'.

On May 20 security forces broke gates and forced their way onto campus with casspirs, vans and private cars. Students were chased and sjambokked.

Soldiers and police surrounded the Student Centre while security police raided the SRC offices in the centre. Office doors were broken and documents confiscated. One SRC member trapped in his office was seen to be thoroughly beaten and then detained.

The SRC condemned SABC TV reports that documents seized reflected a clear cut relationship between the SRC, UDF and the ANC. "All posters and documents in our offices are legal and part of the media as used by the struggling masses of SA, such as the poster 'UDF says unban the ANC'".

The SRC had earlier condemned the SABC and the Sunday Times newspaper for their reports on events at the university.

SABC claims that students burnt down the Agricultural Block at the university were rejected. "Agents of the system carried out this barbaric act as part of a well calculated campaign to get an excuse for the police to come onto campus".

The SRC said a Sunday Times report that the UDF had taken over SRC offices was part of the campaign for police to raid the campus. The UDF and the SRC rejected the claim as a 'blatant and naked lie'.

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They said the meeting was unrepresentative and elected a steering committee to work towards the forming a democratic civic body.

A meeting to launch the new civic at the end of May was attended by hundreds of people from different areas.

One of the civic's first tasks is to develop structures and set up branches. These will be able to start taking up some of the burning issues in the community such as high rents and housing allocation.

Riverlea Youth get together

THE MASS political struggle in our country in the recent past has been characterized by the vital role of the youth and students in liberation organizations.

This was said by the Riverlea Youth Congress (Ryco).

Ryco was formed in 1984 by students who were actively involved in the school uprisings against the Tri-Cameral elections. The state's response was detentions and tear-gas, but the brutality has produced the opposite of what it intended, says Ryco.

Far from deterring the young people, it had actually fanned the fires of defiance in the struggle for the great ideal of a free, democratic

women community activists 'why should the rapist be set free while our 'comrades' are still inside?' they asked.

Kolekha Nkwinti, speaking for the Port Alfred Women's Organisation, said the women believed the man had attacked women before, and had several convictions.

Meyco says It's war

VIGILANTES from Mawa and Wally in the Bolobedu district near Duiwelskloof vigilantes are waging war against the Meragoma Youth Congress (Meyco).

Meyco said the vigilantes prevented students from going to school, wouldn't let food into villages, and killed Meyco organiser Reggy. Youth on their way to the night vigil were stopped by police firing birdshot. When thousands arrived to bury Reggy at Mawa, he had already been buried.

Police allegedly shot at the mourners while vigilantes started attacking with assegais, swords, kierie and different kinds of man killer weapons.

More than 40 youths were arrested, brought before the Mawa chief of vigilantes and paraded at a Lebowa People's Party celebration attended by Lebowa ministers. They were held at Kgapane police station where they were allegedly

beaten, had water poured on them every night for four days, were refused visits, clean clothes, food and blankets or medical attention.

They were later charged with public violence and granted R50 bail each after being threatened.

"Subversion in Border" – police

POLICE are reported to be investigating charges of subversion against the UDF, Cosatu and some of their representatives.

Senior security policemen recently served a subpoena on the editor of an East London newspaper. He and another reporter were ordered to make a statement about people issuing a UDF-Cosatu press statement on the May Day stayaway.

Concern over June 16 ban

THE UNITED Democratic Front has expressed deep concern about the effects of the banning of meetings to commemorate the June 16 student uprisings.

At a press conference called by the UDF to call for the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe predicted 'confrontation between the masses who

have grown to observe June 16 as an authentic day of commemoration in South Africa's history of resistance'.

He said commemoration plans still stood. The UDF was challenging the banning through a court order and the matter was presently in the hands of the lawyers, said Morobe.

June 16 has been declared National Youth Day. Among those who have backed the call for a stayaway on the day are South Africa's most powerful political forces the ANC, the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC).

Pastoors gets ten years

HELEN PASTOORS has been sentenced to ten years imprisonment after being found guilty of treason in May. She was found not guilty of terrorism.

She appeared in court wearing the black, green and gold colours of the African National Congress.

On the day judgement was passed, people in the packed court broke spontaneously into freedom songs, once after judgement and again after she spoke in mitigation.

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Uwusa's plans go sour

WORKERS AT Congella's Clover plant downed tools recently in protest over the actions of two Uwusa members who tried to recruit members for the new Inkatha union.

The Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union (SFAWU) has majority support at the plant.

Ernest Ngema, a Security Officer at the plant, says he is a 'canvasser' for the new union. On May 20 he started canvassing for Uwusa and persuaded six co-workers to join.

SFAWU members then demanded to see their list of recruits, accusing them of being 'sell-outs'.

When Ngema arrived at the factory the next day, the workers downed tools. He and two other Uwusa members were escorted to the gate and evicted by the crowd.

Now the two Uwusa canvassers have been granted a Supreme Court order restraining four co-workers who have threatened to take action against the Uwusa members.

Num gets set for wage talks

THE NATIONAL Union of Mineworkers (Num), which claims 300 000 signed up members, is gearing up for the annual wage battle with the Chamber of Mines. It has threatened to close the country's gold and coal mines if no settlement has reached.

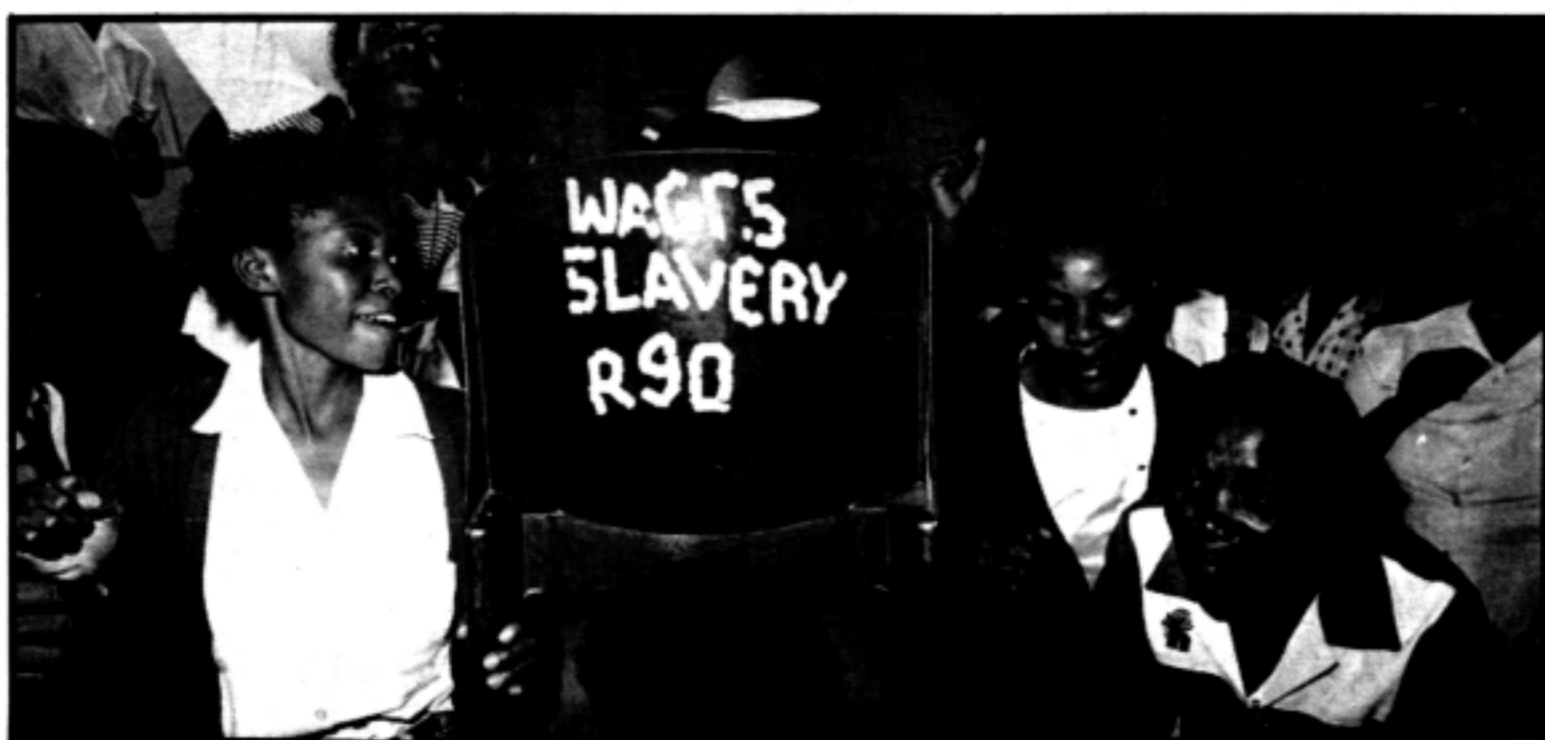
The massive union is demanding a 45 percent across-the-board increase as well as job security, a shorter working fortnight, May Day as a paid holiday, and a better deal on leave, vacation pay, death benefits, and maternity leave.

Num says mineworkers are determined to win wage increases which compensate for the dangerous work they do.

New deal fashioned at foschini

FOSCHINI MANAGEMENT has been forced to back down after a six week strike, a sit-in, pickets, demonstrations and a Cosatu-backed boycott of Foschini and related stores, workers succeeded in getting management to negotiate.

In a major victory for the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Cawusa), all workers



Striking Pick 'n Pay workers demand a R90 a month increase.

Paying the price for discount wages

THE STRIKE by 5 500 Pick 'n Pay workers at 45 stores nationally cost the company a lot more than the R7 million lost during the seven day dispute.

Pick 'n Pay chairperson, Raymond Ackerman, prided himself on the company's 'liberal' image, and the fact that the company pays higher wages than most other retailers. The company's hardline approach to the negotiations, and Ackerman's accusations that Cawusa was 'trying to promote a situation of un-governability', have shattered that liberal image.

dismissed during the strike have been re-instated, and management has agreed to pay retrenched workers severance pay of R575 for every year worked at the company.

Foschini has also guaranteed that the retrenched workers will be the first to be hired when there are vacancies.

Over 500 Foschini workers in the Transvaal, Natal, Border and the Eastern Cape came out on strike after management retrenched 301

workers mostly from Pages. Management refused to discuss alternative strategies like job sharing and short-time, and refused to use the usual negotiating machinery.

With Cosatu's backing, Cawusa mounted a boycott of Foschini, Markhams, Pages and American Swiss, and in Isando, about 100 workers occupied the group's warehouse, and were only shifted after a court ordered them out.

The workers say Foschini must introduce short-time or reduced hours rather than retrench 'the burden must be shared: profits made during the boom must be used for the benefit of all.'

"The demand for job-sharing will remain an ongoing campaign", says Cawusa's Kaiser Thabedi.

Workers see the company as the wealthiest retailer in the country, yet even with the latest 19,6 percent increase - bringing the minimum wage to R388 per month Pick 'n Pay's wages are barely enough to support a family.

The strike was the most widespread action ever to hit the retail trade, and was the largest sleep-in ever organised in SA.

"It was highly co-ordinated, with union members and shopstewards countrywide acting in unison", said a Cawusa spokesperson. "This

reflects the level of development of shop steward structures within Pick 'n Pay."

Cawusa membership at Pick 'n Pay has soared.

More than 13 000 Pick 'n Pay workers will now get an R85 a month increase, backdated to March 1.

"We view this as a first step towards a living wage", the Cawusa spokesperson said. "We would like to think that retail managements will now take us more seriously, and pay more attention to workers' demands."

Organising street by street

PEDWU the Port Elizabeth Domestic Workers' Union is taking street committees into the white suburbs.

"Say there are five domestic workers in a street", said a Pedwu spokesperson. "You go to each one of them and organise them. Then we tell them to organise others." Once a number of domestic workers in a street are organised, they form a street committee. Then they move on to the next street until there are enough street committees in a suburb to form a branch.

Pedwu was formed in February this year after a national meeting of domestic workers organisations. Organising domestic workers is not easy though it involves house to house work, and after hours is usually the only time domestic workers can discuss their problems.

Many have sleep-in jobs, which keeps them isolated from what's going on in their communities.

"Some say, 'I have been with my employer for many years, she loves me'. But we explain don't take the madam and the master as your family, they only want your work. When you are old and sick or if you have an accident they won't want you."

Through working closely with the UDF and the PE Women's Organisation (Pewu), Pedwu is determined to win basic rights for domestic workers like a minimum monthly wage of R150 to R200, a transport allowance, better leave conditions, and at least a month's notice from employers.

New unity on the home front

OCTOBER WILL see the merger of five domestic workers' unions, bringing together nearly 60 000 members. They plan to affiliate to Cosatu.

"Their cause is one, and so uniting in one national union will unite domestic workers in much more than in name only", says Margaret Nhlapo of the SA Domestic Workers' Association (Sadwa).

Unions taking part in the merger are Sadwa, Cape Town's Domestic Workers' Association, the East London Domestic Workers' Association, the Port Elizabeth Domestic Workers' Union, and the National Domestic Workers' Union, based in Durban.

Violence hits Mawu members

THE METAL and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) is planning 'strong action' to protest against the bombing of the home of Mawu organiser and Brits community leader, David Modimoeng.

Blaming the right wing, Cosatu said the attack 'is an attack of the reactionary section of our country who do not accept that the workers will have a say in South Africa. Workers will now have to think of ways of defending themselves from these attacks.'

The home-made bomb ripped apart Modimoeng's house on the night of May 28. Nkele Modimoeng, David's wife, died on her way to hospital. Two children, Miriam, 8, and Joyce, 8 months, were in the room where the bomb landed but miraculously survived.

Modimoeng was shot in the foot as he fled from the house.

He is a leading member of the Brits Action Committee, formed to resist removal from Brits' Old Location to Lethlabile, 24 km away and in Bophutatswana. The two chief unions in the area Mawu and the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu) have led the opposition to the removal.

Old Location residents have faced constant police harassment since the removal was announced.

The attack came with Mawu locked in dispute with two companies Autocast, where there was a recent mass dismissal, and Robert Bosch, where workers were occupying the factory on the night of the explosion.

This bombing was the fifth violent attack on a Mawu member in recent weeks.

● Mawu member Terriman Kortman was shot dead by police at union rally on the East Rand in March.

● In Esikhoweni, Natal, Mawu vice-president Jeffrey Vilane was injured in the arm and had his home and car destroyed in a petrol bomb and shooting attack in late April.

● The home of a Mawu shopsteward at Alusef, Richard's Bay, was firebombed, although he was not at home at the time.

● The home of Mawu organiser Moses Mayekiso, a leading activist in Alexandra, was attacked during the recent wave of violence in the township.

Mawu's Transvaal Secretary, Bernie Fanaroff said that Mawu was 'not prepared to stand aside while the system murders our people or anyone else'.

THERE are no organisations in Wolmaranstad's township of Tsweleng that can be unifying forces for the community but this does not mean nothing is happening in the tiny township.

Residents are united by the problems which face their community.

But although they have lodged complaints several times to the village council, these have fallen on deaf ears and nothing has been done to solve them.

On the 14th of April this year, the local administration board offices and a house belonging to a council-

or were burnt down. More than 25 youths were arrested and taken to Stilfontein prison, where they allege they were severely assaulted. Eight were eventually charged with arson.

On May Day, workers in the township joined with others around

Wolmaranstad residents bitter over police action

the world and did not go to work. Although there were no rallies here, the parents of the detainees organised a march to the local police station to demand the release of the eight youths.

The march was stopped by the police and a delegation of ten people went to speak to the station commander.

While the talks were taking place, police patrolling the township clashed with youths conducting a peaceful demonstration near the

local stadium. The police eventually opened fire with shotguns, wounding three youths, one of

whom died after being admitted to hospital.

The police and SADF have come down heavily on the youth of the township, who have been forced to flee into the bush. The security forces continue to harass the residents of Tsweleng.

The parents of fifteen-year-old Doctor Motswenyane, the boy killed by police bullets, made arrangements for his funeral.

When they went to fetch his body though, they were told that they would have to wait for the post-mortem to be performed, which would be the next day.

They were then handed a banning order from the chief magistrate of the district, which placed severe restrictions on the funeral.

On Friday afternoon, the police came to their house, tore down the tent which had been erected outside and assaulted the mourners.

Later that same night, about fifty policemen and soldiers surrounded three streets around the place where the night-vigil was being held, and made a house-to-house search of the area. All the men in the area were detained.

At the police station the detainees, about a hundred men and four women, had cold water poured over them and were sjambokked.

There was a heavy police presence at the funeral, and severe restrictions were placed on mourners. Feelings in the community are very bitter about the actions of the police.

From page 5

Pastors spoke of her life in Europe during and after the second world war. She described her early years in Holland during the war, her experience of colonialism, poverty and corruption in Zaire and her arrival in Mozambique shortly after the South African Defence Force raid on Matola.

On her life in Mozambique she said, 'we were living in a war situation where the threat was South Africa'.

Pastors, who was studying for a doctorate in linguistics at Wits University said she had met exiled ANC members at Maputo university. When the ANC called on her to work for them she believed very strongly that it was her duty to do so.

She is now appealing against her conviction.

Mergers: two industries, two unions

COSATU'S CALL for 'one industry, one union' is becoming a reality.

Two huge new industrial unions have been formed through mergers of Cosatu affiliates in the transport and food sectors, while merger talks in the metal, motor and engineering sector are going well.

● A NEW 26 000-strong union the Transport and General Workers Union has been formed. After months of negotiations, it brings together workers organised in two Cosatu transport unions the General Workers Union (GWU), and the Transport and General Workers' Union.

A key aspect of the new merger is that it links dockworkers, previously organised separately by TGWU and GWU.

GWU, based in the Western Cape, has its organisational backbone in the docks where its members handle much of SA's imports and exports. TGWU members at the Richards' Bay Coal Terminal also wield massive power, as all coal from Natal and the Transvaal gets shipped through Richards' Bay. "Linking the dockworkers with the rest of the transport sector, and within one union is an incredibly significant move", says Jane Barrett, General Secretary of the

Union, the Sweet Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU), the Retail and Allied Workers' Union (Rawu) and other food workers previously represented by Cosatu-affiliated general workers' unions.

The merger was finalised during a national conference of food workers in Cape Town on May 31.

Cape Town becomes the seat of Fuwa's head office. Office bearers elected at the Cape Town meeting are: President: Chris Dlamini; Vice-President: Peter Malepe; Treasurer: Modesai Mabaso; General Secretary: Jan Theron; Assistant General Secretary: Mike Madlala.

Fuwa represents workers from the Sweet Food and Canning Workers'

bers, compared to what Inkatha's done for them. It's not easy for a person to leave an organisation which he has benefitted from."

● A NEW super-union representing workers in the food and beverage industry throughout South Africa has been formed, following the merger of three major Cosatu affiliates.

With 62 000 members, the new Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fuwa) becomes Cosatu's second largest union, wielding massive clout in 340 food and beverage factories throughout SA.

Fuwa represents workers from the Sweet Food and Canning Workers'

new union.

"It means there will be one union organising workers in the goods and passenger transport sectors, and in the docks. And already we have a small membership amongst railway workers.

President of the new union is Cosatu's Natal regional chairperson, Jerry Ntombela. He's based in Northern Natal, which Buthelezi claims is an Inkatha stronghold.

Already Inkatha's new union Uwusa, is trying to test its strength against Cosatu but Ntombela is confident workers will find the new union has little to offer workers:

"We've done a lot for our mem-



Uwusa's launch — Is this really a worker's union?

Uwusa's devious tactics benefit bosses — Cosatu

MANAGEMENT IS cashing in on the formation of Inkatha's United Workers' Association of SA (Uwusa) by allowing anti-Cosatu elements to infiltrate plants organised by Cosatu affiliates.

At Jabula Foods in New Era, Springs, Uwusa began recruiting in February, and soon after May Day announced they had a majority. SFAWU however already had stop-order facilities and was due to begin recognition talks on May 8.

Uwusa sneaks into E. Rand

UWUSA is not content to divide workers in Natal. Now it's set up office in Germiston, and is trying to recruit against Cosatu on the East Rand.

SFAWU, Mawu and Ummawosa report incidents of Uwusa activity at plants there at Jabula Foods, Dorbyl, Scaw Metals and elsewhere.

Management, it seems, is more than willing to provide a base for elements opposing Cosatu.

"Only those bosses who are silly enough, and want conflict on the factory floor, will allow this to continue", said a Mawu organiser. "This strategy is going to backfire."

Management was happy to allow this organisation against SFAWU to go ahead, and soon after an Uwusa representative arrived from Natal.

Chief recruiter for Uwusa at Jubula is a police reservist from KwaThema, while Sam Mngcia, mayor of KwaThema and a senior personnel officer at the plant, has allegedly promised workers who resign from SFAWU houses in the township.

There has been open intimidation in front of management of SFAWU members at the plant by the Uwusa members. One shop steward said he was threatened by a gun-carrying Uwusa supporter because he had 'reviled the Chief Minister of KwaZulu'.

Through a secret ballot, SFAWU proved beyond all doubt that Uwusa has little support amongst the Jabula workers, and a few days later, the company signed a formal recognition agreement with SFAWU.

"The bosses are encouraging this situation", said a SFAWU organiser. "At other plants where this is happening, management is trying to delay the process of secret ballots to measure support they seem to think that if they delay long enough, Uwusa will win support."



20 000 people pack Soweto's Jabulani Stadium to celebrate May Day at a rally organised by Cosatu.

May Day: 3m. out in largest ever stayaway

'MAYDAY PAYDAY!' read a fake pamphlet distributed in East London on May 1.

In a crude attempt to discredit Cosatu and confuse workers, the pamphlet told workers that their unions would pay them for staying away on May Day. Few people were fooled though and the joke was turned on its head when nearly 100 percent of East London' workers stayed away, bringing the city to a complete halt.

Nationally, May Day saw the largest stayaway of workers in South African history: over 1,5 million workers stayed away, and together with students who came out in solidarity, the overall figure is close to three million people.

Stayaway figures were highest on the Witwatersrand and in the Eastern Cape, although no town in the country was left unaffected by the May Day call.

Employers responded with a 'no work no pay' policy but their profits took a dive that day. On the mines, where 209 000 workers stayed away, May Day cost employers more than even they would care to admit.

While six of the 16 meetings organised by Cosatu were banned, mass meetings drew hundreds of hundreds of thousands of workers and supporters.

APARTHEID'S bad effects on the mental health of South Africa's people was highlighted by a recent conference at Johannesburg's Wits University.

The event was organised by the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSA).

OASSA says it is vigorously opposed to Apartheid and the oppression and exploitation which go with it. It sees its role as supporting progressive organisations which need its services.

Delegates from as far afield as Cape Town and Durban attended the conference. Its aim was to examine the causes of social and personal problems in South Africa, and to help work towards appropriate health services in the country.

Papers presented at the conference looked at the Emergency Services Group (which deals with social problems in communities), the rehabilitation of detainees and the political economy of mental

Oassa - working to change a system that's sick

health.

OASSA chairperson, Lloyd Vogelmann, opened the conference with a scathing attack on the present conservative approach to mental health in South Africa.

He said mental health problems were largely caused by socio-economic factors. These were linked to the political structures of society.

"Health care in our society is to some extent commercial. It is sold to a buyer and the seller makes a profit. This and other factors make the question of health seem like an

individual rather than a social concern", he said.

Mental health professionals often remained silent about injustices and this added to the reactionary nature of Mental Health Science. There were also those who used psychology to help justify Apartheid, he said.

South Africa's history showed how the mental health profession often ignored South African society's affect on mental health.

Oppression and exploitation could



Oassa, working to combat suffering cause feelings of depression, passivity and powerlessness. The current climate of militant strength would change this. But the daily degrada-

tion which many blacks still suffered caused stress, frustration, a sense of inferiority and anger.

The dominant group's political power in SA gave them a sense of powerfulness, arrogance and superiority. But the psycho-social stresses of Apartheid could explain why whites have the highest rate of heart disease in the world, and why SA has a high level of suicide.

Mental health care services in SA were poor, emphasised curative treatment and were mainly concentrated in the urban areas.

Different solutions had been proposed, community psychology and community work could be the most viable solution to SA's mental health problems.

Mental health professionals had been on the sidelines for too long. The challenge to all democratic social workers now was to become part of the democratic movement for change.



Mourners pay tribute to slain UDF Northern Transvaal president Nchabaleng



Peoples parks built by the Mahweiereng Youth Congress (MAYCO) which were later burnt down by police. MAYCO is also popularising the consumer boycott and isolate police campaign.



Nchabaleng's death sparks boycott

THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL consumer boycott is hitting hard at white towns and bantustan puppets in the region.

Pro-government forces are already weakened by popular campaigns to isolate police and to get bantustan MP's to resign.

And mushrooming progressive organisations are seriously challenging bantustan and Apartheid control. As in the urban areas people are now moving from ungovernability to building organs of people's power.

The region is seen as highly strategic it is largely rural and has common borders with Mozambique, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

The consumer boycott came in the wake of claims of widespread and brutal repression from the SADF, SA, Lebowa and other bantustan police.

'People's anger was already running high. The death in detention of UDF Northern Transvaal president Peter Nchabaleng was the final spark', said a consumer boycott leader.

'People wanted to hit back and they saw refusing to buy from puppets and in town as one of the weapons they could use against the racist exploiters and oppressors.'

Northern Transvaal organisations decided to launch the consumer boycott on 12 May and it was publicly announced at Nchabaleng's



SADF pamphlet

funeral. Boycott targets are shops and businesses belonging to police and bantustan MP's and the white towns of Duiwelskloof, Phalaborwa, Burgersfort, Potgietersrus, Pietersburg, Groblersdal, Tzaneen and Marble Hall. The boycott demands are: *An end to police and detentions, beatings and killings. *Resignation of police, councillors and bantustan MP's. *An end to the bombings of activists houses.



Northern Transvaal UDF executive member Mokaba at Nchabaleng's funeral

- *The release of political detainees and prisoners.
- *Reduction of busfares and rent payments.
- *Reinstatement of all dismissed workers.
- *Recognition of democratically elected SRC's and trade unions.
- *Provision of free books for all students.

The consumer boycott is one of

the people's non-violent but forceful weapons. Businesses are supporting the government and the SADF. Hitting at the economy is part of bringing the system to an end', said a consumer boycott organiser.

The boycott is already highly successful. 'The boers are crying' he said. It would be intensified still further.

Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Marble Hall, Groblersdal and Burgersfort were deserted from day the boycott started. It was also effective in Duiwelskloof and is picking up in Phalaborwa and Tzaneen.

The Pietersburg Chamber of Commerce has met to discuss the boycott. Some shops in Pietersburg are already considering closing down. One shop which used to make over a thousand rand a day can now hardly make one hundred rand.

Lebowa MP, Matlala resigned because the boycott is affecting his bakery. And more are expected to follow.

Organisers said local consumer boycotts had laid a strong foundation for the regional one. 'These showed people that they have this power which they can use'.

Local boycotts had been aimed at Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, shops of collaborators and people who are against progressive organisations and the Lebowa Development Corporation.

The only response to the boycott has been intensified repression. Northern Transvaal activists said from the first day the SADF launched a new offensive.

Many areas were occupied by the SADF. Joint SADF, Lebowa and SA police pamphlets were distributed in many areas. Fake pamphlets saying the boycott had been lifted were also distributed.

In Seshego the SADF occupied the township and conducted house to house raids. Seshego Youth Congress (Seyco) leaders alleged soldiers smoked dagga, got drunk and then terrorised people. Women were raped, classes disrupted and people beaten.

Seyco rallied the youth to protect the people. Parents tried to form committees to discuss how to respond, but were disrupted by the police.

Mankweng Youth

THE MANKWENG Youth Congress (Mayco) AGM at the beginning of June was disrupted by SADF and Lebowa police (LP).

Shots were fired and many youths were beaten. Most managed to escape into the mountains, but 17 were arrested.

Mayco warned the army, Lebowa police and white farmers who are assisting the SADF that they would be forced to defend themselves if the attacks continued.

LP and the ZCC's Moria Defence Force raided one Mankweng village, beating people and arresting youth. A Mayco village committee leader was taken to ZCC headquarters at Moria City and interrogated.

Lenyenge

LENYENYE youth organisations stopped attempts to turn their parents into vigilantes.

They found out that Tzaneen employers told workers living in Lenyenge, Ramalema, Mogapeng,

Lebowa battles hot up

Gamasome, Dan, Nkowankowa, Burgersdorp to sleep in town one Sunday night.

The youth thought there were plans to form a vigilante group from the parents. They called parents in different villages to meetings and told them of the system's plans.

According to youth leaders the parents were won over and didn't go to town on the Sunday night. The next day there were no buses and many didn't go to work. SA and Lebowa police allegedly shot at youth in the streets.

Farmworkers

ABOUT 600 farmworkers in the Steelpoort district came out on strike in solidarity with eleven fellow workers who were fired after a May Day stayaway in the area.

The solidarity action was in line with a resolution they took at a mass meeting of villagers before May Day. The farmworkers are also demanding higher wages.

Police isolated

POLICE, security guards and soldiers all over Sekhukhuneland have been told to quit their jobs or to no longer go home to see their families in the townships and villages.

Some policemen are now living with their families at police stations. One Mphanama policeman resigned from the Lebowa police to make sure his shop stayed in business.

Students report frequent SADF raids on their villages and say they are being forced to flee and live in the mountains.

Youths tore up copies of the SADF newspaper 'The Warrior' which soldiers were giving to chiefs, headmen, principals and teachers.

Members of the Mohlaetse branch of the Sekhukhuneland Youth Organisation (Seyo) are living in fear. They say during the day the police are looking for them and

at night a vigilante group, Inkatha, patrols the streets armed with sticks, axes and spears.

Migrants

THE Northern Transvaal UDF has launched a campaign to organise migrant workers. It already has two new affiliates which aim to organise migrant workers living in Northern Transvaal villages and working in Johannesburg.

A Northern Transvaal UDF executive member said working men were traditionally responsible for making decisions affecting their community.

Vigilantes

POLICE attacked mourners and arrested 94 people at a memorial service for Alexandra massacre victims — one of whom was from Botlokwa. The Botlokwa Youth Congress was launched at the service.

Teachers colleges

STUDENTS from 14 Venda schools boycotted classes for a week at the end of May. Boycotts broke out after Venda security forces detained University of Venda (Unive) SRC member Jerry Ndou. Dimane High School students demanded Ndou's release and the expulsion of one racist teacher from their school. When authorities refused to meet their demands they went on boycott.

Police attacks on students led to class boycotts at Lwandani in Shayandima, Lwamondo and Tshiemuemu in Tshakoma and other schools joined. At some schools students bought sjamboks to defend themselves against police sjamboks.

After a week long boycott students returned to classes on 27 May. But students say on 11 June there will be no school in Venda as everyone will be going to court where Ndou will be appearing on charges of malicious damage to property.

Swapo's struggle is our struggle - Nanso

CORPSES of South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) guerrillas killed by the SADF were displayed at Namibian schools.

This was intended to discourage students from joining Swapo's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

But the growth of the Namibian National Student Organisation (Nanso) since 1982 is putting an end to these kind of displays — and an end to SADF teachers in Namibian schools.

Nanso executive members spoke to Saspu National about their organisation — formed at a time when there was almost no legal mass based progressive organisation in Namibia.

"Swapo was waging the armed struggle. Mobilisation of the masses inside the country was low. Political meetings were banned or disrupted.

"Namibian youth and students were unorganised. They had little political understanding or knowledge about Swapo. Some were even joining the SADF".

Student activists decided to organise and take up the education struggle.

The initiative to form Nanso came from students at Fort Hare. Namibia has no university of its own, so many Namibian students attend universities in SA. The idea to form Nanso was put to these students and others in Namibia.

In June 1982 Nanso was launched and its first executive elected. Its aim was to organise students from primary to tertiary level.

Delegates at the congress started spreading the message throughout schools in Namibia. A publication, Student Voice, was produced and distributed in the schools.

"Political meetings were watched carefully by the police so the political message has been spread at braai's and parties".

To survive and to win support among still unpoliticised students, it adopted a low political profile. But as support grew it became more overtly political.

"Before Nanso, students used to think you can't mix education and politics — they are two different things", said a Nanso leader, "but now they can see the two go hand in hand".

"The struggle waged by Swapo is our struggle. We are part and parcel of the struggle for the general cause of the oppressed and exploited masses of Namibia", he said.

"Students learnt how to mobilise each other. They want education for liberation, a new and democratic system of education — one acceptable to all the people in the



country. The people want a non-racial and democratic Namibia, a government of the people. They want Namibia to be for all who live in it".

Since 1982 Nanso mushroomed throughout Namibia. Nanso now says "in every part of the country where you find youth you will find a branch of Nanso".

Primary and High schools as well as teachers training colleges and Namibian students at South African universities formed Nanso branches. Non-student youth and teachers became associate members.

From the start they adopted the policy of non-racialism. Most members are black students but there are also white student members.

Under its theme Unite in Action for Democratic Education, Nanso is taking up Namibian students demands which include:

- The introduction of more specialised education at schools.
- Qualified teachers.
- An autonomous university for Namibia. The government promised Namibia would have its own university by June 1985, but there is still only an academy for tertiary education attached to Unisa.
- Democratically elected SRC's.
- Equal education on a national level
- The total scrapping of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. In 1980



Top: UWC students show their solidarity with the Namibian people's struggle for independence

Namibian Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Kaura, after a trip to Europe where his delegation was kicked out. He holds a picture of Sam Nujoma — who the Europeans said is the true representative of Namibia.

Afrikaans was scrapped at schools in the Northern part of Namibia. But it is still being used in the more urbanised Southern part.

Students have staged placard demonstrations and boycotts to push for their demands. The authorities have sent police and in some cases the SADF's Koevoet unit to crush student protests.

In Katimo there was a class boycott last year and the police were brought in immediately.

At the end of February this year Nandiva rag college in Ovambo-land staged a three week boycott in protest against SADF teachers.

Students argued that the SADF

teachers couldn't teach education that was relevant to the social situation in Namibia. Nanso said the SADF teachers had been a source of intense indoctrination in the schools. SADF teachers used the classrooms to get students to join the SADF. They allegedly told students it is no use getting educated, just join the SADF and you will get paid.

Some students were impressed by the money and many joined the SADF just to make a living.

"The government strategised that there were a minimum of jobs. So students leaving school would be forced to join the SADF to get any

employment at all'. Immediately after matric results are released every year the SADF starts advertising jobs in the army.

SADF teachers also tried to mobilise students against Swapo. Students were being co-opted to support the system and forgetting the call of the people, said Nanso.

On top of the indoctrination and economic pressure the government also resorted to instilling fear.

There were cases of SADF teachers bringing Swapo corpses into schools for students to see. Students were told if you attempt to leave the country to join PLAN and SWAPO you will end up like this.

But Nanso's organisation and politicisation of students is rendering the SADF campaign ineffective. "Now students are no longer afraid, killings or no killings. They know their role and what they are fighting for", said Nanso.

In the same way as Nanso started organising students from 1982, people inside Namibia began organising workers. Now there are members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) there. Nanso says sees its roles as not only mobilising and conscientising youth, but also workers. This year Nanso mobilised workers to observe May Day.

Nanso sees the Namibian struggle as being closely tied to the struggle of the people of South Africa.

This year Namibian students will again be commemorating June 16 in solidarity with the South African struggle.

"The Namibian people are aware they are fighting the same oppressors and exploiters as the SA people are fighting".

The Nanso constitution says it will align itself with all progressive forces fighting for the just cause of the people.

In SA Nanso organises and provides a link between Namibian students at different South African universities. There are branches at Turfloop, Medunsa, Western Cape, Fort Hare and Wits universities. At Turfloop and Medunsa they work closely with Azaso.

Nanso said people in SA are interested in the progress of Namibian struggle. "At the same time Namibian students in SA are also part of the education struggle in SA, we can't alienate ourselves from this. We are also victims of the apartheid education system".

A Turfloop university Nanso held a meeting to commemorate the Cassinga massacre. On 4 May 1978 thousands of Namibians were killed when the SADF bombed their refugee camp on the Angolan border.

Student teachers drawing the line

IN FUTURE Lebowa is going to have problems training puppet teachers.

Students at Lebowa teachers training colleges in the Northern Transvaal are organising themselves to take up their demands. They say the force of their united action will succeed in bringing about progressive change to their education.

An interim committee of representatives from the colleges is to push ahead with plans to form a confederation of all college SRC's in the region.

SRC's, womens groups and Azaso branches from CN Phatudi Training College in Sekhukhuneland, Mokopane Training College in Mahwelereng (Potgietersrus), Ngoako Ramalepe College in Kgapane, Shikoane Matlala Technikon in Seshego and Mamokgalake Chuene College of Education in Nebo (Groblersdal) have been part of the planning. There are eight colleges of education in Lebowa.

The students leaders said unification of the colleges would make them more powerful in taking up their demands. The coordinating body would be the link between them to work out common strategies to take up common problems. It would also ensure unity and solidarity between them.

Resolutions taken by the college reps were:
 ● All Tuata activities should be boycotted.
 A campaign to popularise Neusa and to discredit and isolate Tuata would be launched.
 Organisations will encourage student

teachers not to join Tuata on leaving college and secondary school students to take up the campaign.

Student teachers will be encouraged not to join Tuata on leaving college. They should take the initiative in organising Neusa workshops, distributing material on Neusa and setting up Neusa branches. Teachers should popularise Neusa.

Secondary school students should also take up the campaign and put pressure on their teachers. Students should work hand in hand with workers. Workers should not allow puppet teachers to teach their children. Parents Crisis Committees should be set up to facilitate this.

● Common problems should be solved through joint action from the colleges. And all colleges should stand together to solve specific problems facing any one college. So, if one college is closed down by the authorities, all colleges should pledge solidarity.

● The community should be involved in demanding the reopening of high school hostels.

● Communication between the colleges should be improved.

● All the colleges should have a uniform course structure — criticism lessons should be 10 per course for course I and II. Ordinary lessons should be 70 per course from course I to course III.

● Students shouldn't have to do two second languages and Afrikaans should be done away with. This would promote People's education.

● Pregnant women should not be expelled from school and SRC's should include this in their constitutions.

SRC's should also take up a campaign to protest against women students being used as unpaid workers cooking and serving in the dining halls.

Women should be organised and politicised. Women's organisations should be formed at all the colleges and the Women's Charter implemented. Women's workshops should be held with speakers from Fedtraw. So far there are women's groups at Ramalepe, Mokopane, and Phatudi col-

leges.

● Uniforms should not be compulsory. Students should be allowed to wear what they like, including organisational t-shirts.

● No SADF soldiers should be allowed in the schools. Lecturers who are soldiers should also be expelled.

● Reactionary rector, lecturers and teachers should be expelled from the colleges.

● College funds must be decreased. All Lebowa colleges increased college funds from R40 last year to R150 this year. Boarding fees increased from R550 to R600.

● All the colleges would work towards having a common SRC constitution.

One meeting of the college representatives also discussed problems at Mamokgalake Chuene College of Education. The white rector had threatened, expelled and harassed some students. At the same time he was trying to win the hearts and minds of students through cultural activities, said students.

On the eve of May Day hundreds of students there were watching TV when the SADF, LP and SAP allegedly raided and started beating up people. Some were made to lie on the floor while police and soldiers allegedly jumped on them. Many students were injured, seven had to be taken to hospital.

The meeting suggested that the student-teachers at Chuene should be mobilised and organised to stand as one voice. The Azaso branch there should be strengthened.

THE DAY THAT



WHEN BULLETS and teargas flew into the ranks of ten thousand students protesting against being taught in Afrikaans, a decade of controlled calm enforced by SA's rulers was ended.

And a decade of mounting organisation and mass struggle began.

The first to fall was Hector Peterson. Three others died in the same deadly hail of bullets.

These shots also threw South Africa's rulers into a downward spiralling crisis from which they have still not escaped economically, politically, and ideologically.

Ten years later, the progressive movement has been through many more June 16's. Hundreds more Hector Petersons lie buried.

Between the whirlwind of 1976 and the storm of 1986, many lessons have been learnt, and used to bring SA to the point where in many townships, mass resistance is now being consolidated into organs of people's power.

The people are no longer simply responding defensively to apartheid's attack, but are taking the offensive and setting the pace.

The national uprisings of 1976 and 1977, led by the black school student movement, provided the first lessons for many years in how to organise and mobilise against oppression and exploitation.

"Afrikaans is a dangerous drug"

"BEWARE! Afrikaans the most dangerous drug for our country", read a placard lying against the dead body of a student in the aftermath of the June 16 violence.

It was the DET's decision to force students to write some exams in Afrikaans seen as the language of the oppressor that forced students to take to the streets.

Organisation against this new regulation started long before June 16, under the auspices of the fledgling national student organisation, SASM.

Opposition to Afrikaans also drew the parents together into the Black



1976: Soweto a military zone

Parents Association, and so for the first time in many years, tentative steps at building mass-based organisation were happening.

But it was when the Bantu Education Department had shown it was as deaf to student demands as the DET is today that students decided on co-ordinated action throughout Soweto.

They planned to meet at Orlando Stadium, marching from all corners of Soweto, before presenting their united demands to the BED.

They never got there. The peace signs they made at the police were in vain.

When Hector Peterson and three other students fell, there was a split second when time was suspended by the sheer horror and disbelief of the students.

That split second was a turning point in SA history; almost immediately, students started picking up bottles, sticks, stones and anything they could find to fight back. But then, as now, bottles and stones were no defence against the armed power of the police.

Students turned instead to sabotage. They destroyed every symbol of apartheid they could. When workers came home that evening, there were still 10 buildings burning.

The unplanned uprising

The students of Soweto had an uprising on their hands, without having really planned one, and without the possibility of back-up

from other organisations. They were catapulted into a role that they had to write as the situation developed. And they learnt fast.

They set up the Soweto SRC, with two representatives from each school, to co-ordinate the action. Murphy Morobe was an SSRC rep then; and he is UDF publicity secretary now. SASPU NATIONAL interviewed him about the lessons and victories of the period.

Learning about tactics and strategy

"Events developed so fast, and student leadership found itself inexperienced to give direction to the mass action that was exploding. At times, the leadership ended up trailing behind events, or trying to understand how things should develop", Morobe says.

"Overnight, the youth were transformed into adults." The pace of events meant students were thrust into the lead without considering how best to relate to other sectors.

"The students hardly consulted the teachers and parents", he says. "The students were on their own, and took the responsibility onto their shoulders", says Morobe.

But as the uprising developed, they were increasingly faced with decisions that affected the township as a whole.

Because at that point in history they found themselves in a key role, students make the mistake as seeing themselves as the vanguard of the struggle.

Ten years after the Soweto uprising the students of '76 and workers of '86, and now they're taking the lead

JUN

The political consciousness of students at a mass level grew as they met the challenges of rapidly changing conditions.

"One can see this in the development of demands", Morobe says. "At first, students were demanding the abolition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction; then the focus of their demands shifted to the abolition of Bantu education entirely.

"As more and more students were detained and killed, more and more people were mobilised, and the focus shifted to ending apartheid. In November, the students demanded the resignation of the government for mismanagement of the country, and demanded black majority rule."

Black consciousness was the main political influence on students, and emphasised the need to remove the inferiority complex which apartheid reinforced by law.

"This was important, but the emphasis was on psychological lib-

eration, without looking at how to set about actually liberating society."

"Outside school, there was the Black People's Convention, which had intellectuals as its base professors, teachers, doctors, and so on. BPC had a low mass content. Ordinary mothers and fathers would not feel comfortable in such a structure because of the high-flown lan-

NEVER ENDED

JUNE 16



guage" Morobe explains.

The students also suffered from the lack of an overall political programme; the Freedom Charter had not yet been popularised again, and they had grown up in a period in which the ANC did not have much public presence.

"Students were deprived of information about the ANC, the PAC and the history of struggle. At most, students were peeping through holes to get more clarity on the nature of the struggle," Morobe says.

However, people did look to the older banned leadership for guidance, and the ANC held a symbolic importance that meant that as repression intensified, more and more students chose to leave the country to join up, hoping to come back trained to take on the Apartheid war machinery on its own terms.

The events of 1976 aroused a passionate desire for information, which led to students "scrambling for literature" about the nature of the struggle.

And so the events prompted a massive resurgence of interest in and popular support for the ANC which is clearly visible today.

But the lack of continuity meant that students were not able to draw widely on the lessons of the fifties

for their tactics and strategies. Yet they had to deal with many issues that have been the source of long debate and development since then.

"The uprising raised people's consciousness at a mass level, and people flocked to join the ranks of organisation. But the organisations had no structures to deal with this influx."

The lack of organisation in Soweto and throughout the country made co-ordination a logistical nightmare. On a national level, the limits were much greater, despite the fact that the uprisings had spread to all corners of the country.

The school boycott they called was the first since Bantu education was introduced in the fifties, and without past experience to draw on, they were faced with many tricky questions.

Once the boycott was under way, the distinction between boycotting

as a principle and as a tactic became confused. Many students' gut feeling was that to stop the boycott before all their demands were won was to sell out.

Yet their demands had developed to a point where they could only be met by the abolition of apartheid, and a long struggle still lay ahead before that day would dawn.

The difference between the relative passivity of the previous decade and the "ungovernability" of Soweto in that period was so vast that many students believed liberation was just around the corner.

The school boycott was not the only tactic they used. As the stalemate between students and state continued, they realised they needed the weight of workers economic power. It was time to mobilise their parents.

The stayaway call was also made because students had identified the business community as part and parcel of the system," says Morobe.

But there were few progressive trade unions they could turn to to discuss a stayaway. The students called for four stayaways, publicised by pamphlets and word of mouth.

Stayaways to mobilise parents

The mass turnout for some of these stayaways showed the support the students did have from their parents; but the poor turnout for others reflected the difficulties and mistakes students made given that the workers were not organised, communication was difficult, and the importance of the stayaway was not always explained.

"The enforcement of student decisions on the people had a negative impact at times" says Morobe.

"In this process of mobilising parents, the students overlooked the hostel inmates, who were divorced from the day to day issues of the township."

During one of the stayaways, hostel dwellers from Mzimhlope went on the rampage, and killed 11 township residents.

This forced students to look care-

fully at their methods of organisation and also at how they should relate to different sectors in struggle.

The stayaways highlighted the need for worker organisation, and the politicisation of the parents gave impetus to the development of this organisation.

The students also took up the issue of rents, and brought the Urban Bantu Council to its knees. They protested at the role of the US and big business in SA, and called for a Black Christmas to make white SA feel further economic effects from their protest.

The business sector was already feeling these effects where it hurt them most. June 16 shook the credibility of SA as a stable country in the eyes of investors, and they started to take their business elsewhere.

Into a new phase of resistance

The youth of 1976 grew up in a decade of control. They could not easily draw on the history of the fifties, or learn from the past.

But they showed that this control could be broken.

They deepened the crisis that the state had been trying to contain. It was forced to announce a "total strategy" to assert control at every level.

They put the crime of apartheid firmly back on the map internationally.

They revived the spirit of resistance, and forged the links with the past that repression had aimed to break.

So when the state cracked down hard in October 1977, the damage had already been done. And the reborn spirit of resistance was not crushed.

Activists drew breath, and assessed the lessons they had learnt. They set themselves the urgent task of building organisation in every corner and constituency in the country; the task of involving as many people as possible in an active and ongoing assault on against the undemocratic control of people's lives.

Hand in hand with building organisation, they saw the need for a mass political consciousness to develop, to inform mass action on all fronts.

A decade later, this work has borne fruit; the democratic movement is building people's power.



Louis le Grange has done it again. The ban on all meetings commemorating June 16 is a very stupid move. When last did banning a meeting make South Africa's people forget their problems, their hopes and their demands?

How can we so easily forget the rows of graves, the crowded houses, the poor working conditions, the measly salaries, and the police on every corner protecting that odd kind of South African law and order, where the rich get richer, and the poor starve.

But can the government do anything else but clamp down? They govern on behalf of a small sector of society who want power, money, and more money.

So when the people of our country say enough is enough, the government either has to buy them off or silence them forcibly.

And democratic South Africans have demonstrated that they cannot be bought off.

So, like a leopard snarling in a corner, the ruling elite is lashing out at anything that moves, at anyone who mentions the words closest to our hearts People's Power.

And now people's power faces a growing breed of sinister violence.

The comrades in Crossroads say the witdoeke are backed by the full might of the government's army. In Thokoza, a vigilante claims to be paid to kill by the police. All over South Africa the story is the same.

And, not content with their victims at home, the government seeks to hound down those who have been forced into exile, running all over international standards of respect for sovereign states and human life.

We are in a phase of struggle in which state violence in many forms is the name of the game. And the new laws make it easier for them to get away with it.

But the failure of the State of Emergency should already have showed them that with all their laws and controls, they cannot contain the will of the people to be free.

Maybe that's why these days it is death squads and assassinations that activists fear the most; the thud of bricks and the flare of flame as petrol bombs fly in the night; the nameless faceless men in balaclavas who kill; and who silence committed people far more effectively than detentions or trials ever have.

Its not suprising the government is losing friends faster than community councillors.

Who can afford to be friends with apartheid? Who wants to?

South Africa's people are changing the country themselves. They don't need to hang around while Botha and big business frantically design packages to calm down the country but still protect their interests.

The people are organising where it matters. On the ground. In every corner of the land there are committees of people talking about how to take control of their lives.

And that's where the commemoration of June 16 will be. In the heart of every freedom loving South African wherever apartheid has forced them to be. On every street in South Africa (the factories will be empty), the people will be crying for the martyrs and mobilising for their future.

No matter how hard the government clamps down. No matter how widely they use their new laws.

The ban on commemorations, and the threat of a major clampdown are only another reminder of the future to which we aspire, and towards which we will work: "side by side, until we have won our liberty".

PREPARATION for June 16 being made by democratic organisations is being outstripped only by the feverish preparations of the government.

The apartheid government is arming itself to the teeth with further repressive legislation.

Bills before parliament will amend both the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act.

Although these acts are already frighteningly repressive, a government memorandum states that these powers are 'not enough' for the security forces to combat effectively the wave of popular resistance to the present system.

The amendments will increase the powers police had during the emergency, close loopholes in detention legislation, put the Minister of Law and Order and the State President above the law, and side-line the power of the courts to intervene. Security forces will have unlimited powers — and total immunity for their actions.

The government has asked members of parliament to 'co-operate' and allow the legislation through as quickly as possible. The reason is that the government wants the legislation in place before June 16.

If the new legislation goes through, the month of June — which will also see June 26 celebrations — may well herald a new phase of escalated repression.

The Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC) has warned, "if these acts are allowed to pass into law, the country will be plunged into a permanent state of emergency, which can only be construed by the black majority as a declaration of war against its aspirations.

"In its desire to secure its position of power through maximum force and total authority, this government will be committing a highly irresponsible act that will surely lead to civil war."



Law and Order minister Le Grange

Unofficial emergency rules

THE CONSEQUENCES of the new legislation cannot be exaggerated.

The changes to the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act extend the already vast powers of the government and security forces beyond levels seen before — even during the State of Emergency.

The Minister of Law and Order will have the power to declare any area an 'unrest area' if he feels there is a 'disturbance', or the possibility of a disturbance. He does not have to give reasons to back up his opinion — not even to parliament or a court.

The declaration holds for three months, and can be extended with the approval of the State President. It must be gazetted and laid before parliament within 14 days of its declaration.

The Minister can then make any regulation he feels necessary for the unrest area.

In a last-minute amendment, thought to be the result of a deal struck with House of Representatives and House of Delegates the courts have been given the right to inquire into, and give judgement on the validity of proclamations, notices and regulations.

The regulations the Minister could pass are not specified, but could include powers of arrest, search and confiscation, the restriction of movement, the media, of assembly and of funerals, control over school and consumer boycotts, and worker stayaways — and



More power for police

all the other powers used during the last state of emergency.

Security forces operating in an unrest area could be indemnified from prosecution for their actions as was the case with restrictions issued in terms of the recent state of emergency.

Provision is also made for the regulations to apply outside of an unrest area. Different regulations can apply to different areas and to different people.

The Minister of Law and Order can also delegate discretionary powers to policemen, magistrates and other officials which includes the power to prescribe penalties.

Powers of detention are also extended by the bill. Detainees can be detained indefinitely wherever the police or prisons see fit.

If a person is in detention for more than 30 days, his or her name must be published within the next 14 days in parliament, or within 14 days of the resumption of parliament if it is not in session.

This means the identity of detainees can be kept secret for at least 44 days. Release is discretionary, and the detention cannot be challenged by any court.

Commentators have noted that of the many deaths in detention, most have been within the first few days — which makes the 'secrecy' clause even more ominous.

THE MASSIVE power of the Internal Security Act (ISA) was slightly dented by a number of court cases which would have forced the Minister of Law and Order to give reasons for detaining people indefinitely.

Although the courts would not have been able to stop people being detained forever under Section 28 or 29 of the ISA, the Minister could have been obliged to back up the detention with reasons.

A new clause in the ISA allows the minister to get around this problem.

Section 50 (a) — the new section — extends the powers of Section 50, which provides for 14 day detention without interrogation 'to combat a state of unrest'. The warrant has to be issued by a magistrate after hearing sworn evidence from the police that it was necessary.

180 days at State expense

Section 50, in effect, provides for 'preventative' detention of people who may 'contribute to unrest'.

Section 50 remains, but Section 50 (a) adds more teeth to the bite.

After the State President has given the go-ahead, it provides for detention of up to 180 days on a written order of a policeman of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel or above.

Representations to secure the release of the detainee can only be made after three months.

In a memorandum on the bill, the government says 'none of the present measures relating to detention

meets the need ... to act effectively against those persons concerned in unrest'. 14 days detention, it says, is 'too short'.

It continues: 'The aim is to enable the police to remove from the community those involved in the unrest for a sufficient time in order to normalise the situation'.

Last year, 1 924 people were detained under Section 50. In the first five months of this year, already 1 500 people have been detained under this section.

Section 50 has been used against youth, students, residents, mourners and workers — mainly in the smaller towns.

A study of the way the section is used shows it is used against organisations, and not necessarily 'unrest'.

With the new Section 50 (a) clause, these detentions could increase dramatically.



Terror underlies the talk of reform

You can't go to the corner any more without bumping up against a constable or a blackjack often armed with a baton or a shotgun.

And if its a community where peoples' power is being built they will probably be sitting in a casspir for safety. Shielded from the people they try to maintain a 'law and an order' that has been rejected.

In local authority elections, in opinion polls, and through mass action, the people have made it clear that they want control over their own lives. Anti-democratic, oppressive and exploitative practices are more than unacceptable, they are unworkable.

The government and the bosses tried to defuse and co-opt the time bombs of housing, low wages and Bantu Education. They promised to build houses and schools, create a black middle class, and deracialise society. They started by trying to bring the new trade unions into bureaucratic and centralised structures that would exclude rank and file militants.

At the same time, the police continued to play an active role in industrial relations, using security legislation to detain and harass unionists.

Laws were changed to allow tenants to acquire a 99 year lease, to enable private contractors to build houses, and to transfer more power to Community Councils.

These steps didn't help. The democratic base of worker organisation proved too strong to be co-opted or intimidated and township organisation has continued to grow.

Political awareness was spreading making it more difficult for the ruling class and the government to fool the people into believing their interests were being taken care of.

The ghettos became worse. More people were forced to squat. Rents went up, so did prices of food, clothes, transport, furniture. Wages stood still and thousands lost their jobs. Schools were closed as the DET refused to heed student demands, forcing even more activists into the streets where they inevitably clashed with armed authorities.

It was a case of organise or starve. This left the system with less room to manoeuvre, and, to add to their political and economic problems, they started to disagree with one another. Business realised the

Nationalist regime was unable to cope with the revisions that were required, and started to launch separate initiatives.

Big business and government had collaborated in drawing up the Wiehahn commission report, which provided for the registration of trade unions. But the alliance collapsed in practice when management found themselves compelled to negotiate with unregistered unions, against the pleas of government.

Police interference also cut across sophisticated attempts by management to co-opt unions. The death of Neil Aggett in detention was an extreme example of this

The government was eventually persuaded to drop the pass laws and declare a policy of orderly urbanisation. Now, instead of a pass you need a house the effect is the same, but it sounds much better to the outside world, and its easier to check on houses than on passes.

Business ventured a constitutional model as well, based on a federal system in which different regions could work out local solutions within a broad framework of civil rights and non-discrimination.

Needless to say, free enterprise is one of the guaranteed rights.

Their Kwa-Natal indaba with Buthelezi is a public experiment with the idea of a regional solution.

In education, business began by offering bursaries and scholarships to students who they hoped to groom as future managers. Companies donated library books, computers and laboratory equipment, only to have their efforts nullified by the ongoing boycotts of classes.

They have called on the government to introduce a uniform standard of education implemented by one single department, but with no

effect. This prompted some companies to openly reject racial restrictions on schooling by founding non-racial private schools and daring the government to prosecute them.

But its the handling of the economy and security that has really split the power bloc.

The inability of the government to control inflation, and its unproductive spending on ideological luxuries like the bantustan system and bantu education, complicates the business of business which is to make profits.

So does the decentralisation strategy, which seeks to lure business into remote parts of the country to employ the victims of grand resettlement schemes and homeland consolidation.

Business can see that apartheid arithmetic doesnt add up politically and economically.

Doing deals is very difficult when the international media keeps exposing what's going on behind the glossy tourist and trade advertisements. On top of that they have to trade with a rand that is worth peanuts, and dodge foreign bankers who want their money out fast.

Business has also launched a major offensive to put their case overseas, trying to restore confidence in South Africa and defuse the disinvestment drive. Its based on their version of the Freedom Charter and is openly critical of the apartheid regime. Business has recognised the link between politics and economics, wanting to ensure the long-term survival of capitalism by making far-reaching political changes now before the growing radicalism of progressive organisations produces a socialist alternative.

They want to be able to make money, lots of it, quickly and safely.

But neither the government nor business have been able to make much of a dent on the old style apartheid methods.

The shortages of housing, education, work and land are as severe as ever. The system of local and national government is still unacceptable, even if they claim to be acting in the name of capitalism or nationalism.

This leaves them with a problem: they are trying to make the modifications necessary to ensure the survival of capitalism, but they cannot come up with the right formula.

Resistance is rising rather than subsiding, and becoming more radical by the day.

Business is reluctant to pay more tax and won't even support the new Regional Service Councils. And on the other hand it won't even pay wages which enable people to pay their rent, let alone buy houses.

They would have to spend R5bn every year to make up the backlog of 500 000 houses, create 2000 jobs a day at a cost of about R20 000 per job, and lay out another R5bn on classrooms and teacher training.

We needn't even calculate how much they'd need to spend on land to give to the 15 million surplus people, because they would first have to break the farming sector politically.

Now their chances of substituting new methods of control for old unworkable ones are being jeopardised by the organs of peoples power that are being built.

For the first time, people are not just defending themselves against oppression and exploitation, they are actively taking control of their own lives. The discredited Com-

munity Councils are being replaced by street and area committees which are democratically organising the running of their community.

The offensive bantu education system is giving way to a peoples' education devised by the pupils and parents themselves, despite the interference of the DET and SAP.

These developments stand directly in the way of ruling class and government attempts to develop more appropriate controls over the working class. They will have to coopt them and incorporate them into the reform strategy, or smash them.

And because their reforms are by and large failing they will have to opt for repression in the short to medium term.

That is not to say that the reforms are not coercive and violent. Telling people that they have to carry a pass, but must have a house to qualify to live in an urban area, is callous and brutal, given the shortage of houses.

On the basis of this "reform" they can then remove all the millions who currently crowd into other people's houses and back yards.

They don't scrap institutionalised violence they only camouflage it.

They have to act now before the forces of democracy consolidate and make it impossible to restore control and profitability. Hence the vigilantes and the gangs and the bantustan bullies have stepped up their campaigns of terror.

In the rural areas of the Northern Transvaal, many youth have been driven out of the villages and into the mountains by military forces scared they might be fertile ground for guerillas.

In other areas the authorities are trying to cope with consumer boycotts which are very difficult to crush. This prompts them to use different tactics. Agent provocateurs sow seeds of dissent, murdering and abducting in the name of Azapo or UDF, in order to confuse the people and stall organisation.

Where detentions and bannings fail the gangs and criminal elements may succeed, and where press and public scrutiny restrict action, some may just don balaclavas and act

The pattern is already clear and will harden as the system finds itself unable to restore the balance of power and the margin of profit.

Neusa gives strength to teachers

THE LAUNCH of the National Education Union of South Africa, Neusa, in 1980 marked a new direction: the non-racial and democratic body aimed not only to organise teachers but to transform the nature of education itself.

It also aimed to work closely with students, and to emphasise the link between education and politics. Not content with protest against Bantu Education, they want to transform the content, form and method of education in South Africa.

Neusa was the first national organisation through which progressive teachers could express their demands and ideals.

Existing teachers' organisations — like Atasa — had discredited themselves by remaining silent in the crisis of 1976-77, and later by meeting with the government and looking for reforms.

Despite its massive membership, many teachers were unhappy with Atasa. They felt Atasa was undemocratic and dominated by principals.

At a mass meeting of progressive teachers in Soweto in August 1977, 503 teachers resolved to resign

rather than prop up the system and spoke of forming a powerful teachers' organisation.

But harassment, arrests and banings delayed the formation of a national progressive teachers' organisation, and in 1978 teachers and students went back to school.

They had learnt that a principled stand on Bantu Education was not a long-term strategy. It removed them from the classrooms where they could organise teachers and students.

The boycotts of 1980 gave new impetus to organisation among teachers and Neusa was formed.

It adopted the Freedom Charter immediately — teachers wanted a democratic education system, where the doors of learning and culture would be open to all. They realised that neither the white education system, nor capitalism, could solve the problems.

Neusa soon consolidated a small tight core of activists which ran a newsletter, regular subject workshops, an annual weekend workshop at Wilgespruit and the Teachers' Advice Bureau.

They used these activities to educate and organise teachers, and to expose the government's education strategies.



Too few teachers

But Neusa saw that society had to change before real change could take place in education. So teachers and students had to work in alliance with other community and worker organisations.

The formation of the UDF in 1983 gave Neusa a major boost. Neusa affiliated immediately and the UDF provided for closer links with affiliates like Cosas and Azaso.

Interest in the organisation grew, and new branches were formed. In the Eastern Cape, a key Neusa activist was Matthew Goniwe. He declared Neusa 'the home of prog-

ressive teachers' and largely through his work, Neusa membership in the region soared.

The intense state repression of 1984 left many teachers confused about how best to contribute to the struggle. Many felt threatened by the DET's power to dismiss, victimise and control them.

In early 1985, Neusa president Curtis Nkondo was arrested on charges of treason and the State of Emergency saw many Neusa members — including General Secretary Jabu Mtshali — detained. Others went into hiding.

But Neusa membership soared: the banning of Cosas, the level of police-repression against students and the presence of casspirs and hippos around the schools galvanised many teachers into taking a stand, and involving themselves in working for change.

The lack of a full-time national organiser presents Neusa with major problems, like national co-ordination. Much energy, is being put into building closer links with other progressive teachers' organisations — like the Western Cape Teachers' Union (Wectu) and the East London Teachers' Union (ELTU) — so that unity amongst progressive teachers can be forged nationwide.

Neusa tackles bad conditions

TEACHERS sometimes find themselves caught between the anvil and the hammer — between the demands of students, and pressure from the education authorities.

But through organisations like Neusa, progressive teachers have come together to work with students and others working to build people's education.

Neusa's membership is soaring: the union has branches throughout the Transvaal, Natal and the East-

ern Cape. New branches are being formed all the time.

One of Neusa's key activities is running workshops. As Curtis Nkondo says, "Teachers will not be in a position to educate and politicise people if they themselves are not educated and politicised".

Neusa also facilitates the exchange of material, ideas and teaching methods.

Teachers face many problems — trying to teach huge classes with few

facilities, little job security and probation. There is no maternity leave for women, and married women teachers are particularly discriminated against: they are employed only as temporary staff.

Neusa's membership is presently discussing whether Neusa should become a union, rather than a pressure group and whether such a union could affiliate to Cosatu. Many believe that formal recognition of majority support at school-level could give teachers the leverage they need to win their demands.

"Education can change society"

"THE EDUCATION struggle is part and parcel of the broader national liberation struggle", says Curtis Nkondo, outgoing president of the National Education Union of SA (Neusa), and NECC member.

"As progressive teachers, we identify with that struggle, and are involved in that struggle.

"Through mobilising support for the Education Charter Campaign, and through projects like Advice Bureaux, resource centres and workshops for teachers, Neusa members have come together to join with other progressives in the struggle for true people's education — and they are fighting for the right to organise."

Teachers can play a crucial role in the struggle for non-racial and democratic education. Through their involvement in the classroom, and in education more broadly, they can work with other progressives towards true people's education.

"Teachers are the ones who will be able to effect changes in the curriculum, syllabus, and in textbooks. They should be able to identify the ideology in the subjects, and make students aware of sexism and elitism.

"We want to transform South African society — not just change

the structures, but change the way people act and think. The content of people's education should reflect this.

"We can begin this process now, building democratic structures — like democratic SRC's. This is a step in building people's education.

Asked about Neusa's relationship with Atasa — the African Teachers' Association of SA — he said, "Atasa is not a progressive organisation. They are bent on negotiating with the government for reforms.

"We say apartheid can't be reformed, it must be destroyed.

"Atasa is authoritarian and hierarchical. There is no democratic participation from teachers.

"It sits on DET structures and government advisory boards, and was part of the De Lange Commission. And there is a strong Inkatha presence in it.

"Most teachers don't support Atasa, but they are forced to be members through various methods.

"We are not rejecting the teachers — the membership — of Atasa, but the body: we feel we should win over the teachers to join progressive teachers' organisations.

Speaking more broadly about education, Nkondo says, "We must dispell the myth that education is to be

Wectu backs national teacher unity

MAY 25 1986 saw the first AGM of the Western Cape Teachers' Union (Wectu). SASPU National spoke to Yusef Gabru, re-elected chairperson, about the organisation.

"Wectu was born out of the crisis situation last year in the Western Cape.

"The spark that united Western Cape schools and tertiary institutions was the killing of Matthew Goniwe, Calata, Mkonto and Mhlauli, and the declaration of the State of Emergency."

The call for a school and university boycott on July 20 — in solidarity with the people of the Eastern Cape — spread quickly into a protest embracing the whole community.

From the start, the boycott was characterised by violent confrontation between students and the police and SADF, and by the arrests of many students, teachers and other activists.

"Our response to these events was to form the Concerned Teachers' Association (CTCC), which later became Wectu.

"The first activity in which the CTCC was involved was the re-opening of schools on September 17 — after Coloured Education Minister Carter Ebrahim had closed them.

"Although the re-opening wasn't as successful as we hoped, we learnt important lessons from the experience: schools with established PTSA's were the most successful in mobilising community support."

Wectu demanded the reinstatement of all teachers dismissed or suspended for refusing to administer the 'farical exams' at the end of 1985. "Their reinstatement was a major victory for Wectu and the community", says Gabru.

At present Wectu is forging links with other progressive organisations, especially students and teachers' organisations, such as the Democratic Teachers' Union (Detu) which operates in Cape Town's African townships.

Wectu believes it should join with Detu to form one teachers' organisation in the Western Cape as a first step towards the formation of the national teachers' organisation called for by the NECC.

restricted to the classrooms or to young people only. Parents and workers must have access to people's education.

"Education is a vehicle for changing the mind, and for changing society.

"School is not something that exists outside of society — it is a part of that society. It must produce people who serve society, not themselves. We are fighting for an end to individualism and competition.

"Instead of competition, we need responsibility towards the community. Instead of individualism, we need collectivism.

"People's education comes from the people and is designed by the people, who must make the decisions themselves.

"It must be the outcome of a collective effort and a democratic process, arising from the struggles against apartheid and exploitation."

On the NECC conference, Nkondo said, "The NECC has been a very important stepping stone on the road to building people's education: it has been a unifying and co-ordinating force, and provided a forum for progressive forces to begin to fashion a democratic system of education."



Curtis Nkondo

Education is the key

AFTER THE Cuban people had won their liberation, Fidel Castro said in a speech that people's power was not a magic wand that could wave away the problems caused by years of underdevelopment.

"When one finds a mother sharing one room with twelve children — one wishes to produce solutions out of a hat like a magician. But we have to face reality. And the reality is that we need one million dwelling units so that families may live decently...one million! And we must work hard to build a million dwelling units — beginning with sand, cement, stone..."

A newly liberated South Africa will face a similar reality. If for example, the entire Defence Budget were spent on houses instead of hippos and guns, it would take 14 years to catch up with the backlog. Even then, we will need thousands of new houses.

To ensure the resources SA has are allocated to areas of greatest need, we will need organisation and political awareness. It will be crucial that democratic structures reach into every township, factory and village, so people can participate in deciding on priorities — and in working to make them happen.

Consciousness

The deeper political consciousness is built at a mass level during the struggle, the more equipped people will be to transform social relations throughout society after liberation.

This consciousness grows through the experience of struggle and through political education. But building a democratic SA will need more than just political skills. It will also need practical skills and knowledge that the present education system denies to most South Africans.

To build houses for all, schools, sewerage, tarred roads, electricity, and clinics; to provide basic services like medical care for all, free education, transport and telecommunications — the new society needs engineers, technicians, bricklayers, town planners, teachers, plumbers, mechanics, nurses — putting their skills at the service of the people and sharing their knowledge, to build the new society.

In countries like Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Mozambique, skills shortages have been a major obstacle to safe-guarding and advancing their newly-won liberation. In Mozambique, these shortages meant it was even difficult to use the help offered by sympathetic countries. Samora Machel explained to one such delegation:

"This is our reality, the reality of underdevelopment. There will be consultants underutilised and teachers with work undefined. There will be expensive equipment left too long in the ports and warehouses, or not set up for lack of the technicians or wiring or cement to do so.

Nicaragua

In Nicaragua, lack of cadres with technical and managerial skills meant there was a high level of dependence on managers and businesspeople — many of whose commitment to the revolution was not assured.

This dependence weakened the power of the Sandinistas and left them open to pressure from the business sector in the period after they seized power.

The Sandinistas could not afford to have businesspeople flee with their knowledge of production. When some fled anyway, factories



Literacy campaign organisers in Cuba

Part Two in our series on Peoples Education looks at why education is crucial to opening the door to a democratic South Africa.

were left standing idle for long periods, although Nicaraguans badly needed the goods usually produced there.

As worker democracy was introduced, and the bosses' power eroded, there were increasing incidents of economic sabotage.

Some businesspeople were falsifying profits and evading taxes; others smuggled their equipment out of the country, or neglected to order raw materials so that production stopped.

Worker representatives were supposed to be fully informed on the running of the factory and to intervene if they saw these things happening. But in practice, workers were rarely able to do so because few could read or write, let alone unravel complex company accounting systems.

In Mozambique, when co-operative farms were being set up, farm workers were unable to calculate how much seed they needed for different fields, or how much income they could expect from the crops they were planting. This made it difficult for Frelimo to plan agricultural production.

This is why peoples education is vital. By denying people the right to learn, unjust regimes attempt to deny them the right and the practi-

cal ability to control their own lives. Access to education is limited to make sure that those who have qualifications have ruling class interests at heart.

This is why student struggles which have won student support for the democratic cause have been such a headache for the ruling class in many countries. They want to produce more cheap labourers. A new South Africa would want skills to free its people and society from exploitation. "Opening the doors of learning and culture" is crucial to any post-liberation strategy.

Working class

"Our struggle to build socialism depends on the gradual building up of technical, scientific and political knowledge in our working class, in order for it to play the leading role defined for it" says Andre Carvalho, National Director of Technical Education, Mozambique.

Opening the doors of learning and culture has usually had to start with massive literacy campaigns in newly liberated societies.

"We have come here to launch a new and major battle within the working class. It is a major battle because our entire development — political, economic, cultural, social

and ideological — depends definitively on our victory in this battle...If we are not able to win this battle, we will live in poverty and misery, we will remain dependent on imperialism", said Machel launching the literacy campaign in Mozambique.

Author Ngugi wa Thiongo highlights the danger of imperialism in maintaining this dependency. He says: "A people who want total liberation must recognise ...that the battle is not won with the raising of the new flag and a national anthem.

"The aim of imperialism whether in its colonial or neo-colonial stage is to steal the wealth generated by the workers and peasants of the colonial world. Imperialism aims at economic control, that is, the control of the productive forces of that country.

"Therefore for as long as the economy of the country is not liberated, that is for as long as the wealth of the land does not go back to feed, clothe and shelter those whose labour power produced it, those people cannot consider themselves free and liberated."

But breaking imperialism's hold is not easy. When the democratic forces had seized power in Cuba, Nicaragua and Mozambique, reactivating the economy was an urgent

task — to get food to the people, for the factories to produce the goods people needed, and to improve the quality of life.

But economic sabotage by sectors of the ruling class locally and by imperialist forces made this very difficult.

In Vietnam, the USA planned to blow all the key installations and factories to pieces if they lost Saigon. The bosses themselves laid the mines, believing it was in their interests to sabotage the economy of a liberated Vietnam.

For both the ruling class locally and the imperialist world, it would be a disaster if democratic forces showed in practise that socialism improves people's lives.

Technology

But, third world countries rarely produce their own technology — even SA is almost entirely dependent on imported technology. With this foreign technology comes a large dependence on the parent company for spare parts and technical assistance. For example, lack of spare parts for tractors in Mozambique led to crops not being planted in time — and so not enough food to feed the people.

Factories in newly liberated countries have been brought to a standstill because workers have only been taught how to operate and service their machines — not the mechanics of how the machines work or how to fix them; nor the production process from start to finish.

Imperialist forces have tried to undermine people's power, by worsening these problems through economic and military action. The US has used sanctions and boycotts against Cuba, Vietnam and Nicaragua, to bring these countries to their knees and force political compromises from them. This economic action has been reinforced with military pressure.

Shortages of food and commodities provide fertile ground for reactionary forces if the masses are not highly politicised, and have expected all suffering and sacrifice to end with liberation. The MNR in Mozambique, the Contras in Nicaragua, and UNITA in Angola have all received US aid to exploit such problems.

Given that the imperialist world wants to keep SA in its fold, a people's government can anticipate a massive imperialist onslaught both to undermine it and tie the strings of dependency as tight as possible.

Transformation

In addressing these issues, Ngugi says that "Education and culture can play a decisive role in the social transformation so vital and necessary for a victory over the neo-colonial stage of imperialism."

The keys to the doors of learning and culture are needed to transform SA: to take control of all aspects of social organisation, to develop and expand the economy to improve the quality of life for all, and to withstand the onslaught of imperialism. Without education, without sharing the knowledge and skills to produce the daily needs of all SA's people, the South Africa envisaged in the Freedom Charter cannot be built.

Students have started laying the foundations of people's education. By developing organisation and political awareness they are moving beyond Bantu education. But, ways must still be found of developing the practical skills to run our lives and break the people's dependence on the ruling class, nationally and internationally.

THE NATIONAL Union of South African Students (Nusas) delegation arrived in Harare to meet the ANC with a mandate from more than 10 000 students on the English campuses.

Now Nusas has just finished reporting back to packed meetings around the country, where many students heard a detailed account of the ANC's strategy and tactics for the first time, and answers to their questions about what the future holds.

Nusas also published a booklet with a full account of the talks, which sold out within days of publication.

This is some of what Nusas president Brendan Barry and the Nusas executive reported back to students.

Strategy and Tactics

THE ANC told the Nusas delegation that the Freedom Charter is the basis of a new non-racial, democratic constitution. The ANC programme envisages the seizure of power by the majority of South Africans, the destruction of the apartheid state, and the establishment of a people's democracy.

The ANC broadly described the SA system as a special type of colonialism: as a country where many of the characteristics of colonial power relations remain intact, in particular the exclusion of black South Africans from exercising political power, and their exclusion from access to the national wealth of the country.

To the ANC, apartheid SA is characterised by extreme racial oppression, which has facilitated a highly exploitative form of capitalism.

As a result, the ANC sees conflict in SA between the oppressed masses and the oppressors; and between different classes — that is, between those who own the wealth of the country and those who produce it. This conflict gives rise to struggle between the ruling class on the one hand, and the working class, the peasantry, and the middle classes on the other — all of whom suffer under apartheid.

But the ANC argues that different groups and classes suffer to different degrees under apartheid; the most oppressed sector are the African people, and the most exploited are the African working class; therefore the main content of struggle is the liberation of the African people, under the leading role of the working class, who have the most to gain from liberation.

The ANC argues that any future system of government must be based on two fundamentals:

1. Firstly, that of peoples' power. The ANC sees the essence of liberation as people's control over their lives at every level.

2. Secondly, access and control over the national wealth. The ANC argues that people's power and control is meaningless without people's access to the benefits of the national wealth. At present the wealth is controlled by a handful of people — the owners of monopoly capital.

The ANC believes that a future government should not merely be based on parliamentary democracy, but should be a democracy of the working people, in which democratic structures on the land, in the communities, schools and factories give people real control over the running of their society on an ongoing basis.

Four pillars of struggle

THE ANC outlined what it calls the "four pillars of struggle", arguing that the correct intensification and co-ordination of these pillars would liberate SA's people. These four pillars are:

1. The underground structures of the ANC: these give the lead to political struggle inside the country.



The Nusas and ANC delegations

NUSAS reports back on its talks with the ANC: their vision of a new democratic SA

3. ATTITUDE TO WHITES

One of the key questions ANC was asked about their future South Africa... who live in it, black and white... in all its forms, and that they... they see as the only document... to rally the white population... would never see it in reverse... through its... the white community. But in... and did not see the white as... Pretoria regime.

The ANC sees it as imperative... apartheid, saying that the... with the liberation of all South... new equal apartheid oppres... what into a new racial South

2. STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE ANC

Liberation documents were based on this topic. We were... ANC is a broad national movement with its goal the... of the South African people.

They see their task as the mobilisation and organisation... who stand to gain from national liberation.

The ANC adopted the Freedom Charter after its term... of the People held in Kimberley in 1955. They... Freedom Charter was not exclusively their document... democratic legislation and acceptance, language... movement as a whole.

We were told that the Freedom Charter outlines... of that national democratic revolution, and... for a new non-racial, democratic constitution... liberally envisages the seizure of power... Africans, the destruction of the apartheid... of a people's democracy.

MASS ACTION!

The question of mass action... NUSAS delegates that they... revolutionaries since could... of the vast majority... is encouraged by... The ANC seeks also to... against apartheid to... The ANC says that in its... mass action.

NUSAS TALKS TO THE ANC

REPORTBACK ON MEETING BETWEEN THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD FROM SUNDAY, 31 MARCH to TUESDAY, 2 APRIL IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE

2. Mass action: this involves the mobilisation of all forces who stand to gain from national liberation. These forces are to be organised to act on all fronts.

3. Armed struggle: the ANC intends to systematically involve the mass of people through Umkhonto We Sizwe in a people's war against the ruling class. This combined with mass action would lead to the seizure of power.

4. International solidarity: this involves winning support and action against apartheid from the international community. The ANC itself also gives support to other liberation struggles.

Mass action

THE ANC says that in its mass political work, it pays particular attention to the working class, emphasising its role as the leading force in the national democratic struggle. As a collective force, the working class is the class that can insure that national liberation develops into real social liberation. For these reasons the ANC explained, the working class must seek to advance its own interests as a class in the course of NDS.

At the same time, it must also advance the interests of the peasantry and the middle classes, to win their support. The working class needs to cement alliances with these classes because on its own, it cannot win the struggle.

The ANC sees it as important to mould the youth, students and intellectuals into a powerful collective force, whose unity could take struggle to different classes and

overcome class differences in struggle.

The intensification of mass mobilisation on all fronts must lead to "ungovernability" — a situation in which people no longer accept the control imposed on them by apartheid, and make it unworkable.

The ANC described the structures being built to challenge and replace apartheid institutions now as part of building people's power, and thus laying a basis for a future people's democracy.

Armed struggle and people's war

THE ANC explained that its armed campaign started off as armed propaganda, but is now taking on the embryonic form of a people's war. As this spreads, the ANC believes MK will merge with the politicised and mobilised mass of the people, becoming a "political combat army" to confront the state.

The growth of people's war is one of their key strategic aims at present. In this way, they said, armed struggle and mass political work will be united in a mass offensive against the ruling class.

The ANC sees its armed struggle relying fundamentally on their underground political structures and mass action. Through making areas "ungovernable", they open up the possibility of replacing apartheid control with people's control — with mass democratic structures.

These areas of people's control already exist in some areas, the ANC argued.

Struggle in the white areas

THE Nusas delegation asked the ANC what their policy on soft targets was, and explained how the ANC's call to take the struggle into white area had been portrayed inside SA.

The ANC emphasised that no decision had been taken to attack white civilians. They explained that their call to take the struggle to the white area consisted of a number of components.

1. Strengthen the organisation of workers in the factories to engage in mass action.

2. Strengthen and spread the national consumer boycotts.

3. Engage in protest action in the white areas. People are less likely to get shot in the Central Business Districts than in the townships.

4. Armed attacks on enemy personnel and installations in the white areas. These include white farmers, who are incorporated into the army area defence units.

The ANC also told Nusas that white organisations have a key role to play in taking up political struggle in the white areas.

The ANC and negotiation

THE ANC told Nusas that because apartheid is the cause of SA's problems, the only worthwhile negotiations would be those that aimed at the total abolition of apartheid and the democratic transfer of power to the majority of South Africans.

While the ANC said it placed no

preconditions on negotiation, there were several steps that needed to be taken to show that the government is serious about negotiation, and to create a viable climate for it. These would include:

1. The unbanning of the ANC. They said they would need to consult all the democratic forces inside the country to establish a common approach to negotiation.

2. The unconditional release of all political prisoners. The ANC said it has always called for negotiations, but that it is only now that armed struggle and mass action are intensifying that the call is being taken more seriously. The lesson they draw from this is that if one is serious about negotiation, one must combine the call with the intensification of political struggle. This is what will finally force the government into genuine negotiations, they said.

The ANC also explained to Nusas how they see a national convention:

1. The convention must be sovereign ie: there must be no higher force wielding political or military power above it.

2. Delegates to such a convention must be elected representatives. They do not see a national convention as a gathering of interest groups. So PW would only be there if he was elected to be there, not as State President.

3. The convention must be able to draw up the new constitution without interference.

The ANC stressed that they will not engage in any secret negotiations, nor will they negotiate without consulting the democratic forces inside the country.

Oppression of women

THE ANC recognises the threefold nature of women's oppression. They see women's struggle as integral to the national liberation struggle, and encourage the participation and leadership of women at all levels. But they do not see the women's struggle being entirely resolved by national liberation.

Political and economic system

THE ANC supports one person one vote in a unitary, undivided SA. It lays emphasis on people's power, and sees the structures of people's power which are being built today as laying the basis for a future people's democracy.

The ANC said it was not opposed to a multi-party system, but that no party advocating racism or war would be allowed to operate.

They opposed any system of entrenching group rights, arguing that this was a racist approach. But they believe the rights of individuals should be guaranteed by the state, and so supported the notion of a bill of rights. The Freedom Charter provides the framework for this, they said.

The ANC told the Nusas delegation that national liberation must encompass economic liberation and social emancipation, and would be meaningless without control over the national wealth.

They said a new SA state will have to fulfil the aspirations of the mass of South Africans, and that to do so, the state will have to be in a position to command the economy, in order to serve the well-being of the people as a whole.

In this regard, they advocate an anti-monopoly democracy in which monopoly business is nationalised without disrupting the economy.

Free enterprise, they said, could never redistribute the national wealth in a way which benefited the people.

The ANC saw the land question as very difficult to solve. They would advocate the nationalisation and redistribution of farms owned by monopoly businesses, the Land Bank, and absentee farmers.

EPG: No easy road to talks.

THE SADF raids into Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana have dealt a severe blow to the hopes of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) of initiating serious dialogue between the South African government and the African National Congress.

The raids came only hours after the EPG completed a further round of discussions with the ANC, and showed clearly how the SA government intends to deal with the increasingly powerful challenge of the liberation movement.

With the EPG initiative in ruins, attention is now focussed on the Commonwealth meeting this month.

The EPG's mandate expires at this meeting, and Commonwealth countries will have to assess whether enough progress has been made to encourage political dialogue and fundamental reform to prevent economic sanctions on SA by the Commonwealth countries.

As almost none of the basic criteria have been met, there will be pressure to go ahead with sanctions.

Speaking in Lusaka after the raid, ANC National Executive Committee members said the Commonwealth has no option but to impose sanctions on South Africa.

But they fear attempts will be made to derail the momentum gained for sanctions.

It was reported that the ANC likened the EPG to a rerun of the Contact Group in Namibia, where the whole process was deliberately protracted so that the regime could be left there to deal with domestic matters on the pretext that international negotiations were taking place.

The EPG was set up after last year's Commonwealth Summit in the Bahamas, which resolved to encourage political dialogue and fundamental reform in South Africa. When Britain rigidly opposed calls for sanctions, a compromise was designed to save the summit from breaking up in disagreement. The EPG was mandated to assess whether progress was being made by SA in ending apartheid.

The Group was given until June 1986 to assess the situation and then the Commonwealth would again consider imposing sanctions.

Certain criteria were defined by the Commonwealth Government to help the EPG assess the SA government's actions: an end to the State of Emergency, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the ban on the ANC, and across-the-board political dialogue aimed at establishing a non-racial representative government all in the context of violence suspended on all sides.

British Minister Margaret Thatcher argued that steps had to be taken to get rid of apartheid without destroying the powerful economic system in South Africa.

Rather than adopting measures which would force the Nationalist Government to change, she said, it was now necessary to bring about dialogue between the government and representatives of the black community.

While claiming to support the international campaign to end apartheid, Britain's real motivation was clear: as one of SA's key investors and trading partners, Britain wanted to diffuse the growing conflict without jeopardising their interests keeping the economic structures of Apartheid firmly intact.

Every attempt would be made to end racial discrimination by the SA government. But, equally importantly, Thatcher would act to end violence by the opponents of the SA regime especially the armed challenge of the anti-imperialist ANC.

P.W. Botha initially publicly rejected the commonwealth ultimatum which gave him six months to end apartheid.

Nevertheless, the first EPG delegation arrived in SA in February, and was met by Cabinet Ministers in Cape Town.

EPG members held several meetings with the SA government. Publically presenting themselves as a fact-finding mission, there were indications that they were feeling out attitudes towards a commonwealth-supervised negotiated settlement to the conflict in SA. They met a wide range of groups, including Buthelezi, Winnie Mandela and the UDF.

In March, they were given permission to meet Nelson Man-



SADF raids dealt a severe blow to EPG efforts

del. News reports claimed this was the closest the SA government has ever come to officially acknowledging Mandela as one of the country's political leaders, and someone who would have to be included if the "dialogue" envisaged by the EPG got under way.

But the delegation left SA on a more sombre note. In their final meeting with P.W. Botha he said he would not take part in dialogue with his political opponents, in particular the ANC. Yet on SABC, P.W. Botha said there was good reason to believe the EPG could play a meaningful role in promoting dialogue and bringing violence in SA to an end.

He said the EPG had suggested in a report that it could mediate between black and white nationalists in SA.

While the EPG was meeting in London on April 30, P.W. Botha made a speech in parliament in which he drew a distinction between nationalist and communists in the ANC. He said, "If the nationalists come forward and say they want to return to SA and take part in constitutional, evolutionary processes, and if they will renounce violence, they will be welcome. They can come back tomorrow."

He added, "You can't expect me, while the ANC is under the control of the Communist Party and still openly advocates violence, to deal with them."

Botha's conditions for dialogue were clearly irreconcilable with the ANC's position. There has been absolutely no indication of a rift between nationalist and communist members of the liberation movement. In addition, the ANC has maintained its commitment to the armed component of the struggle.

The ANC told the Nusas delegation recently that it intends to gradually and systematically involve the mass of people through Umkhonto we Sizwe in a people's war against the ruling class. This, combined with mass action, would culminate in the overthrow of the state, and the seizure of power.

The manoeuvres of the EPG were clearly exposed during their next visit to SA. P.W. Botha sent a message to the EPG which included a report of his offer to release Mandela if both he and his movement renounced violence. On the basis of this, the EPG came to SA again, claiming to have made a number of proposals to the SA government and to the ANC.

An ANC spokesperson said that the ANC had not received any proposals from the EPG and as such was not considering any truce deal with SA.

This second EPG visit to SA was clouded in secrecy and speculation. It began with a visit to foreign minister, P.W. Botha, with both sides stubbornly refusing to admit that the meeting took place. But amidst the clandestine exchange of views, it became clear that SA was in an increasingly desperate position.

They could not afford to reject the EPG proposals, with the Commonwealth five meeting drawing nearer. They had to discuss the possibility of dialogue with the ANC in an attempt to avoid the EPG recommending that mandatory sanctions be imposed on SA. Yet each discussion brought the prospect of actually having to sit down with the ANC that much closer. And even to sit down with the ANC would be to acknowledge their position as the true leaders of the people of SA.

The EPG then hurriedly went to Lusaka to meet the ANC and to present them with formal proposals. These were:

1. Withdrawal of SA troops and police from the African townships;
2. The unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela;
3. The lifting of the ban on the ANC; and
4. Normal political activity for the ANC, including freedom of movement and of speech.

In return, the ANC would have to agree to suspend violence, and negotiate with the SA authorities without conditions.

ANC leaders said they were not keen on the proposals, but would not turn down the plan altogether. They would leave the door open while they consulted further, and would give Pretoria another week to say whether it was prepared to meet the same conditions.

They said that there was absolutely nothing to suggest that Pretoria was ready or willing to negotiate. At the same time, they were adamant they would not meet Botha's stipulated condition for talks that the ANC first renounce violence.

Overseas newspapers reported the ANC's view that as apartheid was an act of violence, for the ANC to renounce violence while apartheid continued would be a one-sided action.

The ANC expressed fears that the SA government was planning to prolong the process into endless dialogue. The group then returned to SA on the morning of the SADF raid. Although they indicated that progress had been made, the raid retarded whatever progress was underway. The fact that the attacks were directed at three commonwealth member countries was seen to present insurmountable obstacle to further talks.

After what may prove to have been the final exchange with the SA government, the EPG left for home. The commonwealth conference alone will show whether Thatcher's strategy succeeded in buying time for the SA government.



Margaret Thatcher

P.W. Botha

Oliver Tambo

Terrorism: can Reagan really point a finger at Ghadafi?

ON APRIL 14, the quiet, pre-dawn hours on the Libyan capital of Tripoli were shattered by the thunder of American bombs which rained down on the sleeping city.

44 F1-11 bombers took part in the attack on densely populated areas of the country, killing dozens of civilians including Colonel Ghadafi's own daughter.

The fact that Ghadafi's home was a target gives a clue to the real purpose of the bombing raid, which was to kill Ghadafi, create a political crisis, and give pro-Western forces an opportunity to seize power.

In the hours following the attack, an ultimatum to the Libyan people to disobey Ghadafi's orders or accept the consequences was broadcast in Arabic fifteen times by America's external radio service, the Voice of America.

Meanwhile, right-wing Libyan groups in the West announced that an 'interim Government' had been formed.

But what has Ghadafi really done to provoke such an attack?

The official version is that Libya sponsors terrorist acts against the USA. When a nightclub in West Berlin was bombed on April 5 two people, one a US citizen, were killed and Libya was blamed.

Libya has denied this vehemently, but the attack came at just the right time to provide the US with the excuse it wanted to 'intervene' in Libya.

The US had conducted naval exercises in the Gulf of Sidra, off the Libyan coast, four times in the preceding three months. On March 25, this led to armed clashes with Libya.

Reagan claims that the American attack was an act of self-defence against Libyan terrorism, but America itself is in no position to point a finger at states engaged in terrorism.

In March, the US Senate gave Reagan the go-ahead to spend another \$100 million on military aid to the contras, a mercenary army that is attacking Nicaragua from bases in neighbouring Honduras.

Us-supported terrorism against Nicaragua has a long history. Since the US-backed dictatorship of Somoza collapsed and was replaced by a democratic government in 1979, there have been repeated acts of aggression against the South American nation.

One example was the mining of Nicaraguan ports in 1984. In one month, six ships, including a fishing boat, hit the US mines.

In 1975, the US Senate reported that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had tried eight times to assassinate Cuba's Fidel Castro, and was also responsible for the murder of Rene Schneider, a Chilean General whom the Americans feared would not co-operate with US plans to overthrow the government of Salvadore Allende.

A country that operates state terrorism on a world scale is hardly in a position to point an accusing finger at Libya.

To find the real reason for US hostility to the Ghadafi government it is necessary to look more closely at Libya's recent history and its role in the Middle East.

Libya was an Italian colony, but after the second World War, King Idris I was installed by Britain. Power and wealth was concentrated in the hands of the King and his family, who co-operated with Britain and the USA by providing military bases and allowing the big oil companies to exploit the country's natural resources.

Britain had 2 500 troops in Libya at the time, and the US Air Forces' Wheelus Field

Base was the largest anywhere in the world outside the USA.

When a group of young army officers overthrew King Idris I in September 1969, they established a Revolutionary Council that began a programme of far-reaching social change.

Key petroleum companies and foreign banks were nationalised, uncultivated foreign-owned land was distributed amongst poor peasants, and US and British bases were closed.

The new regime, led by Ghadafi, established a health service, introduced compulsory education, and began to create democratic political structures. Campaigns

were launched to oppose conservative ideas about the role of women.

There are no political parties, but through the General People's Congress and local Congresses and committees that have operated since 1977, Libya's 3.5 million people have an unprecedented opportunity to take part in their country's government.

Although the lives of Libyan people have improved substantially under his rule, the fact that the US administration has targeted Ghadafi as Public Enemy Number One does not make him a progressive anti-imperialist.

Ghadafi is most dangerous not to the USA, but to progressive forces in the Middle East itself.



It was Ghadafi who aided the Sudanese counter-revolution in 1971, promoted the invasion of South Yemen in 1972, and contributed to the split in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1983.

He has done more perhaps than any other Arab leader to discredit the Palestinian struggle through his racism towards Israel's Jewish people, and has contributed little to the liberation of the Arab peoples. Instead, he diverts energy and attention away from the real problems facing the Middle East.

The reason for American and other Western countries' involvement in the Middle East is because of the vast natural wealth of the region.

The countries of North Africa and the Middle East provide two thirds of known reserves of petroleum, and over a quarter of the gas reserves of capitalist and developing nations.

Clearly, the bombing raids on Libya were aimed at destabilising Ghadafi's rule and bringing to power a government more supportive of American interests in the region.

It is unlikely they will succeed.

For many years America has intervened in Third World states where support for Socialism threatens its economic and political interests. In 1985, American policy on its dealings with Third World states was spelled out clearly under the banner of the 'Reagan Doctrine'.

This policy involves four aspects:

- increased supply of arms and financial support to Third World regimes facing progressive opposition — like El Salvador;
- aid to groups seeking to overthrow socialist states — like Angola, Cambodia, Nicaragua and Afghanistan;
- manipulation of democratic struggles — like the Philippines, Sudan and Haiti;
- direct military involvement where necessary.

In some states, like Libya, where there is no clear opposition for the US to support and where neighbouring countries, for example Egypt, are in no position to intervene, the US has to go in itself.

Despite international outrage, the Reagan administration can count some short-term gains. The attack pleased many right-wing Americans.

"We showed that we're tough guys not to be messed with", said a US diplomat.

The raid also gave the American military establishment a perfect opportunity to test new weapons and tactics, and US forces based in Britain had their first taste of action since World War II, gaining valuable experience.

But other, more valuable strategic lessons were learned.

The raid showed the weakness of the Arab states and their inability to act together even in the face of military attack.

It showed that the Soviet Union will not risk confrontation with the US in the Middle East, even when provoked severely.

It also showed Britain's dependence on America — Reagan wanted to use Britain as a launch pad for the raid, and Thatcher could do little to block the plan.

Above all, the raid showed the Reagan administration's complete lack of understanding of Middle East politics, a mistake that could seriously affect its long-term interests in the region.

American attacks on Libya can only boost the rising tide of anti-US feeling in the area, and undermine those regimes who are seen as US allies.

"We ain't gonna play"

SUNCITY

A new front has been opened up in battle against Apartheid, with over fifty popular musicians having joined together to record a powerful musical statement against the hated system.

This is the song 'Sun City', and although it's banned in South Africa, it's made news headlines internationally and is a favourite on radio and TV playlists.

The driving force behind the project is singer Steven van Zandt. A musician who shot to fame as a member of Bruce Springsteen's East Street Band, he's now producing solo albums.

'Little Steven,' as he's known, explained to SASPU National how the project happened, and why.

"SUN CITY was a song that came out of my gut, fueled by the disgust I felt when I visited the resort of the same name. On the way there, I had stopped at a village where people had to carry water in on their heads, and then I came face-to-face with the swimming pools and fantasy atmosphere — carrying on business as usual in the phony freedom of the Bop homeland.

"The song was my way of bringing some of the complexities and realities of apartheid home.

"Many South Africans have heard about or read about the SUN CITY record. But since it was banned by your radio stations even prior to its release, and badly distributed, if it was distributed at all, let me try to describe our musical and media attempt at solidarity with your struggle.

"Last spring, I wrote the song that sought to bring your struggle into the ears and consciousness of Americans.

"SUN CITY focuses on the infamous resort in Bophutatswana and makes a statement that we won't play there, no matter what they'll pay.

"In that sense, the song is both by and for the musical community — directed to those few artists who continue to play at Sun City, and to the general public.

"But, the song says more than that. It speaks directly to the idea of phony homelands, and the relocation policies that tear families apart.

"It also explicitly and directly names and blasts Ronald Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement'. It asks the American people 'why are we always on the wrong side?'

The song became a collective statement representing the committed voices of 'Artists United Against Apartheid'.

"We lined up a roster of artists unlike any ever pressed onto one piece of vinyl. They came from all corners of the music industry.

"Some who took part were Hall and Oates, Pat Benatar, Bono from the group U2, Ringo Starr of The Beatles fame, The Who's Pete Townsend, Keith Richard and Ron Wood of the Rolling Stones, Bob

Musician Steven van Zandt explains why he wrote SUNCITY

Geldof, Bruce Springsteen, Bob Dylan, Jackson Browne, Lou Reed and Joey Ramone, Gill Scott-Heron, Eddie Kendrick and David Ruffin of the Temptations, Bobby Womack, Miles Davis, Herbie Hancock, Jimmy Cliff and Big Youth, and the Malopoets.

"Our lyrics and multi-racial approach explicitly challenged racism in America as well as racism in South Africa.

"Unlike some critics of apartheid, we are well aware of how deeply racism still festers in the American soil.

"As Bruce Springsteen put it in an interview, 'I was hoping that by helping bring attention to what's going on in South Africa, it would make us look in our own backyards at the terrible problems we have with racism in this country right now'.

SUN CITY was probably the first record banned in South Africa by radio before anyone even heard it.

"We can't offend our sharehol-

ders", was the way a programmer for Radio 702 explained the decision. So much for the so-called freedom of Bop-based radio.

"Sadly, many commercial radio stations in our own country followed the lead of their South African counterparts. They wouldn't play the record giving political pressure as one reason.

"In response, political leaders in our country spoke out on behalf of the public's right to hear SUN CITY. Mayors Bradley of Los Angeles and Andrew Young of Atlanta held press conferences. Martin Luther King's widow Coretta Scott King challenged radio stations to play the song.

"In Washington, leaders of the Congressional fight against apartheid did the same.

"Television coverage brought SUN CITY into America's living rooms. Sol Kerzner, owner of Sun City, flew to New York to debate us in an hour-long nationally broadcast talk-show.

"Kerzner admitted our efforts were hurting his ability to find artists to play Sun City. His defense of Sun City won few converts.

"On that same show, Eddie Man-

gope, defending his father's regime in Bophutatswana, was shouted down as he tried to rationalize the homelands policy.

"Our record was not offered as a 'charity record'. In fact, we refer to it as a 'reality record'. We are trying to ensure that the money we raise through royalties is used to further the struggle.

"Specifically, we earmarked the money for political prisoners and their families inside South Africa, the cultural and educational needs of those forced into exile, and for grassroots organising against Apartheid.

"In the meantime, we are continuing to appeal to artists to boycott South Africa.

"We think that if they are earning royalties from records sold there, they should donate them to the people so as not to profit from Apartheid.

"Clearly, it is the people who are sacrificing and struggling in South Africa who must guide those of us who want to support your efforts.

"We know that musicians have a responsibility to use our gifts in the service of humankind.

"Let us know the next step".

"My hometown"

"FOREMAN says jobs are going, boys and they ain't coming back..."

These aren't just words to a song by American rock singer Bruce Springsteen. They are the living truth about Springsteen's hometown, Freehold, New Jersey, where 430 workers at 3M are losing their jobs.

Facing severe competition, 3M decided to close its least profitable plant — Freehold. The workers have not taken their fate lying down.

Through their union — Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers — they launched a massive campaign to publicise the company's action.

One result was a work-stoppage in solidarity by 350 Cawusa members at 3M's Elandsfontein plant.

The union also got in touch with some of the people who use the product made at the plant, video tapes, used in the entertainment industry.

Prominent musicians and recording artists joined the protest against the layoffs. Bruce Springsteen, Willie Nelson and several TV actors pulled in, urging the company to consider alternatives to a permanent shut-down.

And Springsteen wrote and recorded 'My Hometown', which climbed to the top of the charts.

But 3M is refusing to budge, and the plant closed down for good on May 29.

The union is determined to keep the issue of plant closings alive. On May 29, the union and its supporters held a massive rally, joined by New Jersey Artists for Mankind whose concert aimed to highlight these efforts and continue support for the Freehold 3M workers.

In a joint statement, South African and American 3M workers have pledged to work together 'to build a world that truly protects the most basic human rights of all working people'.



Big bucks back Rambo-style removals

THE REAGAN administration has condemned forced removals in South Africa — yet 10 000 Navajo Indians living in a reserve in Arizona are facing forced removal. "Eviction of those Navajo could be enforced by US marshalls and the US military", said Presidential assistant Richard Morris.

The Reagan administration claims the removals are necessary to reduce 'tensions' between the Navajo and Hopi Indian communities.

But there is little tension between the two communities. The real reason for the removal is economic interest: the land on which the Navajo have lived for over 300 years is rich in coal deposits.

The deadline for the removals is set for July 8, but Navajo leaders have vowed to resist the removal. Confrontations have taken place and already shots have been fired.

'SUN CITY' was rated the number one song of the year by most big music magazines. Now the artists who produced the song are taking their message further, even into the schools.

They've put together a package to teach American students the facts behind the exploitative homelands policy which spawned Sol Kerzner's pleasure complex.

SUN CITY — the song, the video and the book, aims to motivate students to learn more about South Africa, and work out ways in which they can take responsibility for bringing about change.

Teaching the US about change

The package comes with a guide for teachers, and background information to direct questions and discussions. It suggests questions like:

- What is the connection between the wealth of many whites and the poverty and repression of many blacks?
- Why would the South African government want to 'buy' performers to

play in South Africa and the so-called independent homelands like Bophutatswana?

"We're motivating people" says 'Little Steven' Van Zandt. "We start small, one person, two people, and we end up with a lot of people going in the same direction, and that's how political change is made."

Already there are results. Students are actively working to educate others about Apartheid, as well as putting the pressure on the American government and business interests to support real change in South Africa.

HIT & MISS!

AFTER BOMBING a housing complex in Gaborone, the SADF left pamphlets behind appealing to the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) not to interfere with the SADF operations, saying that the people of Botswana are the friends of South Africa. This is true. But the people of Botswana don't show their friendship towards SA by supporting the SADF — they do so by refusing to turn away South African refugees fleeing from apartheid.

The South African government is not good at making friends in Africa, and the raids into Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia have made it a few worse enemies.

The raids were "savage, cowardly, criminal and unforgivable," said Kenneth Kaunda, Zambian president. He swore that "somewhere, somehow, the blood that has been spilled will be avenged."

The raids stunned the world. Not just because of the unashamed violation of the territorial integrity of neighbouring states, or because of the death of innocent people — but because of the sheer political stupidity of it.

Politically, SA made crashing losses in the raid; militarily, it was nothing to be proud of; the ANC came out almost unscathed, with its case against SA strengthened internationally.

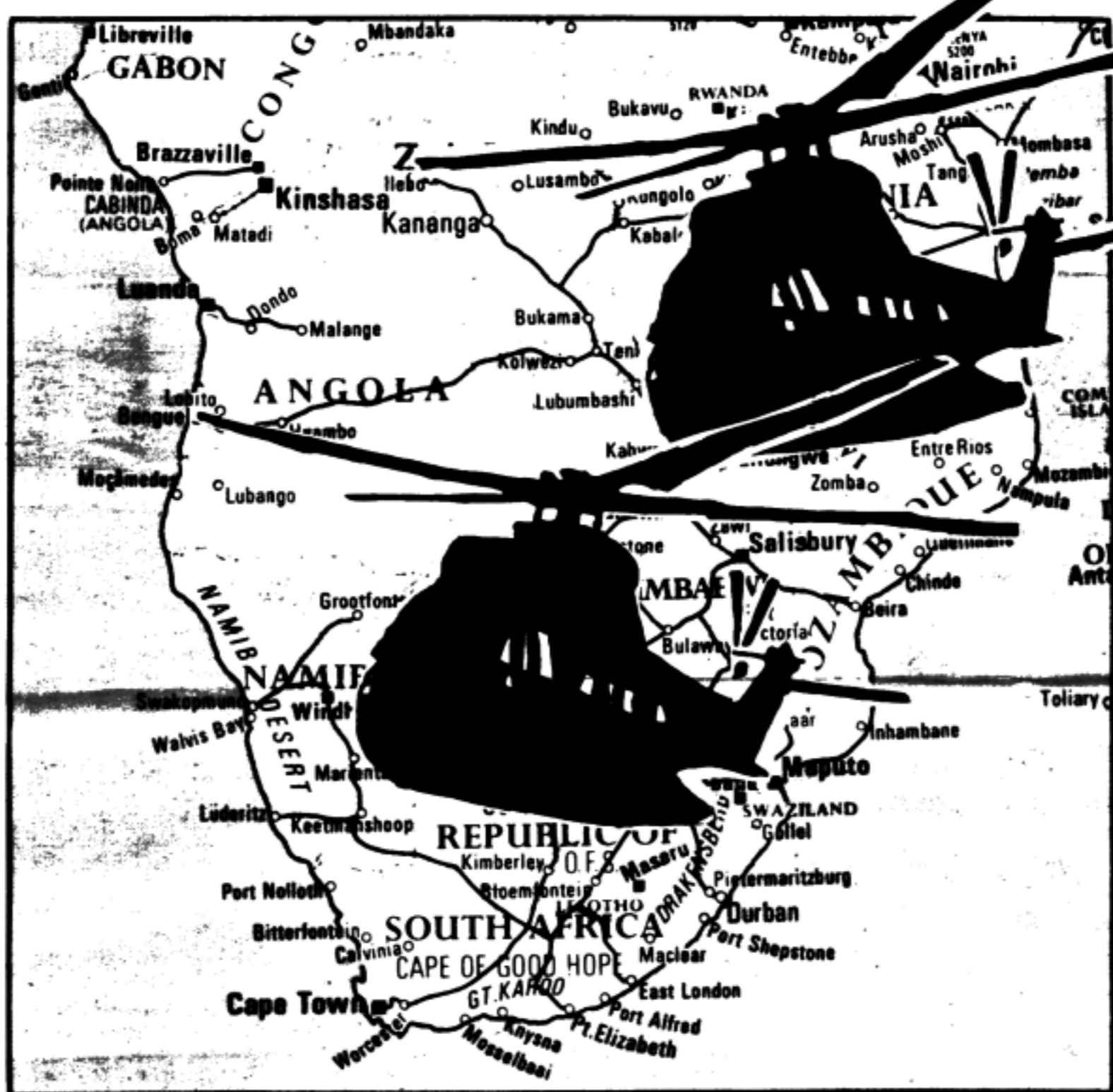
Botha argued that the raids were equivalent to Reagan's attack on Libya, as if that justified them. The SADF is trying "to convert the defence of apartheid into part of the world-wide anti-terrorist crusade", the Mozambican news agency pointed out.

But it's the SADF who have been labelled the terrorists. "SA has adopted state terrorism as a policy that could lead to a dangerous security situation in the Southern African region", Robert Mugabe said after the raids. "Because we, the victims, will defend ourselves".

The possibility of OAU member states forming an army to defend the region has been put firmly on the agenda again. "We are preparing our forces to retaliate in case of future attack," Kaunda announced.

Botswana President Quett Masire said, "This wanton attack is typically treacherous," and pointed out that the raid into Botswana came only days before SA was due to meet Botswana officials to discuss security matters. Faced with an opportunity to talk, SA chose to shoot.

SA's credibility as an honest partner in agreements with its neighbours is at an all-time low.



It's often been said that the SA government is its own worst enemy. The recent SADF raids into neighbouring states prove the point.

They are allowing the MNR to set up offices in Durban, and reports that they continue to supply the MNR with arms are rife.

The Nkomati Accord is clearly not worth the paper it is written on, and Mozambique authorities may well regret that they ever kept their side of the deal by limiting ANC operations there.

Zimbabwe is determined not to bow to similar military and economic pressure from SA. Mugabe has come out more strongly than ever in defence of the ANC's right to have offices there. "The attacks will never ever force us to close the ANC offices", he said.

In terms of SA's internal politics, the raids did no good either. If they were intended to calm the right wing through

a show of bully machismo, they failed.

And those on Botha's cabinet who have spent long hours cultivating a "nice-guy" reformist image for the government must be confused at what they are supposed to say now.

Pik Botha has been spending his energy smooth-talking the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) into believing in the reform process (without promising a black president, of course).

The same day the raids took place, the EPG had a meeting with the SA cabinet to discuss a peaceful solution in SA. But the raids showed that the government has little interest in that, and the EPG members went home to seek new instructions.

The raids highlighted the

naivete of those who saw SA's announcements of reforms as a sign that the SA government could be talked into handing over power.

They misunderstand the difference between the hard-liners and the reformists. It is a difference of strategy — but both want to ensure they keep their own brand of power.

While Heunis may want to meet with democratic civics, and Viljoen may believe the NECC is "reasonable" in the final analysis this government relies on force. The raids are just another case in point.

In the eyes of many overseas observers, the raids add weight to the ANC's argument that its armed strategy is necessary. Pik is smart enough to

know that the SADF raids sabotaged his own diplomatic efforts far more effectively than they sabotaged the ANC. He may as well not have wasted his time.

Barend Du Plessis' schemes to stabilise the floundering SA economy may have been doomed from the start, but the raids have sent the economy and the rand nosediving in a way that has left business with its head in its hands, and Barend with a deep desire to bunk his next meeting with the international bankers.

The threat of economic sanctions also looms a lot larger now that the EPG's survival is in doubt.

When Maggie Thatcher suggested setting up the EPG at the Commonwealth Conference last year, it was as a last resort against imposing economic sanctions.

The SA government has ruined this tactic. Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe are all commonwealth countries. Thatcher will find it difficult to keep going soft on SA if she wants to hold the commonwealth together.

The raids also made life more uncomfortable for the SA government's few allies. Harsh words were directed at Maggie Thatcher and Ronald Reagan for their support for the SA regime.

President Kaunda lashed out at Western countries "who prop up the apartheid regime".

Without the US to underwrite apartheid, SA would not so easily disregard world opinion, Kaunda said. He accused the Reagan administration of allowing SA to bomb and kill innocent people.

"The Reagan clique must learn to respect morals — and not state murders", he said.

Militarily, the raids were surprisingly ineffective, given SA's military strength and claims of inside information. The only ANC target they hit was the office in Harare, whose location was public information.

For the rest, they bombed a camp for Angolan and Namibian refugees outside Lusaka, an empty house in Harare, and a housing complex no longer used by the ANC in Gaborone. Not much to boast of.

But even if the SADF had hit ANC headquarters in Lusaka, they cannot really believe, as PW claims, that this would eliminate the ANC.