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# SASPU INTERNATIONAL

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## Angry mourners vow to continue Dube's struggle

MORE THAN 5000 mourners attended the funeral of former Robben Island prisoner Harrison Msizi Dube on May 1 who was gunned down outside his Lamontville home by unknown assailants on April 24.

Most of the crowd had to stand outside during the four hour funeral. Permission to hold the service in the local soccer stadium had been refused and so it took place in the small community hall.

After seven nights of unrest in the township following Dube's death, the audience was extremely well disciplined but on the edges of the crowd outside, angry mourners confronted a man whom they accused of taping the speeches with a recording machine he had been hiding.

The man who residents say had long been suspected of being a police informer was repeatedly knifed and police recovered his body once the crowd had dispersed.

According to officials of the Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) who control the township, there were sporadic incidents of stone throwing after the burial.

Dube had been imprisoned during the sixties for ANC activities. His coffin was draped with a large ANC flag and many mourners wore green, black and gold.

The huge crowd repeatedly shouted the slogan 'Asinamali' - we have no money. They were referring to the controversial rent hike due to be implemented by the PNAB from May 1.

Dube, a Lamontville community councillor was an outspoken critic of the tariff increase. According to



Mourners demand scrapping of rent hikes

several speakers he had repeatedly condemned other councillors for their refusal to act on important community problems such as the busfare increase last year and this year's rent hikes.

Dube was a prominent member of the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) which represented residents in all the PNAB townships in opposition to the hikes. A JORAC resolution not to pay the new tariffs at the funeral won thunderous applause from the crowd.

The JORAC chairperson urged

mourners to boycott the community council elections in November and called for the scrapping of the community council system.

According to one speaker, Dube had been extremely critical of the community council and there had never been the slightest chance he would be co-opted by it.

He was particularly admired by the youth in Lamontville with whom he had worked extensively. Most young people in the audience wore T-shirts with a picture of Dube and the slogan 'Asinamali'.



'We have no money' say placards at Dube's funeral

## TIC: 'proud democratic tradition' revived

THE TRANSVAAL Indian Congress (TIC) — a body with a proud history of struggle which has been dormant for nearly 20 years — was revived in Lenasia on May 1, and the election of Dr Essop Jassat, chairperson of the Transvaal Anti-Saic committee (Tasc), as president of the revived TIC, was greeted by a standing ovation from the 1500 people present.

The meeting was honoured by the presence of almost the entire executive of the Natal Indian Congress as well as a number of people who have been prominent in the struggle for change in South Africa over many years.

Dr Jassat traced the history of the TIC and its demise in the 1960's.

'However the anti-Saic campaign of 1981 politicised our people.'

'The first congress of Tasc in 1982

decided that a political organisation which would articulate the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people of the Transvaal was needed and the call was made to revive the TIC,' he said.

Messages of support came from over 20 organisations around the country, including the Natal Indian Congress, the ad hoc anti-PC committee, Soweto's anti-Community Council committee, and Committee of Ten, the national student organisations, various youth movements, Gawu and Dhac.

'The TIC has a proud history of fighting for democratic rights not only for the Indians, but for all the people of South Africa,' said the statement from Gawu and the Municipal and General Workers Union of South Africa.

'If the TIC can bring to the national liberation movement a well organised

and motivated group, then it will have contributed to the struggle,' said a guest speaker Dr N Motlana, chairperson of the Soweto Committee of Ten.

He paid a tribute to past TIC leaders such as Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naiker and lamented the loss of the Congress Alliance.

'But if we can come again,' he said, 'with the kind of movement in the United Democratic Front which can mobilise all our people into one mass movement, then the idea deserves the support of all freedom lovers.'

Another guest speaker, advocate Zac Yacoob, brought greetings and solidarity from Natal at a time when 'the growing and all embracing forces of resistance face a crucial and momentous period of decision, commitment, correct assessment and united action.'

Yacoob called for a programme

which would encourage maximum participation by the majority of South African, which would 'galvanise our strength and minimise our weaknesses' and would 'take every advantage of chinks in the armour of the other side'.

This programme 'draws its direction and inspiration from a clear and undisputed beacon — the Freedom Charter'.

'The Freedom Charter represents the culmination of a significant part of the history of the struggles of the people,' he said.

'It also established the national democratic character of our movement, for it is impossible to achieve its laudable goals without dismantling the economic and social order of this unjust society.'

'Although the process of liberation has its roots in the participation of all people, around issues of their im-

mediate concern, their ultimate freedom can only be spearheaded by their political organisation,' he said.

A political organisation will give cohesion, thrust and direction and character to the struggles of the majority of the people, he said.

He called on all those committed to the struggle to ensure the breaking down of all barriers — regional or provincial, racial or class, worker or community, rural or urban barriers.

'The United Democratic Front offers tremendous potential for the breaking down of these barriers and the building up of unity.'

Yacoob concluded by saying:

'The liberation of any one sector of our people — whether they are Indians, Africans or coloured, student or workers is inextricably connected with the liberation of the whole of South Africa.'



# ORGANISE!



Organising working women is the task for 1983

## UWO sets goals at AGM

'Let's organise all women. Let us organise women who are mothers, women who are wives, and women who are workers. And for each group of women we shall have to organise differently.'

This was said at the opening of the United Women's Organisation (UWO) AGM, where Mama Zihlangu was elected for a second term as UWO chairperson. 'Our baby is 2 years old, it is growing, we

must nurse it carefully,' she said.

At the AGM in Athlone, Cape Town, the UWO set organising working women as its task for 1983.

Problems in organising women centred on their deprived and exploited position in our society where women are treated as minors by the law and by their husbands.

'Women work in factories, they cook and clean for their children. Where will they find time for

organisation?' asked one delegate. 'But,' she said, 'it is clear a struggle such as ours can only be won if we work side by side with our men.'

Mothers have been drawn into the UWO in various ways. Many branches have established children's creches and are discussing evening child care so that mothers can become involved in organisation. 'Mothers realise that when many are sharing the same responsibilities, it becomes easier to cope and more important to organise,' said one delegate.

The UWO sees women as women, but also as part of their community. It has supported the KTC squatters and the bread boycott. A policy was taken to totally reject the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills and the UWO

pledged support to fight both as two aspects of the same campaign.

The conference worked hard to lay down UWO'S work for the year. Last year, UWO decided to be based only in the Western Cape. While this decision has not changed, it would continue to assist women in other regions to form their own women's organisations.

A minute's silence was observed for the six condemned ANC guerillas. Azaso read a message of support.

The conference was opened by Granni Dora Tamana, Helen Joseph spoke on the Women's Federation of the 1950's and Zora Meholamakhulu gave concrete advice on how to organise. All three saluted, 'Forward women of UWO. The road is thorny but liberation is in the air.'

## Students score in campus campaign

UNIVERSITY OF the Western Cape students mounted a successful protest campaign against the university's administration at the beginning of the academic year, highlighting their grievances about conditions on campus.

UWC's accommodation crisis was one of the main protest issues. Students unable to secure a place to stay in Cape Town or on campus had been 'squatting' in the university's hostels.

Another demand was for autonomous hostel committees and freedom from interference in their decisions and activities.

Rector Richard van der Ross's ban

## Detainee in Jhb hospital

MODIKAE TATSA, who has been imprisoned for nearly four years, was recently admitted to the psychiatric ward of Johannesburg Hospital.

Tatsa was initially detained in December 1979 under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was charged with terrorism in June 1980. A month later all charges were withdrawn.

He was immediately re-detained. In March 1980 he was called as a state witness in an Ermelo terrorism trial. He refused to testify and was sentenced to three years in jail. This was later reduced to twelve months on appeal.

On his release in March 1982, Tatsa was immediately detained again. He was held in Modderbee prison until his admission to hospital.

on an orientation focus aimed at presenting alternative views on education, and van der Ross's ban on the use of hostel dining halls and lounges for student programmes, sparked off the campaign.

This resulted in a hostel mass meeting on February 23 where an ad hoc committee consisting of representatives from each residence was elected.

The meeting decided to take action by staging a selective food boycott. This was a reaction to hostel food and was used as a mobilising tool for several other issues.

At a subsequent mass meeting with the rest of campus a full list of demands was drawn up: house comm autonomy, more hostel accommodation, better food both in hostels and the cafeteria and realistic fees and booklists.

Students marched to the administration buildings, summoned Van der Ross and handed over the mass meeting's demands.

Van der Ross's negative attitude led to the second phase of protest: direct confrontation and defiance.

When, by the second due date the rector had not answered the second set of demands, students decided to persist. They marched to the administration building and sang outside while delegates demanded an answer.

Pressure from the mass outside his window — especially moves to enter the building — prompted a positive response from Van der Ross to the students' demands. The campaign was a success.



Nunkululeko Mazibuko is welcomed home

## Four go free after trial

FOUR YOUNG people charged under the Terrorism act for alleged involvement in the exiled South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Saycro) have been acquitted after a nine-month trial in Kempton Park.

Stanley Radebe (27), Mtutuzeli Madalane (24), Ernest Mohakala (23) and Nunkululeko Mazibuko (20) were acquitted after the magistrate I J J Luther found the security police had forced state witnesses to give evidence.

The trial was marked throughout by dramatic events and legal wrangles.

A legal expert described the judgement as 'very significant', being the first time people charged under the

Terrorism Act had been acquitted because of ill-treatment of state witnesses by the security police.

The state alleged the four accused, all from Soweto, had undergone military training outside the country with the intention of overthrowing the government by violent means. It was also alleged the accused joined Saycro, which had been set up in exile after the banning of the Soweto Students' Representative Council. All four pleaded not guilty.

In early February, a state witness, who could not be named, alleged he was assaulted and forced to remain, kneeling by Lieutenant Trollip of the security police. He said he was interrogated after spending three weeks in solitary confinement and only saw a doctor two weeks after he was assaulted.

Other events included allegations by Radebe's mother, Sannah Radebe, of assault by two security officers, and a police informer, Jim Kelly of Eldorado Park, admitted to lying in court. Kelly said the security police had told him what to say in court.

The S.A. Police were reported to be conducting an 'internal investigation' into the treatment of state witnesses following the Kempton Park findings. The Attorney-General's office had not, however, received any information in this regard.

## SP would make life intolerable after trial — Mayson

MAYSON, who was charged with high treason, left South Africa last month, three days before his trial was to have resumed in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Mayson left via Lesotho and flew to London from Maputo.

He was granted bail, on condition that he report twice a week to the Hillbrow or Richards Bay police station, when his trial was postponed on February 20 this year.

The trial was postponed because a witness, Auret van Heerden who is suing ten security police for torture, had disappeared months before the trial's start.

During his trial, the judge ruled a 29 page statement Mayson made in detention was inadmissible.

The court heard allegations of security police abuse of Mayson, who said he made the statement 'which contains exaggerations and untruths' to satisfy his interrogators because he was motivated by fear.

Mayson is only the second treason trialist to have been granted bail. Braam Fischer, a prominent congress activist and lawyer, was granted bail during the 1962 Rivonia trial.

In an interview in London, Mayson said he believed the Attorney-General would have been unable to prove the case against him. However, the security authorities would have been 'absolutely livid' and would have made his life 'intolerable'.

'I would almost certainly have been restrained as I left the court or banned or house-arrested or held as a future witness by the security police,' he said. He accused the security police of 'brutality and stupidity'.

Mayson also said he was worried about the safety of his wife, Penelope, and three young children in Johannesburg. This follows an incident at the Mayson house, on Monday April 18, in which bricks were thrown through the windows of the family car and caravan by right-wing vandals. It is the third time the Mayson house has been attacked.

Penelope Mayson has confirmed that she and her three daughters will join Mayson in London during May.

'I would have liked to have seen the trial through and seen the outcome, but there is always the risk, even if it turned out well, of what restrictions we would have had to face afterwards,' she said.

## Huge call for Wits creche

MORE THAN 4000 people have signed a petition calling for a child-care centre at Wits university during a campaign launched in mid-April.

Speakers at a recent meeting accused the university of avoiding responsibility to students and employees who had been lobbying for a child-care centre for the past 12 years.

An SRC representative said admin. had spent more than R57,000 converting the old cricket pavilion, earmarked to become a child-care centre by retired Vice-Chancellor Bozzoli, into a 'general place of worship'.

The lack of child-care facilities hindered parents who wanted to study and workers who don't have a satisfactory place to leave their children, she said.

The campaign was jointly organised by the SRC women's portfolio, Nusas Projects Committee and Wits Student.

## Cosas Alex project going strong

A TEACHING project in Johannesburg's Alexandra township, started two years ago by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), is still going strong.

The project aimed to deal with some of the problems students face, including:

One-roomed houses, in which families of eight to ten live, make it extremely difficult for students to do their homework and study for exams. There is nowhere else they can study in the afternoons, so for many, she-bens and discos occupy their time

instead.

On top of this, teachers are often drunk and hopelessly inadequate.

The age-limit prevents many students from continuing their studies and night schools are no compensation for these restrictions.

Volunteer Wits students teach at the Ekukhanyisweni Lower Primary School every week, and it is open to anyone who wishes to learn.

Besides purely school education, fortnightly seminars and videos are held where students can discuss various subjects to develop and ex-

pand their thinking and education.

A Cosas organiser saw such projects as helping to build the organisation. 'Many students see Cosas as being too political and not having the interests of students at heart,' she said. 'We have tried to explain to them the purpose of Cosas. It is important for students to have unity with each other because they experience many similar problems — the age-limit and high failure rate, for example. Membership is growing, and we hope to achieve more and more in time.'



STUDENTS AT Georgetown High near Pietermaritzburg have been allowed an SRC after weeks of protests, meetings and discussions at schools in the area.

The protests were sparked when matric students at Georgetown High and Edendale Vocational High, which are in Kwazulu, were told they would have to write their exams in the standard grade.

Kwazulu authorities closed schools about a week before the scheduled Easter vacation after police clashed with placard carrying students at four schools in the area.

A delegation elected at a mass meeting of 2000 students and parents said the real issue was a lack of democratic representation. They

# Maritzburg pupils demand choice about matric grade

demanded the establishment of SRC's and that all students be unconditionally reinstated.

When schools reopened after the vacation all students were taken back after school authorities conceded student rights to write exams on higher grade if they wished.

A meeting between parents and the Edendale circuit inspector decided each school should have separate discussions because each had specific grievances.

At Georgetown, students and

school authorities discussed student demands for democratically elected student and parent bodies.

Students have been allowed an SRC but the inspector and the principal said parent bodies would still be discussed with parents.

Edendale students are still demanding democratic student and parent representation.

Meanwhile, in Sobantu, which falls under the Department of Education and Training (DET), authorities have not met student demands for the

right to choose standard or higher grade matric.

Students boycotted school for over a week after a meeting in the schoolgrounds where the DET circuit inspector refused to listen to their grievances, saying students were unreasonable.

The meeting was dispersed when police arrived with teargas and batons after stones were thrown.

The DET regional director said students were demanding concessions they were not entitled to. Students

were assessed by the DET at the end of standard 9 and told whether they could do higher or standard grade matric.

A DET spokesperson said students would be expelled if they did not return to school. Students were back at school on the deadline day and further meetings are being held.

A Mafikeng Youth League spokesperson said the events showed how education was used as a means of control.

'The idea is to create a passive, cheap labour force. But when people buck the system, schools are closed and police are called in.'

'The oppressed are denied control of their lives. Students are back, but the system is still wrong and must be challenged.'

# Save six condemned call grows

THE CAMPAIGN to save the lives of the six ANC guerrillas is gaining momentum locally and internationally. The call for clemency was initiated by the Release Mandela Committee and has received wide support from progressive and concerned organisations around the country.

The six, Simon Mogoerane (23), David Moise (27), Jerry Mosololi (25), Thabo Motaung (27), Johannes Shabangu (28) and Anthony Tsotsobe (27), were all sentenced to death after lengthy trials in 1981 and 1982. Tsotsobe, Shabangu and Moise face a main charge of treason and twenty alternative charges relating to attacks on police stations, government

buildings, policemen, railwaylines and the Sasol Two plant at Secunda.

The other three were charged for attacking police stations and power stations. All six were also further accused of undergoing military training in Angola, Tanzania and East Germany; of being members of the African National Congress (ANC) and of possessing arms and ammunition.

The campaign started after the appeal submitted by the six condemned was rejected by the Supreme Court. Petitions are being signed, and public meetings held. Azaso has issued a call to all students for support and participation in the campaign.

Speakers at recent meetings said death sentences should not be applied to prisoners convicted of treason: such prisoners should be treated as prisoners of war according to the Geneva Convention, to which the ANC is a signatory.

In Cape Town, a meeting of 700 demanded a stop to the execution of the six, and nearly 30 concerned organisations sent messages of support.

The mother of Jerry Mosololi, one of the six, was given a standing ovation as she rose to speak. She told of the despair and powerlessness she felt when she heard her son was arrested, but how his courage during the trial had strengthened her.

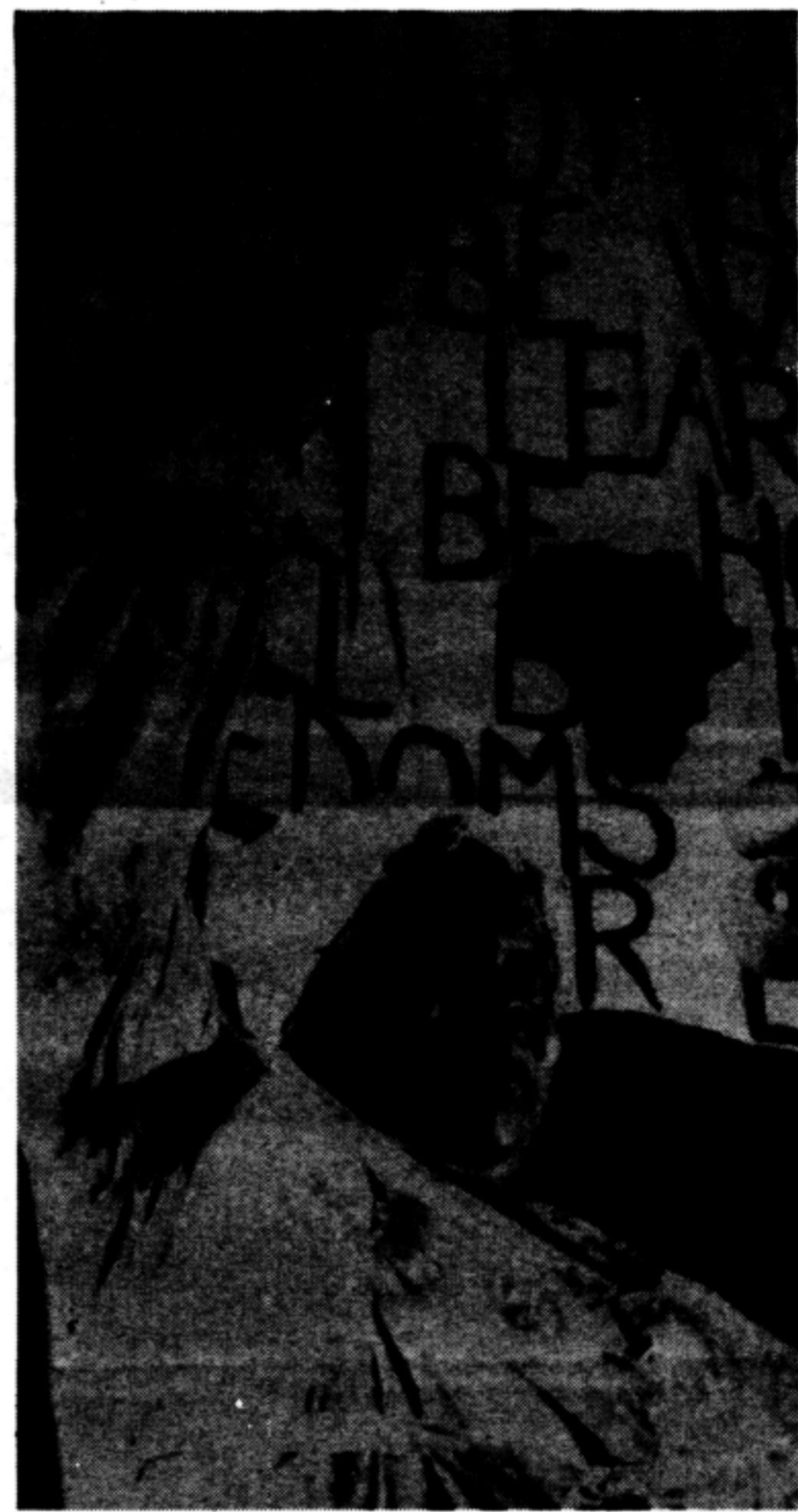
'As I sat in the Supreme Court listening to the case, I heard none of them saying they were incited to join the freedom fighters. Each and every one felt that he had made his own decision. This strengthened me to the point where you see me now,' she said.

Essa Moosa, a Cape Town lawyer, said the death sentences were a sad indictment of South African society.

To be convicted of High Treason, one had to owe allegiance to the state, he said. 'To owe allegiance to a state, one has to respect that state.'

'Can anyone respect a state which is not based on the will of the people; a state which is unjust and oppressive?'

He read out numerous allegations



Jerry Mosololi's mother — "My son's courage gave me strength"

of torture and assault made by the six and other witnesses during the trial. Despite their evidence, he said, the judge ruled the statements the six made in detention as admissible. 'On the basis of those statements, they were found guilty and sentenced to hang.'

During the trial, a defence witness Dr Noel Mangayi, argued the actions of all South Africans had to be situated within their particular experience, and that their decision to leave the country and participate in ANC activity was a moral choice forced on them by political conditions in South Africa.

## Cosas members jailed on terror rap

THREE MEMBERS of Cosas' Kwa Thema branch were convicted under the Internal Security Act for furthering the aims and objects of the banned ANC in the Springs Regional Court last month.

Andrew Mokone, aged 19, was sentenced to three years imprisonment, with one year suspended, while Vulindlela Mapekula (22) and Reginald Nkosi (21) each received a three year sentence.

In a trial lasting over 6 weeks, the court heard how all three had visited Botswana on separate occasions where they made contact with ANC exiles who had instructed them to form an ANC cell in Kwa Thema and supplied them with money.

The three were detained in September last year after Andrew Mokone was arrested at the Botswana border on returning to South Africa.

# Daily Mail prejudiced, divisive to unity say unions

THE SOUTH African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) and the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu) have condemned the commercial press, particularly Johannesburg's Rand Daily Mail, for being 'prejudiced and divisive' in covering trade union moves towards unity.

In a joint statement, Saawu and Gawu accused such papers of 'becoming part and parcel of a total strategy aimed at subverting the workers' struggle in this country.'

The unions said the Press made prejudiced statements and tried to adjust public opinion to 'its own wishful thinking' by alleging certain unions were for and others against forming a new federation.

'Our experience is that all unions which participated in the unity talks are committed to forming a federation though they may understandably differ on how to work towards such a federation.'

'We attended the first independent trade union summit in 1981 because we were, and still are, committed to uniting workers in this country.'

The two unions refuted a 'blatant lie' reports that seven unions had 'staged a walk out' at the Port Elizabeth summit, which followed unity talks at Wilgespruit.

The Wilgespruit talks had broken down, they said, when resolutions adopted at Langa, particularly assessing regional solidarity committees were not followed up. The resulting confusion had led to Macwusa and Gwusa walking out. Saawu and Gawu said the press had portrayed the seven unions at the P.E. summit as 'destructive' and having attended the talks 'with preconceived ideas'.

'At Wilgespruit the unions were asked to bring their proposals for a federation to the next summit. We had our own proposals.'

The unions made it clear that they were not only working towards forming a new federation but saw implementing regional solidarity committees as equally important.

'We remain committed to the regional solidarity committees in the short term,' said the joint statement 'because we see these as a means through which unions can unite around practical issues confronting our members on the factory floor.'

They emphasised this did not contradict their commitment to a federation. 'Instead, this is a practical way we can promote co-operation among the unions and so lay a material basis on which a federation can be formed.'

## Students reject reform proposals

COSAS AND AZASO, representing black school and university students nationally, have reaffirmed their 'total and uncompromising opposition' to the government's reform proposals and have called for unity to fight the proposals.

In a joint statement released recently they said the United Democratic Front was the best vehicle for all organisations to express their united rejection of the proposals.

'We call on all democrats to commit themselves to this initiative against apartheid exploitation and oppression.'

'Unity is essential to fight the proposals. Such unity must emerge from our common commitment to a non-racial democratic South Africa. Unity becomes real only when we act together.'

The proposals aimed to co-opt sections of the population and sow disunity amongst the oppressed.

'They aim to separate Indians and Coloureds from Africans and make them part of the repressive machinery and to separate urban dwellers from those in the 'homelands' so that we remain perpetually disunited.'

Low wages, poor housing, unemployment, poverty and other basic problems facing the majority of South Africans would not be solved by the proposals. Instead they would widen the gap between the rich and the poor, entrench migrancy and continue repressive security legislation.

'We reaffirm our commitment to the Freedom Charter as a basis for a future South Africa,' the statement said.



# Mndawe dies despite new detainee code

ON MARCH 9, Simon Tembuyise Mndawe (23) became the 57th person to die in detention since 1963.

Mndawe was detained by security police in the Eastern Transvaal on February 22 under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Matthew Phosa, lawyer for the Mndawe family, said that five days before Mndawe's death police told him the detainee 'is in good hands and being well looked after'. Phosa was asked to convey this message to Mndawe's mother.

Mndawe, who finished his matric at Sidlama High School, Hectorspruit, held a post as a private school teacher at Driekoppies in 1980. In 1981 he joined the KaNgwane Department of Health as a clerk. His leadership qualities were noticed and he was promoted to head office in Louwscreek, where he worked until March 1982 before moving to Witbank where he was a mine clerk.

Around this time security police in Komatiapoort picked up his mother, Pauline Mndawe, and demanded Mndawe's whereabouts. She told them he was in Witbank. 'Since then I had not seen him until I saw him lying on a stretcher, dead,

this week', she said.

Describing Mndawe as a 'trained terrorist', General Mike Geldenhuys, Commissioner of Police, said Mndawe had made a confession before a magistrate the day after his arrest, and the investigation into his case had been completed. A dossier would be sent to the Attorney-General soon.

Geldenhuys said Mndawe was part of 'a group of insurgents who had infiltrated SA'. Eight of them had been captured and five shot dead, he said.

Community and church leaders, opposition political parties, and detainees support committees have expressed outrage at the latest death in detention. All have been appalled at Geldenhuys labelling Mndawe a 'terrorist' even before he appeared before a court of law.

Black Sash national president, Sheena Duncan, said it was horrifying that yet another person had died in detention. She added 'It seems that the new code to protect detainees announced by the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, is as meaningless as we believed it to be at the time.'

The Detainees Parents Support Committee saw the death of detainees while in the hands of the Security Police as a direct consequence of the detention system. 'We repeat that such deaths will continue to occur for as long as the security laws exist in their present form', they said.

In an important twist to the case, an autopsy by a private pathologist, Dr J.B.C. Botha was conducted for the Mndawe family after an application for an autopsy was refused by the local magistrate.

After negotiations between the police, the chief state pathologist, and the Mndawe family, the autopsy was held, but the results have not yet been released.

## Cosas warns of SADF in schools

THE STRENGTH of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) rests on understanding the Nationalist government and its actions, Cosas national organiser Tsidiso Madona told the annual general meeting of their Alexandra branch.

Outlining the challenges facing the school student movement, Madona said the state was making it difficult for Cosas to fight the system.

He pointed to attempts by the government and employers to co-opt some students by introducing cosmetic changes.

'At the same time they are trying to get rid of trouble makers over the age of 21 through the age limit law.' He also warned of the increasing presence of the South African Defence Force at black schools.

He said the challenge was to meet in the classrooms and discuss the issues and problems facing Cosas.

A Cosas member outlined the history of the Alexandra branch. He said it formed in 1980 amid uncertainty about what issues to take up. Since then the branch has swelled its membership to 60 and is involved in tuition classes for school students.

The branch realised the importance of being part of a national organisation, he said. 'If students stand united nationwide, we will be able to resist the government's attempts to divide and rule and they will be forced to accept more of our demands.'

## Student, parent solidarity in Queen

EIGHT MEMBERS of the Cosas Queenstown Branch were recently ordered off the Nonesi Junior Secondary School premises in Mlungisi township, but seven were later readmitted after a meeting between parents and the school principal.

The incident occurred after pupils held a meeting to discuss their problems at school.

A branch spokesperson said: 'The

principal refused to speak to the pupils whom he said were too young to tell him what to do. He also refused to meet the Cosas ad hoc committee, saying he would only do that on instructions from his department.'

The principal refused to readmit the last of the eight, accusing him of being a 'ring leader'. He also accused Cosas of 'misleading pupils' and of being an 'underground organisation'.

## State case falls flat in platteland dorp

CYMON NOMVALO, George Xolilizwe and Edwin Cerisa were found not guilty of terrorism in the Ladybrand Regional Court on March 15.

The three accused were charged in terms of section 54 of the Internal Security Act. They were arrested, together with seven 'co-conspirators', while travelling from Kagiso to Ficksburg on December 21, 1982.

The state alleged the group of ten had conspired to leave South Africa for Lesotho to receive ANC military training.

In arguing for acquittal, the accused's lawyer, D A Kuny, said by the time the sixth 'co-conspirator' had testified, there were six different versions of what had occurred. There was only one common thread in their evidence — all agreed that, apart from Xolilizwe, they were heavy dagga smokers.



The Zwive commemoration for Mthimkulu and Madaka described them as dedicated leaders

## Cosas remembers Siphwiwo

AN EMOTION-charged service was held in Zwive to commemorate the mysterious disappearance of former student leader, Siphwiwo Mthimkulu, and his neighbour and friend, Tobekile 'Topsy' Madaka.

The well-attended service was organised by the local branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and held at the home of Mthimkulu.

Speakers said that a government of the people did not mean that there would be a reversal of the present situation — blacks oppressing whites.

'There will be a rule of justice which will not discriminate against anybody. People of all races will live together in peace and harmony in a true democratic country,' Matiwane Dube, an executive member of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) said.

Dube also said inferior education offered blacks served to maintain white supremacy.

He said Mthimkulu had suffered because he fought for justice and better and equal education for all.

At the time of his disappearance

Mthimkulu was suing the Minister of Police for R150000 for thalium poisoning while in security police detention in Port Elizabeth. He was described as a 'dedicated leader'.

Freedom songs and slogans resounding throughout the Zwive township drew curious neighbours to join in the service.

Amon Nyondo, president of the Zwive Rugby Club (Zwire) said: 'Whoever took away Siphwiwo and Topsy are cowards who cannot face up to the truth, or convince us that there is no struggle.'

He said even though the two men had disappeared their spirits would always be felt.

Praising Cosas for its work in the community, Nyondo said it should be remembered that a student was 'a trustee of heritage' as future leaders came from their ranks.

'Cosas, take note, the work you are doing is important because you are struggling for control of our minds. Incidents like this, which have made us gather here today, must not weaken you in the struggle or make

us call it off. We must remember the struggle is a lifelong battle,' he said.

Nyondo said if Mthimkulu and Madaka were not seen again, they should be taken as an investment for better things to come.

Former Robben Island prisoner E D Ngoyi stressed that the students today are the workers of tomorrow, and so must educate themselves.

The chairperson of the Cosas local branch, Zola Mtatsi, said people would like to know whether Siphwiwo had disappeared because of his demand for a free and compulsory education for all, his opposition to Bantu education, high school fees, and rejection of compulsory but unequal education.

'I want to reiterate what Siphwiwo stood for, and that is the type of education that will make us walk with dignity, be helpful to others and not make us discriminate against others,' he said.

The service ended with a peaceful march from Mthimkulu's home to escort Agrinette Nontskelelo Madaka back to her home in the same street.



Shirish Nanabai



Prema Naidoo

## Naidoo, Nanabai, Berger out

PREMA NAIDOO and Shirish Nanabai were released from Diepkloof prison last month after serving a twelve month sentence for assisting an escaped prisoner.

They were convicted in April last year for their involvement in the escape of Terrorism Act prisoner Steven Lee, who was serving an eight year sentence for ANC membership.

Naidoo was detained in November 1981 and Nanabai in January 1982.

Both had been active in the Anti-Saic campaign, and at the time of his detention Naidoo was the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee secretary.

Nanabai has a long history of political involvement. He was first detained during the Defiance Campaign in 1952, after distributing pamphlets. In 1954 he joined the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, which was active in the Congress alliance, and was elected as its secretary in 1959.

He was again detained with thousands of other Congress activists during the 1960 state of emergency. In 1963 he was convicted for sabotage and served a ten year sentence on Robben Island. He was kept under house arrest on his release in 1973 and then served with a two year banning order.

Meanwhile Guy Berger, who was sentenced to four years reduced to two on appeal under the Internal Security Act, has also been released. He was convicted of sending information to the ANC in Botswana

## Six years for Keagile in terror trial

LILLIAN KEAGILE, who has been in detention since November 1981, was sentenced to an effective six years in jail on March 18 by a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate.

Keagile (24), was convicted on charges of undergoing military training in Botswana between September 1980 and November 1981, and of sending a sketch of the Inhlanzane power station to the ANC in Botswana.

The magistrate, Mr J J Luther, sentenced her to two years under the Internal Security Act for being an ANC member and furthering its aims. She was also sentenced to four years under the Terrorism Act, which will run concurrently.

During Keagile's trial, the former general secretary of the Black Municipal Workers' Union, Phillip Dlamini, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for refusing to testify as a state witness. He has been in detention since May 1982 and has been charged in a separate case under the Terrorism Act.

Earlier in the trial, the magistrate ruled that a statement, Keagile alleged had been made under duress, was admissible as evidence. Keagile claimed that she was sexually assaulted and molested by a Captain Coetsee.



# SAIC govt agent says opposition

OPPOSITION HAS been growing in the Transvaal to the government's attempts to 'sell' the constitutional proposals.

This became evident when a meeting to be held in Lenasia's Civic Centre was postponed indefinitely apparently because of threats of demonstration by residents. The meeting was to have been addressed by Chris Huenis, Minister of Constitutional Development, and A. Rajbansi, Chairperson of the South African Indian Council (Saic). The constitutional proposals were to have been 'clarified'.

The organisation of the meeting raised interesting questions about the methods the government is using to try to persuade Indians to accept the proposed guidelines, according to a spokesperson from the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee (Tasc).

R.A.M. Saloojee, Tasc vice-chairperson, pointed out the invitations for the meeting were issued by the Saic, rather than by government departments. 'This is in line with attempts to have the Saic take over the government's dirty work,' he said.

'The recent move in which the Saic took over administration of Indian education would be another example of this. The Department of Information have also employed Indians in various capacities. For example, radio announcer Goolam Majam has been involved in the organisation of meetings around the government's reform initiatives.'

In addition, invitations to the meeting were sent almost exclusively to leadership figures in the community and every teacher in Lenasia was asked.

The meeting's organiser, Abie Choonara, Lenasia's Saic representative, said the meeting had been aimed at community leaders and teachers.



Chris Huenis — guest speaker

He denied that the Saic was really performing the work of the Department of Information.

Naran Daya, another Saic representative from Lenasia, who helped Choonara organise the Lenasia meeting, told Saspu National he and Choonara felt they would achieve more by 'fighting the system from within the system.'

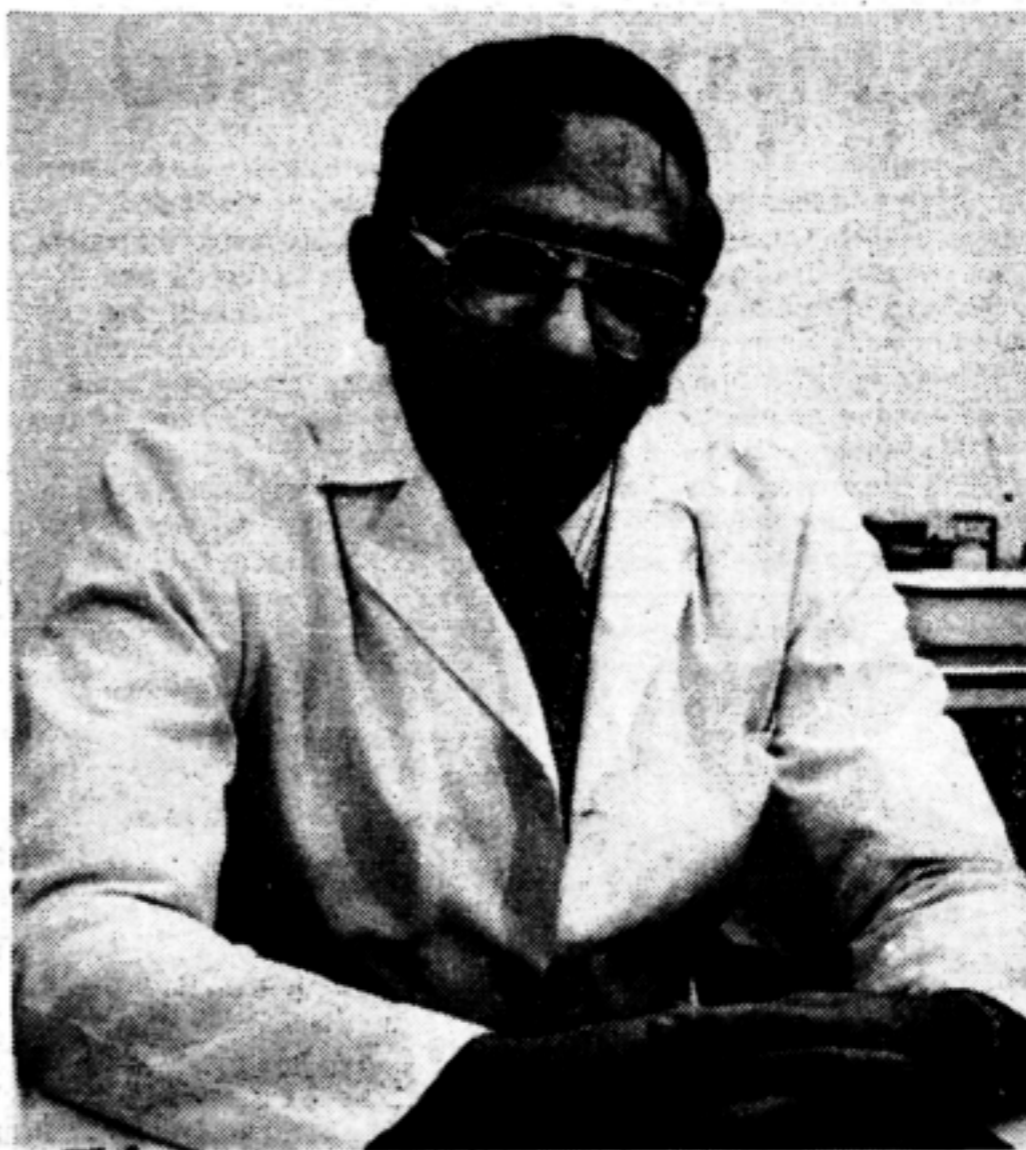
Other meetings in the Transvaal have followed a similar pattern to Lenasia. Low-profile gatherings have been held by the government and the Saic in a number of centres, including Johannesburg, Standerton, Ermelo and Laudium. Each time the invited guests were teachers, 'sympathetic' leadership figures, and people, such as government employees, who would find it difficult to criticise the proposals.

The increasing number of meetings follows reports that the government spent nearly R13 000 of public money to organise meetings in Coloured and Indian areas during 1982. Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, President Council members, and top officials of the Department of Constitutional Planning addressed these meetings.

More money has also been spent on glossy publications in an attempt to popularise the constitutional proposals. A pamphlet entitled 'Guidelines for a new constitutional dispensation: an opportunity for participation' was sent to every Coloured and Indian house in the country, and a booklet entitled 'Constitutional guidelines: a new dispensation for Whites, Coloureds and Indians' was posted to prominent community leaders throughout the Transvaal.

The publications go through the constitutional proposals in great detail, and then devote a number of pages to answering 'common questions on the guidelines' and 'general questions Coloureds and Indians ask.'

Some of the questions asked are: 'What would happen if the Indian and Coloured leaders want to reject the guidelines?' Answer: 'Peace-loving and constructive citizens are not expected to follow the simplistic approach of rejecting everything out of hand.'



R.A.M. Saloojee — 'The Saic is taking over the government's dirty work'

Q 'Will the President be a dictator?' Answer: 'No. He is elected for only five years; he cannot make laws; and he can be dismissed like an American president.'

Q 'Will the government force Coloureds and Indians to accept the proposals?' Answer: 'No. The leaders of each population group will decide independently whether or not to accept the proposals.'

Q 'Will apartheid continue to exist?' Answer: 'The government will not be able to act unjustly towards anyone on the grounds of his or her colour because everyone will have a share in decision-making.'

The Tasc has also expressed reservations about 'scientific' surveys conducted by bodies like the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). This follows an HSRC report which claimed 50 percent of the Indian communities and 40 percent of the Coloured communities supported the new proposals, and 40 percent of both Coloureds and Indians chose P.W. Botha to lead the country through 'politically difficult times'. 623 Coloureds and 1 247 Indians were interviewed during the survey.

In a statement, the Tasc said, 'The

HSRC is part of the propaganda arm of the government. Its function is to promote the objectives of the present regime and its policies. It does so by presenting the information it accumulates on behalf of the state as scientific, value-free and therefore universally valid. We question the objectivity and impartiality of any HSRC report.'

'We question the validity of the HSRC survey and its claims, through a 'scientific test of opinion' that the government has popular support for its policies within our communities.'

'If this were not so, there is no reason why the government and its minions, the Saic, has to conduct consultation' meetings with 'select' people behind closed doors, under cover of darkness, like thieves in the night. This is clearly an attempt to bulldoze the PC proposals by stealth.'

'The position is quite simple and no amount of secret wrangling and HSRC sorcery will change it. This is that the vast majority of our people have rejected Rajbansi and his coterie of cohorts on the Saic, and that they are now going to support the master who dangles these puppets is absurd.'

# New rent shocks in Durban townships

THE PORT Natal Administration Board will be doubling rents in all African townships under its control within the next few months.

The rent increases will come only months after residents have had to cope with severe bus fare hikes.

The Board says this is the first of a series of increases necessary to make the townships run on a no-profit no-loss basis. At present the Board is losing money, and will have to double existing monthly rents for this to stop.

Residents point out that it should be the government's responsibility to provide housing for the poor, and to charge people rents they can afford. In a time of recession people do not have any money for rent increases.

Angry township residents say they weren't consulted by community councillors about the increases. 'It's a war: they are fighting with the people, what other way can you explain it when there are retrenchments and food costs so much?' said one Lamontville resident.

The rent increases are seen as a step by the Board towards implementing the Black Local Authorities Act. This act allows the minister to establish independent local authorities in charge of each township. But townships have to be 'economically independent', or well on their way to becoming so, to get this new status.

There is a massive housing shortage in many Natal townships and existing houses are badly in need of repair. Many residents see the new Act as the government's way of getting out of providing houses and services for the townships.

Residents say they fear the new increases will mean the eviction of people who can't afford the new rents. These people may run the risk of losing their urban rights and South African citizenship. Township dwellers are afraid this could be a way of forcing them to the homelands.

# Sebe detains, releases five

FOUR DAYS after he had attended a National Detainees Day meeting, Saawu Vice-President Sisa Njikelana was detained for the sixth time.

The Ciskei Central Intelligence Service, (CCIS) also detained Saawu President, Thozamile Gqweta, organisers Jeff Wubena and Humphrey Maxegwana, and Chloride Workers' Committee Vice-Chair Bangumzi Sifingo, as well as the General Secretary of the General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU), Sydney Mufamudi.

Shortly after the unionists' detention, Ciskei president Lennox Sebe accused Saawu of being a front organisation for the African National Congress (ANC) and said an 'ANC cell' had been uncovered in Mdantsane.

His brother, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, promised the detainees would be charged within a week for 'ANC activities'. Despite these

promises all the unionists were released on 30 March.

This is not the first time the union has been accused of ANC and other 'subversive' activity and threatened with charges by the Ciskei or South African police. Saawu and other organisations in the East London area have been constantly harassed by the CCIS and South African security police.

Six hours after the detentions, the South African security police raided the offices of the Masazane Open School in East London and the East London branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The Open School runs youth programmes and offers part-time classes. The police confiscated pamphlets from the Detainees Support Committee in Johannesburg.

A few days previously, the Veritas Independent News Agency, run by Mwasa president, Charles Nqakula,

was raided by the CCIS. Nqakula and a photographer were taken to the CCIS offices for questioning.

The CCIS have also questioned Saawu members on their activity, and confiscated books and membership cards. In a recent raid on his home, Saawu organiser A Z Kili was asked for a spade. The police apparently wanted to dig up the garden in search of banned books and weapons.

Cosas students are continually harassed by the CCIS. Almost all East London Cosas Executive members were detained recently, for short periods, and their houses were raided. While others have been released, Vuyisile Mati has remained in detention since 24 February.

Security police have also gone to the schools of Cosas members to request principals to notify them when and if particular individuals attend school. Teacher are told there is no room for Cosas in the Ciskei, said one member of the Cosas Exec.

Cosas constitutions, minute books, T-shirts and school books have been confiscated by the CCIS.

There have also been allegations of violence by the CCIS against the students. Recently, a man was awarded R14,000 damages after an assault by police which led to the loss of his eye.

'We are not scared by these actions', said the Cosas executive in East London. The executive said in a statement, 'We will not be intimidated by the CCIS, and will continue our participation in Cosas and the education struggle.'

# Gawu detainee hospitalised

GAWU SECRETARY general, Sydney Mufamudi, detained in Ciskei recently with five Saawu trade unionists, was hospitalised after going on a hunger-strike in protest against his detention conditions.

Mufamudi demanded to know his rights under Section 26 of the National Security Act, under which he was being held.

He said he would refuse to take meals until he was granted access to lawyers, exercise and was under better conditions.

Doctors and the district officer attempted to persuade him to take food. According to Mufamudi, one Ciskei official said they would have to take the blame if he died, and that they were 'not Venda'.

On the tenth day of the hungerstrike he was hospitalised for four days under heavy police guard until CCIS officials ordered his release after the Ciskei failed to press charges against Mufamudi and his fellow detainees.

# Unions unite on detention of organisers

PROGRESSIVE TRADE unions and organisations in the Transvaal have rallied together in a Unite Against Detention Committee (UADC).

Trade unions including the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu), South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu), Municipal and General Workers' Union of SA (MGWUSA), the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccaawusa), and NGWU formed the committee after the detention of six Saawu and Gawu unionists by Ciskei security police.

A UADC statement said, 'We are aware that the surrogates of the South African government are perpetuating their masters' ends and objectives to crush and cripple the emerging independent trade unions in South Africa. We are united with our brothers in the solitary cells.'

'Section Six of the Terror act and internal security laws have claimed so many lives that we fear we might mourn again. We wish to make it clear to the Sebe brothers that the anger of the workers is mounting and their courage shall not be daunted.'

At a meeting called by the UADC later, student, community and detainee support organisations condemned the detentions and gave their full support to the UADC.



# Star management accused of Mwasas attack

THE MEDIA Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) sees the current labour dispute at the Johannesburg newspaper The Star as an attempt by the newspaper industry's management to crush the union.

The Star, owned by the giant Argus company, dismissed more than 200 Mwasa members on March 25 after they downed tools in solidarity with another Mwasa member who was fired after having an argument with

the supervisor.

The workers downed tools because the fired worker, Oupa Msimange, was not given any hearing before being dismissed. Mwasa shop stewards pointed this out to management, who subsequently agreed to suspend the dismissal pending an investigation.

The shop stewards rejected this as they felt the supervisor, a member of the predominantly white South African Typographical Union (Satu),

was partly to blame for the argument and should also be suspended.

Mwasa officials met management in an attempt to discuss the issue. No agreement was reached, and on March 30 The Star manager, Jolyon Nuttall, issued a statement refusing to reinstate or re-employ any of the 209 workers.

'The decision has been extremely painful,' said the statement. 'Our decision is based on the belief that in-

dustrial peace and harmony become remote prospects not only at THE STAR and in the newspaper industry, but in South Africa as a whole, if agreements are not observed and if contracts are broken.'

A final meeting between the national executive committee of Mwasa and Argus-Saan management was held on April 18, but manage-

ment once again refused to reinstate or re-employ any of the dismissed workers.

Mwasa warned that the attitude of THE STAR'S management threatened future relations between them, and said it could lead to widespread labour unrest in the newspaper industry throughout the country. 'The matter is now no longer confined to one signatory to our recognition agreement.'

# Detainee day solidarity slams SA security laws

THE FIGHT against detentions is being waged everyday. But the day all involved get together throughout South Africa is symbolic, not only as solidarity with detainees, but of growing resistance and organisation against the country's security laws.

This year, National Detainees Day, March 12, was marked by candlelight vigils, prayer meetings and seminars in all major urban centres.

In Cape Town, groups such as the Western Cape Detainee's Parents Support Committee (DPSC), the Detention Action Committee (ADAC), and the UCT Projects Committee, rallied activities around

the slogan, 'Take forward their fight', to capture the spirit of the detention struggle and resound the call for the release of all detainees and an end to security laws.

A packed National Detainees Day support meeting at UCT was addressed by mothers of Booie and Jabavu, two accused in the marathon Mpethe trial which has entered its third year in the Cape Supreme Court.

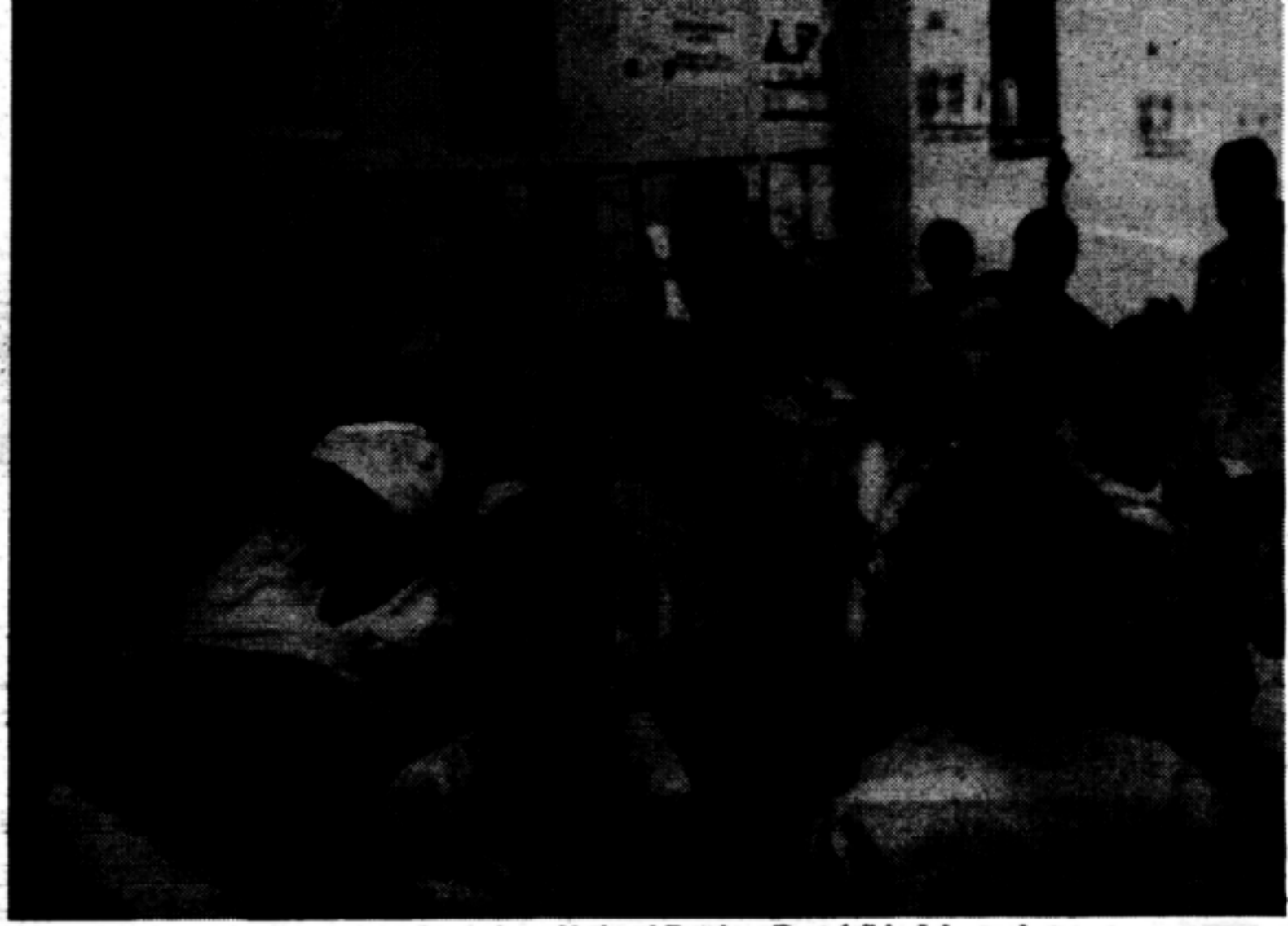
They spoke of the undiminished strength and unity of the accused, and the continuing need for them to be supported as representatives of the people.

Detention, trial and imprisonment were seen as a continuous process, which may or may not be completed and can take various forms. Detainees were often banned, forced into exile, placed under house arrest or faced continual police harassment.

Ex-detainee Graeme Bloch, who completed a five-year banning order in 1981, said detention, as a particular form of political repression, tried to stifle resistance and destroy people's organisations.

'These are desperate efforts to criminalise legitimate opposition of trade unionists, workers, students and youth - the people who are struggling for a new life in our country. People who have dared to hope for a new and just South Africa and have acted on that hope.'

In East London, over 500 people packed a church hall to commemorate National Detainees Day



Singing marked the six hour National Detainees Day vigil in Johannesburg.

# Azaso builds on long tradition

THE AZANIAN Students' Organisation (Azaso), and its commitment to non-racialism, is built on foundations laid by people's organisations in the 50's and 60's.

This was said by Azaso president Joe Phaahla at a meeting of black students on Pietermaritzburg campus recently.

He was replying to a question by a supporter of the black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

'Our perspective of struggle is non-racial and we judge people by their commitment to democracy and a society free of racialism.'

'Although Azaso organise around the problems of black students, it will relate to other organisations and people who share our perspective,' he said.

'This is not a new perspective, but we are building on the foundations of non-racial organisation in the 50's.'

The meeting was called by a steering committee charged with the task of setting up a society for black students on the campus, after students saw the need for an organisation to replace the defunct Black Students' Society.

Phaahla said Azaso believed in a non-racial democratic struggle. But students were not in the forefront of the struggle for change - their role was subordinate to the organisations of the people.

'It is these precepts that mark our differences from Azapo.'

Azaso was formed as a student wing of Azapo in 1979, but later broke with the black consciousness organisation.

'Since then it has become clear we do not share the same analysis of society. Ours is a class analysis,' he said.

But despite differences Azaso was willing to co-operate with Azapo in order to rid the country of apartheid.

# Harassment mars union congress

THE THIRD annual congress of the Motor Assemblers and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa) got off to a stormy start when police arrested guest speaker Frank Van der Horst, and barred others from entering Port Elizabeth's New Brighton.

Van der Horst, president of the South African Council of Sport (Sacos) was detained at a roadblock and taken to security police head-

quarters for questioning for about three hours.

Two other guest speakers were turned away at police roadblocks which sealed off the township. They were Dr D G Brown, who was to represent the East Cape Co-ordination Committee (Ecco), and Zac Yacoob, vice president of the Natal Indian Congress.

A former treason trialist, Simon Mkhali, who is blind, replaced the

barred guest speakers. Because he is a listed person he may not be quoted.

The organising secretary of Macwusa, Government Zini, announced at the meeting that journalists, four busloads of people from Uitenhage and seven carloads of people wishing to attend the congress had been turned away.

He said that at about 11 am a security policeman had been seen leaving the hall after tear gas had been released into the hall's foyer.

Just before the meeting ended, he warned people that black security policemen wearing caps were using two kombis disguised as pirate taxis to transport people, presumably from the meeting.

Attacking the police action, trade unionist and master of ceremonies at the congress, Fikile Kobese, said he viewed the action as being aimed at Macwusa and its sister organisation, Gwusa, as a threat to the unity workers demonstrated.

'I see their action also as a form of harassment and intimidation and deplorable tactics to sabotage our congress,' he said.

# Turf 7 return on demand

SEVEN EX-FORT Hare and Unisa students were re-admitted to the University of the North (Turfloop) when university authorities gave in to student demands.

A student body mass meeting demanded the seven be re-registered and resolved to boycott lectures until their demands were met.

Over 3500 students, the entire student body, supported the boycott which lasted less than a day.

The boycott was called off when the Rector, Prof P Mokogong,

agreed to re-register the students after discussion with a committee of six students elected by the mass meeting.

The seven were de-registered when it was found that their registration did not comply with university regulations.

Turf students said the success of the boycott showed the power of united student action.

'The authorities met our demands very quickly when they saw there was total student support.'

security detention than in the total conflict between the South African government and the ANC.

'We have to be aware that a state as undemocratic as South Africa cannot do without detention. It has to rule increasingly by naked force as contradictions in the system become more glaring and as ordinary people become more painfully aware of the oppression and their resistance gains impetus.'

And in Johannesburg, a six hour vigil was held in the Doornfontein Catholic Cathedral, where over 300 people strongly opposed detention and the country's security legislation.

Frank Chikane, church leader, opened the vigil with a prayer for those in detention. DPSC member, Max Coleman spoke on detention conditions, including detainee allegations of widespread assault and systematic torture. The mother of David Moise, one of the condemned ANC six, told of her trauma since her son's capture.

Nazir Pahad of the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee said the anger and emotion caused by detention should be channelled into organisation.

This is the second time National Detainees' Day has been commemorated. A spokesperson for the Johannesburg DPSC said the day was aimed at drawing attention to the plight of detainees and giving them support.

# PAC four jailed for 11 years

FOUR PEOPLE, convicted on charges of possessing documents belonging to two banned organisations, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian Youth Unity, were sentenced to a total of 11 years in jail in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court on April 20.

Banned journalist Joe Thlooe and Siphon Mofat Mgcobo were jailed for two-and-a-half years. Nhlanganiso Sibanda and Steven Siphon Mzolo got three years each. They had been in detention for 10 months prior to their trial.

An application for bail pending for the four was postponed to a date still to be set.



# Confusion surrounds proposed National Forum

SEVERAL HIGH-profile people named by Azapo executive member Saths Cooper to be part of the recently formed National Forum Committee, have denied they are members.

Confusion surrounds the NFC, which is to be launched at a conference in June, and it is seen by some to have been set up as an alternative to the non-racial United Democratic Front, initiated earlier this year to oppose the government's new constitutional proposals.

Cooper said the NFC would exclude whites and the conference was being called to discuss 'the crisis facing blacks created by the President's Council proposals and decide the future direction in the struggle for political freedom'.

He named church leaders Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alan Boesak, Dr Nthatho Motlana of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Ravi Bagwadeen of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and R.A.M Saloojee of the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee as members of the National Forum Committee.

But Boesak, Bagwadeen, Saloojee and Motlana said while they had consented to discuss united opposition to the proposals, they were told nothing of forming a blacks-only front.

'Why was this forum formed and who gave Cooper the mandate to be spokesperson?' asked Bagwadeen. He said everyone was aware of the NIC's non-racial stand.

Motlana said he believed there should be non-racial opposition to the new constitutional proposals and it would be a 'tragedy' if the new formation was opposed to the UDF.

In support of the UDF he said, 'If there is anyone who genuinely wants to bring us together, not on the basis of colour, but on their conviction and commitment, then that body deserves the support of all freedom-loving South Africans.'

Tutu, however, confirmed he was a NFC member, rejecting that the exclusion of whites meant the Forum was racial.

Boesak, who was overseas when the announcement was made described it as 'dishonest' and reaffirmed his support for the UDF.

It was Boesak's call at the Tasc conference that led to establishing a UDF steering committee to consult with organisations, including Azapo and the Soweto Committee of Ten, with the aim of setting up regional structures.

Steering committee member Gerry Coovadia of the NIC said, 'This front is divisive because it is set up in addition to the UDF. The UDF has been formed to mobilise all opposition to the new proposals into its ranks.'

'The more fragmented we are, the weaker our opposition will be. This formation deflects from the unity of the oppressed.'



UCT students called on the university to ignore the quota

# Student 'No' to quota

THE NATIONAL Union of South African Students (Nusas) has launched a major campaign in response to the University Amendment Bill recently tabled in parliament.

Nusas' call to reject the quota system follows Minister of National Education Gerrit Viljoen's statement that in future white universities would be expected to limit the number of black students studying at them.

Previously black students had to get ministerial consent before being admitted. If the Bill is passed, a separate quota will not only be set for Indian, coloured and African students, but also for each faculty within the universities.

The Nusas campaign got off to a rousing start when 2500 students filled Cape Town University's Jameson Hall to protest the proposed Bill.

Opening the meeting, SRC presi-

dent Anton Richman said, 'We must reject the quota and repeat the demand made in 1955 when the Freedom Charter was adopted: 'That the doors of learning and culture be opened to all'

Nusas president Kate Philip said, 'We must reject the quota system for its racism, its entrenchment of unequal education, its divisive and discriminatory aims, and because it will be another tool for the state to use to entrench the broader inequalities of wealth and power in our society.'

Referring to the separate quotas for Coloureds, Indians and Africans, Philip said this was clearly another divide and rule tactic by the state, which should be seen against the backdrop of the Vista scheme.

The Vista University was set up last year for African students. It will be administratively based in Pretoria, but is intended to include all African students at white universities or training colleges. While these students will continue to study at these campuses, they will be registered as Vista students, subject to its controls from

Pretoria.

Philip said this was in line with the state's broader strategy to draw coloured and Indians into the minority laager whilst excluding Africans.

'It is likely the quota system will be used to cut back the intake of African students at white universities, forcing them to register at Vista, while increasing the intake of coloured and Indian students.'

Philip said the universities' call for entrance to be decided on academic merit alone was limited. 'Academic merit is not an objective criterion in South Africa. Unequal education and unequal access to wealth and resources means few black students have access to education past standard 8. Using academic merit as the sole criterion for entrance to university, while the structures of society remain the same, would mean the universities would simply reflect and reinforce these inequalities.'

She said academic freedom could not exist in an unfree society. 'Therefore a commitment to academic freedom in South Africa means commitment to changing our society and redirecting our education away from reinforcing social and economic inequalities, towards resolving them.'

The UCT vice-chancellor Professor S Saunders said there should be no doubt UCT as a whole found the legislation 'totally unacceptable', and at Wits University academics have also opposed the quota system.

## Boycott pays off

A FOUR-DAY food boycott by students at the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) ended in victory following an agreement between students, university authorities and the campus caterers, Fedics.

At their annual general meeting, the student body resolved to boycott Fedics food until authorities agreed to improve the catering service.

Students complained about the consistently bad quality and quantity of the food.

'The company serves us stale food. Sometimes we're given rotten bread and rice mixed with worms,' said one student.

The entire student body supported the boycott and for four days bought food from a kiosk set up by the Medunsa Students Council (MSC).

A delegation from the MSC and the Restaurant Committee presented student demands to university authorities who claimed they could 'do nothing' as it was a weekend. They recommended a commission of inquiry into the catering service.

At a report back meeting later that day students voted to continue the boycott until the administration and Fedics agreed to interim demands for improvements. They agreed to serve on the commission of inquiry.

The boycott was suspended when, on the fourth day, university authorities and Fedics agreed to implement certain improvements.

'This shows that we can win if we stand united as a student body', said one student.

Students said the outcome of the commission would determine whether the boycott would be resumed.

The commission includes students, a nutritional expert and Fedics officials and is expected to submit its proposals for a long term agreement soon.

## Terror accused face 32 charges

THE TERRORISM Act trial of three former University of the North (Turloop) students has resumed at the Pietersburg Regional Court.

The accused, Peter Mokaba, 24, Jerome Maake, 20 and Portia Nhlapo, 24, face 32 charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts.

It is alleged that Mokaba participated in the activities of the African National Congress by recruiting people at Lebokwagomo between May 1980 and June 1982.

Mokaba told the court he signed a statement because he was assaulted by the security police during interrogation.

Lieutenant A J Vorster, one of the policemen named by Mokaba, denied having assaulted him.

The case continues.

## Big lift-off for new Vryburg civic body

THE NEWLY formed Huhudi Civic Association received a big boost recently when a highly successful meeting was held in the township near Vryburg.

The meeting was called to introduce new committee members to the community, and to discuss the association's aims.

A committee spokesperson said: 'People have viewed the new civic with uncertainty because they had previously only had contact with government-controlled bodies like the Huhudi Community Council.'

'We called the meeting to emphasise that the civic need not be viewed with suspicion.'

Speakers at the meeting said the civic needed people's full participation if community programmes were to be successful. Residents were called upon to take up day-to-day issues like rent increases and forced removals to Pudumong — a resettlement area 55km from Vryburg.

'For the first time, people did not leave a meeting feeling angry,' the spokesperson said.

'We were also pleased with the number of young people that attended the meeting.'

The civic decided to hold a rally on May 28, to which members of other civic organisations would be invited.

## Call for release of Cahac members

THREE MEMBERS of organisations affiliated to the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), detained earlier this year, are still being held under the Internal Security Act.

Michael Coetzee, 23, was detained in Port Elizabeth in January and later transferred to Cape Town. Zeld Holtzman, 21, a teacher at Portlands Senior Secondary School in Mitchell's Plain and Headly King, 26, a former UWC student, were both detained in February.

Headly appeared in court on April 11 and was charged with membership and furthering the aims of the ANC. Bail was refused and the trial remanded to May 16.

Coetzee and Holtzman are being held under Section 31 of the Internal Security Act.

School teachers, pupils and university students as well as youth groups, civics and community organisations have made a resolute call for the immediate and unconditional release of the detainees.

## Kagiso swoop lands four in trial

FOUR KAGISO residents and community leaders detained in a pre-dawn swoop on 4 March are facing charges under the Internal Security Act.

Security Police raided the convent of Sister Bernard Mncube, a Roman Catholic Nun, and detained her overnight, while Sisters Anna Magase and Lettie Nzima, two Kagiso Self Help Centre employees were questioned for more than ten hours.

Isaac Genu, vice-chairperson of the Kagiso Residents Organisation (KRO) which has been fighting rent increases in the township was also detained. They were each released on R300 bail.

Nzima said that police confiscated a church duplicating machine from her home before taking her away. She was questioned about her political activities and whether she was a member of the Federation of

South African Women (Fedsaw) and the KRO.

Nobantu Genu, a mother of three, was detained twice and questioned about her husband.

The four have appeared in court briefly, charged with possession of banned literature. Genu and Mncube have also been charged with furthering the aims of the ANC.

The case has been remanded and a trial date has not yet been set.



# SASPU NATIONAL

## The outlook is grim for PW and friends

WE NEED to build on our strengths, minimise our weaknesses and take advantage of every chink in the armour of the other side, said advocate Zac Yacoob at the revival of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

In the last few months events have shown that there are more chinks in the armour of the government than ever before.

At the same time as they are desperately trying to sell their constitutional proposals and other 'reforms' to the coloured and Indian people, they are facing a massive backlash from within their own ranks.

In the Battle-of-the-Berge by-elections, the government is desperately trying to persuade its white voters that the 'power sharing' envisaged in the constitutional proposals is in their long term interests.

But sections of the white community no longer see the government meeting their demands and are shifting their support to far-right parties such as the Conservative Party.

The Nationalist Party is therefore forced to introduce new schemes and promises to alleviate fears and win support. Yet these promises inevitably begin to contradict one another.

So, for example, the Nationalists promise a referendum for the white electorate on the controversial issue of reform to counter accusations that they are 'selling out the white man'.

But perhaps when they realise that a referendum may not be all that easy to win — they use the most powerful excuse they can find. PW Botha announces that he is not prepared to subject the country to the rigours of a referendum while the country is gripped by a drought.

## Rain is not all we need

The drought has been used in another attempt to retain support. We witness the large amount of drought relief that has been poured into white farming while bantustans receive a pittance. Rumour has it that more money has gone to the farming areas that support PW Botha, than to those which don't.

It is clear that the severe crisis precipitated by the drought has been aggravated by government policy. While KwaZulu stays bone dry, water from the Tugela River is pumped over the Drakensberg to the cooling systems of the mines and industries on the Witwatersrand. And now water from the Vaal river that serves Bophutatswana is to be redirected to the power stations of the Eastern Transvaal.

Rain alone will not solve the drought crisis. What is needed is a drastic reorientation of political priorities.

And while we are on the subject of drought we should remind Dr Nak van der Merwe and the President's Council Science Committee that the reason people are starving in the homelands is not because they 'breed' too much.

However the biggest problem the government faces is not the drought, or the rightwing — but the forces of opposition which are once again gaining momentum.

## May Day meetings mark unity

Throughout the country the United Democratic Front is taking off, indicating that the majority of the people have not been conned by the constitutional proposals.

The UDF will not only become a forum for people to express their rejection of government proposals. It holds tremendous potential to unite regions and provinces, classes and races, workers and communities and urban and rural people.

On May 1, a day of international workers solidarity, events in almost every centre in the country indicated the emerging unity and confidence of the democratic movement.

Unions, community, student and women's organisations commemorated May Day in places as far afield as Newcastle, Turfloop and East London.

The meetings took place at a time when the trade union movement has recognised the momentous decisions it faces, and committed itself to national unity.

The Transvaal Indian Congress was also revived on May Day in Johannesburg. The revival of this political organisation, with its long and proud history as part of the Congress movement should be seen as a step forward for the democratic movement as a whole.

A sadder event on the same day was the funeral in Lamontville of community leader Harrison Dube who was gunned down by unknown assailants.

But the 5000 mourners at the funeral committed themselves to carry on the struggle against community councils and unfair rent increases.

All these events point to the cementing of unity, consolidation of organisation and increasing militancy of the people.

The government has good reason to be worried.



Unionists meet at Athlone summit

THE DEADLOCK in trade union unity has been broken. At a recent conference in Cape Town attended by fourteen independent unions, seven unions agreed to set up a feasibility committee to consider the formation of a new federation.

The other seven said they had to report back to their members for a mandate before they could commit themselves to the feasibility committee.

Organised by the General Workers' Union which invited all emerging unions to discuss union unity, this was the fourth summit.

The previous talks in Port Elizabeth had ended with unionists saying there was 'no basis for unity' at that stage.

Although all at this summit agreed unity was now vital, there were differences over how best it could be achieved.

The FCWU said the time for a federation was 'long overdue'. The GWU supported this, saying it was 'totally committed to a federation and there is no turning back now'.

Gawu, while committing itself to a new federation, argued that Solidarity Action Committees (SAC's), formed after the first summit in Cape Town, should first be consolidated. Gawu said the Transvaal SAC's had been successful and the union 'still believes Solidarity Action Committees are the best way we can lay the basis for a federation'.

Six other unions, Saawu, OVGWU, Cusa, Macwusa, Gwusa and MGWUSA, all part of the Transvaal SAC's, supported this view.

The OVGWU circulated proposals for building trade union unity before the conference's start.

'By bringing together workers from different trade unions and different industries in the same area to jointly decide on issues and action which meets workers' common needs there, the unity of the trade union movement will be built in the strongest possible way — by workers uniting together around the issues of the day, irrespective of what trade union or industry they are in,' said the OVGWU statement. Its proposals included:

## Trade union unity on the agenda again



Saawu president, Thozamile Gqweta

●In every region worker delegates should be elected to the local SAC

●Retrenched workers would have their own delegates

●Official leadership should only be represented on the local SAC in an advisory capacity

●The local SAC's should exchange minutes, resolutions, report backs and experiences with one another 'and so build a firm basis for regional and national co-ordination; for building up the unity in action of workers throughout the country'.

The seven unions on the feasibility committee are Fosatu, Gawu, GWU, Food and Canning and African Food and Canning Workers' Union,

Saawu, Ccawusa and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Union. Guidelines laid down for the committee were:

●To collect and discuss ideas from different unions.

●To convene a conference to discuss these proposals within three months.

While Fosatu has said it believes there is 'sufficient common ground between the seven unions serving on the committee to allow for constructive and fruitful discussion on a new federation's policy and structure', Gawu has recommended that the committee also consider proposals from unions not involved so that the broadest possible unity could be achieved. The unions which believe Solidarity Action Committees should lay the basis for a federation in the future will submit this as a proposal to be considered by the feasibility committee.

The unions that attended the conference were:

Co-ordinating Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa); South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu); Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu); General Workers Union (GWU); General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu); Orange Vaal General Workers Union (OVGWU); Municipal and General Workers Union (MGWU); Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU) and African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU); Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (Ccawusa); Engineering and Allied Workers Union (EAWU); Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa (Macwusa); Cape Town Municipal Workers Union (CTMWU) and the General Workers Union of South Africa (Gwusa).

## Bill gives police more powers

INCREASED POWERS given to the South African police by the new Police Amendment Bill have come to light during the current white parliamentary session in Cape Town.

The new Bill allows any policemen to search any vehicle on any public road in South Africa as they see fit. They do not need a search warrant and may seize any article found in the vehicle.

The Bill says nothing about the circumstances under which the SAP are allowed to search vehicles, removing all previous restrictions on these actions. At present, the SAP have these powers in areas within 10 kms of South Africa's borders. Policemen also had to have 'reasonable grounds' for suspecting an offence had been committed, or an article was to be used to commit an offence. This

could be tested in court, where the SAP could be called to account for their actions.

In Parliament, National and Conservative Party members supported the new Bill saying these powers were needed by the police 'in their fight against terrorism and crime as the threat on the country's borders had shifted inland'.

The Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange said 29,000 roadblocks had been set up in 1982 involving 71,000 policemen. Almost 900,000 cars had been searched and over 4,000 people arrested in connection with crimes such as car theft, dagga possession and drunken driving. He said large quantities of arms and explosives had been seized at roadblocks, mainly in Natal.

The recent fatal shooting of a man

after police in an unmarked car ordered him to stop focussed debate on the use of the SAP's use of firearms. Le Grange rejected PFP calls of an inquiry into laws and regulations on police use of firearms, but said all SAP cars would be marked and all but a few of those killed were black.

Police are not held responsible for such shootings by the Criminal Procedures Act. According to Section 49 of the Act, policemen have

the lawful right to arrest a person 'reasonably suspected of having committed ... an offence'. The Act further says if the person authorised to make the arrest and prevent the suspect from fleeing cannot do so 'by other means than by killing him, the killing shall be deemed to be justifiable homicide'.





# Unity more than a slogan

THE SLOGAN is a wonderful device. It can capture ideas and concepts in a few words, making their meaning clear and easy to grasp. That's why advertisers specialise in slogans and in this sense advertising and politics are no different.

We also need to get our message across clearly and crisply, so we devise slogans which capture the essence of our demands: 'Rents we can afford', 'A pound a day', 'Forward to a people's republic'.

But slogans are not enough. We have to go beyond them to explain the ideas they are based on. We have to build on our slogans to ensure a thorough understanding of our struggle and our demands.

Some of the oldest and most widely-used slogans, of groups across the political spectrum, centre around unity — 'United we stand, divided we fall' and 'Unity is strength' being just two examples.

Over the last couple of months, unity has become the rallying cry of the trade union movement and of the democratic forces opposing the government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

We need to ask 'why unity' and 'how do we achieve unity' if the slogan is not to become empty.

The struggle against racial oppression and economic exploitation is never an easy one, and the last 18 months have been no exception. Progressive organisations have had to endure detentions, bannings and assassinations. Intransigent bosses have taken advantage of the economic recession and stepped up their attacks on democratic trade unions.

Rising prices, rents and bus fares have added to the burdens of unemployment and low wages. Progressive organisations have suffered key defeats.

It is during such a time that the forces of exploitation and oppression try to maintain the upper hand and disorganise and disunite the forces of change.

The challenge for the progressive movement is to withstand this attack.

And the essential ingredients for success are clarity of thought and direction, on the one hand, and united action of all organisations on the other.

In achieving clarity we need to evaluate the question of where we

are going and how we are going to get there. We need to look at the conditions in which we work. We have to adapt to changing conditions, as the struggle develops, if we are to be effective.

The question of politics is always a touchy one, which requires particular clarity because, while many of our people's organisations are not political, the struggle for liberation is a political one.

We have to work out how we are going to build not just local organisation in the schools, communities and factories, but national political organisation as well.

The struggles we wage through our local organisations will not be won until we have been able to free ourselves from the political oppression and economic exploitation which lies at the root of these problems.

The question with which we need to grapple is how to build a national political movement that is based on the people's organisation — realising at the same time that the majority of people are not politicised and so would not easily support a political organisation.

However, the majority of people can and do support their local community, student, factory and women's organisation and it is generally through their involvement in these organisations that they come to see their problems as political ones.

Organisations have tried to link local demands to broader political ones so that the root cause of problems becomes obvious, and so that people do not see their problems as theirs alone, but identify with oppressed and exploited people everywhere.

Organisations have also tried to break down the artificial divisions between different types of struggle, to show the problems in the factories, communities and schools all form part of the same whole. At the same time, by building links between themselves, their struggles can complement one another.

This is a gradual process, however, and it works on many levels. Each community, labour, student and women's organisation has to try to trace its struggles back to the un-

derlying political causes, and to relate these struggles to those in similar organisations.

At the same time as the different community, student, and labour organisations are busy building links between themselves, they need to be combining with other progressive organisations so that their struggles complement each other.

In some areas, we have seen community, trade union and student organisations supporting each other in struggles.

At first this only occurred during strikes and boycotts when organisations badly needed to mobilise as much support as possible, but in some cases it included joint participation in campaigns and even joint organising.

Progressive organisations have a lot to gain from such cooperation because they are all organising the working class around progressive demands.

As one would expect, there have been problems with the relationship between different types of progressive organisations in the past. Some organisations are organising under more repressive conditions than others; some are more advanced politically; others have more developed structures, and they all have their own priorities and their own ways of dealing with them.

The important point to remember is not that we sometimes disagree, but that we are all heading in the same direction, and if we are having to use different means of getting there then we must be sure we understand each other's methods and strategies.

The issues we take up in these organisations are political in the sense that they form part of the overall network of oppression and exploitation. But at the grassroots level people do not always see them as political and this influences the way we organise.

High rents, low wages, rising prices and unemployment are problems we will always face while we stay oppressed and exploited, and yet the way we take them up in the communities and factories is seldom overtly political.

We may say the long-term solution is a political one, but we are not in a

position to wage a political struggle through our local organisations.

We need political organisation to take those struggles further; to take the problems we experience locally and show how they affect all oppressed people, and therefore can only be solved through united action.

Political organisation must provide the structures and programmes to take local struggles out of their isolated context, link them to the general problems of oppression and exploitation, and unite them into national political demands.

A democratic political movement is needed to ensure our struggle is not only a struggle for improvements within the present unjust system, but a struggle for a new type of struggle altogether.

Political organisation cannot emerge out of nothing. It must grow out of the concrete organisation, mobilisation and education of people through grassroots organisation. And then it will be able to draw its support from those who have been politicised by local, grassroots struggle.

Building a political movement needs a lot of conscious time, effort and commitment. We must start by developing new forms of organisation which go beyond our local structures and which can take closer to full scale political struggle.

By forming ad hoc fronts, for example, to contest common issues affecting workers, women and students, we will be extending our mobilisation, organisation and education into the political sphere.

To do this we need to coordinate and plan together so that we can integrate and strengthen all our organisations and move forward together.

The importance of organisations consulting and coordinating is brought home by the fact that we can't always choose which struggles we take up.

Issues and struggles are often thrust upon us by the government and the bosses, and although they may come at a time when we are weak, and not in a position to mobilise, or when we have other priorities, we are forced to take them up.

The Republic Day celebrations, the Saic elections and Ciskei independence were all issues we could

not ignore, even though those struggles cost us dearly.

This means some organisations have to sacrifice. They have to leave some of their programmes and throw themselves into the issues which they did not choose to fight, but which cannot be ignored. It draws some of the organisations out of their natural constituency of organisation and it often pushes them into the political arena.

While we cannot ignore certain issues, the way we respond to those issues may differ. If we are to avoid fighting each other, we must agree that different approaches and strategies can be used.

The constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills are examples of issues which have been thrust upon us. However, because they affect us all, they give us the opportunity to unite progressive grassroots organisations to fight for the political rights of all oppressed people.

We can also use them to highlight the working class nature of our struggle and show that the fight against racial oppression must proceed hand-in-hand with the struggle against economic exploitation if we are to be freed from both.

The proposals are an attempt to divide the oppressed masses by granting hollow political rights to some sections of the population.

At the same time they tighten the controls on the working class. By emphasising both aspects of government strategy we can promote working class organisation and consciousness in all areas and advance our struggle through united and complementary action.

Our response — while the ruling groups are fighting among themselves — is to draw on the resources and unity of all organisations committed to democracy.

The UDF formed to oppose the government's proposals offers progressive organisations in all parts of the country and all spheres of struggle a chance to work together. In areas where grassroots organisation is still weak, the campaign gives us an opportunity to mobilise people who can then be drawn into the ongoing programme of these organisations.



TWENTY YEARS ago, the government forced the Transvaal Indian Congress to close its offices. But its proud tradition of resistance to apartheid, and commitment to a free and democratic South Africa never died.

The TIC, together with the other members of the Congress Alliance, was a leading force in the Defiance Campaign, and the formulation of the Freedom Charter. This role, together with the huge support the TIC commanded, made TIC members the object of intense state repression.

But the TIC's ideals, symbols and support were never crushed. The recent revival of the organisation is a tribute to a rich history of struggle for an equal and just society.

The TIC is one of the oldest political organisations in South Africa. Its predecessor, the Transvaal British Association was formed in 1903 and led the struggle of Indians against legislative restrictions and the Asiatic Affairs dept.

In 1906, virtually the entire Indian population stopped work for the day in protest against the Asiatic Law Amendment Act which effectively introduced passes for Indians. A meeting of over 3 000 people took the 'satyagraha pledge' and resolved to defy the Act.

A year later the first passive resistance campaign was launched and Indians refused to register under the Act. Only 500 of 13,000 Indians had registered, and many burnt their certificates in protest.

The spirit of defiance grew as discrimination and restrictions intensified. 1913 marked the second passive resistance campaign against the Immigrants Regulation Act, passed to limit movement between provinces.

In defiance women satyagrahis crossed the Natal/Transvaal border. The Transvaal group on arriving in Newcastle, began organising Indian mineworkers. Over 2,000 mineworkers went on strike.

The government response to the resistance was to repatriate 7 400 Indians over a 5 year period, and in 1920 the Anti-Indian League was set up to deal with the 'Indian menace'.

## Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in South Africa had given great impetus to South African Indians' fight for democratic rights. After Gandhi's departure in 1914 a moderate leadership abandoned the passive resistance weapon he advocated, opting rather for conciliation through consultations, memoranda, petitions, moral persuasion and negotiation with the government.

In 1939 the nationalist bloc under the leadership of Yusuf Dadoo aligned themselves with the Non-European United Front in opposition to black participation in the second world war. They argued the war was imperialist and refused to participate until granted political freedom.

When the government imposed residential segregation under the Stuttaford scheme the difference between the moderates and the emerging progressive leadership of the militant nationalist bloc became clear.

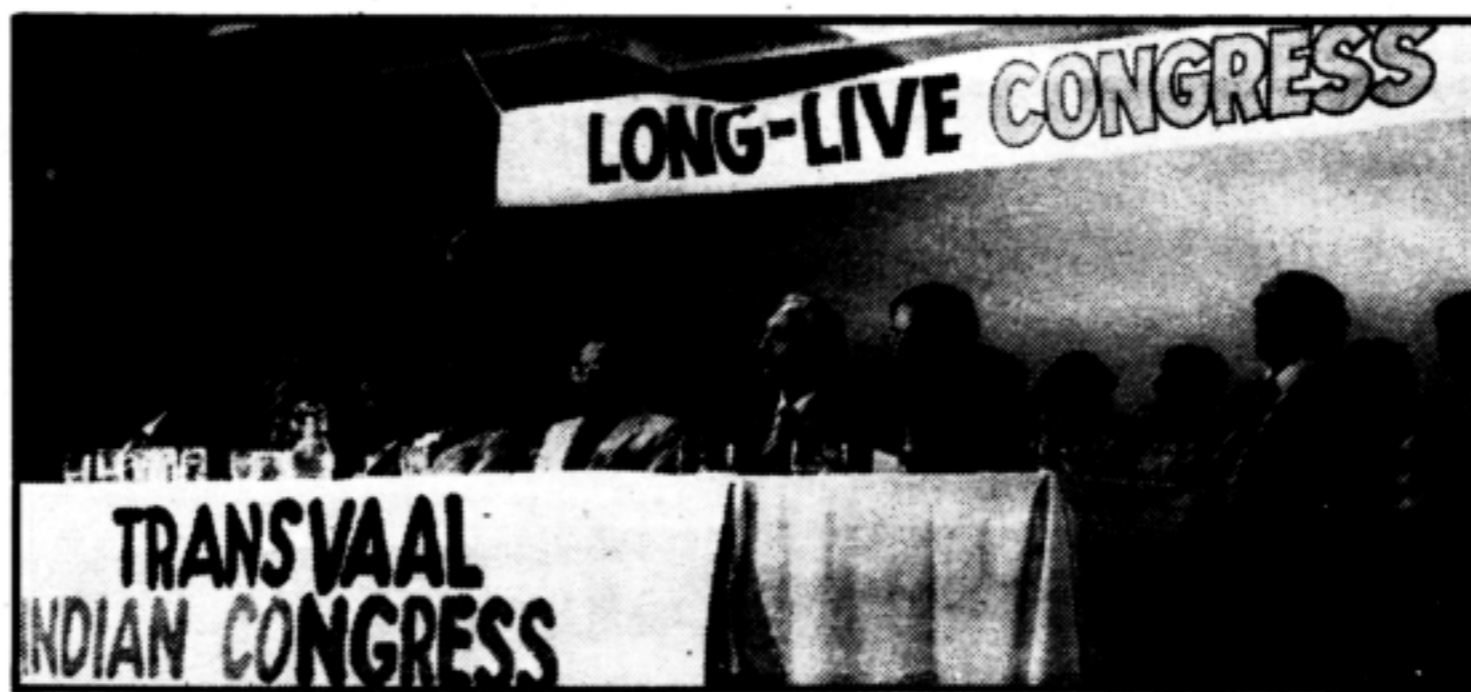
The moderates had agreed to voluntary segregation in residential areas (under the Pretoria agreement with the government)

The militants saw the segregation move as an attempt to further divide the oppressed and therefore weaken their opposition. It affected not only Indians but all blacks. United resistance was needed to oppose the move.

At a mass meeting of over 1,000 people in the Transvaal, Indians called for closer co-operation with other black political organisations. They elected an anti-segregation 'Council of Action' to launch a pas-

## Re-birth of the Transvaal Indian Congress

# THE TIC: A GIANT AWAKES



The Transvaal Indian Congress has been revived. It's nearly a quarter of a century since repression and harassment forced the organisation to close its offices. But its proud

history of resistance to apartheid through the Passive Resistance campaign, the Defiance Campaign and the drawing up of the Freedom Charter lives on...

sive resistance campaign.

This campaign heralded a period of progressive leadership within the TIC and united action between the Indian congress and coloured and African organisations.

Moderate leadership and their opposition to the militants within the TIC was losing support — it was the militants with the support of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and the Indian government that had mobilised the mass resistance which had led to the shelving of the Stuttaford scheme. They were proving to be a dynamic force within the organisation. And they were relentless in their task.

## Resistance

In 1939 the government introduced the Transvaal Land and Trading Bill. Again the militants called for united resistance. A mass meeting of 3,000 people took the passive resistance oath, although moderates opposed it. Later 6000 people at a meeting in Johannesburg supported the call.

Many of the young militants were organising Indian workers. By 1943 they were increasingly gaining mass support and Dadoo soon came to be seen as the true leader of Transvaal Indians.

Meanwhile, inaction of the moderate TIC executive led to growing disillusionment in their leadership and their intentions.

The moderates were forced to call a mass meeting where progressives demanded democratisation of the TIC. They again called for more militant action against segregation and closer co-operation with other black political organisations, arguing that only the unity of the oppressed would advance the struggle for a democratic and just South Africa.

In 1946 a meeting of 12,000 Indians in the Transvaal ousted the



Yusuf Dadoo

moderates from leadership positions. Dr. Yusuf Dadoo was elected president of the TIC, a position he held until forced into exile by the massive state clampdown in the early 60's.

That same year, the introduction of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Bill prompted militant passive resistance, mobilising almost the entire Indian community in a lengthy campaign.

The South African Indian Congress in January 1946 unanimously decided to resist this Ghetto Bill and called on the Indian government to break diplomatic and trade ties with South Africa.

## Councils

Passive resistance councils were formed in the Cape, Natal and Transvaal.

The Land Tenure Bill, paved the way for international condemnation of South Africa's policies at the United Nations, and for South Africa's isolation from the international community. The Indian government cut trade links, and withdrew its High Commissioner from South Africa.

The campaign soon accelerated and at the end of March 6,000 Indians under the banner of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) marched in Durban to protest against the Bill.



TIC vice-president, Ama Naidoo

In April and May, Dadoo, J.N. Singh and Ismail Meer toured the Transvaal addressing 15 mass meetings to mobilise resistance to the Bill.

After the Ghetto Bill became an act the TIC, NIC, and SAIC declared June 13 'Resistance Day'. Meetings were held all over the country. In Durban's Red Square 15,000 people listened to Congress leaders. They decided on a Programme of Action and that night Transvaal and Natal resisters pitched tents in defiance of the Ghetto Act, remaining there until they were arrested.

The spirit of resistance was growing in the Transvaal, especially among the Indian youth, and 600 volunteers went to jail.

In Johannesburg a conference under the leadership of African National Congress (ANC) President Xuma, unanimously declared their support for the Indian people and a branch of the ANC joined the resistance campaign.

In 1947 the growing alliance between the ANC and the Indian Congress was cemented. TIC and NIC leaders Dadoo and Naicker, signed the 'Doctors Pact' with ANC leader Xuma, as a declaration of co-operation in the struggle for basic human rights and full citizenship for all South Africa's people.

By 1948 the total number of Indians imprisoned for violating the



Act since the beginning of the campaign was over 1 900.

By the end of the campaign when almost the entire Indian community had been mobilised in opposition to the Act, the Land Tenure Advisory Board was totally boycotted and rejected as a sham form of representation.

In addition, Africans coloureds and democratic whites had clearly shown their support for the campaign - the basis for united mass action in the fifties had been laid.

When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, African and Indian activists from the TIC and ANC formed the Transvaal-Orange Free State People's Assembly for Votes For All, to expose South Africa's undemocratic nature.

The task of forging unity in organised opposition to the system became more urgent as exploitation and racial discrimination intensified under apartheid legislation.

In 1949 the ANC's 'Programme of Action' calling for active mass resistance to apartheid was adopted. Together with the Indian Congress it condemned the new apartheid laws as a vicious assault on people's rights.

When the Suppression of Communism Bill was proposed, the two organisations condemned it, throwing their support behind the mass protest of the CPSA.

Workers demonstrating against the





Funerals pay tribute to the late Roy Naidoo

Bill in the Transvaal on May 1 were shot by police.

The ANC, the Indian Congress and the CPSA formed a co-ordinating committee with Sisulu and Yusuf Cachalia as joint secretaries. A day of mourning for all those who had died in the struggle for liberation was called. The ANC called a national work stoppage.

The response was overwhelming with thousands of Africans and Indians supporting the call. In Johannesburg nearly three quarters of the workforce stayed at home, Indian shopkeepers closed their shops,

## Dadoo

But the Suppression of Communism Act was passed, effectively banning the CPSA. The government went on to ban and gag Indian Congress leaders - Yusuf Dadoo, MP Naicker, Debi Singh, Cassim Amra and many others.

But repression did not halt the people's determination to resist apartheid. And the fifties became one of the most significant periods in South Africa's history.

This decade of mass opposition to apartheid saw the further breaking down of divisions used by the state to weaken the challenge against it.

Through common struggle, a common understanding of the road ahead

developed. The Congress generated new and more solid unity between the various national groups. It laid the basis for struggles which would continue even after the clampdown of the 60's forced a temporary halt to mass opposition.

The TIC, NIC and SAIC were crucial components of this process. Their long history of organised resistance brought Indians to the realisation that their struggle was part and parcel of the struggle for the liberation of all South Africa's oppressed.

In July 1951 the National Executive Committee of the ANC and SAIC met to assess the political situation and agreed to launch the historic Defiance Campaign.

The campaign was to mobilise mass support to oppose six of apartheid's most hated laws: passes, stock limitation regulations, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.

A joint planning council was appointed to co-ordinate the efforts of the African and Indian people.

The ANC, supported by the SAIC, wrote a letter to the Prime Minister explaining why they would be forced to defy the laws if they were not repealed.

For many decades they had attempted to win the legitimate demands of the African people through



At the last TIYC conference in the late 50's, Mandela was elected president.



TIC meetings attracted thousands

constitutional means and the government response had been repression. They had no alternative but to embark on the campaign if their demands were not met by February 29.

Mass meetings and demonstrations would be held to protest against 300 years of exploitation and oppression, marking the start of the Defiance Campaign.

The ANC's letter was followed by one from the SAIC, also demanding the repeal of unjust laws. It traced the oppression of Indians and other national groups in the country and their attempts to overcome this. They too were now left with no choice but to defy.

On April 6 mass demonstrations and rallies were held throughout the country. In Johannesburg, Moroka from the ANC and Dadoo addressed a vast crowd in Fordsburg's Freedom Square.

Speakers said the government's efforts to divide people into ethnic groups should be resisted. 'We must come together or we will not live to see the dawn of the day of freedom'.

Following the demonstrations, a meeting between the two congresses established the National Action Committee to direct the campaign of defiance.

A National Volunteer Board was established with Nelson Mandela as National-Volunteer-in-Chief and Molvi Cachalia his chief assistant.

Earlier the government had named 500 people under the Suppression of Communism Act among them J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, David Bopape, Johnson Ngwevela and Yusuf Dadoo. They had all been congress leaders but under the act they were restricted from membership of the congresses.

They registered to become the first volunteers to defy. During June they travelled around addressing meetings and were arrested and imprisoned for several weeks. Mandela toured the country enlisting volunteers who accepted a code of discipline and conduct.

On June 26 the campaign began, in every corner of South Africa volunteers defied apartheid laws.

In the Transvaal, Nana Sita, President of the TIC and forty-two Africans and 10 Indians entered Boksburg township without permits, singing as they approached the waiting police. They were arrested.

During July more than 1 500 men and women defied, in August 2 000 and in September 2 358 went to jail. As more people were arrested, more volunteered for defiance.

When Moroka, Sisulu, Mandela, Dadoo, Cachalia, Marks, Bopape and several others appeared on charges of defying their bans under the Suppression of Communism Act the court was packed with supporters in and around the court singing Defiance Campaign songs. The case was remanded till later that year.

At the start of the campaign one congress activist said 'Fighting for freedom is not a picnic ... it is a very painful process and in that fight there is going to be suffering and even death'.

## Campaign

The congresses had stressed throughout the campaign that it was a peaceful demonstration. But violence erupted in different centres after police harassment and shootings at the demonstrations. Many were killed and injured.

But the repression made people even more determined, despite harsher sentences for defiers. Support for the campaign continued to grow. As the campaign drew to a close over 8 000 people had served sentences.

The defiance campaign drew international attention to apartheid. The UN condemned apartheid policy and demanded action against the South African government.

The campaign had succeeded in cementing the alliance between the ANC and the SAIC uniting Indians, coloureds, Africans and democratic whites together with the common purpose of opposing apartheid.

The basis was laid for the forming of the Congress Alliance under the leadership of the ANC which represented the majority of South

Africa's majority. As part of the SAIC, the TIC was an integral part of the Congress Alliance along with the CPC (coloured People's Congress), the white Congress of Democrats and SACTU.

The Defiance Campaign was a mass rejection of the apartheid system and its laws. But there was a need not only to reject the system but to put forward demands for an alternative South Africa defining more clearly the goals for liberation.

Circulars went out to every corner of the country asking people: 'if you could make the laws what would you do, how would you set about making South Africa a happy place for all who live in it?' Representatives and demands came from all over the country - over 3 000 people attended the Congress of the People on June 25, 1955.

The people's demands were encapsulated in the Freedom Charter, adopted unanimously at the Congress. It remains South Africa's most democratic document to date.

The charter was later adopted at the annual conference of the NIC, TIC and SAIC and became the official programme of the Indian congress.

In 1956, 156 congress activists were charged for high treason.

## Charged

Prominent Indian Congress leaders were among the charged.

The state alleged the Freedom Charter was a communist document and the Congress Alliance was attempting to overthrow the state by violent means. After a lengthy trial all the accused were acquitted, but repression against the Indian Congress and other congress organisations continued.

The massive state crackdown of the early sixties and the banning of the ANC and the PAC saw almost the entire Indian Congress leadership in jail, banned or forced into exile.

Continued repression made it impossible for the congress to function and the offices were closed down in 1961.

It was in this climate that the government imposed the South African Indian Council (Saic) on the Indian community.

Molvi Saloojee, past president of the TIC said of the Saic: 'Collaborators tried to steal leadership of the Indian community by the back door.'

'The government tried to confuse the people, thinking that in this way they could get the Indian people to accept the Saic and apartheid'.

At the end of 1981 people all over the country rejected the Saic as a dummy body. The Transvaal Anti-Saic committee (Tasc) mobilised massive support against the Saic. It was instrumental in smashing government attempts to sell the Saic to Indians. The Saic elections later that year were boycotted by the overwhelming majority of Indians.

At the Tasc conference in January 1983, over 400 delegates from different parts of the country called for the revival of the TIC.



# Defence Bill comes under fire

THE DEFENCE Amendment Bill, which gives limited recognition to certain categories of conscientious objectors, has been strongly condemned by churches and government opposition groups.

Under the Bill, only religious objectors who are universal pacifists will be recognised while those who, on religious or political grounds believe the South African war is unjust, face six years imprisonment.

An eight year sentence was initially proposed but this was reduced to six years after fierce debates in Parliament and a public outcry, especially from the churches.

Opposition calls have ranged from recognising all conscientious objectors (C.O.'s) to abolishing conscription.

Observers believe the government intended to sow division among C.O. rights campaigners by recognising only certain categories of objectors. But if the Bill aimed to quieten the churches' stand on C.O. rights by distinguishing between religious and non-religious objectors, it has been unsuccessful.

The United Congregational Church has said it would not condone 'privileges for religious objectors and persecution for the non-religious'.

Prominent Cape Town clergy and the South African Bishops Conference have also strongly opposed the Bill. The churches argue that objection according to conscience is a right, whether or not it is based on religious beliefs.

The PFP reject the Bill mainly because it doesn't provide for people who oppose military service on ethical and moral grounds.

Meanwhile protest meetings have been held in all main centres, particularly on English-speaking cam-

pus.

At a public meeting in Johannesburg, Peter Moll, who refused to do army service in 1978, pointed out that only a small number of religious objectors — those who refuse to fight any war — are sanctioned.

'Other religious objectors who believe in the just war theory and are prepared to fight injustice will still get a hard time,' he said.

A minute's silence in solidarity with Pete Hathorn, the first non-religious C.O. was observed at a protest meeting at Cape Town University.

Hathorn was court-martialled seven days before the Bill's introduction and was sentenced under existing legislation to two years' imprisonment in a civilian jail.

The Durban Conscientious Objector Support Group has called for an end to conscription because of 'civil conflict in South Africa' and 'strong support for the view that this country is involved in an unjust war' in Namibia.

And at the annual Black Sash conference, a resolution demanded that the government abolish all conscription. It said, 'The Total Strategy required of us is not the military defence of a minority government, but the total and all out effort of the poverty and deprivation suffered by the majority.'

Already three to four thousand young men fail to report for service annually, and over the past two years the SADF had faced a greater number of 'AWOL' cases and desertions.

To curb this the SADF has formed the South African Army Non-Effective Troops Section (Sannets) whose role, according to a defence spokesperson, is 'to keep tabs on or try to locate those who attempt to evade service by exploring various subterfuges ... Sannets will come down with a heavy hand on people like these.'

Some observers have also pointed to the Bill's implications for Indians and coloureds who could face conscription, especially if the new constitutional proposals are implemented.

A SAIRR statement from Cape Town suggested the Bill could also be aimed at stopping the real possibility of a large number of Indian and coloured resisters.



## Battle of the conscience

SINCE THE escalation of SADF operations, conscientious objection has become an important issue for young South Africans, the churches and opposition groups.

Conscription for all white male South Africans became compulsory in 1967.

Legislation for conscientious objection existed at the time, but the early objectors found it inadequate since it only catered for members of recognised religious denominations whose adherents may not participate in war.

These objectors, mostly Jehovah's Witnesses and Christadelphians, received sentences of three years in detention barracks. Others were liable to a maximum of two years in jail or a fine of R2,000 with the possibility of recurring call-ups.

In 1979 the South African Council of Churches (SACC) passed a resolution saying it did not accept that it was the automatic duty of Christians to go to war when ordered to by the state.

The SACC said there could be 'just wars' but the definition of a just war excludes war in defence of a basically unjust and discriminating society.

Similar statements were made by other church groups. In 1977, the Bishops Conference of the Anglican Church defended the right of any individual to follow his 'conscience' and urged the state to 'make provision for alternative forms of non-military service'.

In 1978 a group working with Professor Paul Hare of the University

of Cape Town set up an ambulance service in the war zone of Northern Namibia. They negotiated with the SADF to get the project accepted as a working model for alternative service but were unsuccessful.

Two of the people involved in the project, Peter Moll and Richard Steele, objected a few months later and were sentenced to a year in detention barracks.

Unlike the first conscientious objector, Eberhardt, they received extensive publicity. More church and other organisations began to call for alternative military service.

Although Steele and Moll objected on religious grounds, they argued that religious views always have political implications.

Since 1980 there have been another seven conscientious objectors. Four of these have based their objection on the 'just war theory', one is a pacifist and two have objected on political grounds.

All of them have fought hard to gain conscientious objector status and have been repeatedly sentenced to solitary confinement in detention barracks or civilian prisons. Charles Yeats, Mike Viveiros, and Billy Paddock have received civilian sentences and dishonourable discharges from the SADF, while the others face further call-ups.

The government did not respond until August 1980 to growing pressure from the churches for concessions to conscientious objectors.

A commission was set up by the Minister of Defence to investigate

conscientious objection and alternative service. The commission was headed by the Chaplain-General designate, Brigadier Chris Naude and consisted of military personnel.

The SACC called a national workshop, with representatives from secular and religious groups, when it became known that the commission had been formed.

A comprehensive set of proposals was drawn up, detailing minimum requirements for the recognition of objectors. These were submitted to the SADF at the end of 1982.

The Defence Amendment Bill, which arose out of the findings of the Naude Commission, correlates with the SACC proposals only in as far as: membership of a 'peace church' is no longer mandatory to receive objector status

alternative service outside the SADF is accepted in certain cases. Almost all the church groups have criticised the Act. They feel the Act is an attempt by the government to keep conscientious objection within very narrow religious limits. Clearly the Act has fallen far short of meeting the demands of those concerned about conscientious objectors.

Yet it has been as a result of their pressure that the Act was introduced at all.

The government's response to conscientious objection doesn't differ much from its response to labour, community or education struggles — a more repressive 'solution' is usually proposed in the guise of reform.

## Heunis scores top marks in ping-pong

THE RECENT announcement by Chris Heunis that sports facilities in all areas will be extended to anyone who applies to use them, drew mixed reaction.

Some people hailed the announcement as proof that the government was keeping its reform promises, while platteland towns protested vigorously.

Heunis's subsequent 'clarification' of the announcement puts the situation into a different light. The ruling is to apply only to sports facilities where the organisations which lease them believe that sport is 'political'. These organisations will be compelled to make facilities available to anyone who applies to use them.

Most of the sports facilities to which the new 'open' ruling will apply are leased by bodies belonging to the South African Council of Sport (Sacos). Sacos strongly believes it is not possible to play 'normal sport in an abnormal society', because gross inequalities in wages, housing, education and living conditions make normal sport competition impossible.

The government's ruling has been seen as an attempt to reduce Sacos's support, by winning support for multi-nationalism in sport, a reform policy which is aimed at allowing South African sport to regain entry into the international arena.

## Frelimo takes stock of independence

AT THE end of April, delegates from every region in Mocambique as well as hundreds of visitors from African and overseas countries congregated in the capital Maputo to attend the fourth congress of the Frelimo Party.

The congress, which culminated in massive May Day Celebrations was called to plan the path of Mocambican development over the next few years.

The delegate's task was to discuss ways of conquering the underdevelopment and building socialism, especially in the context of the threat from the MNR which is attempting to cripple the economy and terrorise the people.

The fact that 'anti-socialist' elements are entrenched in state structures was also raised. Delegates made a commitment to mobilise people to confront this combined attack.

Thirteen months of intense political work and organisation preceded the congress. In this time attempts were

made to involve the Mocambican people in analysing what had taken place in the country since the last congress in 1977.

General policy proposals were circulated for discussion around the country, from the central committee to factories and villages. The proposals covered a wide range of topics including the role of Frelimo, economic strategies for development, issues of democracy and Mocambique's relations with the rest of the world.

Communities were asked to propose concrete and simple plans to move ahead.

'We are looking for local initiative, local solutions, people relying on their own efforts and the means at their disposal', said president Samoral Machel.

Criticisms and proposals emerged from the discussions. Farmers complained too little technical assistance was given to small scale farmers while large scale state-owned farms

received far more resources.

Criticism was also levelled at the lack of activity amongst Frelimo membership. People felt there was a need for more grassroots participation. Sport and cultural activities, house building programmes and co-operative vegetable gardens were suggested to overcome this problem.

Delegates to the congress were elected in the factories, villages, and neighbourhoods. People chose representatives who met at a district level and later at a provincial level where further selection processes took place.

The majority of delegates selected were workers or peasants. Attention was also given to the number of women in the delegation and to the age of delegates so that both young and old were represented.

Preparation for the congress has taken on many forms. Factory workers committed themselves to various projects in support of the congress. Some painted and repaired

installations or improved facilities for workers, others worked overtime to increase production.

Earlier this year, many workers worked on a public holiday and donated a day's pay towards the costs of the congress.

Schoolchildren cleaned their schools, while others wrote songs and poems or planted trees and flowers to commemorate their congress.

The three previous Frelimo congresses were each significant in different ways. The first, held in September 1962, brought various organisations together and was known as the Congress of Unity.

The second congress in 1968 took place in a liberated area inside Mocambique and was attended by 170 delegates from every province. It defined colonialism and imperialism as the enemy and not whites.

In 1977, Frelimo called their third congress, after which it was restructured from a 'front' to a 'party'.



# Mkhize buried in soil he fought to keep

THE SLAIN Driefontein community leader, Saul Mkhize, was given a hero's funeral when he was buried on the soil he died fighting to keep for his people.

More than 3000 people from all over the country gathered at the small rustic village near Piet-Retief to pay their last tribute to the man who had dared to oppose the South African government's removals policy.

The four hour service was punctuated by ululations, the shouting of slogans, and freedom songs. At the end of it, Saul Mkhize was buried in a simple, private grave a few metres from the door of his home.

The funeral attracted worldwide attention. Many overseas journalists, including TV crewmen, descended on Driefontein for the service. A spokesperson for the 5000 inhabitants of Driefontein described the funeral as the biggest gathering ever held in the area.

The police whose bullet had resulted in Mkhize's death were conspicuous by their absence.

The service was conducted in a tent outside Mkhize's house. The tent was too small for the thousands of mourners who thronged the kraal overlooking Driefontein. Many perched on rooftops, trees, buses and fences to get a view of the proceedings.

Speakers described Mkhize as a hero and a man of peace. A spokesperson for the Workers Solidarity Committee (WSC) said that Mkhize was neither the first nor the last to die in the search for a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) said by eliminating Mkhize the authorities thought they would be 'finished' with him, and opposition to the removal of Driefontein's people would die out.

'But, ironically, it is in death that Mkhize will do miracles,' he said. 'The whole world will realize the tragedy of apartheid through his death.'

The Reverend Stanley Hlongwane, representing Durban's Diakonia, called on the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, to take 'severe steps' against the policeman who shot Mkhize.

He also called on Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, to rescind the decision to move the people of Driefontein.

Black Sash national president, Sheena Duncan, said about 3 million people had already been uprooted by government policy and another 1 million were threatened.

Other leaders described Mkhize as a 'saint', a 'martyr' and a 'hero'.

Demands for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were also made at the funeral.

At the end of the emotional service Mkhize's coffin was carried shoulder high by mourners, and then lowered into a simple grave in the family's burial ground.



Saul Mkhize's funeral. It was described as the largest gathering ever held in the area

## Nearly 20 years of struggle will not end with one shot

THE SHOOTING of Driefontein community leader Saul Mkhize by a policeman on April 2 1983 made international headlines. It catapulted Driefontein's struggle to world-wide prominence, and made resettlement once more an issue for public protest.

Mkhize's death is a tragedy in the history of a struggle that started in 1965 when plans were first made to resettle the inhabitants of this 'black spot' in the Eastern Transvaal.

Since then, at various intervals over the years, the people of Driefontein have been subject to arrogant treatment by officials, evasiveness, and a refusal to consult the community properly.

The people of Driefontein were initially never even informed about the removal. They were merely told to number their houses — ostensibly so it would be easier to deliver their post. But this never fooled anyone. A number on a door means only one thing — removal and demolition.

It was ten years later that the first talk about removal really began. Not in the form of meetings with the community, but in a casual conversation between the Wakkerstroom Commissioner, and the chair of the Community Board.

The reason given for the removal was that the Driefontein landowners were 'robbing local farmers of labour'. Then it changed. Driefontein now became 'badly situated', and so had to move. Later still, officials explained the removal was in the interests of 'homeland consolidation and enjoyment of better civil rights'. This latter phrase no doubt refers to the dubious virtues of bantustan citizenship.

The latest reason for the Driefontein removal, comes in a letter to the Community Board from Piet Koornhof in October 1982, which said, '(a) The dam on the Assegi River will on completion flood some of the Driefontein properties. (b) It is a decision of Parliament that the people of Driefontein must be settled elsewhere.'

On further investigation it appeared that the planned dam would at the most, affect 10% of the Driefontein land, and a nearby white farmer doubted that even that much land would be affected by the dam.

Behind the official excuses and explanations the reasons are clear.



Members of Driefontein's committee to oppose removals. The community will not give up its fight

Driefontein is a piece of black land in white South Africa. In the interests of the bantustan policy it must be removed.

This determination on the part of the government to move Driefontein is matched only by the Driefontein community's determination to stay where they are.

'If the government says I must move, they can just shoot me and let me die here. I do not even want to go and see that other place.' This old man feels no different to the thousands of other Driefontein residents.

The community has much to lose if they accept state plans. Driefontein is a settled community — over the years landowners and tenants, Swazi and Zulu have intermarried. Families will be split and friendships broken, if, as the government wishes, 'Swazi' Driefonteiners go to Lochiel, and 'Zulu' ones to Babanango in KwaZulu.

There are also material disadvantages to people if they move. They will lose much of the energy and money invested in their homes. They will face the expense of having to

build again, they will lose their cattle, and will never be able to farm as successfully as in Driefontein on the inferior land in both of the government-selected areas.

These places are far — up to 240 km away from their present home. Daily migrants and farm labourers on nearby farms will lose their jobs, and their is no work in Kangwane or KwaZulu.

Most devastating of all will be the effect of the move on the aged. Their pensions will be transferred to the bantustan governments. And as many know through bitter experience, it can take years for payouts to start again. In the meantime, there is nothing they can do but wait. Already the Driefontein aged are having massive problems with their pensions; in a new and alien environment these can only get much worse.

The officials are well aware that the alternatives to Driefontein are inadequate. The small number of people who were persuaded to see Babanango and Lochiel sites, were herded onto buses by riot police in camouflage uniform.

One look at the new place was enough to convince most of them that they did not want to move after all.

This stubborn resistance to the removal has been dealt with by the authorities with arrogance and intimidation. At a meeting called by officials to speak to landowners about the move, the officials refused to discuss anything but when and how the people would move. As far as they were concerned, the question of moving at all was not a problem.

When landowners said they would not move the response was first an enticement in the form of a morgen for morgen compensation for land. When this did not work, the kind words changed to subtle threats — the landowners were told that within five years Driefontein's infrastructure would have deteriorated to the point 'that most people will ask to be moved'.

Then the authorities refused to deal with the Council Board of Directors of Driefontein, which has a mandate from the community to oppose the removal. Instead, they will only recognise the Community Board which has lost all respect and credibility because of their consent to the removal.

As the resistance of the Driefontein people has become stronger, so has the harshness of the authorities' treatment increased. Mkhize received a number of death threats. His 17 year old son was severely assaulted by police. The community meeting where the Wakkerstroom magistrate announced that 'squatters had to counted' was also attended by riot police in camouflage with 12 riot vans and a sneeze machine.

All of these measures are calculated to intimidate and scare the Driefontein community into accepting the move. But contrary to official expectation they do not have the desired effect.

Every act of intimidation has strengthened the community's resolve not to move. In the wake of Mkhize's death, community leaders have said they would not give up, that the Driefontein struggle would go forward.

This determination, backed by strong community involvement and organisation, means the Driefontein struggle is far from over.



**Q:** What is the recent history of SRC's on Bush campus?

**A:** After the SRC was outlawed in 1977, a very principled and non-collaborationist approach to organisation re-emerged on campus. Students saw the idea of an SRC very negatively, saying that it would be under the control of the administration. This political position was dominant until the 1980 school's boycott.

When the Committee of '81 was formed, representation from Bush campus was expected on the committee. Students realised the need to begin developing leadership structures and so an ad-hoc committee made students realise the importance of a more formal and structured level of organisation and the question of an SRC was looked at again.

At about the same time, an SRC was being established at the University of Durban-Westville. This prompted further discussion of an SRC at Bush as there was close contact between students on the two campuses. Similar discussion also occurred at national conferences around the boycotts, and at Azaso conferences which were attended by some delegates from Bush.

An SRC was established in 1981, and we're the third since then.

**Q:** Your SRC was elected on a high, 36% poll last year. How do you interpret this, and is there still any opposition to the idea of an SRC?

**A:** In real terms, the poll was actually higher. Many students drop out in the first term but are still included on the register. Part-time students are also included, but aren't on campus during the day and so don't get to vote.

It seems that students broadly support the SRC and realise the importance of such a structure on the campus. A minority of students still voiced a non-collaborationist approach during the elections last year, accusing the SRC of being funded by the administration. We argued that in fact it is students' money, that students and the SRC have a right to that money for student organisations on campus.

**Q:** Why do you see it as important to organise students?

**A:** The struggle for a free and democratic South Africa is fought on many different levels. One of these is education. Students should be critical of the education they receive and must explore alternatives which are appropriate to South Africa.

We believe students are an integral part of the democratic movement in South Africa and that the SRC's role is to facilitate students' full participation in this movement, through educative programmes and taking part in campaigns.

**Q:** In broad terms, what are the main objectives of the SRC?

**A:** One of our main priorities is to build up democratic organisation on



The 1983 SRC: "Students must be critical of their education and explore appropriate alternatives".

# 'Building democratic organisation a priority'

## SASPU NATIONAL interviews the University of the Western Cape's third SRC

through the establishment of a middle class to act as a buffer to total liberation.

The SRC will have contact with any progressive democratic organisations sharing the same ideals in our efforts to work towards the construction of a non-racial democratic SA free from exploitation.

**Q:** How can students become involved in SRC activities?

**A:** Last year we set up a number of SRC sub-committees. They are the Campus committee, the Publications committee, the Women's committee, the Clubs and Societies committee and the Faculty committee.

The Campus committee will be responsible for booking venues and other facilities on campus and also take up issues directly related to students such as the cafeteria, food in the hostels and transport problems.

As it will consist of representatives from the hostels and an SRC member, it will allow for co-ordination of activities between the SRC and the hostels. It will also help build up organisation in this area.

Students in the hostels have in a sense got an advantage over other students. There already exist a number of organisations — from sports to cultural clubs to contemporary discussion groups.

However there are also problems. UWC is the only university which caters for so-called coloured students. This means that a large percentage of students come from other parts of the country, but not nearly enough accommodation is provided for them. What happens is that many have to squat with friends in the hostels at the beginning of the year while they look for alternatives and run the risk of being expelled by admin. If they manage to find accommodation in the area, they are highly exploited by landlords. Sometimes up to six students will stay in a caravan, all paying individual and very high rents.

The administration, instead of spending money for more hostels in order to rectify this problem, is planning to build a multi-million rand students' union type complex and sports field.

These are the kinds of issues the Campus committee plans to tackle during the year, like the hostel accommodation campaign recently.

The Publications committee aims to produce a regular newsletter to inform students about SRC activities and other issues. It will also produce pamphlets and posters for mass meeting and help students developing media skills.

The Women's committee aims to make women more aware of their role in organisation on campus and also more broadly.

Campus activity in the past has been marked by militancy, but equally, by a lack of women's participation. This is not accidental, but lies in the way society shapes the consciousness of women. They have been conditioned to be passive and so are reluctant to participate.

One of the committee's roles is to involve more women in organisational activities, and will as a first step, take up issues affecting women on the campus.

Contact will also be made with women in the residences. Already joint committees of men and women hostel residents have been formed so that the women's hostels can also gain from and participate in discussion groups and so on.

The Clubs and Societies committee aims to co-ordinate activities between the different groups and revive those that have been inactive over the last year. It will consist of representatives from these groups and will also run programmes looking at sport in a society like SA.

The Faculty committee aims to see to students' day-to-day academic problems such as bad lecturing and course content. Through this committee, students will be able to critically confront and take up grievances related to ethnic education.

**Q:** You said earlier that there has been contact between UWC and Azaso. What is the SRC's relationship to Azaso?

**A:** There exists at Bush an Azaso working group which is closely associated to the SRC. In the past, the SRC has also participated in national campaigns initiated by Azaso and we have a good working relationship. Affiliation to Azaso will have to be put to the student body in order to get a mandate from students.

the campus and draw as many students as possible into activities. Although there is support for the SRC it is a passive support. We need to bring the SRC down to students and so get them more actively involved in programmes.

We refer you to our policy statement which was distributed at a report back meeting on campus last year. It reads: 'The SRC sees itself as serving the needs of both full and part-time students at Bush. It is committed to participate in constructive programmes. In an attempt to be a mass-based SRC, we commit ourselves to co-ordinate and advance the demands of the students to the best of our ability.'

We reject an education which is designed to make us conform to a system of domination, racist beliefs and economic exploitation. As students, we are first and foremost members of our respective communities. We endeavour to make our skills and knowledge available, with the purpose of moving towards a democratic society. Our role must be defined as supportive and complementary to the workers and other organisations.

We will vigorously oppose any effort to divide us on the basis of colour, race, sex, rural from urban or

## Mgwali residents inspired by Mkhize

**EASTERN CAPE** — The people of Mgwali are relentlessly fighting their proposed forced removal to Frankfort in the Ciskei.

Their struggle is similar to that of the Driefontein community in the south-eastern Transvaal which was the focus of international attention recently when leader Saul Mkhize was shot dead by police at a meeting protesting his community's forced removal to KwaZulu and Kangwane.

Pringle Nobobe, secretary of the Anti-Removal Mgwali Residents' Association shared a platform with Mkhize at a Driefontein meeting opposing resettlement only weeks before his death.

At that meeting, too, the presence of armed police with teargas was felt, Nobobe said. 'There is very little difference, if any, between Mgwali and Driefontein residents — they also own their own land and have been subjected to various forms of in-

timidation.'

Wilson Fanti, Chair of the Mgwali Residents' Association, (MRA), who was recently released from detention, said, 'Mkhize's death was no reason to deter potential resettlement victims from fighting for their rights.'

'Mr Mkhize was fighting the same cause as we are. Sometimes it is necessary for one person to die so that the rest may live.'

For the Mgwali people, the nearby communities of Wartburg and Heckel, the Lesseyton community near Queenstown and the Goshen community outside Cathcart, resettlement in the Ciskei means smaller plots in densely populated areas.

The Mgwali Residents' Association has been hampered in its efforts to

prevent the 125-year-old community's resettlement by government refusal to acknowledge its support.

The authorities recognise only a planning committee, whose members are Ciskeian civil servants, as Mgwali's representatives. The planning committee says its function is to make the move to Frankfort as 'painless as possible'.

The MRA pointed out that a vote of no confidence in the planning committee was passed some 18 months ago.

Since then the MRA has worked at proving support and succeeded in canvassing the signatures of 3,800 families — about 95 percent of the community.

This petition is to be forwarded to Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-Operation and Development.

The MRA has repeatedly tried to

secure permission for public meetings and been refused by the magistrate in Stutterheim and the Mgwali tribal authority. However the planning committee is permitted to call public meetings.

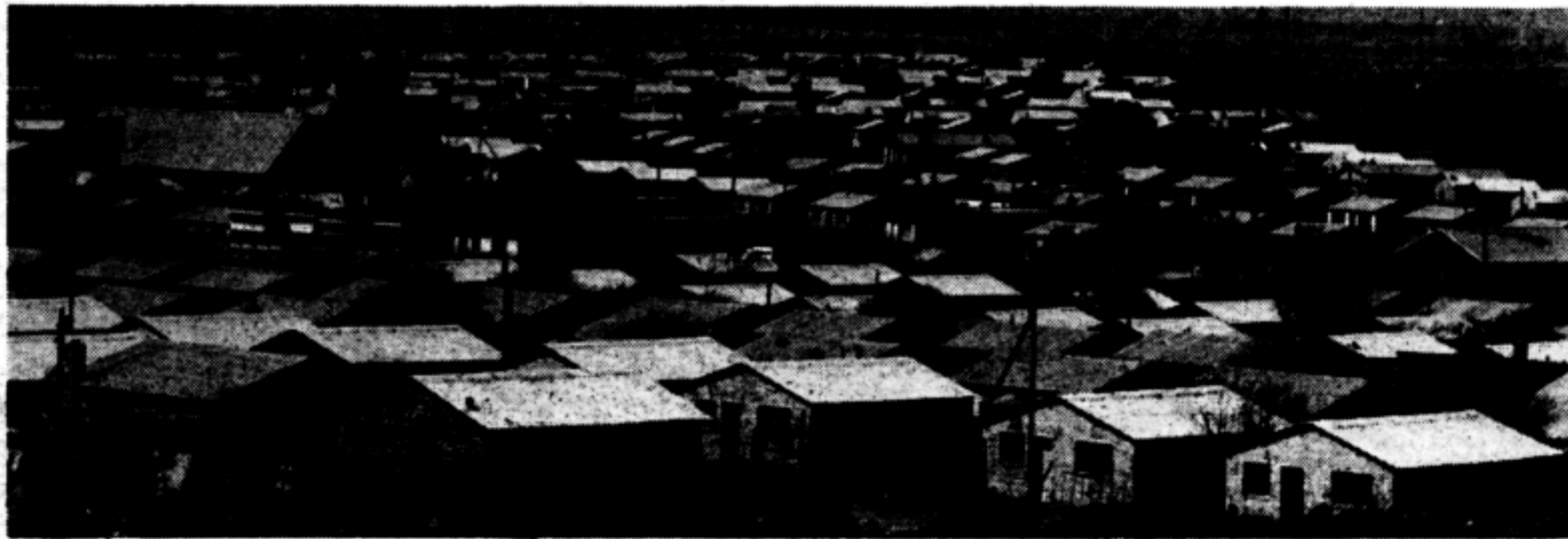
Nobobe said various intimidation tactics have been used to solicit support for removal. 'Anti-removal pensioners have been threatened with loss of their pension rights.'

Harassment included roadblocks outside Mgwali when the MRA held prayer meetings, questioning of residents by security police and Fanti's six month detention.

Members of the self-sufficient farming community have endured this rather than move to Frankfort, near King Williams Town where 'tomato box' houses and zinc toilets have been erected in anticipation of their forced removal which has been on the cards for about three years.



# Influx control lurks in state housing



Soweto, as with other townships, faces a housing crisis. The State's new scheme of 'buying or face drastic rent increases', will pass the cost of housing onto residents. It may make many homeless, and could be used to force them back to the bantustans

THE GOVERNMENT announcement in March that it would begin selling 500 000 state-owned houses to tenants on July 1, has been seen as a move to dump the financial responsibility for housing onto township residents.

According to the plan, about 250 000 houses would be sold to African people. Tenants who bought their homes within twelve months could get discounts of up to 40 per cent. Those who did not were warned to expect 'drastic rent increases'.

Although the final details of this housing sale have not been made public, critics interpret this move as increasing control over the urban areas. They connect the scheme with the proposed Orderly Movement of Black Persons Bill as a way to intensify the pass law system.

Secretary of the Soweto Civic Association, Tom Manthata has criticised the housing sales and said because the government was no longer able to finance the townships, it was trying to pass the mess onto voiceless people.

The Cape Housing Action Committee has called it 'a clear move by the government to dump the responsibility for their financial problems into the laps of the workers'.

Although a few tenants would like to buy their houses, most are unable to. 'The provision of housing is the state's responsibility and the state must make more finances available for houses'.

For many years, township residents have faced a massive housing shortage, yet the government has done little about it. The shortage is estimated at 168 000 urban houses and 258 000 in the bantustans. In 1981/82, the government only built 3 932 houses.

In January last year, the Department of Community Development shelved housing projects worth R300 million, instructing admin boards to complete existing housing projects, but not start new ones.

Instead of putting money into housing, the government has introduced the 99-year leasehold and self-build schemes, both involving residents paying for their own houses. At the same time admin boards have pushed

up rents all over the country to squeeze more money for townships out of residents themselves.

But the housing scheme fits into broader moves by the government to limit the number of Africans living or moving into urban areas.

The proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill makes this clear, by stopping anyone who does not have accommodation from living in the townships, even if they have Section 10 rights. The government has also limited the number of houses in the townships to prevent Africans from moving into urban areas.

In the same way, shacks are being demolished even though they are people's only homes. The admin boards see control over townships as more important than solving the housing crisis.

Shortage of housing, pulling back

government funds and forcing residents to pay more for houses and services, and using lack of housing to keep people out of urban areas are the main problems facing township residents.

How will the sale of houses solve these problems?

The director of the East Rand Admin Board, F.E. Marx, said there would be 53 000 houses for sale in the East Rand townships, but between 25 000 and 30 000 houses were still needed to relieve the shortage.

People in favour of the housing sales have said residents will save money in the long run by buying their houses. However, only a small percentage of houses have been sold under the 99 year leasehold because of the high costs.

Now, discounts will be given to those who buy within a year, who

presently occupy state-owned houses and who manage to raise money from building societies or employers.

A spokesperson for a building society has said loans will only be given to people if they 'can afford to own a home'. Clearly there will be no subsidies coming from building societies!

Meanwhile, there is controversy over the price of houses. The West Rand Admin Board has said present prices are R800 for a 2-roomed, R1 130 for a three-roomed, and R1 700 for four-roomed houses. The Diepmeadow Community Council however, has a R85 million debt and intends selling houses for an average of R12 000. Another pitfall in the 'money-saving' argument is that homeowners will still have to pay rent for their land as the 99-year leasehold refers to the house alone. There is nothing to stop admin

boards and councils increasing 'site-rents'. Homeowners will also be responsible for the maintenance and repair of their houses, many of which are in a bad state. They will no longer pay a flat rate for water either, which will be measured after the homeowner pays R100 to install a meter.

Some critics of the schemes have asked why people have to pay anything for these houses. Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash said, 'These houses have long been paid for in rents. Most of them were built before 1978 and are said to have cost R250 each'.

'The government has already recovered this money and is continuing making profits from the rents.'

House rents are used to pay off the loans admin boards have received from the National Housing Fund (NHF). Money from housing sales will be used firstly to pay off this loan, and the remains divided between the NHF and the 'local authority concerned'.

So, a lot of money will flow into the hands of admin boards and councils. Although they are obliged to use this for housing and community facilities, this doesn't mean they will build houses. They could use it to provide services for self-build schemes, which is probably what they will do.

Those favouring buying houses also argue people will be more secure. But while homeowners may not fear eviction from the board if they fall behind with rent, there is nothing to stop building societies repossessing the house if they don't repay their loan regularly.

Also, this new 'security' may only last one generation. 'Citizens' of 'independent homelands' can pass their leaseholds to their children, but the boards could simply take away their rights to live in the urban areas.

Finally, the land remains in the Boards' hands, and home-ownership will not prevent 3 am raids for electricity levies, demolition of backyard shacks and house-to-house searches for 'illegals'.

But one thing is definite: there is little 'security' for those who can't afford to buy their houses. They will be trapped between 'drastically increased rentals' and selling prices way beyond their means. Despite promises that they won't be evicted, rising costs will force people out, and the housing shortage will guarantee that desperate people take their places.

And once people are homeless, they could be forced out of the townships altogether - shack demolitions and the proposed Orderly Movement Bill show the government's determination to use accommodation to enforce the pass laws.

## Is Mayfair moving to push the Saic?

THE GOVERNMENT'S move to declare parts of Mayfair Indian seems to have angered all the residents of this west-Johannesburg suburb - black and white.

The Minister of Community Development, Pen Kotze, announced in Parliament recently that he had asked the Group Areas Board to consider declaring east Mayfair an Indian area.

For the white rent-paying residents, this would mean they become victims of the Group Areas Act and will be moved to an unknown destination. Many of them immediately expressed their anger - often in virulently racial terms.

For the hundreds of coloured and Indian families who are living in Mayfair illegally, the prospects are also not good, according to Actstop, the organisation that acts on their behalf.

Few of them can afford to buy their houses. The result, Actstop says, is that they are likely to be bought by wealthy Indians who will grab the opportunity to move out of Lenasia, 32 km away.

Already, many have been bought by the more wealthy Indians for prices far in excess of their market value.

This means the present tenants will face eviction - and return to the homelessness that drove them into the white area over the past few years.



The plan to make Mayfair an "Indian area" has angered all residents

Most of the illegal coloured and Indian tenants moved to Mayfair out of desperation for somewhere to live.

Through Actstop they have fought a four-year battle against the Group Areas Act and against attempts by the police to evict them.

Only last year, Actstop won a major victory in the courts. When Gladys Govender, a Mayfair widow who has been on the waiting list for a house for 30 years, was charged under the Group Areas Act, they fought it up to the highest court in the land.

When they reached the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein, Justice R Goldstone made an historic decision that gave temporary relief to

Govender and thousands of others in the same situation.

He ruled that although she was guilty, the authorities could not evict her without consideration of alternative accommodation.

The illegal tenants breathed a sigh of relief, for this means they could no longer be put out on the streets. The Department of Community Development would have to provide them with houses before evicting them.

But just when the Mayfair residents thought they were safe, the Minister made his announcement.

According to Actstop, the decision was simply a move to give credibility to the South African Indian Council, who had asked him to declare Mayfair Indian some time ago.



The Saic had 'hijacked' the issue and used it to gain credibility by showing they could win gains for their constituency.

According to Actstop, the State was attempting to win support for the President's Council by giving the Saic credibility.

They see the move as an attempt to play on the divisions between richer and poorer Indians, with a small number of the former gaining at the expense of hundreds of the latter, rather than an attempt to address the housing crisis.

'The only long-term solution to the housing problem is for this Act to be abolished. As long as it remains on the statute books we will continue to have a housing problem.'



# Behind Mawu's move to join IC

Mawu president Andrew Zulu and general secretary David Sebabi talk to Saspu National about the union's decision to enter the Industrial Council.

**Q:** At Mawu's annual general meeting last year, more than 5 000 members voted against joining the Industrial Council. Why has Mawu changed its decision and decided to apply for membership of the industrial council?

**A:** We have looked seriously at the problem of industrial councils. We have never been represented on the IC although there are some unions which claim to represent us. Whether Mawu likes it or not, most of the laws in the factories affecting workers are formulated by the IC.

We are going there to prove we have a mandate from 34 000 members and are the right people to represent them.

It must be made clear that we are not expecting big gains and that our struggle will carry on. However if we are not strong on the shop floor we cannot expect to win anything. So shop floor organisation remains our priority.

**Q:** What circumstances prompted Mawu to apply for membership?

**A:** During the 1981 and 1982 strikes on the East Rand we were negotiating with individual companies only and so while we won increases in some companies, employers were able to crush strikes in others. If we had been able to negotiate nationally, we would have at least won something everywhere - perhaps R2 an hour.

Also we expanded after the strikes and are now organising in over 200 factories. We do not have time to have lengthy negotiations at each plant. Negotiations take six to twelve months. It would be easier to face employers nationally - and the only forum is the industrial council.

In addition we ran into a lot of problems we did not foresee. We were organising too many workers at the same time and were unable to service them equally. When the retrenchments came we were unable to cope with the situation. We realised that we needed to try as much as possible to limit our rapid over-expansion and build strong factory floor organisation.

**Q:** So do you see joining the IC as part of a way of consolidating?

**A:** Yes, we will take the issues that arise and those demands that the union puts forward and we will use them as mobilising issues on the shop floor. Workers will be involved in all decisions. We will have general meetings to report back to them.

The IC will be a focus around which workers from many factories could unite in their demands.

**Q:** In the past, unions that have sat on industrial councils have been accused of being co-opted by management. Is this not a danger for Mawu?

**A:** Other unions have used the IC in the wrong way. Those unions would accept management's decisions. They had no way to force employers to do anything because they had no strong shop floor organisation.

They would sit on the council without a mandate and without reporting back to workers. Their members would be informed through stories in the newspapers.

**Q:** Before the decision to enter the IC was taken, were any other alternative strategies for negotiating wages nationwide considered?

**A:** We have already tried to negotiate with employers on a company and national level outside of the

THE METAL and Allied Workers' Union, (Mawu), the largest union organising in the metal industry, decided to apply for membership of the industrial council for the Iron, Steel and Engineering and Metallurgical Industry a few months ago.

The industrial council (IC) is composed of employer and union representatives who negotiate wages and working conditions. IC agreements that are reached are binding on workers and employers in the metal industry nationwide.

The employers are represented by the Steel and Engineering Industry Federation of South Africa (Seifsa), probably the most powerful and disciplined employer federation and one that has traditionally adopted a tough stance against shop-floor bargaining.

For example in 1979, it issued guidelines to its members that they should have no dealings with unions other than at an IC level.

The fourteen unions which presently sit on the IC are predominantly craft and parallel unions representing mainly white workers.

Until now most of the decisions made on the industrial council have been reached by consensus. However with Mawu's entry into the council, this procedure may change to one of voting if deadlocks are reached.

For unions that stress democracy and full participation of their members, the IC has always symbolised the worst features of an institutionalised industrial relations system. It has a bureaucratic and highly centralised structure and has been seen to operate in the interests of employers and to a lesser extent white workers.

The attempt by the Wiehahn Commission to incorporate black workers into the industrial council system is seen by many unions as an attempt to undermine their principle of strong shop floor organisation and worker control.

Unions have worried about what effects lengthy negotiations at a distant IC level will have on militancy and initiative on the shop floor. Organisers may be forced to compromise on the shop floor so as not to jeopardise negotiations at the IC level.

Therefore Mawu's decision to enter the IC may be seen as a controversial one. Saspu National interviewed Mawu president, Andrew Zulu, and general secretary David Sebabi to find out more about their reasons behind this move.

industrial council. However when we discussed our demands with employers, they would hand them over to the IC. The IC would take them and change them as it suited them and we were not present to argue those proposals.

Once we called a meeting of employers on the East Rand in an attempt to discuss retrenchments. Only one employer turned up.

We also considered negotiating with different sectors of the industry that make up the IC. But Seifsa made it difficult and said we would not be able to.

**Q:** How do you think Seifsa, which represents the majority of employers, is responding to your presence on the IC?

**A:** Employers have always said that we should enter the IC although I don't think that they really meant it. They have used the IC as one of their tactics to stop us negotiating at the shop floor level. Now they have no way of refusing to meet us.

**Q:** What demands are you making to employers through the IC?

**A:** They are the following:

●A minimum starting wage of R90.00 a week.

●An R18.00 per week across the board increase for all workers.

●A 40 hour working week.

●One month's notice on termination of service.

●A maximum of five hours overtime a week.

●Overtime to be paid at twice the normal rate on Monday to Saturday and three times the normal rate on Sundays.

●An exemption from any provision of the IC agreements should only be with the consent of the workers in the company which is applying for an exemption.

●Stop orders and access should be compulsorily given to any union which has 50 percent membership or 500 members in any particular factory.

●A proper 'lay-off' procedure which should be an alternative to retrenchment in the industry.

**Q:** How will Seifsa respond to these proposals in that they differ from the present agreements?

**A:** Seifsa has already indicated that they are unwilling to negotiate wages and they are going to keep their increases very low. But we do not expect anything from Seifsa. We intend to use the IC to introduce a series of new demands. For example, Seifsa doesn't have minimum procedures on issues such as retrenchments. Hopefully we can push Seifsa to recognise that Mawu is the only union representing the majority of the workers in their industry.

**Q:** Even though you are in a minority position on the council?

**A:** As far as we are concerned we have the largest and most organised membership and that is the basis on which we will push demands through.

**Q:** What will you do if the IC does not meet your demands?

**A:** We will be able to show employers who have pushed us to negotiate through the IC that it is not possible.

**Q:** Did you set conditions when you applied for membership?

**A:** Yes, we informed the IC that we reserve the right to withdraw at any time and we will do so if necessary. We want the right to refuse to sign any agreement which our members don't agree with. We also demanded the right to negotiate at any level - branch, regional or national. We will constantly review our position on the IC.

**Q:** How will you decide what issues to take to the IC and which to negotiate at a plant level? Don't you feel you will be forced to negotiate more and more issues on the IC?

**A:** No, it will depend on what the workers feel is the easiest way to win. If the shop stewards say we must fight it in the plant then we will do it that way.

For example if we see that we are unable to fight for redundancy pay nationally, then we will have to go through the plant and press management that way.

**Q:** What about wage negotiations?

**A:** We will see wages that have been negotiated through the IC, as



Mawu president Andrew Zulu

minimum wages only. We will still go back to individual factories and try to push wages beyond their minimum. We believe that the IC still gives us room to go to individual factories.

**Q:** Do you think that joining the IC will improve the possibilities of negotiating recognition agreements at individual factories?

**A:** No, we are still going to have the same problems negotiating separate agreements. Employers don't see any reason to negotiate separate agreements with us once a national agreement has been made through the IC.

To get management to sign recognition agreements we have to be strong on the shop floor. That's why shop floor strength will always be our priority.

**Q:** How was the decision to join the IC taken?

**A:** We discussed the issue from June last year until February. It was raised in general meetings in branches and then it was discussed at the national Mawu annual general meeting. Then it was again referred to membership in each branch, discussed and taken back to the Branch Executive Committees.

Different recommendations from each branch were presented to the National Executive Committee (NEC) and then again referred back to the branches. Here it was taken back to the shop steward councils and then to general meetings.

The final decision was taken by the NEC of Mawu after discussions with each branch.

It was hard to reach a decision because at first we had a fifty-fifty situation. Some said yes, others said no and we couldn't force the decision either way. We had to refer back so that everyone could read the argument. Finally all the branches decided.

**Q:** Do you think that your members understand what the IC is and how it operates?

**A:** Yes, especially in Mawu. We have been discussing the IC for a very long time. Most of our members hate the IC but then we have no option; we have got to represent our case in the IC.

**Q:** What happens if the IC does not meet your demands and suggests other proposals?

**A:** We will not accept them before we take them back to our members and get a fresh mandate.

**Q:** Are general meetings sufficient to keep workers informed and get an adequate representation of their feelings, or will you need to use other forums such as seminars and factory meetings?

**A:** It is not easy to gauge feelings at general meetings. If the majority say let's do something, it is difficult to

hear those who oppose them. But after general meetings we'll take it to the shop steward councils. Shop stewards must report back to the plants where at least we can get all the workers' views.

**Q:** Who will represent Mawu on the IC and how will that decision be taken?

**A:** The National Executive Committee on which all branches have representation will mandate some of their members. Most of them will be workers.

**Q:** Will it not have to be people who have experience in negotiating since the procedure in the IC is quite sophisticated?

**A:** We are going to push them to make it simple. We are not interested in sophisticated ways of approaching anything. We know our demands and we are going to put them on the table and that's all there is to it.

We will force the IC to negotiate on our terms and if that fails we will simply go back to our membership and say it is not working.

**Q:** How have other Fosatu unions responded to your decision?

**A:** We released a paper where we explained our decision to join the IC and how we are going to use it and requested other unions to comment. They felt that it was the correct decision for Mawu to take.

**Q:** Do you think your decision will have implications for other Fosatu unions which are smaller and weaker than you are? Will they be pressurised to join IC's in the future?

**A:** We don't think so. Each union is faced with different conditions and they will decide whether or not to join in terms of these conditions and not because other Fosatu unions have joined.

For example the paper union has managed to negotiate with big employers without going to the council.

**Q:** And other non-Fosatu unions in the metal and engineering industry?

**A:** The Steel and Engineering Union is already a member of the IC so it won't make any difference. We are not sure about Engineering and Allied since we don't hear about them regularly.

**Q:** Finally, are you optimistic about your decision?

**A:** We think that it will be easy for us to maintain the support of our membership. We will have some problems trying to convince Seifsa that we are serious.

We are going to make all the metal workers aware that they have to continue struggling against the employers. They have to show the employers that their union has a mandate from them on the IC.





A Fifth Brigade display at Zimbabwe's Independence Celebrations. The Brigade was sent into Matabeleland to flush out dissidents at all costs. Those costs may already be heavy

# The battle is not yet won

THE INDEPENDENCE party's still in full swing in Harare,' said a Bulawayo woman recently, in wry reference to the euphoric send-off at Rufaro Stadium three years ago as Zimbabwe was born. But although the party did go on a bit, it's clearly over now — even in Harare. In fact, there are even signs that the hangover's clearing a bit too.

'Soon we'll find out who is the real revolutionaries, 'cause I don't want my people to be tricked by mercenaries,' sang Bob Marley that night in Rufaro. In the treacherous waters of Southern African power politics, telling who are revolutionaries and who are mercenaries is indeed tricky. And with so much at stake, it can be hazardous too.

Sticking your neck out is not a popular pastime in Zimbabwe these days, and for too many Zimbabweans, it's simply easier to remain confused or deluded and therein lies the real tragedy of Zimbabwe three years on. Democracy stands or falls, not on the machinations of those in pursuit of power, but on the commitment of the people to taking responsibility for their collective destiny.

'Well, nothing's really changed much,' white Zimbabweans say with a shrug.

It is often quite astonishing the extent to which white Zimbabweans are out of touch with the political realities under which they live. But, after years of believing Mugabe to be the devil incarnate and staring in anxious belief as Doctor Faustus and friend moved to take over the trappings of power they had fought and died to retain, it's perhaps a little hard to accept that good ol' Smityh was more into power than upholding Western civilisation.

Some have, though. Some have seen that the real power, economic power, is still safe in their grubby little paws and is likely to remain so for some time to come. Colonialism has become neo-colonialism. Same old thing in brand-new drag, but the infrastructure's the thing that keeps everybody alive, and, to some extent at least, it's going have to be lived with.

Of course, they'd all have seen it, had they even the vaguest understanding of the Marxism they'd all fought so hard to deny. They'd have understood what reconciliation meant. They'd have understood why Zanu couldn't turn the whole place upside down and expect it to work. But still the delusion persists. 'He hasn't nationalised anything,' a white businessman told me as part of an 'I've-got-a-lot-of-respect-for-Mugabe' discourse. He was positively deflated when reminded that the Lancaster House agreement forbade any nationalisation for seven years.

**'A bourgeoisie doesn't cease to exploit just because it has changed its colour'**  
— Robert Mugabe at Zimbabwe's third Independence Day Celebrations

But delusion is one of the few things on which there isn't a white monopoly. Probably the last people to come down from the independence high will be the black middle class, the people the Smith regime so carefully nurtured as a bulwark against the aspirations of the majority.

This well-heeled bunch, now the darlings of capitalist investment in Zimbabwe, have a somewhat different idea of the nature and aims of reconciliation to those of the party strategists. Whether they ever manage to wrest power for themselves, whether Zimbabwe does a Kenya, remains to be seen, but they already exercise a profound influence.

In the immediate aftermath of the annihilation of their mentor the benign Bishop in the independence elections, a number of Muzorewa appointees to the civil service gapped it to the private sector. But a large number remained, to be joined by Zanu appointees who shared their class background if not their political allegiance.

Occupying several important policy-implementing, as opposed to policy-making, posts, their decisions have been strange in many cases. Recently, the Ministry of Housing has had some of its schemes criticised by local authorities as being beyond the means of the people for whom they were intended. Four-bedroomed houses are fine in Harare, but expecting rural people to find the almost 100 percent increase in rent from the independence lucky dip is a bit unrealistic. And this situation arose purely because middle-class bureaucrats devised middle-class housing schemes in terms of their middle-class values and aspirations.

Unfortunately, the situation doesn't end there either. Despite the presence of two five-star hotels in Harare, both with conference facilities to keep the most precious delegate in the manner to which he is accustomed, plans are afoot to build another \$98 million conference centre. Which wouldn't be so bad were the \$9 million downpayment not coming from the Ministry of Construction's Rural Development Fund.

If this sort of thing were isolated it could be dismissed as an unimportant factor in Zimbabwe's development. But the inroads the middle class has made into the power structure run deep. Even to the point where the government stands to lose the support and allegiance of the working



Robert Mugabe

class. The Ministry of Labour's much-awaited new Labour Bill, to replace the Smith regime's Industrial Conciliation Act, contains measures which could precipitate that outcome. Whilst couched in much eulogising to the principle of free trade unions, it provides for their registration as well as a state-controlled procedure which has to be followed before a strike may be legally called.

But systems don't make decisions and the fate of Zanu's working class support will rest with the civil servants who comprise the Ministry of Labour. And if the Ministries of Housing and Construction are anything to go by, that support could be in jeopardy. The consequences of losing that support for Zanu as a party could be catastrophic. The stage would be set for another Kenya.

And as the black bourgeoisie jockey for position, the left in the party appear to have let things slip. With Edgar Tekere still paying the political price of an overdose of independence euphoria, the left have no serious contender for the party leadership should Mugabe go. Nor have they maintained the grassroots political structure so essential to their political functioning, Zanu not having got a party congress together since independence.

In an independence weekend address, however, Mugabe reaffirmed the party's commitment to a socialist path when he delivered a stinging address on ministers and other officials

who displayed bourgeois aspirations. Whilst the speech is a clear warning to the middle class not to delude themselves as to the real purpose of reconciliation, it is also an indication that Mugabe enjoys enough support to deliver that warning.

Perhaps the main cause for the threat to the left within the party is Zanu's decision to be a populist, open to all, rather than a vanguard party, where one earns one's membership. On the other hand, however, it is clear that only Mugabe can hold the party together at present and the tight security surrounding his person has led street-wags to dub his siren-wailing motorcade 'Bob Mugabe and the Wailers'.

If, for some reason, Mugabe should go, the left would probably look to Home Affairs minister, Hébert Ushewokunze, as their candidate for the leadership, his earlier sins largely forgiven now.

The party aside, however, 92 percent of Zimbabwe's workforce are still not unionised and trade unions

In the first place, Mugabe's allegation that ZAPU is solely to blame is questionable in the light of claims of South African involvement. Whilst South Africa would clearly love to witness ZANU's demise, it is unlikely hold no political clout whatsoever, a factor which may prove to be crucial if the trend towards the centralisation of power continues.

And centralisation there certainly has been. Mugabe has taken responsibility for both security and defence from the cabinet and made them answerable to the Prime Minister's office. Although this is seen as a direct result of the security situation in the country, power, once centralised, does not tend to decentralise and the return of this power to the cabinet in the foreseeable future is unlikely, whether the security situation improves or not.

The violence in Matabeleland and the government's response to it has focused world attention on Zimbabwe. It has received extensive coverage in the international press, much of it highly critical of Mugabe's handling of the situation. This coverage has unfortunately obscured the picture by sensationalising certain aspects whilst ignoring others.

At the same time, however, the Zimbabwean media has been somewhat less than honest in its reporting, with ZTV vieing with its South African counterpart for slavish adherence to the official line. The result is a confusing mish-mash of claims and counter-claims, threats

and accusations and no solution in sight.

Mugabe has blamed the violence on Nkomo, ZAPU and South Africa, in that order. In a passionate address to a rally in Rufaro recently, a clearly angry Mugabe issued a 'final warning' to ZAPU to stop assisting the dissidents. He identified the issue at the root of the dissident problem as being one of power and power alone, 'not a question of the principle of how Zimbabwe should be ruled, 'but a question of who shall rule.' Framed in those terms, of course the country cannot afford to go to war over who shall rule. The question is, however, whether that is all there is to it.

In the first place, Mugabe's allegation that ZAPU is solely to blame is questionable in the light of claims of South African involvement. Whilst South Africa would clearly love to witness ZANU's demise, it is unlikely that any ZAPU member worth his salt would seek assistance from Pretoria in the light of ZAPU's close ties with the South African ANC.

Observers in Harare believe the dissidents infiltrated from south of the Limpopo are more likely to be disaffected former Muzorewa auxiliaries who took a duck down south after their party's defeat in the pre-independence elections, and who are now taking advantage of the unstable situation.

It is clear, however, that most dissident violence can be attributed to former ZIPRA cadres who took to the bush soon after independence. What their aspirations and grievances are is something which is as crucial to understanding the problem as it is to its long-term solution. Yet this question receives scant attention from the legions of foreign journalists variously rending their liberal garments at the government's response or gleefully crying 'tribalism'.

So far, the only demands ZIPRA dissidents appear to have made have been for the release of Dumiso Dubengwa, former military commander of ZIPRA, Lookout Maseku, his chief lieutenant, and four other ZIPRA commanders. The six were detained in the aftermath of the discovery of arms caches on various ZAPU properties last year and subsequently charged with high treason.

During the ensuing trial, the treason charges were dropped against all but Dubengwa. The case against him stands mainly on a letter he wrote to the KGB asking for unspecified assistance in combating what he saw as a policy shift by ZANU and Mugabe upon their assuming power. Whether Zimbabwe does in fact go the way of Kenya is

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## SA women tell all in first ever collection

AS THINGS go in South Africa, women are traditionally seen and not heard. The exceptions have been a few who were determined enough about their rejection slips, or who persevered but in the main few South African women artists have been recognised in their own land.

The good news is that Lip, an anthology of South African women's creative work — literary and visual — means things are changing. The book, a first effort to collect a cross-section of South African women's contemporary work, is cause for celebration.

Edited by three Johannesburg women, the book derives from collective and individual energy. And inspired in a politically chauvinistic society in which men fix values for men and women, the collection is not easily categorised or for that matter all 'nice'.

Lip editors Susan Brown, Susan Rosenberg and Isabel Hofmeyr say in the introduction: 'White women have had disproportionate recognition in the arts because of their privilege and the oppression of others.' And whether this is true or not, the editors have sought to reflect the whole gamut of South African women's experience — black, white, old and young, English and Afrikaans, rural and sophisticated.

There are 60 contributors in all. In effect, work that stems from so many milieus could only have been brought together in a project like Lip. The result is a provocative collection.

The work, both artistic and written, is a mixture. Some of it has appeared elsewhere, and some has literary and artistic merit. Many pieces are clearly experimental and exploratory. They are all interesting in their own right because of the understanding and insight they give of the way ahead.

The contributors have in some cases written for themselves or for a women's audience — by whom they are taken seriously. Other pieces are re-renderings of the urbane, normally typified 'boring' aspects of women's lives — from a new point of departure. Overall, Lip speaks clearly and unashamedly of the politics of South African women's lives, as they have creatively interpreted them.

The book is broken into categories which as genres speak for themselves: Textures of the Everyday, Hidden Faces, Endurance, Dreamwork, War and Setting Out.

The Lip editors plan many more issues. The material is no doubt there and once women begin to unplug the flow, there will be no stopping it.



The Orange Vaal General Workers Union. May Day meeting was one of several held in different parts of the country including Ngoye, Newcastle, Pretoria and East London. This year saw more May Day meetings than ever before.

# Workers' holiday is celebrated worldwide

Workers all over the world attended rallies and marched on May 1 to celebrate May Day.

●In Mocambique a massive May Day parade of 25,000 people marked the end of the Fourth Congress of the Frelimo Party.

In front of the grandstand from which president Samora Machel delivered his speech, banners depicted aspects of Mocambican life and called on people to build a better society.

The parade was headed by a giant new Frelimo flag. Close behind were the education sector workers and school children, followed by workers from the productive and service sectors.

Foreign contingents also took part, led by the ANC of South Africa and the Frelim movement from East Timor. They were followed by foreign workers of Mocambique.

●900 Czechoslovakian towns celebrated May Day. Speakers at

many of the parades hit out at the nuclear policies of US President Ronald Reagan. At the main ceremony in the capital, Prague, Communist Party head Gustav Husak said, 'The policy of confrontation pursued by the present US administration causes justified concern throughout the world.'

●Pope John Paul II dedicated his blessing on May 1 to the workers of the world.

He said he was expressing his

sincere wish that the dignity and fundamental rights of workers would always, and everywhere, be recognised.

●In France, at least 30,000 workers and students marched on the Bastille in a demonstration of left-wing solidarity. In his speech, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said the government would stick to its economic austerity policies despite union and public discontent.

Unions organised rallies throughout France, and union leaders condemned recent government tax increases, which are a part of the austerity policy.

●May Day rallies in East Germany were used to stress labour productivity targets for this year and loyalty to the Communist Party.

●100,000 Israelis celebrated May Day at a rally in the capital, Tel Aviv. Doctors and nurses carried banners in support of the two-month-old health strike for better wages and working conditions.

●In East Germany, workers, whole families as well as units of the Communist Free German Youth Movement participated in marches.

●The Philippines president and government sponsored trade union movement leaders presented May Day speeches.

In his speech, president Ferdinand Marcos ordered the transfer of two imprisoned labour leaders from military detention to house arrest in an apparent effort to defuse opposition to his regime. They had been accused with more than 20 other trade unionists of allegedly conspiring with communists to organise a rebellion which would include a general workers strike.

## May Day's proud past

THE CELEBRATION of May Day as an international day of solidarity among workers started in Australia in 1956.

In that year workers organised a day-long work stoppage coupled with meetings and entertainment as a demonstration to press for an eight-hour day. The day was intended as a one-off, but it was so successful that workers decided to make it an annual event.

By 1886, the idea of a mass worker demonstration reached the United States and in 1889, the International Workers Congress decided to use May 1 as an annual international worker celebration.

May Day is celebrated in many different ways: The first protests were rallies where large gatherings of workers listened to speeches which mostly demanded shorter working hours. Marches were and are often held on May 1.

In South Africa, some workers were able to get May Day included as a workers' holiday in their in-

dustrial council agreements from 1926.

Progressive trade unions celebrated the day during the 1930's, and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) during the 1940's.

The most significant May Day in South African history was that of 1950. The African Peoples' Organisation, in conjunction with the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress, CNETU, the Johannesburg District Communist Party and the Transvaal Indian Congress called for a one day stay-away on May 1.

Over half of South Africa's workers didn't go to work on the day, and there were demonstrations calling for higher wages. This was the first time the stay-away tactic was used by South African workers.

But peaceful protests turned to violence when police intervened in arguments between returning and boycotting workers. They killed 19 workers and injured 30.

Other demands made by South

African workers on May Day over the years have been the recognition of workers' rights to form and join trade unions of their choice, the abolition of pass laws and influx control, the right to strike, a national minimum wage, the abolition of discrimination in the workplace on the grounds of race and sex, and for the inclusion of sick leave, medical aid, unemployment and pension benefits.

By the late 1950's May Day ceased to be celebrated by South African workers. In 1961 a letter from the Minister of Labour to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) read: 'I have to advise you that it is not government policy to approve of wage determination and industrial council agreements which provide for May Day as a public holiday.'

It is only in the past few years that workers have again begun to hold May Day meetings.

Worldwide, however, workers have continued to celebrate the day every year.

the government sent in the Fifth Brigade.

The Fifth Brigade, trained by North Korean and British military advisors, and made up almost entirely of former ZANLA cadres, was sent into Matabeleland with orders to flush out the dissidents at all costs. Those costs may already be heavy.

As Mugabe continues to castigate those who allege atrocities by the Fifth Brigade, so few in Zimbabwe deny that heavy-handed action has taken place. They merely argue that such action is politically justified. Mugabe has promised a full investigation into the allegations and the commander of the Fifth Brigade was recently recalled to Harare to account for his men. Some observers believe Mugabe's action to be too late and that extensive political damage has already been caused.

But for Zimbabwe as a whole, the violence is debilitating. The country is in a delicate economic situation and simply cannot afford another

war. Whilst the South African presence is covert, a legacy of UDI, it is also rampant, a fact the government does its best to deny.

The critical shortage of petrol earlier this year was officially attributed to the blowing up of the Beira-Mutare pipeline by MNR guerrillas. Trouble is, however, that the Feruka refinery at Mutare, which closed in 1966, has still not reopened. That means that it would be no use pumping crude oil along a pipeline to a place which has no means of refining it. Nor could refined petrol be transported along hundreds of kilometres of pipeline which is open to sabotage. It would then be a simple matter for saboteurs to blow the whole pipeline to smithereens. So only diesel gets pumped from Beira to Mutare.

And then whence cometh the petrol? From South Africa of course, a fact the South Africans wanted known when they turned off the taps. Lonhro, owners of Feruka, estimate

the costs of refurbishing the refinery at \$100 million and the recent 30 percent increase in the price of petrol has been seen as a move on the part of the government to raise the cash to get Feruka going again. If this is so, it hardly seems necessary. A refinery is a much better investment than a conference centre, especially when they're going for the same price.

Meanwhile, the government's Three Year Development Plan, announced last year, is unlikely to achieve its stated aims. Choosing to ignore many of the hard facts of the current world economic recession, the plan bases much of its projections on the national economy doubling its exports in the next three years. But hoping that developed capitalist countries will recover from the worst recession since the Great Depression in time to buy Zimbabwe goods is sheer wishful thinking.

And if exports fail to expand, as they surely will, how will the govern-

ment finance the proposed extended social services for which they require an eight percent growth rate. To make matters worse, the drought has hit the country's all-important agricultural exports particularly badly.

The seven-year moratorium on redistribution of land and other resources imposed by the Lancaster House agreement has had a number of consequences.

On the one hand, the government has been able to commence developing a viable infrastructure in the communal areas with significant success.

On the other, however, it has opened the door to the burgeoning black middle class to extend their influence and power. Whether seven years is enough to entrench them is, perhaps, the most critical question facing Zimbabwe as it enters its fourth year of independence.

Progressive Zimbabweans are holding their breath.

Continued from page 17

still an open question and Dubengwa's judgement, made a week after independence, was at best a little premature. Nevertheless, a significant part of ZIPRA was deeply suspicious of Mugabe and it was for that reason that arms were cached and the KGB contacted.

The discovery of the arms caches, the subsequent firing of Nkomo from the cabinet and the detention of Dubengwa and friends, was the catalyst which sparked off the violence. Suspicions having been confirmed, the former ZIPRA cadres declared war on ZANU and set about it by implementing the same strategy they had successfully employed against the Smith regime. When the initial response of sending in the police and elements of the National Army, comprising mainly Rhodesian Security Force personnel, failed even to contain the problem,



# Horwood follows IMF's aid line

AID HELPS those who provide it and hardly ever those who need it, as was proved by the International Monetary Fund's R1240-million loan to South Africa last year.

Opposition to the loan came not only from the 68 member countries of the Fund who voted against it, but also from within the USA itself. 22 Congress members urged the Treasury Secretary to instruct the US representatives on the Fund to oppose the loan. They cited 'South Africa's aggressive foreign policies and its internal policies of aggression' as reasons. The US government reply was that this would violate the 'apolitical nature' of the IMF.

The loan, and opposition to it did not go unnoticed in the South African media. The Minister of Finance, Owen Horwood, announced on SABC that it was a 'wonderful thing for South Africa and the international community' despite the 'sustained onslaught of politically irresponsible groups'. Die Beeld editorialised that it was 'a feather in our cap since granting of such a loan means that our house is in order'.

The immediate reason for the application appears to have been the large budgetary deficit the country found itself in at the end of 1982. Like all exporters of raw materials, South Africa found its capitalist

world markets shrunken and the prices for its commodities like iron, manganese, platinum and coal extremely low.

In addition, by mid-1982 gold was selling at 35 percent of its former peak price in January 1980. South Africa also maintained a high level of imports at continually rising costs — oil, armaments, industrial equipment — which eventually turned its former trade surplus into a deficit by the end of the year.

This was not the first time South Africa had received a loan from the IMF. Loans have been received since the mid 1970's. In 1976-77 the loans grant coincided with two highly political developments — a massive jump in the defence budget and the Soweto uprising, with its negative effect on investor confidence.

The political implications of loans to South Africa have been denied by the Fund which stresses that its decisions are based on 'strict technical and economic ordering'. This has been challenged by those who point out that the IMF credits to South Africa in 1976-77 almost matched the increase in the defence budget from 1975-76 to the financial year 1976-77. Again in 1982, a Washington Post journalist noted the loan request exactly matched the increase in South Africa's military expenditure in the past few years.

Recent secret minutes of meetings leaked to the New York Times show that in terms of 'strict technical and economic criteria' it is not clear that South Africa should have qualified for a loan. What is then the nature of a Fund which grants loans to South Africa, denies loans to countries like Nicaragua, and yet calls itself 'apolitical'?

The IMF is a Washington-based organisation which began operations in 1947. Its original aim was to monitor the international exchange system. While nominally a UN organisation, its policies are in fact determined by rich countries, led by the USA.

Any country is free to become a member. A country's voting strength, however, depends on its economic strength. What this means is that decisions taken by the IMF as to who gets loans are controlled by the economically strong countries. At present ten countries control 56 percent of the vote. The 68 member countries who opposed the loan to South Africa only held 19.24 percent of the vote.

Before granting loans the Fund sets out certain strict conditions, which are intended as corrective measures for economic stabilisation.

The conditions imposed include:

- strict monetary control

- curbs in public expenditure



Minister of Finance Owen Horwood

- substantial devaluations of the currency of the country concerned
- favourable treatment of direct foreign investment.

It is these conditions which have been at the heart of criticisms levelled at the IMF in the past, and which we here in South Africa should take note of. The effects have not always been constructive.

The IMF austerity programme has led to what was termed 'IMF riots' in Peru and Egypt. And in Turkey in 1979, the government was toppled in

the wave of political and social unrest related to the adverse effects of the IMF programme. In these cases, what became clear was that IMF conditions favoured the interests of the international banks and foreign interests in these countries, at the expense of the interests of the local population.

What then, if South Africa is following the conditions set down by the IMF, are the implications of the policy for this country?

It is clear that South Africa is in fact towing the IMF line. As Horwood noted in his recent budget speech, IMF officials visited South Africa last year and again early this year, and 'latest statistics confirm that we have in fact comfortably met all the monetary targets for the end of 1982 as agreed with the Fund'.

How did the South African government meet those targets? The government allowed the rand to depreciate, interest rates were allowed to rise, GST was raised from 4 percent to 6 percent and import surcharges cut to slow down imports.

None of these economic changes favour the poor or unemployed. As in the cases cited above, they favour foreign as against local interests.

There is no doubt that the R1240-million loan from the IMF made it possible for the South African government to transform a balance of payments deficit into a surplus. The role of the IMF in the economies of other countries has not always been a constructive one, and there is little doubt the IMF is having a substantial influence over the direction of South African economic policies.

Hopefully, the next time the bread price rises one will begin to look a little further than South Africa for its source.

# Abortion focus: call to legalise 'A fact of life'

THE FRIGHTENING and sometimes fatal experiences of an illegal backstreet abortion, is a fact of life for hundreds of thousands of South African women. It is the one trauma shared by women from every class and community in this country.

'A Fact of Life' is also the name of a play put on by a group of women at the Market's Laager theatre. It focuses on abortion and the many complex themes related to it. The play came about through workshops, interviews, thorough research and personal experience. The play is significant because it deals with the experience of abortion in South Africa. So, while various organisations and 'concerned bodies' argue endlessly about moral and ethical aspects of abortion, the reality is that at least 100 000 illegal or backstreet abortions are done every year.

Abortion legislation in this country is barbaric compared to that of many other countries. A woman may qualify for a legal abortion if she falls into one of several categories:

- where the mother's life or physical health is in danger, where there is a danger of permanent damage to the mental health of the mother or where there is a risk the foetus will suffer from serious handicaps;

- where the foetus is a result of rape or incest or if the mother is mentally handicapped and can't take responsibility.

If a woman qualifies under any of these extreme categories, she has to get certificates from two independent doctors. After this, a third doctor, who is to perform the abortion, must apply to the medical superintendent of the state institution where the operation will take place.

Even for women who are 'lucky'

enough to qualify, the process of getting through all the red tape can take so long that eventually it is too late to have a safe abortion. i.e. within the first three months of pregnancy.

Information such as this is included in the play through various interactions. One of the characters, a journalist researching a feature on abortion, interviews a doctor at Baragwanath Hospital who provides her with some startling information. (All the statistics and facts are the result of careful documentation from reliable sources.)

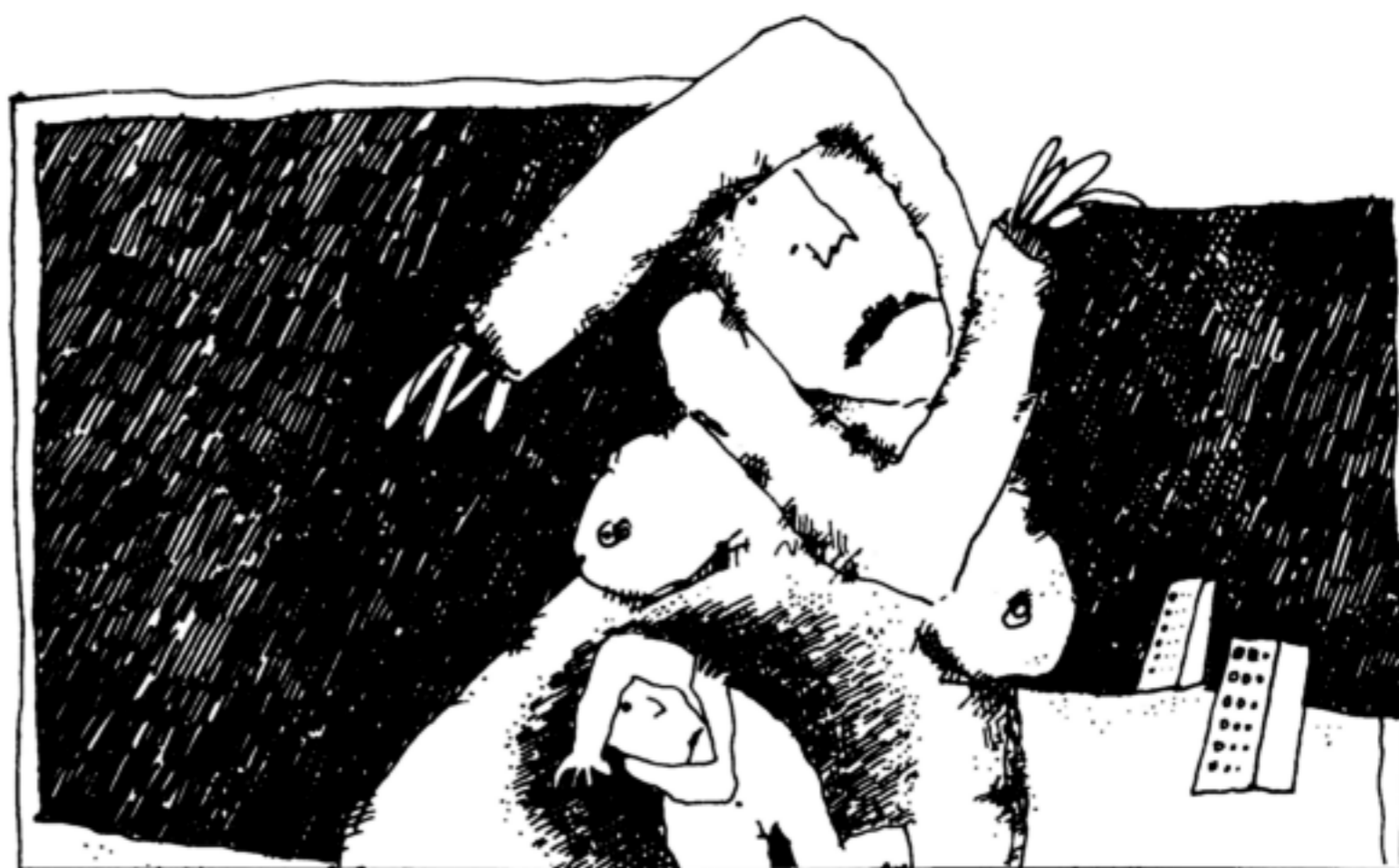
The journalist is told that a survey, carried out in the year following the new Abortion Act in 1975, clearly shows that illegal abortions are on the increase. During that year, admission cases to Natal and Zululand private and mission hospitals for incomplete abortions rose by 33.6 percent.

From 1979 to 1980, 66 000 women were hospitalised to remove the remains of a pregnancy. Of these 15 000 were white and 51 000 were black. In this same period, only 700 women had legal abortions. 500 were white and 200 black.

In a study at Baragwanath in 1979, 26 women had hysterectomies as a result of backstreet abortions. Half of these women were under 20 years old; 18 were treated in Intensive Care and nine died. The cost to the state is about R1 000 per patient. It is impossible to record how many casualties of backstreet abortions never reach hospital.

Clearly, the backstreet abortionists are performing a service that, in other countries, is carried out under sanitary, safe, conditions in hospitals.

The play's main message is that abortion is not a straightforward issue.



- it is by no means the best way of dealing with unwanted pregnancies but before the other issues can even begin to be coped with, the FACT of abortion has to be accepted and if figures such as the above are to be eliminated, abortion has to be legalised.

But what are these other issues, why the complexity? 'A Fact of Life' uncovers at least some of them. What the play finally reveals is that abortion is the tip of a mountain of struggles and oppression which for most of us remain obscured by clouds of law and the pressures and brutal realities of traditional society - a society which dictates what is natural. It's all about control and who makes the decisions.

While the play tends to focus in greater detail on the plight of middle class women, it deals with a wide spectrum of experience - abortion is the one thing Mrs Black Working Class and Mrs White Middle Class have in common. Mrs Working Class is living on the frontline, battling to make ends meet. She has little or no education and is torn between a traditionalist husband and a Family Planning system she mistrusts. Her

husband sees children as symbols of wealth and manhood and while she knows this means nothing in the face of starvation, she also believes that the state family planning program is designed to control the black population.

Mrs Middle Class has no material pressures or anxieties - Mrs Working Class may even be her maid - her dilemmas are buried underneath a surface of apparent freedom and choice. She is educated and certainly has easy access to contraception. Yet, it is quite possible that these two women will one day cross paths in the dingy passage of a backstreet abortionist, both seeking our an 'angel of mercy' to rid them of a burden they cannot afford to bring into the world.

'Motherhood is not a moral duty ... it is not a punishment inflicted on women by nature', says one of the play's characters. Yet, as is shown, women are not allowed to make decisions about themselves for themselves.

The play makes it clear that it is not a case of men versus women. Men, too, are ultimately not in control. It's a case of patterns of control forcing

people into corners, alienating people from each other. Society tells women they are fitted out by nature to be mothers, but they must be passive carriers of children, not independent human beings with the ability to make decisions, to think and create.

The play presses the point that no one who supports the call for legalising abortion LIKES the idea of abortion - it is by no means the ideal solution - but until the imbalances and sources of oppression are overcome, women are going to continue to fall pregnant when they can't afford to, either for material or psychological reasons. They are going to continue to seek out backstreet abortionists, risking their lives or future fertility. It is time the state took stock of the situation.

But the answer to the crisis really lies beyond the pregnant woman's immediate battle for an abortion. What must change are the power relations between people whereby they have little control over their own lives. And this means changing relationships between men and women, and people in general, at all levels of society. Until the struggle is won, abortion will remain a fact of life.



# The union that takes the knock but punches back

SAAWU LEADER Thozamile Gqweta is no stranger to the inside of a prison cell. He has been detained by security police nine times.

Gqweta has been charged but never convicted of a crime.

His experience is part and parcel of attempts by authorities in Ciskei and South Africa to crush the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) since it signed up its first worker in 1979.

Yet Saawu has survived through it all. A Saawu statement issued after the latest detentions of union leadership in East London is an illustration of this determination to fight on: 'These detentions are an exercise in futility because nothing is going to deter us in our fight for the most downtrodden workers in our country.'

Saawu's major organising area is East London. The characteristics of industry in this East Cape city show why management and authorities have taken such consistently harsh action against the union.

One of the reasons is the kind of industry which dominates in East London. Most are relatively new and were initiated by the government in its attempt to decentralise industry. Thus industry has relied on government concessions to operate, creating a bond between the bosses and the authorities which has often led to collaboration against Saawu.

Most of the industries there are labour intensive: they employ large numbers of workers at very low wages. In addition they have not been very successful and thus are particularly reluctant to raise wages.

Workers gradually became aware both of their importance to local industry and their disadvantaged position and after 1980, increasingly began to make demands for higher wages and union rights.

It has been said that Saawu so effectively challenged the low wage structure that wages were often increased by bosses in an attempt to pre-empt unionisation. Five employers have been forced to break ranks and recognise Saawu, but the majority remain conservative and unsympathetic to the union.

The long battle between the people of East London and the Ciskei and South African governments has led to the hostility towards Saawu.

For over ten years, workers have been moved by the South African and Ciskeian authorities out of Duncan Village, which is in South Africa, to Mdantsane, 30 km away from East London and part of the Ciskei.

This move angered East London workers, not only because they were forced to live in a more tightly controlled township far from where they worked, but also because they lost their South African citizenship and the few rights they may have had.

At first, Ciskei authorities took a paternalistic attitude to workers and made overtures aimed at gaining a degree of support. During a bus strike in 1974 for example intervention by Ciskei officials gave concessions to the strikers which they would not have been able to achieve on their own.

This was part of an attempt to make workers believe their aspirations could be served by the homeland government. Chief Minister, Lennox Sebe, says Ciskei does not need trade unions because it is a trade union itself.

Yet it has been Saawu and not the Ciskei which has taken up the grievances and demands of the Ciskeian citizens. And so it was inevitable that during the run-up to independence Saawu became the organisation which symbolised resistance to the unpopular uhuru.

As its widespread support became a threat to the Ciskei government's legitimacy, Saawu and its members increasingly became victims of verbal assault, harassment and force from the Ciskei government and particularly the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services (CCIS).

The union had barely started when the CCIS cracked down on it for the first time. After a strike by the Mdantsane Special Organisation, r



Thozamile Gqweta and Sisa Njikelana met by a jubilant crowd last year after the State dropped charges against them. Both had spent months in detention

## An unholy alliance between Sebe, management and South African authorities has made organising workers in East London a hazardous task. The South African Allied Workers' Union has borne the brunt of detentions and harassments

Ciskei government project, in April 1980, Thozamile Gqweta, national organiser at the time, was detained and the strike crushed.

The many detentions of Gqweta and other Saawu leaders has been seen as an attempt to immobilise and discredit the organisation and silence or intimidate its leaders and members. Often police detain leaders at times of heightened workers activity or when the authorities feel most vulnerable — for example at Ciskei referendum time and during the Anti-Republic day protests.

The detentions are almost always accompanied by allegations of ANC links. These are seen by the union as attempts to discredit Saawu so as to scare members and would-be members.

After the recent detentions, Saawu accused the Ciskei government of launching a 'sophisticated propaganda exercise' to tarnish the union's image in an effort to justify 'arbitrary detention'.

Not only are union leaders detained: many workers committees and active members have also been detained, especially during or just after strikes. It is also not unusual for a person carrying a Saawu membership card or wearing a Saawu T-shirt to be picked up in the street and questioned by the CCIS.

The CCIS were responsible for the biggest single swoop on trade unionists when they detained 205 unionists from Saawu, the General Workers Union and the African Food and Canning Workers Union as the workers were returning to Mdantsane after a meeting in East London.

They were accused of having sung freedom songs and condemning Ciskei independence. After being in detention for about ten days 183 were charged 'alternatively with violence, violations of the Riotous Assemblies Act and under Proclamation R252' and all released on R50 bail.

Shortly after this incident CCIS head Lt-General Charles Sebe confirmed co-operation between South African and Ciskeian security police. He was reported to have boasted that a team of six specially selected men from the South African Security Branch and the Ciskei Police were working hand in hand investigating the cases.

But only one Saawu member has ever been convicted and imprisoned. He was sentenced to one year for intimidation at the Wilson-Rowntree factory. Others have received suspended sentences and have had to pay fines.

Saawu is effectively banned in Mdantsane. The union is not allowed to hold meetings in the township and were refused offices in the Mdantsane Office Complex. The union is forced to hold meetings in East London, a long distance from where workers live and work. Still, Saawu mass meetings are rarely attended by less than three or four thousand people who attend meeting over weekends or up to 11 pm at night.

In East London itself things are not much easier. There the SAP fulfils the functions of the CCIS. Saawu used to be allowed to hold meetings in the East London city hall and the old African township of Duncan village. At the moment the only venue where they can hold meetings is a church hall in the coloured areas.

They are also set back by constant raids by South African security police on their offices. More times than unionists can remember, the SP have confiscated documents, membership cards, company files telephone books etc and the union has had to start afresh.

The security police have not been alone in placing pressure on the unions. Between March 1980 and November 1981, almost a quarter of the workers in East London went on strike in up to 30 companies — something which upset the bosses even more than the authorities. This

has led to collaboration between the police and the bosses.

Managements frequently call the police to strikes. For example at Berkshire International Clothing Factory, police ordered the 300 African and coloured workers who stopped work to leave the premises. At other strikes, such as at Border Boxes in 1980 police have administered the dismissal of workers.

According to a Saawu spokesperson, Charles Sebe once told the wives of detained Wilson-Rowntree workers that they had been detained on the basis of a list received from Wilson-Rowntree management.

There are also widespread claims of black-listing. Workers apply and may receive jobs after being involved in disputes, then a few weeks later they are asked to leave.

There have been attempts to devise a more long-term co-ordinated strategy between managements and the government in the East London area.

It is now well known that Minister of Manpower Fanie Botha especially urged employers to hold out against Saawu.

Even more disconcerting was the memorandum circulated in the Eastern Cape in 1980 by the security police proposing the systematic eradication of Saawu.

The document proposed long-term and short-term plans. The long-term plan would be to force trade unions or to encourage Tucsas to become more active in the region. Neither has yet been successful.

The short-term plan included a strike-breaking strategy of black-listing and encouraged firms to keep records of unemployed workers so they could immediately replace striking workers.

Managements sometimes act in cahoots with government agencies. In September 1981, 100 milkmen struck at Model Dairy and were

given a few days to reapply for their jobs. When they refused they were given busfares 'home' to the Transkei. When they refused to leave they were evicted from their hostel by the Eastern Cape Administration Board and given 72 hours to leave East London.

Saawu also quotes incidents of active Saawu members being evicted from their homes in Mdantsane when they have not been in arrears with their rent. Even people who have bought homes have been told to leave them, when authorities discovered they are involved in union activity.

As if open harassment by bosses and the authorities is not enough, there have also been anonymous physical attacks on the union. In May 1981, Sisa Njikelana's home was bombed.

More tragic was the death of Thozamile Gqweta's mother and uncle when their house mysteriously caught fire. And then on 8 November 1981, as workers were returning from their funeral, Ciskeian police opened fire on the mourners at a bus terminal and a woman worker, Diliswa Roxisa was killed. It was later reported that she was a close friend of Gqweta's.

More recently, after workers were leaving a Labour Party meeting in East London, their bus was stoned and one person injured. All these actions are widely seen as attacks on the unions by the government.

The union has been affected by the constant harassment. In some cases Saawu work has been severely disrupted but incidents such as the death of Gqweta's relatives have contributed to the general mood of defiance of the people of East London.

The union has also realised that it has to build strong structures to weather the storm that is being waged against them.

Saawu officials said in a recent interview, 'The union's democratic structure that facilitates collective leadership has made us withstand police aggression.'

Since Saawu formed great strides have been made in educating workers about administration, structures, conducting meetings and so on, so that in the absence of some people due to detentions, the union continued to run.

During the detention of almost the entire leadership during 1982, members volunteered to work in the office to keep the union going.

Workers themselves signed one recognition agreement without the union leaders who had the most experience.

But, says Saawu, they do not judge their strength by the number of recognition agreements they sign but by the understanding and commitment of their members to fight for their rights.

The nine union officials in the East London office are continually working to establish and consolidate workers committees in factories. They realise that only by developing a depth of leadership and organisational ability can the union continue to make gains.

The onslaught against Saawu is discussed with union members at factory and general meetings. This helps overcome fears that workers may have.

If charges are laid against Saawu members, the union has been ready to organise legal advice. Wherever possible, they have taken cases on appeal, sued the Minister of Justice and even taken the bosses to court on charges of victimisation.

The repression has continued despite the legal actions, the national and international outcries and even at the expense of Ciskei losing any support or credibility that it may have had.

But Saawu continues too. Despite the onslaught, union members in East London continue to fight for their rights not only in the factories but also against the authorities who attempt through constant repression to deprive them of their right to fight for a more democratic society.