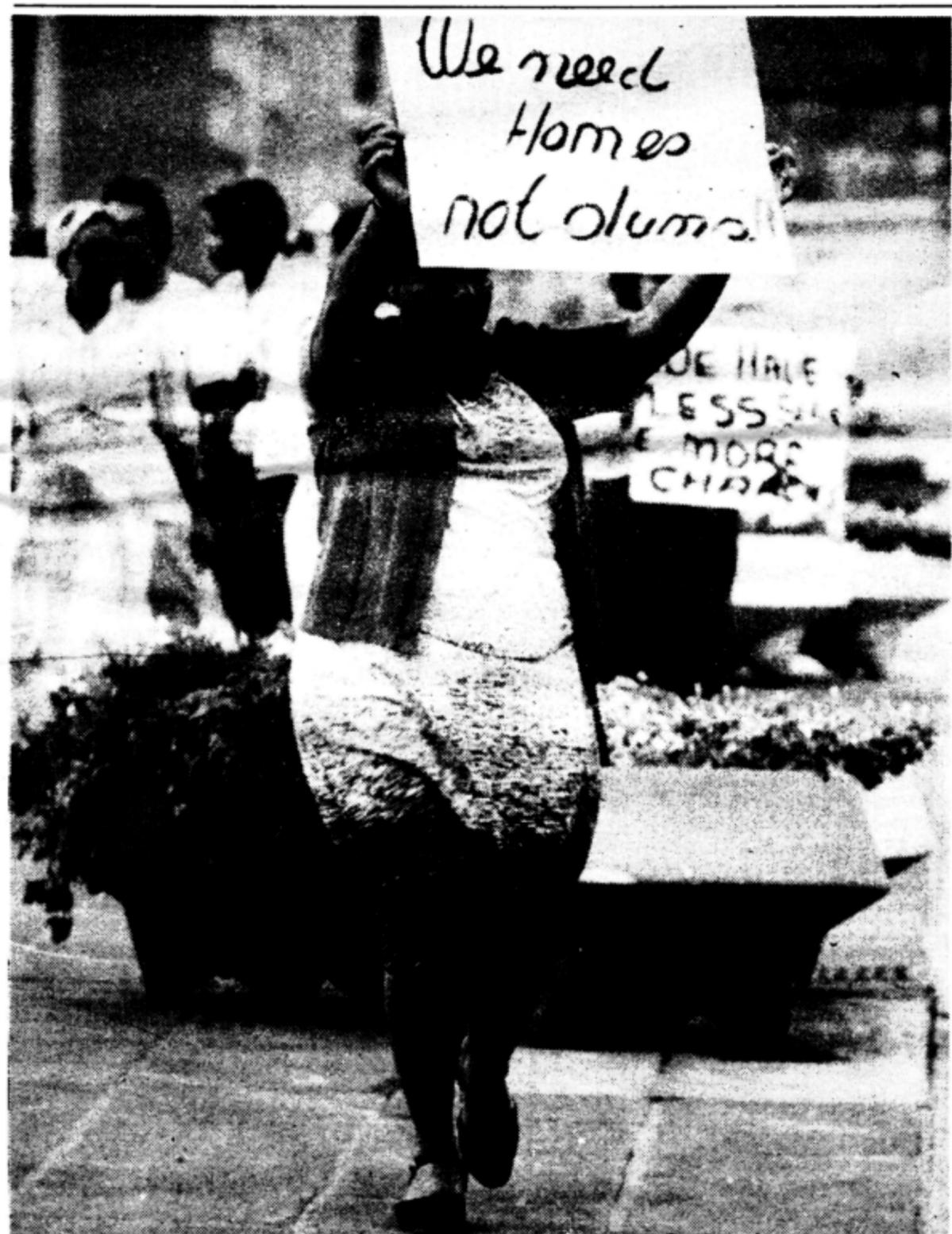




# SASPU NATIONAL

A SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT PRESS UNION PUBLICATION VOL. 3 NO. 3 OCTOBER 1982 PRICE 20c

## Allegations of police torture continue at Aggett inquest



Angry women protest against the rent increases

### Residents fight increase

IN THE wake of overwhelming community protest, the Johannesburg City Council and the Department of Community Development have postponed steep rent increases in the city's "coloured" areas. However despite a three month reprieve residents are still angry about rent increases which will absorb up to 50% of their monthly income. Many residents have committed themselves not to pay the increased amounts effective from January and to organise the whole community to

do likewise. "If each and every one of us pays the old rent in January next year, the council can't evict all of us from our homes," said a resident at one of the many meetings that have been called. Presently, residents are forming action committees in each extension and area to fight the increases. The increases, in some cases as much as 30% were to become effective on October 1. At the biggest protest meeting ever held in Eldorado Park, 800 residents voted

not to pay the increases and to challenge the Johannesburg City Council. Speakers at the meeting, organised by the Klipspruit West Residents Association, called the increases "arbitrary and exploitative". In Kliptown, more than 100 angry housewives, shouting freedom slogans, marched to the Klipspruit West rents office to protest against the increases. The women demanded to see the city's housing director, but

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A NUMBER of former detainees have given detailed accounts of torture at the hands of Security Police during the inquest into the death in detention of trade union leader, Dr Neil Aggett.

Friends, and political colleagues of Dr Aggett, who was found hanged in his cell on February 5, have crowded the Johannesburg Regional Court daily to hear detainee after detainee tell of their interrogation, on the 10th floor of John Vorster Square.

They have also given startling evidence about the deterioration of Aggett's condition in the last week of his life.

Lawyers for Aggett's family are trying to argue that there is a system of interrogation used by the Security Police and that these cases may be similar to the treatment meted out to Aggett.

Lawyers for the Minister of Law and Order have argued at every point that such evidence is irrelevant to the inquest. They have denied the claims of torture and argue that there is no such system of interrogation.

Jabu Ngwenya, a trade unionist released recently after more than 10 months in detention, was one of the people who presented harrowing evidence at the inquest.

Ngwenya told the court contact between detainees was not allowed but he and Dr Aggett had a hushed conversation two days before Aggett's death.

"I was running in the corridor and he was going into the room where we normally changed our clothes," Ngwenya said.

I could see he could not walk normally. It appeared there was something wrong with his private parts he was walking wide-legged."

Ngwenya said he followed Aggett into the room and asked him how he was. "He said he had been assaulted. He said electric shocks had been given to him."

"He was wearing a jersey and started to pull up the sleeve to show something on his arm when a policeman came in. I left the office immediately," Ngwenya said. He added that Aggett's face was lean and his cheekbones were showing.

Ngwenya said Major Cronwright, head of the interrogation team, swore at him and threatened him with death if he did not answer properly.

Two white policemen, "their eyes looking wild like those of hunters," came into the room. "They kept on saying, "Waar is hy? Waar is hy?" They looked around the office and then went into an office where Aggett was being questioned, he said.

Pramanathan "Prema" Naidoo, a factory worker, presented the court with a 14-page affidavit giving one of the most detailed allegations of torture ever heard.



Ex-detainee, Jabu Ngwenya

Naidoo is presently serving a one-year sentence for helping political prisoner Stephen Lee after his escape from Pretoria Central Prison.

The affidavit told of a 10-day period that began only hours after he was detained on November 27, 1981, when Security Policemen:

- Allowed him only a few hours sleep during seven days of intensive questioning.
- Made him stand naked for long periods with his right-hand wrist and ankle handcuffed together.
- Made him kneel until the skin on his right knee broke.
- Placed a canvas bag over his head and punched and kicked him when his answers to their questions were unsatisfactory.
- Placed a plastic bag over his head which suffocated him, and held his hands down. Naidoo said he managed to break loose and tear the bag off.
- Hit him on the soles of his feet with a piece of wood until he screamed.
- Made him do sit ups, squats, running on the spot and press ups for long periods of time, jabbing and prodding him if he flagged.
- Banged his head against a desk and punched him on the head.
- Shot elastic bands at his penis while he stood naked.

Naidoo said that on the eighth day he was so tired he had fallen asleep and had a dream while standing.

"When next I became aware of what I was doing, I found myself talking and unable to stop myself," he said. He was telling his interrogators of his role in Stephen Lee's escape, without having been questioned about it.

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# Campaign grows to get ex-detainee's job back

A CAMPAIGN demanding the reinstatement of ex-detainee, Pravin Gordhan, to his job at Durban's King Edward VIII hospital is rapidly gaining momentum.

Gordhan was dismissed while still in detention. A qualified pharmacist, he was employed at King Edward VIII Hospital from 1974 until his dismissal on December 21 1981.

He was detained on November 27 1981. On May 7 he was released with a 2-year banning order and placed under house arrest. At the time of his dismissal he was told he would in all likelihood get his job back on his release but his application was turned down.

In his eight years at the hospital, Gordhan was never reprimanded for neglecting his duties, nor was any



Pravin Gordhan

mention ever made of "low productivity" or "continued absenteeism". Yet these were some of the reasons for dismissal cited by officials of the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA).

On July 7 1982, Mr Gordhan received a letter from the NPA saying there was no suitable post at the hospital. The Director of Hospital Services later told a reporter that Gordhan was not considered a sufficiently "productive unit".

The hospital's chief pharmacist has alleged that a considerable amount of Gordhan's time at work had been spent on "political activity". The provincial authorities have denied that his firing has anything to do with his recent detention. They claim the decision was taken on purely professional grounds.

Evidence has yet to be produced to prove any negligence in duties on the part of Gordhan.

The provincial authorities have also claimed there "is no suitable post" to which he can be appointed despite the fact that numerous posts for pharmacists at Durban's provincial hospitals have recently been advertised.

Gordhan has been offered jobs at private pharmacies outside the Durban magisterial district. He has applied to the authorities for modification of his banning order to be made to enable him to take up employment. This too has been refused.

Spearheading the campaign for Gordhan's reinstatement, is the Natal Health Workers' Association (NHWA) of which he is a member, in conjunction with the Medical Graduates Association, the Medical Students Representative Council of the University of Natal and the Alternate Medical Association.

Community organisations such as the Natal Indian Congress, Diakonia, the Durban Housing Action Committee and others have added their support to the campaign.

Support has also poured in from health worker organisations in the Cape and Transvaal.

The campaign has covered a wide range of activities including:

- widespread press coverage
- pamphlets distributed by the NHWA
- a petition launched by the medical health bodies has already been signed by over 1,200 hospital employees
- mass meetings have been held by most of the organisations involved and have been well-attended.



Eldorado women line Joburg streets in protest

## No rent hikes after protest

Continued from page 1

were told he was "not available".

Other meetings were held in Riverlea, Coronationville and Western Coloured Township and in most areas residents circulated petitions to protest against the increases.

The city council has defended the increases on the basis that the Department of Community Development had increased its interest rate on loans to the city council.

However in the wake of the protests, the council backed down. They postponed the rent increases until January 1 1983 and decided to sell about 1,600 houses to residents after that date. For those who buy their houses, repayments will be more than the proposed rent increases.

There is a widespread feeling that people cannot afford to buy their houses. These tenants face eviction if other people can afford to buy their homes.

Residents are feeling trapped by the move. For example, tenants living in run-down houses in Westbury say, "if we don't buy the houses we will have to pay more rent. If we do, we won't be moved from the old houses".

A large amount of confusion and uncertainty exists stemming from the tactics of the city council. It is not clear whether all the houses can be bought or only some of them. Tenants in flats and so-called train-houses do not know if the sale offer will be extended to them.

Increases are not uniform and people are confused about how they are determined.

The residents action committees, that have been formed have committed themselves to clarify the issue for the residents.

They also plan to draw up a memorandum detailing all the people's grievances and demands. After conducting house visits to gather information and gauge residents' support, they will present the memorandum to the city council and the government.

The call has gone out all over the coloured townships to act together in opposing the rent increases.

"We can't fight the rent increases individually and we can't expect other bodies to fight the battle for us. All the people need to unite and work together to succeed," said a resident at a meeting in Eldorado Park.

## Samsa splits after rejection by world body

THE SOUTH African Medical Students Association (Samsa) has recently dissolved after their application for readmission to the international body of medical students was rejected.

Samsa, which was a federation of medical student councils has had a history of racism and reluctance to acknowledge the links between medicine and politics.

It was for this reason that moves were made in recent years to expel Samsa from the International Federation of Medical Student Associations, to which they were affiliated.

In 1980 a motion calling for their expulsion was defeated by the general assembly of the world body. In 1981, however, Samsa withdrew from the IFMSA after a motion asking for readmission was rejected by the cast majority of delegates.

Samsa has been split throughout its entire existence over the issue of medicine and politics.

When it was first formed, the Medical Student Council from Pretoria University refused to affiliate because they insisted that "non-white students should not be allowed to represent the open universities of Wits and UCT".

In 1981, the medical student councils of Cape Town and Wits joined the Natal Medical Students Council in withdrawing from Samsa because they said it refused to come to grips with the root causes of ill health in South Africa.

Students from the Medical School of Southern Africa (Medunsa) which is situated in Garankuwa, were never members of Samsa.

Medical students from Wits, Natal, Medunsa, and UCT issued a memorandum stating why they reject Samsa.

Samsa claims to "uphold the right of all medical students to meet, assemble and study". Yet the three remaining Samsa members refused to pass resolutions opposing the fact that their medical schools were closed to all other groups.

It took Samsa four years after the death of Steve Biko to condemn the action of the South African Medical and Dental Council.

The memorandum felt that Samsa was contravening the constitution of the IFMSA which states that "FMSA promotes humanitarian deals and medical ethics and that its aims will be pursued without discrimination or political, religious, racial or national bias".

"Samsa policy incorporates the idea that "medicine and politics" make bizarre bedfellows", concludes the memorandum.

# "We were tortured" — ex-detainees

Continued from page 1

they referred to that (10th) floor as "Timol Heights" and that after they had finished with me, they would change it to "Prema Heights".

"A ginger-haired man asked me if I had seen the sign downstairs which said "Beware of low-flying Indians" Naidoo told the court.

One afternoon, he said, he was made to do exercises. "When I started to perspire, Warrant Officer Smith told me they wanted to get my body warmed up so that if I died, the marks would not show up in the post mortem. The exercises went on for 15 to 20 minutes... If I flagged, and I was made to do the exercises at a fast pace, they would jab me and prod me and force me to keep going," he said.

At one stage, he said he was given tablets and told they would make him stay alert.

On the fourth day of his interrogation, he was taken to his cell, but he was too tired to sleep. The only other time he slept during the seven days was when he was "allowed to lie down on the floor for an hour or so on newspaper" and another short period when he was allowed to lie on a couple of chairs.

A few days after he had made the confession about his involvement with Lee, police had asked him if he would make a written statement.

"I said I would and someone was sent for. I then changed my mind and Botha was very angry and punched me on the chest. He said he was going to kill me.

"He then made me stand against a wall with my heels hooked in a brick and my knees bent slightly. Whenever I flagged, the ginger-haired man came and jabbed me to get me standing to their satisfaction. This lasted for several hours," he said.

The following morning, he made a statement to Security Police.

Asked why he had not reported these incidents, Naidoo told the court he feared he would have to go through it all again.

Naidoo said he complained to Lt Steyn of a sore ear. "I told him WO Booyens had hit me across the ear.

"The next day, WO Booyens was very angry and demanded to know why I had made false allegations about him when he had been so good to me. He forced me to apologise in front of Lt Steyn."

Naidoo named 12 police officers in his affidavit: a Maj Arbee, WO Smith, a ginger-haired man (identified in court as WO Syfert), Lt Prince, WO Booyens, Lt Botha, Lt Botes, Lt Venter, "Schalkie" (identified as Lt Van Schalkwyk), WO Van der Merwe, Sergeant Carr, and Maj Cronwright.

Pieter Schabort, SC, for the Minister of Law and Order, told the court Naidoo had in fact been kept on the 10th floor because he was in a state of mind to harm himself and needed to be under observation.

"Continual observation — kept naked and kicked around. Is this what you mean?" Naidoo replied.

Sisa Njikelana, vice-president of the South African Allied Workers Union, told how Security Police had chained together his hands and feet and given him electric shocks.

He also said Maj Cronwright had personally assaulted him a number of times.

Njikelana was detained on December 8 last year and released on bail in August. He is facing charges under the Terrorism Act.

He told the magistrate, Petrus Kotze, that he was taken to the 10th floor of John Vorster Square during the last week of December and made to write a statement.

During the first week of January, Njikelana said he was told his statement was inadequate. "They put handcuffs and leg irons on me,

with the leg irons running through the handcuffs, so I had to squat," he said.

A canvas bag was then placed over his head and he felt something being strapped to his arm. He said he was given electric shocks intermittently for about 30 minutes, his body vibrating from the current.

Afterwards, his body was stiff and sore, Njikelana said. Three weeks later, he found scabs on his arms while he was showering.

Shirish Nanabhai, another ex-detainee, gave the court a detailed account of an interrogation session in which he received electric shocks.

Nanabhai, serving a year sentence for helping political prisoner Stephen Lee escape from Pretoria Centra Prison, said he was taken to the 10th floor of John Vorster Square three days after his detention.

"After a while, when I hadn't answered their questions, they manacled my legs and put cuffs on my hands with the cuffs going through the leg irons."

I was questioned more and more and then they put a plastic bag over my head. There was more questions and then I felt something being tied on to my arms. It felt like how doctors take your blood pressure."

Then I felt this shock coming through me. I was completely shaken up," Nanabhai said.

Evidence of the alleged maltreatment of Ismail Momoni, executive member of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, were ruled inadmissible by the magistrate.

Aggett's girlfriend, Dr Liz Floyd, described to the court how she had twice heard screams while she was being interrogated on the 10th floor of John Vorster Square.

On the first occasion, she was sure it was someone in pain. On the second, she had asked a policeman if the screams came from someone

being physically pressurised. "We use psychological methods," was the policeman's reply.

Thabo Lerumo, a Cosas member currently on trial under the Terrorism Act, told the court he had seen Aggett being escorted back to his cell only hours before his death. He was in tears and had a spot of blood on his forehead.

Lerumo told the court that Aggett was walking with difficulty when he saw him in the last week of his life. He was like an extremely ill man, he said.

Keith Coleman, also detained at the same time as Aggett, said the trade union leader had told him he was keeping a shirt that had been torn during an interrogation session. He was going to use it as evidence when he laid a charge of assault against the Security Police after his release.

Coleman saw Aggett twice during the last week of his life — and had been worried on both occasions when he had not returned a greeting.

"Once I saw him through the window of my cell. I banged on the window. He was looking straight ahead and did not respond in any way... He gave me the impression of being unresponsive, in another world, of being introspective and deep in thought.

Momoni said he had noticed a large bruise on Aggett's forehead during the same period. They had been standing next to each other and he had been surprised when Aggett had ignored him. Aggett was staring blankly at the wall, he said.

Njikelana said the last time he had seen Aggett was a week before he was found hanged in his cell.

"He was morose and very depressed. He was not the Neil Aggett I knew before.

A number of other former detainees are giving evidence to the inquest.

A CAPTIVE of the Matola raid in January 1981 has been served a further one year detention order in September.

David Tobela (27), a Mozambican citizen was captured by the SADF during their raid on ANC houses in Mozambique 18 months ago has since been held by the South African security police.

He was originally held under Section Six of the Terrorism Act before being transferred to Section 10 of the Internal Security Act. His latest detention order is under Section 28 (1) of the new Internal Security Act.

Modicae Tsatsa who was also served with a new one-year detention order, is being held with Tobela at Modderbee prison.

Tsatsa has been in prison since

## Two Unionists released after many months in detention

December 1979 when he was detained under Section Six of the Terrorism Act, but only one year has been for a court conviction for refusing to be a state witness.

Although the 1982 Internal Security Act has created a Board of Review to hear representations from detainees and make recommendations on their release, it does not allow for legal representation during hearings.

Jabu Ngwenya and Eric Mtonga have been released after spending up

to ten months in detention.

Ngwanya (28) was a founder member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and is an official of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu). He is bringing a civil action against the Minister of Police for damages in respect of assault.

Eric Mtonga was, prior to his detention, the branch secretary of Saawu in East London. Mtonga and Ngwenya are giving evidence in the

Aggett inquest.

On September 12 security police detained 24-year old Daniel Motshwane Phele who is in poor health, according to his family. He was detained in Soweto under Section 29 of the new Internal Security Act. Also believed to be detained are four Cosas students from Kwa Thema, Springs. In Kimberley, 15 Cosas students have been released, some after spending up to 18 months in detention.

Meanwhile, Wilfred Marwane (26), who recently won an appeal

against his conviction under the Terrorism Act, is believed to have been redetained.

In May, Marwane won an appeal against a 15 year sentence handed out by the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court. The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein ruled that the South African Terrorism Act conflicted with Bophuthatswana's constitution and so was not applicable in the homeland.

Detentions in the homelands and especially in the Ciskei continue. In the last month it is believed that 10 children were detained in the Ciskei. Also detained were four trade unionists and two ex-Robben Island prisoners. The six were detained near King Williams Town after attending the unveiling of Robert Sobukwe's tombstone.

## Deadlock in Gwu/Sats dock dispute

THE SOUTH African Transport Services (SATS) fired about 400 dockers with another 500 joining them after they went on a go-slow strike in the Port Elizabeth docks in early September.

The 900 workers who are all members of the General Workers Union (GWU) were protesting against Sats' adamant refusal to talk to their union committee.

For nearly a year the GWU has been attempting to deal with Sats which is owned by the state and is the country's largest employer. But

the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman has said he is not prepared to talk to an "outside" union.

Sats' already deals with 11 staff associations mostly representing right wing railway workers. The chairperson of the Artisan Staff Association, Jimmy Zurich warned Sats that if they dealt with the GWU they would "react".

All Sats' black workers are regarded as being represented by the Black Staff Association (BSA) which claims inflated membership figures of about 60,000 while not yet having a telephone or a head office.

The GWU refers to the BSA as Sats' "black personnel department dressed up and registered as a trade union".

On Monday September 6 the Sats workers in the Port Elizabeth docks began a go-slow. On the Wednesday, hundreds were fired for "not obeying instructions", driven out of the harbour under police guard and given tickets back to the homelands.

The International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) of which the GWU is an affiliate made a last minute protest to the Minister of Transport. It is still believed likely that individual affiliates of the ITF which represents 10 million workers throughout the world will support the GWU and refuse to handle South African goods.

The port is still operating without replacement labour through the 300 Sats workers who did not join the strike and, because of the recession which has vastly reduced the traffic in South Africa's ports.

The fired workers have decided to make representations to a committee established by the Minister of Transport to investigate the labour relations structure of the Sats. They feel this could open the way for their grievances to be investigated by the Sats and are holding back on further action until they see the results of the committee.

## High bail for Mawu man charged with intimidation

A WORKER leader arrested following a strike in Brits has been charged under the Intimidation Act and released on R1,000 bail.

This is believed to be one of the highest bail amounts set in a prosecution flowing from a strike.

The man is Jacob Magahakwe, chairperson of the Metal and Allied Workers' Unions Committee at B and S Engineering where the strike occurred.

When he first appeared in court he was refused bail and his case was postponed. The state argued that Magahakwe was a non-resident from Bophuthatswana and his arrest had security implications.

When he appeared for the second time he was granted R1,000 bail. Magahakwe's bail conditions stipulate that he may not enter the Brits' black township, may not visit the B and S factory or the church where Mawu holds its meetings. However he has not been given any details of his charges.

Magahakwe's arrest follows the recent strike of 1,000 workers at B and S Engineering over the dismissal of a fellow worker.

The management refused to talk to the shop stewards and laid off the entire work force. Presently, they are attempting to re-recruit the workers but the majority of them have refused re-employment as they consider themselves as still in the employ of B and S.

Management claims that 70 percent of the workforce have returned but the union says that at least half of the workers are refusing to reapply for their jobs. They are demanding that they should all be allowed to return.



Youth march to Administration Board offices in Sobantu Village

## Youth shot at rent protest

A YOUNG man, Graham Radebe (17) died after being shot in the head when police opened fire on demonstrators protesting against a rent increase in Pietermaritzburg's Sobantu village.

Police say they shot him in self defence.

Another person, Jubulani Nkosi (15) was admitted to Edendale Hospital with bullet wounds in his back. His condition is satisfactory.

A third youth, Mhlengi Duma (15) was treated and has been discharged. The three were shot when a demonstration was broken up by police. Protestors — mostly youths — had begun marching through Sobantu at about 3pm on September 28. They carried placards, some of which read, "This is a peaceful demonstration", and "don't play with our poor parents — no rent increase".

Later police used tear gas and then opened fire. Children and

adults stampeded in every direction.

Three young people have been arrested and they are to appear on charges of trespassing and malicious damage to property.

They were demonstrating against the Drakensberg Administration Board announcement of a R3.90 per month rent increase from October 1.

The issue of the rent increase was apparently being negotiated between the Department of Co-operation and Development and the Sobantu Community Council, when the chief director of DAB simply announced the rent increase and bypassed the council.

Residents complained that the last increase was in March this year, and insisted that further increases should be accompanied by improvements to their homes and basic facilities.

It is against this background that the protestors took to the streets. They urged residents not to pay the

new rents. Some marched to the acting Sobantu mayor's house and according to a report, threatened him if he did not make an urgent appeal to stop the increase.

Sobantu Community Councillors have been threatened with death unless they resign their council seats. A pamphlet circulating in the township read, "Councillors you must resign — who are you representing — otherwise you will die." The DAB director has however assured the Sobantu councillors that they will be protected.

Aroused by the shooting incident, residents staged a second march the following day to the DAB offices.

New placards had been made by the youth, some reading: "Why did you shoot us?"

Although the march was dispersed by police, the protestors regrouped at the DAB offices and a delegation of three people was given a hearing by DAB officials.

## SP hands ex-Robben Islander to Transkei

THE CHAIRPERSON of a committee resisting the removal of Mqwali, a "black spot" has been detained under Transkeian security laws.

Wilson Fanti was taken from his home by South African security police on July 5, and was handed over to the Transkei authorities.

His detention came in the wake of the government's decision to demolish Mqwali, because it was

"badly situated". Mqwali lies on the border between Ciskei and Transkei and has 5,000 residents. They have lived there for several generations in a strong and closely knit community.

They are now to be resettled along with 60,000 others from other "black spots" in camps in the Ciskei.

The Mqwali residents are determined to resist removal and had formed a residents association under

the leadership of Wilson Fanti.

Fanti is a former Robben Island prisoner and has been interrogated by both the Ciskei and Transkei security police since the formation of the residents association.

Although he was detained on July 5, his detention was only reported more than a month later, on August 27. His wife, Nosizwe Fanti still does not know which law he is being held under.

As a Mqwali resident, Fanti falls

under Ciskei authority, but the chief of the Transkeian police, Brigadier LS Kowe claims that he is a Transkeian and possesses Transkeian documents. Mrs Fanti denies this claim. The Transkei security police say that Fanti will soon be charged.

Meanwhile, the paramount chieftainship of Ciskei, N Nolzwe had threatened the people of Mqwali that anyone who discusses the removals will be arrested.

# Fort Hare four defeated in bid for re-admission

AN APPLICATION by four Fort Hare students for readmission has been dismissed by the Chief Justice of the Ciskei Supreme Court.

This is the latest development in seven week wrangle following the expulsion of about 1,400 students in July this year. The students were expelled after dissatisfaction with poor hostel lighting turned into a full-scale row with the university administration.

The Chief Justice gave no reasons for the dismissal of the application and the students have to pay costs. According to a Fort Hare student there were many Ciskei soldiers and police at the hearing. They were apparently under the personal supervision of General Charles Sebe, Chief of the Ciskei security police.

The National Parents Committee of the Fort Hare students have now decided to take the case to the Bloemfontein Appeal Court.

The parents also rebuked the university for re-admitting more than 47 students, mostly from the Ciskei and children of prominent officials of the Ciskei government.

This comes at a time when they are still awaiting the outcome of the reserved judgement by the Ciskei Supreme Court on the interdict brought by four Fort Hare students declaring their expulsion invalid.

A row erupted between the parents and the university administration over a letter from the rector,

Prof JA Lamprecht, to the Chief Campus Control Officer asking him to admit a student, Velile Tom, the son of the Director-General of Education of the Ciskei government.

The letter, which the Parents' National Committee now possess, stated: "This student was prevented by other students from handing in his name. In the meantime his father has asked us please to ensure that this goods in Room 71 of ZK Mathews II Residence are safe and secure. Could you please also check this aspect for me?"

The Ciskei government, because of its strange silence, was accused by parents of having taken sides with Lamprecht.

In his defence, when questioned about the letter and the re-admissions, Lamprecht said some of the students had been taken back provisionally subject to further investigations. He said Tom had not been readmitted to the campus since the start of the boycott and had been banned for the rest of term.

In an attack on the actions of the rector, Norris Singapi, chairperson of the Port Elizabeth Parents Committee said Lamprecht's reply was unconvincing.

Last month a delegation of parents met the rector at the university to discuss the dismissals. They reached deadlock after Lamprecht said the matter was no longer in his hands and suggested they contact the University Council to re-open discussion on the issue of the 1,500 students.

Four lecturers resigned in the wake of the suspension because they were unhappy with the way in which the university authorities dealt with the student protests.

One of the lecturers, Jonathan Jackson has been charged by a formal disciplinary council with 23 counts of breach of contract.

The charges against him were detailed in a five page document. The first charge contains 10 counts of having made press statements and having addressed public meetings. The 10 counts in the second charge deal with "having committed actions which are prejudicial to the administration, discipline or efficiency of the university". The third charge contains 3 counts of having failed to obey a lawful order by the rector.

At the beginning of September, most of the students at the Dawor Training College in Port Elizabeth staged a one-day boycott of classes to express their solidarity with the expelled Fort Hare students. The students defied a threat by the Department of Internal Affairs to withdraw their bursaries if they participated in the one-day stay-away.

Students on other campuses around the country have held solidarity protest meetings with the students of Fort Hare.



Thomsville residents campaign for better houses

# Eviction of Thomsville families sparks off candlelight protest

SIXTY-FIVE LENASIA families, including several pensioners, this month held an hour-long vigil by candlelight to protest against the eviction of 15 families from Thomsville's two-room houses, and to demand decent living conditions for people in the area.

Angry placard-bearing residents who lined the dark streets of Thomsville holding candles and torchlights, declared their support for the evicted families and called for the resignation of the Lenasia Management Committee.

The vigil was organised by the Thomsville Residents Association (TRA), which has the support of families living in Thomsville.

"The evicted families are tired of being "temporarily accommodated," said Ahmed Kola, a spokesman for the TRA. "People are living in appalling conditions here, and most of the houses are overcrowded. Families share communal taps and toilets, and many of the houses are

overcrowded. Clearly, the management committee is unable to do anything for these families."

Kola called on the authorities to negotiate with the TRA on behalf of residents, because "it is the only body which represented the interests of the people living in Thomsville."

Kola pointed out that a survey conducted by the TRA had shown that the majority of families presently residing in Thomsville had been living in Lenasia for a period of at least 15 years. "This area was established as a temporary area in 1963. Who does the Lenasia Management Committee think they're fooling when they say they are trying to do something for us?" asked a pensioner who lives in a two-room house with his three children.

Several residents said they did not want "renovated" Thomsville houses, because this would not solve the problem of overcrowding. "We reject the authorities' attempts to make these hovels look more

acceptable," said one resident.

Ram Salojee, chairperson of the Federation of Ratepayers Associations of Lenasia — to which the TRA is affiliated — said the federation would spearhead the campaign to have the families rehoused.

Salojee added that the federation was busy investigating claims by residents in Thomsville of irregularities in the allocation of homes in Lenasia.

The TRA has submitted a memorandum to the Department of Community Development, demanding that:

- Every family living in Thomsville be rehoused;
- The income and family size be taken into account in the allocation of homes;
- Each family living alone be allocated a single renovated house; and
- That the TRA be recognised as the legitimate representative of the people of Lenasia.

# More mine deaths as fire kills 12

TOXIC SMOKE from a fire in a disused section of the Buffelsfontein Gold Mine near Klerksdorp killed 12 miners on September 14.

Another 163 miners were admitted to hospital after an eight hour drama involving 4,800 workers. Most were later discharged.

The fire was spotted by two workers joining the 7am shift. The two were travelling down a haulage tunnel 2,200m below the surface when they noticed thick black smoke. They went down one level to find fresh air and alerted rescue teams.

"The smoke travels terribly fast at that level, so the twelve dead must have been on the same level as the fire and overtaken by it" said a mine spokesperson.

Most workers made their own way to the surface, but the rescue teams found 24 miners who had moved to the level below the fire waiting for assistance.

Meanwhile in another incident, a mine worker died after he was allegedly pushed down a mine shaft by a white colleague.

The dead man, Letlape Lekokota of Botswana, was working in the Western Areas Gold Mine as an underground supervisor. He refused to obey instructions from his white colleague who allegedly beat him and then pushed him down a shaft about 50 metres deep.

Accidents occur frequently on the gold mines and workers are often killed or injured and sometimes maimed for life. Details very rarely reach the press and when they do, figures are often downplayed and inaccurate. It is almost impossible to get access to mineworkers and, so one only hears management's version.

# UIF red tape keeps the unemployed waiting

ORGANISATIONS HAVE come out sharply against an announcement by the Minister of Manpower of a fund to be used to support workers who refuse to join strikes.

At a meeting in Johannesburg, personnel of advice centre's and trade unions, also expressed concern at the rising unemployment in South Africa — unofficial figures put it at over 2 million.

Delays of up to nine months, say the organisations, are often experienced by workers in the application for unemployment benefits

from the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF).

Now the Department of Manpower has introduced a new computer system which, according to the Deputy Divisional Inspector of Manpower, Monty Knoesen, could increase delays in paying unemployment benefits up to 6 months.

"We cannot accept that unemployed workers should suffer without benefits, and with no explanation, while the Department carries out bureaucratic reorganisation," say the organisations in a

statement. "It is not even clear whether these workers are going to receive their benefits retrospectively, if at all."

"We find it strange that while the Department is unable to pay unemployed workers it is able to set aside, with immediate effect, an initial R2 million apparently to be given to workers who refuse to join strikes," the statement says.

Of this programme, the Minister said: "This is an indication of the sincerity of the Government to workers, who act responsibly and

through no fault of their own, lose earnings."

"We condemn this interference by the State in strikes on the side of employers, and question the sincerity of Mr Botha's concern for workers who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own, when thousands of unemployed workers are not receiving even their legitimate unemployment benefits through what appears to be the fault of the Department of Manpower."

# Hogan in treason test case

FOR THE first time in 20 years a person is facing charges of alleged high treason or alternatively, terrorism for political rather than military work.

Barbara Hogan, a former rural development worker and MA student at Wits university appeared in the Rand Supreme Court during August and September charged with high treason or alternatively terrorism because she became an ANC member.

The defense counsel noted that if Hogan is convicted, she will be the first person found guilty of treason for "mere membership of the ANC". Hogan admitted being a member of the ANC and pleaded guilty to furthering its aims. She has pleaded not guilty to the main charge of High Treason.

The State alleges that Hogan participated in thirteen acts on the ANC's behalf. These include:

- receiving instructions from the ANC — inter alia to work in the field of unemployment and to set up a communications network
- participating in boycotts
- compiling and sending documents on labour matters to the ANC

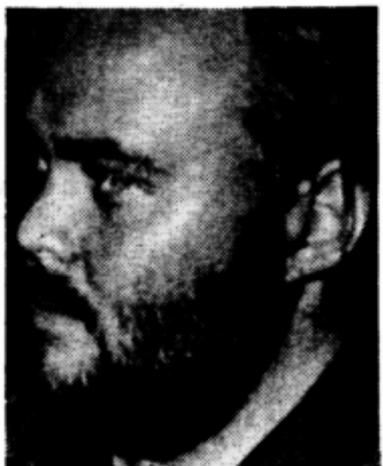
learning an ANC code. J Swanepoel, prosecuting, said that Hogan had conspired with the ANC to further its aims. He said her actions were unlawful and committed with hostile intent to overthrow the state.

The defense counsel did not dispute that one of the ANC's aims is to overthrow the government by violence or by means that envisage violence, but argued that Hogan associated herself with certain but not all of the ANC's aims.

If she is found guilty of treason, "it would mean that every member of the ANC, however nominal such membership may be, could be held responsible for every act of treason, terrorism or sabotage committed by every other member", said George Bizos, SC appearing for Hogan.

In support of this argument Bizos said that none of the acts committed by Hogan had a "terroristic connotation". Moreover all of the activities she engaged in internally, such as consumer boycotts, were lawful activities which she would have engaged in irrespective of her membership of the ANC.

Hogan explained her decision to join the ANC in 1977. "I was



Ex-spy, Craig Williamson

attracted to the ANC's goals because it upheld the principles of a non-racial, just and democratic society. I was aware that the ANC adopted violence as one of its strategies. My personal attitude to violence is one of abhorrence", she said.

She told the court that Judsan Khuzwayo, an ANC official in Swaziland, assured her that guerilla warfare was only one of the means towards the ANC's ultimate goal. "He said there was room for me in the ANC as long as I accepted the

principles of the Freedom Charter".

During cross examination by the state Hogan denied the aim of guerilla warfare was to kill innocent people. She said she regretted acts of violence where innocent people are killed but said it was an inevitable fact of South African life.

"Everybody knows that the ANC is at war with South Africa". She said the ANC was not South Africa's enemy but its opposition as its members were South African.

At the time Hogan joined the ANC, she felt in a vacuum in South Africa as the black consciousness movement had no role for whites to play and the trade unions were barred from operating. She said the ANC's belief that whites have a role to play in their organisation appealed to her.

"I felt it was a nationalism that was not so conservative as to reject other colour. It did not have the potential to become racialistic and oppressive."

She said the situation now is clearly different. "The struggles of the 70's, and particularly the development of organisations around women, students, communities and workers has also

seen an increase in the number of whites sympathetic to the struggles of the oppressed, who are prepared to work alongside others sharing a commitment to the Freedom Charter."

Hogan described how during 1980 and 1981 she relied more and more on people inside South Africa for her political input and support. This point was outlined in two documents which Hogan wrote. The first called "Problems Arising in Internal Political Work" which deals with problems she had communicating with the ANC. This document was intercepted by the security police.

In response to this first document she received a letter from the ANC asking for a list of people she associated with in her political work.

Hogan was suspicious of the document because it addressed her as "comrade" and not by her code name "Roger". She understood it to be for an ANC security check.

During the course of the trial, Hogan alleged that the request had not come from the ANC but was made by the security police.

The request for "Close Comrades" was made after the interception of "Internal Political Work". Major Cronwright admitted during the trial that this report had never been passed on. This report "Close Comrades" went straight into the hands of the security police. As a result several people mentioned in it were detained with Hogan in September 1981 and later in November and December.

Arising out of her detention this year, she laid a charge of assault on two members of the security police, Warrant Officer Deetlefs and Warrant Officer Prins. They were both acquitted.

In court she said her period in detention was difficult, but said she was still committed to the ideals of the ANC. She said, "My detention period served to convince me that until we have a just and democratic society there will be a great deal more suffering."

Craig Williamson who claims to have infiltrated the inner ranks and upper echelons of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe between 1975 and 1979. He conceded in his evidence that there was room for a person holding the belief that change must come peacefully to work in the ANC.

The ANC is not a monolithic unity but rather differences of opinion are found and expressed within the movement. But people doing political work "select the targets for someone else to pull the trigger", he said.

In argument Hogan's counsel said "It was never her intention in joining and working with the ANC to become part of the armed struggle."

Eddie Webster, senior lecturer at Wits University, called on behalf of the defense counsel, said that by working in the field of unemployment, Hogan would have been taking part in a perfectly normal, natural and lawful process.

The hearing has been postponed to October 20 for judgement and sentence.

## Barlow code torn in Cape textile row

THE NATIONAL Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) has accused the giant Barlow Rand group of breaking its much vaunted code of employment after the sacking of more than 1,000 workers at Veldspun International in Uitenhage.

The NUTW has also accused the group of being indifferent to unfair labour practices in its subsidiaries and has criticised its failure or refusal to intervene in the Veldspun dispute.

Veldspun is a subsidiary of Romatex, in which Barlow Rand has a majority holding.

The workers were fired last month when they walked out after 60 employees who refused to do the work of retrenched colleagues were dismissed.

The union has accused the company of seeking to provoke a confrontation with NUTW through the dismissals in that none of the workers retrenched or asked to do their work belonged to the Textile Workers Industrial Union (TWIU), a Tuksa affiliate.

The NUTW has also accused Veldspun of requiring workers applying for jobs at the company since the sackings to join the TWIU.

"The Barlow Rand Group's code of employment seeks to improve the quality of life of its workers, but it has displayed indifference in cases like this," the NUTW's national organiser, Johnny Copelyn, said.

The code also stated Barlow Rand was committed to reasonable wages, and that the Group would not acquire a company which depended for its profit on low wages.

The minimum hourly wage at Veldspun was 80c, one of the lowest rates among Uitenhage textile companies.

In addition the code said the Group might mitigate the hardship caused by retrenchments by ex gratia payments.

There have been three sets of retrenchments at Veldspun in about nine months and none of the workers affected have received severance pay.

The University of the Witwatersrand's SRC has expressed solidarity with the dismissed workers and has been mandated to discuss the issue with Wits' new chancellor, Mike Rosholt, who is chairperson of Barlow Rand.



Ernest Dipale's funeral — an order was served to restrict political activity

## Security Act bars freedom slogans at Soweto funerals

FUNERALS OF political people or people whose deaths are in some way connected with the security laws, may never be the same again.

Before the funeral of Ernest Dipale, who recently died in detention, his family was served with a magisterial order, setting in motion a new provision of the Internal Security Act.

This was the first time it had been used, but was put in action again a week later to restrict activities at the funeral of Nana Mbuli, a Federation of South African Women member.

In terms of the provision, Article 46 of the Internal Security Act, it is

- forbidden to attack or support any political party or organisation through speeches, songs, prayer or in any other way;
- show, carry or distribute posters, banners, pamphlets or flags.

In addition the gathering has to be a bona fide funeral, the coffin has to be transported in a hearse only and the procession to the cemetery has to use mechanical transport only and by a route prescribed by the magistrate.

However mourners at the Mbuli funeral openly defied the ban.

Ernest Dipale's family refused to

sign the order issued by a Johannesburg magistrate, pamphlets were distributed at their home the night before and the funeral service was punctuated by freedom songs.

Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, Chief of the Security Police, recently said that the aims and objects of banned organisations were being furthered at some of the funerals.

Political meetings have also been banned recently. A protest service called to honour Professor Ruth First in Soweto was prohibited. It was called by the Workers' Support Committee, after her assassination in Maputo the previous week.

## Mxenge inquest delayed as police seek witness

THE INQUEST into the murder of former Durban attorney Mlungisi Griffiths Mxenge has been adjourned after police failed to produce the key witnesses during a two-day hearing at Umlazi magistrates court.

Mxenge, a former ANC member who spent two years on Robben Island from 1967 for allegedly furthering the aims of the ANC was found brutally murdered outside the Umlazi stadium on November 20 last year.

The inquiry has now been postponed while police attempt to

contact the key witness Themba Mungwe who discovered Mxenge's body.

Durban advocate Themba Skweyiya who appeared on behalf of Mrs Victoria Nonyemzelo Mxenge and her family established through cross-examination that police had failed to:

- interview possible eye witnesses who may have seen Mxenge leaving Victoria Street where he was last seen alive by his friend advocate Pius Langa at about 7pm on November 19.

to take a written statement from Langa until April 5 the following year

to see whether the numberplate on Mxenge's car which was found burnt out near the Swaziland border had been changed

to check mileage of the car, which was almost new, when they found it

Skweyiya pointed out that Themba Mungwe was 'a most material witness and an extremely important person in the case'.

On the second day of the inquest

Skweyiya gave the police details of Mungwe's house address in Clairmont, the name of his employer and personnel officer and three other friends.

Detective-sergeant Wilmot Ntshananase said he had not been able to trace Mungwe because he did not have his identity number.

"This information I gave you was gathered by us between yesterday morning and this morning and we are not policemen", Skweyiya told him.

A date for resuming the inquest is still to be set.

## What recession has to do with the state's affairs

WE KEEP hearing about the so-called solutions to the recession; about how the state and the bosses are going to deal with the problem.

But whose problems will really be solved? Who in fact suffers most in a recession?

Workers are now having to bear a much heavier burden than in the past. Higher prices, static wages, lay-offs retrenchments, stricter urban control, resettlement and housing shortages are some of the ways they are being stretched.

But what are the causes of an economic recession?

Throughout the world, workers are suffering because big business is being hit by falling profits.

South Africa is experiencing the spin off of this world recession. Our manufacturing industry borrowed money to produce goods. Now, because international markets are drying up and manufactured goods can't be sold, our industry can't pay its debt.

As business profits fall, bosses have resorted to keeping wages low and laying off workers so that they have fewer people to pay.

They have also cut production, because they can't sell existing stock, let alone new goods.

The smaller workforce is now expected to work harder for lower wages while the bosses increase the price of their products.

Because of rising unemployment and the need to increase productivity, the state and the business sector have had to increase political control generally and control of the workforce in particular.

This becomes obvious when we look at:

- Tighter control of urban areas
- Tougher line on trade unions especially unregistered unions
- Crackdown on unions and individual union organisers
- Increases in fines on employers for hiring "illegal" workers
- New controls on migrant workers who change or lose their jobs.

The state is also feeling the pinch of the fall off in the business sector since its revenue comes mainly from taxing company profits. As these profits drop, the state receives less money.

To maintain its military machine, police force, selected health and other services, the state has had to increase its income in some way.

Because business is already squeezed, it has been unwilling to do this by increasing company tax. So, as usual the working class foots the bill with the increased General Sales Tax and price hikes in bread, milk and other essential foodstuffs.

Other ways of getting revenue are not so obvious. While the price of fuel is falling internationally, it is rising in South Africa because it can be used as a hidden tax. This means that bus fares and all goods which need to be transported go up in cost.

The state is also cutting back on housing, leaving it to the private sector to build new houses. These are generally more expensive than existing houses and only workers able to get loans can buy them. Those workers are then financially indebted to their employers and so can easily be controlled.

The economic recession and the state's drastic measures to divide the workforce make it increasingly difficult for worker and community groups to act. The only way they can resist this onslaught is through strong grassroots and democratic organisation.

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Influx control means rural blacks have little alternative to working on farms

# Oppression on fertile ground in SA fields

**Life on South Africa's farms is very hard. Farm workers are badly paid and have to work in appalling conditions. South Africa's laws mean many people can work nowhere else.**

FARMWORKERS ARE probably the most exploited workers in the country, yet their plight rarely receives the kind of publicity focussed on urban workers.

A newly-published report directs attention on the people often seen as "forgotten people" — South Africa's 1,300,000 farmworkers. Drawn up by the Farm Workers' Project, it has been submitted by the Project to the National Manpower Commission which is investigating farm labour.

Whatever the ultimate goal of the report was, it does outline in detail the appalling conditions farmworkers have to endure: Poor wages, dangerous working conditions, unhygienic housing, little or no health care, dismissal almost at the whim of the farmer, and no real right to organise into trade unions.

But one of the most important parts of the report is that which deals with labour laws: How farmworkers are trapped into their jobs by the network of legislation.

The report paints a picture of terrible conditions on the farms, entirely stripping them of visions of rural paradise. In most cases investigators found wages in both cash and kind totalled an average of R30 per month, this for anything up to a 17 hour day.

The food sometimes provided instead of more pay was also found to be woefully inadequate: In one case a 16 year old worker was paid R3 per month plus daily rations of pap and milk. Housing — again sometimes provided in lieu of pay — was also found to be of an incredibly low standard.

The Wage Act does not apply to farms, so farmworkers do not even have the minimal protection of a State-determined minimum wage. Even if the Wage Act was extended to farms, as the report recommends, it would remain incredibly difficult to enforce in every single farm throughout the country.

Working conditions themselves are appalling: Statistics show farmworkers have less protection than any others against occupational diseases and accidents. It is estimated that at least 300 farmworkers die each year in occupational accidents, while a further 2,000 are permanently disabled. No figures are available for workers who contract illness through contact with the dangerous chemicals used in farm work.

The report also finds that very little real compensation reaches workers who are hurt in accidents on farms. Theoretically all workers are covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act, but farmers are not enforced to take action. Workers, the report says, are often unaware of what little rights they do have.

The report implies there is a twofold reason for the continuation of the massive exploitation of farm labour.

First is the lack of any farmworkers' union. The report indicates that the right to organise into unions has never expressly been taken away from farm employees, but then neither has it been positively expressed in law.

And the right to organise is nullified by government regulations which ban all gatherings in rural areas. The fact that workers have been arrested for attending weddings and funerals underlines the contention that any union work is very difficult.

The report recommends that workers immediately be given union rights, and raises the question of how this would be enforced. In an



Child labour a common practice on farms

appendix, there are lists of individual cases where employees

In a section of legal restraints on farmworkers, the investigators show employees in urban areas can fire an entire workforce after industrial action, there is little doubt the same could happen in a rural area.

In a section on legal restraints on farmworkers, the investigators show how laws have trapped employees into working on farms, and made it impossible for workers to change their jobs. The compulsory system of registration of blacks through labour bureaux in rural areas allocates workers to jobs indiscriminately and makes it illegal for workers to change to another job category.

Farmers are always given a certain quota of workers maintaining employable labour at a certain level, so there is always a pool of unemployed to replace "unsatisfactory" workers.

By law, blackpeople cannot own land outside the reserves and the long-established tenant system for farms is also illegal. Under this system, black "tenants" would work on a "white" farm, in exchange for the right to work a part of the land themselves.

As there is very little land available in the overcrowded reserves — two out of every three "homeland" blacks are landless — and influx control prevents all but a few blacks from working in cities, the farms are the only alternative.

The report contains a number of legal recommendations for the National Manpower Commission. They would like to see farmworkers' rights established by law and influx control abolished so that workers can work where they please.

Ultimately the Farm Workers Report cannot campaign for the democratic rights of farm workers. It can only raise issues about their conditions to the Commission.

It is limited because any legislation passed would be difficult to enforce especially given the coinciding interests of farmers and the state. Secondly, repression of farmworkers is part of a much wider pattern in South Africa: Part of the apartheid machinery which not only keeps labour on the farmlands, but people in mines, working in factories in urban areas, separated from families in reserves and deprived of any real say in their destiny.

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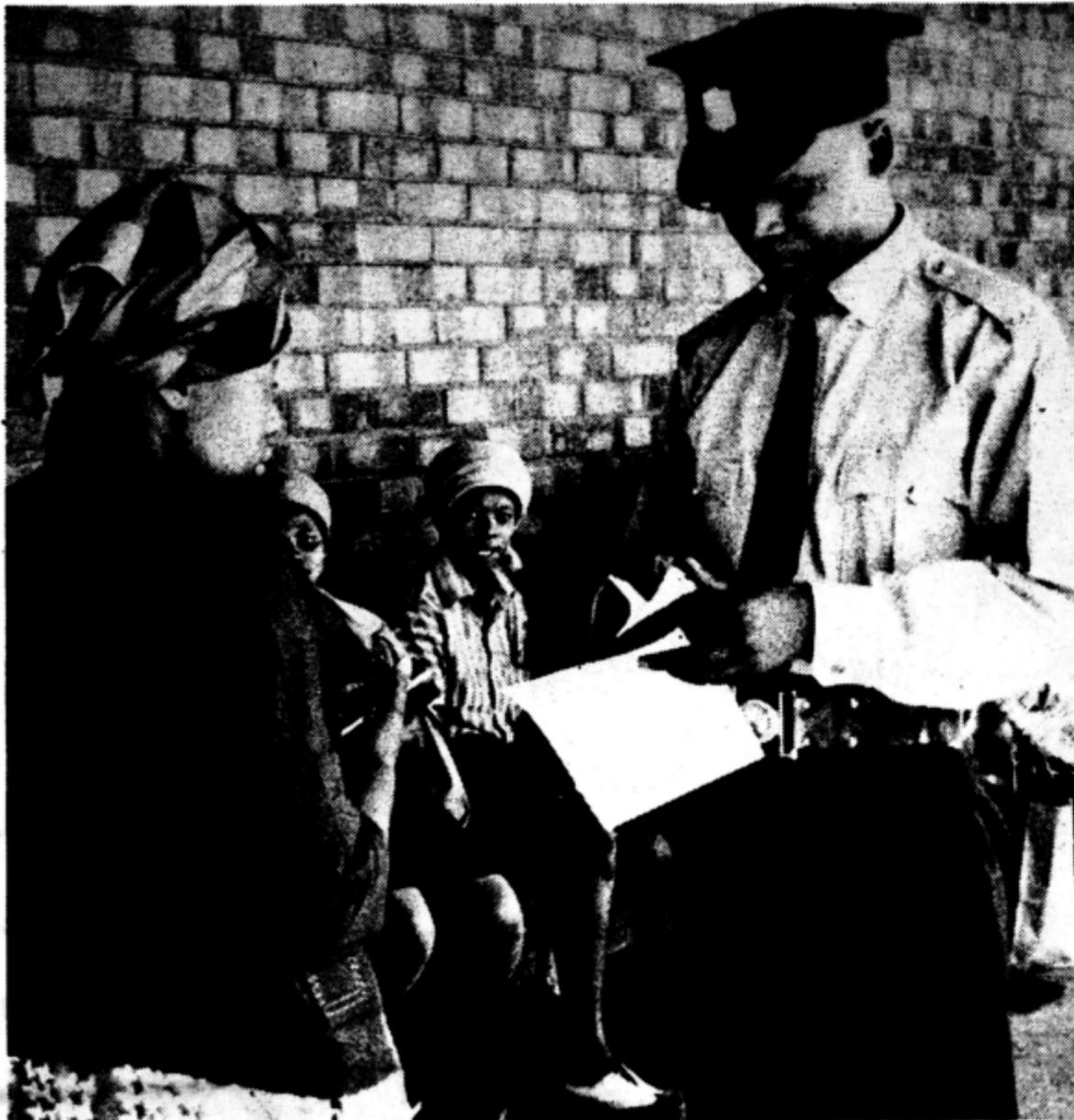
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# Piet's promise is a "Genocide Bill"



Constant raids to keep check on "illegals" in urban areas would be inevitable if the bill is passed

**Piet Koornhof's Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill has been dubbed part of the government's new deal. But people opposing it say it is actually a "genocide bill".**

THE GOVERNMENT'S proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill has been met by widespread opposition.

In Cape Town, about 60 organisations — trade unions, community organisations, student and women's organisations — have formed a committee to fight the new bill.

This bill, if it becomes law will be amongst the most significant pieces of legislation affecting South Africa's black majority. The main concern of the Bill which has been dubbed the "Genocide Bill" is to revise the pass laws or influx control, the means by which millions of black peoples' lives are systematically controlled by the state.

Presented by Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Cooperation and Development as part of a new deal, the bill actually tightens up influx control in almost every respect. Its aim is to lock out all but a privileged class of blacks to be known as "permanent urban residents". Migrant workers will only be allowed in as long as their labour is needed.

The rest of the black population will be forced to remain in the homelands where they will be trapped in poverty and starvation. There has been warnings that there could be massive civil unrest if the bill goes through in its present form as blacks are likely to find it unacceptable.

The Bill has been referred to a commission of enquiry and some political commentators have predicted that it will be substantially revised before it becomes law.

However, the intention behind the Bill remains and points to the state's desire to control the urban working class. Its harsh nature is not merely a mistake of a few bureaucrats but a central part of the government's strategy of increased streamlining and control of black workers over the last hundred years.

The state's control of black workers is to maintain an adequate supply of cheap labour and to channel black labour only to those areas where it is needed. At the same time, control aims at keeping cities and farms 'white' and preventing widespread and organised rejection of the forced labour system.

Over the years, legislation introduced to enforce control has included:

- the 1913 Land Act which forced peasants off their land to become wage earners;
- taxation laws which made wage earning a necessity;
- the labour bureaux system through which workers in the homelands could only obtain legal employment by registering at a labour bureaux and waiting there to be recruited for work in the so-called white areas;
- the 1952 Urban Areas Act which ensured state control of black urban areas; and
- the creation of homelands and more recently the "constellation" of apartheid states where the unemployed and unemployable are forced to remain;
- the 1977 Riekert Commission recommendation represented an attempt to develop a more sophisticated control by building a privileged group of urban Africans. This group would be separated from the majority of Africans confined in the homelands.

The new Bill seeks to implement the Riekert Commission's recommendations to move control over the influx of black people from the streets to the places of employment and accommodation.

The new Bill is just a more clever reworking of the old failed apartheid formula and provides one with some idea of what the government has in mind for black South Africans.

The Bill has immediate implications for the people of Nyanga and Crossroads who have been fighting for many years for the right to stay in Cape Town. One of the Bill's provision is that people who settle on land (as in the case of

Crossroads) can be removed by police without trial if the Minister of Co-operation and Development thinks they are trying to campaign to have the laws changed.

The people can be removed to any place decided on by the Director General and they cannot go to court to try and prevent the removal.

The minister can also remove people and send them wherever he pleases if he is "of the opinion" that they are a "nuisance", or a "health and welfare" hazard.

Although the Department of Co-operation and Development has been tight-lipped about the issue, an authoritative but as yet unsorted report in the Cape Town Afrikaans paper, *Die Burger*, has mentioned this possibility.

The report says the fate of about 5,000 "illegal" black residents in the Western Cape is tipped strongly towards resettlement to other areas and to the homelands.

The Department of Co-operation and Development has confirmed plans to resettle the Nyanga squatters and in line with this, *Die Burger* reported that a co-ordinated programme to house large numbers of squatters on a family basis in areas where housing and work was available would be started soon.

What the report ignores is that many of the squatters have jobs in the Western Cape and that they have on numerous occasions refused job offers in other areas.

Already more than 6,000 residents from Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu in Cape Town have rejected the new Orderly Movement of People Bill at a meeting held in the township. Many organisations in Cape Town

have committed themselves to taking up the issue.

"We refuse to implement any law that we did not make," said one of the speakers. "We will not be divided. We all deserve to live and work where we want to and on every inch of South African soil."

In other parts of the country the government is already making moves which would fit in to the proposed bill.

At this very moment an electrified railway line is being built to link Garankuwa in Bophutatswana with the Reef. When completed in 1984, the line will ship thousands of workers from the homeland daily and back at night again, in under 50 minutes each way. Thus the worker of tomorrow is not so much the contract worker or the permanent resident, but the frontier commuter.

Experts say the current rate of urbanisation must lead to the equivalent of ten cities the size of Soweto by the end of the century. If the government has its way, those ten cities will be inside the homelands — huge dormitory suburbs in the middle of the veld, hundreds of miles away from their places of work, linked to the cities by fast urban trains.

Looking at the example of East London — where 80% of the workforce are frontier commuters from Mdantsane in the Ciskei — one can understand why the government has chosen this strategy. The Ciskei has been used to help break the trade unions of East London workers and now workers are recruited through a central computer, the Manpower Development Centre, which is used to weed out trade union members

and blacklist strikers.

Social unrest is much more easily contained hundreds of miles from the cities and the social problems of unemployment, overcrowding and starvation become the responsibility of the homeland governments, staffed as they are by unsavoury characters. Workers can claim no political rights in the central government and this solves their problem of how to integrate an economy without integrating the political system.

Homeland dwellers become "foreigners" in South Africa and acquire passports instead of Reference Books. However they are just a different kind of dompas.

In areas such as the Western Cape where the homelands are so far away that commuterism is impossible, blacks will be virtually eliminated. In Cape Town no blacks will be able to acquire permanent residence rights mainly because they are almost all regarded as citizens of either Ciskei or Transkei, both "independent" homelands.

It will become almost impossible if this bill is passed, for people to gain permanent urban residence rights in the future. Thus contract workers can work in an urban area for their whole lives but will not be allowed to gain residence rights and will have to return to the homelands when their working lives are over.

In practice this has been the case in the past, but in September last year the Supreme Court found that a contract worker, M T Rikhoto, qualified for permanent residence rights even though he had returned to his homeland for a month each year.

The judgement held out the hope of being able to reside permanently in the urban areas for thousands of contract workers. But the new bill will put an end to this possibility. In fact the courts have been excluded throughout the bill from any intervention.

The new category of permanent urban residents (or "purs") will include those at present qualifying for section 10(a) or (b) rights in terms of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 or as registered owners of fixed property. Few blacks own property and this is especially so in the Western Cape where the 99 year leasehold scheme does not apply.

The effect of this is to further reduce the number of blacks qualifying for permanent residence by making it absolutely dependent on their having approved accommodation. The acute shortage of housing will make it impossible for thousands of blacks to remain in urban areas, even though they qualify for permanent rights in all other respects.

At present any black who is born and bred in an urban area and who has proof to that effect, qualifies to live there permanently; irrespective of whether his parents qualify or not. A further clause in the new bill says that children born in town can only become purs if both their parents are purs. As about 60% of all births in Soweto are illegitimate and as one parent is often untraceable these children will not be regarded as permanent residents.

To gain permanent residence rights one has to have lived in a city for ten years "continuously" and not be a citizen of an independent homeland. The Director-general of Co-operation and Development is granted the right to determine whether "in his opinion" a person qualifies to be a purs or not.

Apart from purs and their dependents, contract workers will qualify for permits to stay in the city. Visitors to the city will have their maximum visiting time slashed from three months to fourteen days. The issuing of permits for visitors is at the discretion of a "designated officer".

All people not "authorised" to be in the city will have to clear out between 10pm and 5am or they are liable for arrest and a fine up to R500 or six months imprisonment. Previously blacks were allowed in the city for 72 hours without a permit.

The Minister can impose a curfew at night preventing blacks from being outside public places in the "white" towns and cities. This curfew regulation already exists in some towns such as Krugersdorp.

To ensure that curfews are effective massive night raids are inevitable. Everyone must produce on demand permits to prove they have a right to be there. At any time of the day or night inspectors may enter any premises where a black person is even suspected of staying, with no warrant but only a certificate to identify himself.

The Minister of Co-operation will be granted the right to designate an urban area an "unemployment area" preventing any "unauthorised" people from working there if he is of the opinion that a state of unemployment prevails.

Fines for employing "illegal" blacks will jump from R500 to R5,000 or 12 months imprisonment while the penalty for householders who provide "illegals" with a roof over their heads will be R500 or six months.

The harshness of the penalties is likely to force employers to fire their "illegal" workers and for purs to force their "illegal" tenants on to the street. It is for instance estimated that 42% of Cape Town's black population is "illegal".

Finally if the Bill does not work on its own, the Minister is granted the power by regulation to alter, nullify or apply the law as he sees fit — putting him basically above the law.

**"They believed their own propaganda so heartily that eventually it**



when  
you've  
got them  
by the  
balls

...THEIR HEARTS  
AND MINDS  
WILL FOLLOW



"By media I didn't just mean TV, radio and newspapers. Media is any kind of medium that communicates" — Frederikse. Left to right: Rhodesian T-shirt logo; a record to att

*None but Ourselves* is a vitally important book not because it is about the Zimbabwe struggle — numerous books are available. This book is significant because of the unique way it presents that struggle. No such book has been produced for other popular struggles like Algeria, Kenya and Angola. This lack was both an obstacle (initially) and a motivation for the author.

*Saspu National* spoke to Frederikse about her work:

**JF:** One of the reasons I felt motivated to research and write the book, was that I felt the concept of what a guerilla is, is so misunderstood. We all know what a soldier is but we have much less understanding as to what would motivate someone to be involved in a guerilla war. There is information that is anti-guerilla. For example: "they're just young men (they always think its only men) who don't have anything else to do with their lives; who thought it would be more glamorous than starving in the rural areas." But there are more complex motivations. It was just so difficult to find any literature at all that really lets you know what it is like on a human level.

**SN:** Do you think that it is because other literature has been academic; taking for granted the fact of guerillas as a fighting force while the medium you've chosen is more popular and accessible?

**JF:** There is the medium itself, but before that there's the "Great Men and Great Events" way of looking at history. So whether its academic or popular, its all pegged to individuals who supposedly shaped events. For example, there are numerous biographies on Mugabe.

There is another view of history that says history isn't just "Great Men and Events" and I subscribe to that. Then there's the format: are you going to amass a lot of analysis or are you going to let people speak for themselves and ask questions of people who've never been asked before?

On one occasion I went to a rural area with a cinema unit just after independence. I asked people what they thought of the propaganda films the Smith government Psychological Operations Unit used to show. That's where I got a lot of the quotes where people said they were so horrific and were just imposed on them. They never believed them. I asked one man whether they couldn't complain and he said: "you're the first person who has ever asked me."

That was quite gratifying — doing the interviews and finding that people were so eager to talk — but who had ever asked them anything? People don't write histories by going and asking the people how they were part of it — they look from the top down.

**SN:** How did the project get off the ground?

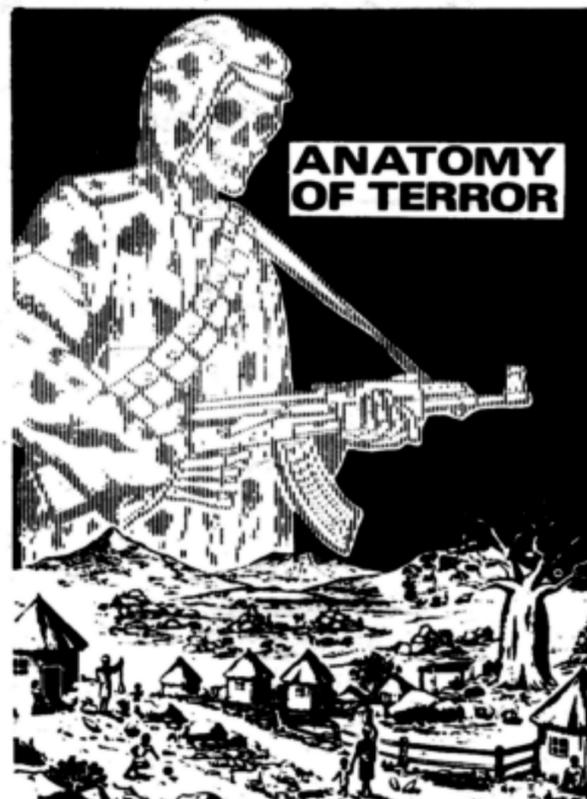
**JF:** I went up to Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, as it was then called. As I was reporting on it and covering the election campaign, I became fascinated with the process that was going on. There was this Western election

# The media tug-of-war

***None but Ourselves* is a dynamic collection of interviews, documents and posters strung together with the author's comments and explanations. In her book, Julie Frederikse has captured the nitty-gritty of the Zimbabwe struggle as it was for both sides. It becomes a living reality as she allows the people to speak for themselves.**



A Zanu poster mocks the internal settlement



A Rhodesian Ministry of Information booklet



Throughout the war, pro-Smith

campaign — posters and big media and at the same time you had people perceiving things through other mediums. That was interesting. And then there was the result: "everyone" was shocked — except for the masses. That was the fascinating phenomenon to me. People were absolutely appalled and unprepared for the result. It was a case of the media misleading those who were supposed to be in control. They became victims of their own propaganda, believing the messages they were putting out and then finding that it backfired. A totally different message was being perceived by the majority of the population.

That was so interesting I thought I'd like to do something with it. I started gathering more interviews for radio documentaries. As I collected more and more it became

clear that a book would be a good idea. By mid-1980 I decided to write it and I asked a photographer friend, Bidy Partridge, to collaborate by coming with me on various trips. That was 1980 and it continued into 1982 with the basic premise growing a bit larger. I wasn't just looking at the elections but was taking all kinds of perceptions into account and analysing them.

**SN:** How were you received on both sides? Were there reservations about you?

**JF:** I think in terms of going out to the rural areas and speaking to the people who were so directly involved in the war and without whose support there couldn't have been a war, they were quite excited that somebody came out to ask them questions. They had their indepen-

dence and there was great euphoria but then life goes on. It taught me a lot. You can't underestimate that people do take pride in what they've been through and what they've achieved. They want to examine what the mistakes and tragedies were. There was a little bit of suspicion but I think that by the time anyone shlepped all the way out to some of the places that we did people were pretty enthusiastic and understood our motivations. Bidy was always giving people pictures and we would play back tapes to let them know what was going on.

**SN:** And the other side?

**JF:** In 1980, right after the elections — you might be surprised to hear it — but people, even those who were shocked by the results and thought that Mugabe was going to

be bad news, also were really interested in examining the phenomena.

People felt a kind of embarrassment and bewilderment. It was the perceptions that were at issue so they were quite keen to discuss that.

**SN:** Could you talk about the media that was used and how you see the role of that media?

**JF:** By media, I didn't just mean TV, radio and newspapers. Media is any kind of medium that conveys messages, that communicates. I tried to give a little bit of history like the Pearce Commission days in the early 1970's. There you had a case that was totally repeated in the 1980 elections. The government was in control of all the mass media and they put across the message: "the Brits are here — tell them you like the constitution. Things will change for the better — it's free and fair. Go to all the meetings." They broadcast it on the radio and yet the people went to those meetings and said: "No, this is not what we want". They managed to have little meetings themselves to organise and tell each other what they really felt. The word got out — people would meet at bus stops and in the rural areas at markets. There was a whole media phenomenon going on amongst the

became the truth to them." — Bob North, Rhodesian Intelligence



act overseas sympathy; youth celebrate independence through song; grassroots media — a child's illustration of the pungwe all-night meetings between guerillas and villagers.



propaganda — such as this comic strip — portrayed the guerillas as barbaric, communist puppets with no popular support. It was belief in this propaganda which explained why when Mugabe won "everyone was shocked except the masses"

people who counted. Again it happened in 1980 that there was the conventional media versus other kinds.

But even that is simplistic. You had the conventional media that went to blacks and whites and there were very careful delineations between the TV whites watched and the newspapers they read, and then there were radio stations geared specifically for blacks in Shona and Sindebele. But on both sides you had the grassroots media. With whites there were a lot of things that many people might not consider to be media, like popular culture — for example, the music. There were songs like "Rhodesians will never die" and many others, all conveying the same messages. There were very particular messages that "terrorists" were buffoons used by the communists and there were cartoons that showed that. There were popular novels that vindicated the theme of assassinations. Best-selling books were about people out to kill Nkomo. There was even an anti-media drive, clamping down on communication: you shouldn't babble about the situation. Even wives should be careful not to tell other women what their husbands were doing in the border areas as this could be "bad for morale".

In the rural areas there was the black radio and pamphlets that were dropped by the Air Force. But you also had the meetings and personal lines of communication. The guerillas had their conventional media: they had very sophisticated books, magazines and radio services.

Then they also had their grassroots media. They organised special night-meetings called "pungwes". These were very effective in getting people to understand and discuss issues and have a sense of solidarity. There was a degree of coercion — people in the village had to attend the pungwes so that they were seen to be, and felt, part of the community. There was coercion on the other side, too. You didn't find whites who said: "I'm not watching TV — it's a bunch of propaganda." That also wasn't done. So you had a kind of peer pressure and from above on both sides.

**SN:** What is the role of media in a guerilla struggle? Is it a very significant one?

**JF:** I think in any conflict if people are laying their lives on the line they have to believe in and feel they understand what the motivating factors are. For that reason it was important for the guerillas to come into the villages and state their



THE WESTERN-BACKED "PATRIOTIC FRONT" COMMUNIST GUERRILLA TERRORISTS OF NIKOMO AND MUGAWA ARE LIVING OUTSIDE OF RHODESIA IN ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE FROM WHICH THEY CROSS THE BORDER IN MURDEROUS ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS INSIDE RHODESIA!

THESE REBELS AND THE WEST ARE INSISTING THAT THE LEGITIMATE RHODESIAN ARMY, WHICH IS ALREADY THREE-FOURTHS LOYAL BLACKS, LAY DOWN ITS ARMS AND TURN OVER THE "POLICING" OF RHODESIA TO THE "FRONTS" SAVAGE CRIMINALS!



case. They couldn't just walk in, in uniform, with their guns. Anyone is scared of a gun and people don't accept violence right away. People want to know what it's about. In this situation you had people brought up listening to the radio saying: "these are terrorists — they're going to get your children and destroy the fabric of society." So it was important for the guerillas to show, teach and say: "we're your children." Many older people would say "these are like our sons and daughters" — partly because many youths had left to become guerillas. Others began to feel an affinity with them.

A lot of statements in the book are by people who were frank, almost cynical, on both sides, about what they were doing. Some of the Smith people said: "this is what we did, this is the propaganda we put out." Guerillas would say: "land — that was our big rallying point." Or they would say it was important to have relationships with spirit mediums to indicate that the elders, the "traditional elite", were respected. Even young people who didn't like chiefs or believe in spirit mediums, learned how to communicate with people.

Zanu radio is another example of how sophisticated methods were. It was like a jazzy, commercial radio.

There was no point in coming on with a political lecture that would put people to sleep.

You had to incorporate that with song, music and letters from people others could relate to, with similar problems.

**SN:** Was the government media effective with regard to the black population at all?

**JF:** The best answer to that question comes from the person who was the co-ordinator of black radio. He set up Radio 3 that was beamed specifically to try and get the guerillas back into amnesty. Ben Musoni confessed that he himself didn't believe the propaganda. He went to rural areas and saw that the reality was very different to the RBC broadcasts. He said: "I carried out a little survey myself, privately, and I found that more people seemed to be listening to the Voice of Zimbabwe than to the RBC (Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation)."

**SN:** You focus quite extensively on the role of the missions — why?

**JF:** I chose to include a whole section on the Barajeno Mission because the role they played, to me, belied the whole myth of neutrality. As a journalist, I don't believe any of us are "objective". If you start to have a tiny bit of understanding of

what the tragedy and enormity of a war like this is about, you realise that there is no neutrality. It also makes you more understanding. I didn't have bitter feelings towards anyone I interviewed — they all had their points of view. I didn't idealize anyone either. I understand what their motivations were. I think what's important about the missions is not so much their religious stand, as that they were committed to helping the rural people and they suddenly found themselves in a conflict situation. A lot of these missionaries had been working with the people since the early 1960's and they initially perceived a degree of injustice and thought that the situation was eventually going to change. However, as one nun said, they couldn't believe it was going to happen so fast and all of a sudden there they were, in the middle of a rural area riddled with guerillas and security forces. They had to chart a path that they felt was true to their principles. It was the path that led them closer to the people. They happened to be in the front line and they stayed.

As regards the atrocities: I'm not interested in proving guilt — it doesn't matter. What was interesting to me was to look at the texture of life and to understand. I wasn't trying to ascertain the "truth" as much as trying to understand the forces that were at work; to look at what the overriding perceptions were.

**SN:** How did you finally come to choose the presentation of your book?

**JF:** I found it so fascinating to look, to find a document, poster or record — to let people say: "this affected me". So I thought instead of just digesting and assimilating it and saying things like: "air-drop leaflets were a big factor", I would let the readers see these things and let them make their own conclusions as I did. I used the commentary as a sort of glue threading together all the materials.

From my position, not being Rhodesian or even African, this wasn't some kind of exotic experience that occurred in Africa and had to do with stupid, stubborn people and other valiant people who triumphed. It's a situation that's repeated itself throughout history. That is why I added the chapter "Other Hearts, Other Minds", where I look at situations seemingly as diverse as Algeria, American dealing with "Red Indians", Vietnam and European powers in Africa. There's only one quote in the chapter and it's a Rhodesian soldier. He says: "The government was saying that anything that's not the Rhodesian propaganda line is a line being fed to us by the communists — which is garbage. But while Rhodesia was at fault in that, I don't believe it was unique. No matter how much I can't forgive them for trying to slide this undiluted crap down my throat, you cannot put them up in a dock and say, "We're going to try you for this because you're the only people who've ever done it..."

That's important — there are parallels. ●

# Retrenchments: Cutting costs at what price?

AS THE economic recession bites deeper into the South African economy, thousands of workers find themselves added to the vast numbers of unemployed.

The profit motive ensures that companies, rather than withstanding losses, will cut back on costs to maintain their profits. Labour is seen as being a cost and not as individual human beings with families to take care of. During a recession cutting costs means retrenching workers and putting those that remain on short time on less wages.

It is commonly believed that workers are retrenched because companies are financially threatened. However this is not often the case. For example in the metal industry there are few companies with huge resources at their disposal, who do not need to retrench to remain competitive. Retrenchments are used in this industry to force increased production from fewer workers to cut costs and not to avoid closure.

Many employers, the state and even the media attribute the large number of retrenchments to the recession. However this obscures the fact that the recession follows one of the greatest economic booms in the history of the South African economy. Instead of companies using the huge profits they made during the boom to support workers during the recession, the same workers that made the profits for companies are being discarded to join the growing number of unemployed. It is the workers and not the bosses that feel the brunt of the recession.

Workers fight retrenchments wherever they can, as well as fighting cuts in overtime, wages and working hours. This is especially necessary when retrenchments come at the same time as increased inflation. At the moment the cost of living continued to rise, general sales tax has been increased to 6 percent, and the bread price has gone up yet



Defy workers recently struck a retrenchment agreement with management

again. The load on the majority of South Africans has become heavier and the working class is absorbing the price of recession.

The vast scale of retrenchments has affected almost all sectors of industry. Official statistics since March this year show a drop in employment figures for the mining, manufacturing and engineering sectors. In the mining industry alone, there has been a drop of about 19,000 workers.

Retrenchments affect both unionised and unorganised workers with equal viciousness. There is a limited amount that unions can do in the face of retrenchments.

If workers were to strike it may mean an excuse for their employers to fire them. In this case the workers would lose even the few benefits they may get from being retrenched as opposed to being fired.

Nevertheless unions are trying to organise against retrenchments as best they can. The Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) began a campaign to negotiate retrenchment

agreements in all its factories on the Rand.

Mawu's retrenchment proposals adopted at its first joint Witwatersrand shop stewards' council meeting held in July, include:

- Companies should set up funds to help keep workers in jobs when business is slack.
- Employers should notify workers and their union at least a month in advance of plans to retrench workers. They should give full reasons and a list of workers who would lose their jobs.
- Retrenched workers must be the first to fill vacancies that may subsequently arise.
- Retrenched workers should receive severance pay according to the number of years spent with the company.
- Workers should be put on short time rather than being retrenched if possible.

Companies have responded differently to these proposals. Barlows managers have agreed to retrench only those workers prepared to leave, who are then paid

## Retrenchments swell the ranks of the unemployed

a lump sum of about three months wages. Other employers simply disregard these demands and retrench at will.

Some companies have linked retrenchments directly to wage demands, and threatened to lay off workers if wage increases exceed 20c an hour.

When workers have demanded short time as an alternative to lay offs, this lowers the workers living standards but at least keeps them in a job.

The majority of workers at Sigma's Mamelodi plant have gone on to a four day week. They have been receiving 94% of their normal wage and for the non working day they receive 10% of their usual

wage. This is paid out of the company's supplementary unemployment fund to which the workers contribute. Once again the workers carry the costs of the recession.

Workers face great risks when fighting back against retrenchments. They also face the risk of retrenchment when fighting for other demands. After a strike at Dano Textiles against a dismissal, management used the opportunity to retrench 300 workers. The company claimed that production problems had forced them to lay off the workers.

The General Workers Union have adopted different strategies in the fight against retrenchments. A cut-back of work led to the retrenchment of 13 workers at a Cape Town marine engineering firm. The workers were all members of the General Worker's Union. In a tremendous show of worker unity, workers with urban residence rights offered to accept retrenchment in the place of contract workers. The contract workers faced the bleak prospect of being sent back to the bantustans without much hope of finding re-employment. Workers of the GWU at Dorman Long Swan Hunters in Belville, Cape Town have agreed to go on unpaid leave for three months rather than being retrenched.

In Durban, the South Africa Allied Workers Union has won a substantial retrenchment agreement with management at the Defy metal plant.

After 1,200 workers went on strike, management agreed that workers would not be retrenched and left unemployed. Instead they would take one months unpaid leave on a rotation system. After the month, they would return to work and others would take unpaid leave.

Retrenchment workers face a future of never ending unemployment and a return to the impoverished bantustans. For those who have another job lined up or try to stay in the urban area to find a job there is grim news. The West Rand Administration Board (Wrab) has ruled that contract workers will not be allowed to take on new employment if they either leave or lose their jobs. They first have to return to their bantustan and wait there for another chance of employment.

Such chances are normally rare. During a recession they are even more so.

## Saawu leaders on bail

CHARGES OF terrorism have been withdrawn against Sam Kikini, general secretary of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu).

Kikini had previously been released on R500 bail after spending eight months in detention.

Meanwhile Saawu president Thozamile Gqweta, and Sisa Njikelane, vice-president, are still facing charges of terrorism in East London. They have been released on R750 bail each.

## No state witnesses

MORE PEOPLE have refused to testify in the ongoing Ciskei Terrorism Act trials.

In the trial of Jane Ntatshe (25) and Laurence Peter (21), two potential state witnesses were sentenced to two years and three years imprisonment for refusing to give evidence. They cannot be named because the trial was held in camera.

In another trial, Bongani Nondula (23) and Sandile Msana (23) of Mdantsane was acquitted after two witnesses refused to testify. The two who also may not be named, were sentenced to two and a half years.

Nondula and Msana were charged with participating in ANC activities by advising people to undergo military training in Lesotho and to join Umkhonto we Sizwe.

## Accused flees

AN ACCUSED in an Internal Security Act trial has left the country while awaiting the outcome of his appeal.

Thomas Mashabe (38) and Thabo Libe (30) were convicted of charges



## IN THE COURTS

under the Internal Security Act in July last year. Mashaba is apparently no longer in South Africa.

Mashabe and Libe were first charged with distributing posters celebrating the Freedom Charter's 25th anniversary.

During the appeal, the judge said although the posters were distributed on behalf of the ANC, they did not incite people to violence.

Mashabe's sentence was reduced from five years to one year and Libe's sentence from three years to one year suspended for three years.

## Defence council rejected

A RECENT court hearing in the Pretoria Supreme Court was postponed after the accused rejected his state appointed defence council.

The accused, Rogena Hoffsoni Chamussa, alias Patrick Shange was represented pro deo which means the state undertakes the prisoner's defence free of charge. Chamussa said he wanted to consult a different defence council.

Chamussa, a Mozambican citizen has been charged with murder and terrorism. He allegedly murdered two construction workers in Ogies, extensively sabotaged an Eskom sub-station in Witbank, possessed Soviet-made explosives and

ammunition and underwent military training.

He has pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Chamussa was detained in October 1981 and was held incommunicado until June 1982 when he appeared briefly before the Witbank Lower Court.

## One year for CO

ROMAN CATHOLIC conscientious objector, Neil Mitchell was sentenced in a military court to one year's detention for refusing to do military service.

Mitchell, a high school teacher, refused a military call up and was detained for 12 days before standing trial on 21 July.

According to the Defence Act members of churches which do not explicitly forbid military service can be called up again after their period of detention.

The Act recognises the right of members of religious denominations such as Jehovah's Witnesses — who forbid their members to do military service — to refuse to do training.

Such objectors are usually sentenced to three years' detention and they are then discharged from further Defence Force duty.

## Appeal refused

TWO ANC members, Robert Adam (26) and Mandla Themba (25) have been refused permission to appeal against their sentences.

Judge Boshoff of the Rand Supreme Court said they would have no reasonable prospect of success on appeal.

They were convicted of being ANC members and of conspiring to sabotage the SABC's television transmission tower in Brixton.

## Three jailed in Durban

THREE ANC men were jailed for seven years for receiving training in Angola as terrorists. The three, Sipho Buthelezi (27), Amos Dlomo (34) and Mkipheni Nyandeni (33) were sentenced in the Durban Supreme Court.

In passing judgement, Justice Diccott said that black people in this country had real and legitimate grievances and this was widely acknowledged. There was a danger inherent in these grievances which might lead to violence.

## Heavy security at trial

FOUR MEMBERS of the banned Soweto Students Representative Council are on trial in a special Regional Court in Kempton Park.

In a hearing marked by heavy security, Stanley Radebe (27), Mthuthuze Madalane (24), Lebana Mahakalala (23) and Nonkululeko Mazibuku (20), all of Soweto, pleaded not guilty. They are facing charges of recruiting, inciting and encouraging people to undergo military training outside the country.

# PC called Nat style democracy

THE PRESIDENT'S Council's constitutional proposals are an attempt to cloak apartheid in a new "democratic" guise, says a press statement issued by the Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee (Tasc)

The Tasc statement reads: "Just as they produced novel interpretations of religion, culture and history in the past, the Nats now manipulate the content of 'democracy' for their own convenience."

Tasc rejects the racially-defined "power sharing" and "consociational democracy" proposed by the President's Council. "Consociational democracy" means retaining the Group Areas Act, banishing blacks to "barren backwaters" (the Bantustans) or unrepresented urbanisation, while introducing Indians and Coloured people to the white laager — all on the basis of a racially and economically qualified franchise.

Through a powerful executive council and an executive president not subject to adequate constitutional checks or popular control, the proposals ensure Nat dominance.

Issues which the Indian and Coloured chambers of the executive council may want to deal with will still be controlled by the Nats, either through the white Parliament or through the President's Council. The proposed separate chambers of the executive reinforce the policy of racial separation pursued by the Nats.

By refusing to negotiate with the popular leaders of the people, the proposals are an attempt at change imposed from above by the white government.

So called 'change' envisaged by the architects of the proposals will be imposed with the help of "discredited individuals" and "privileged elements" in the Indian and Coloured communities. They fail to face realistically the demands of the majority of South Africans and will not be accepted by the people of South Africa.

Any semblance of representative government is destroyed by the concept of a "weighted or loaded multiple franchise" — where the privileged and wealthy retain their dominance with more than one vote.

The statement says the proposals were introduced as an attempt to diffuse the economic and political "time bomb" in South Africa, and to counter growing isolation from the international communities.

These "adapt or die" proposals are a "transparent response" to the crises facing South Africa. When viewed in the context of recently increasing repression, restrictions and security legislation, "they give the lie to the reform facade."

Instead of proposing realistic socio-economic change, the new constitutional dispensation maintains a form of strictly controlled and unequal group representation.

As against the PC proposals, Tasc lists their demands:

- a national convention with the legitimate leaders and organisations of the people participating
- freedom for all to live where they please in security and comfort
- decent housing at reasonable prices and rents
- free, non-racial and relevant education for all
- employment for all, and the right of workers to organise themselves through their own trade unions
- equitable land distribution.

The Tasc campaign against the PC proposals has included door-to-door distribution of newsletters, a protest meeting at the Lenasia Civic Centre, and a press conference held on July 30.



Women march together in funeral procession — Moodley revived interest in the women's movement

# Many mourn as Moodley laid to rest

POOMANI MOODLEY — former organiser of the now-exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and the Natal Indian Congress, died in her home in Chatsworth, Durban, on August 11. She was 56.

Poomani Moodley, affectionately known as 'P' by her friends in the Congress Movement, was buried after an emotional service attended by more than 1,000 people at the Clairwood cemetery on Saturday, August 14.

Born in June 28, 1926 in Mooi River, Natal, Moodley's family moved to Durban while she was still very young and settled in Clairwood, where they lived for many decades.

Stricken by tuberculosis at an early age which left her with one lung permanently damaged, Moodley decided to devote her life to working among the sick and was a nurse in TB hospitals for many years.

Her working conditions as a nurse increased her political awareness, and she was soon caught up in the intensifying political activity of the 1940's. Along with thousands of other people, she attended massive public meetings at the once-famous Red Square in Durban's Commercial Road. These meetings introduced her to injustices of the political and economic system in South Africa which her conservative upbringing had sheltered her from for years.

She immediately became involved in all the major protest campaigns of the 40's including the historic Passive Resistance Campaign when the Indian community unanimously rejected the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation and the Pegging Act (fore-runner of the Group Areas Act), when Congress members defiantly camped, against the law, Moodley, together with other Congress members, canvassed house-to-house support for the campaigns, selling the Congress newsletter and distributing pamphlets. It was the start of her lifetime dedication to the Congress movement.

In the 1950's the faith of the people in passive resistance dwindled. Young militants began to organise strong trade unions and took over the leadership of the NIC. An increasing unity was developing between the African and Indian communities. Moodley was as always actively involved and was one of the organisers for the historic Defiance Campaign launched by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

After the success of the Defiance Campaign, Moodley joined the



"P" Moodley

Durban Central branch of the Natal Indian Congress. She also joined the South African Council of Trade Unions and helped in the organisation's work. She gave lectures to workers at the Sactu offices.

During the Freedom Charter campaign, Moodley was among 10,000 people who walked from door-to-door throughout the country asking people for their views on a future South Africa. Their efforts bore fruit at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on June 26, 1955, where the Freedom Charter was born.

The birth of the Charter, however, also saw an increase in repression and in resistance. In 1956, 156 Congressites were arrested and charged with high treason. The famous Treason Trial went on for four years, until all the accused were eventually acquitted. But during those four years, it fell upon people like Moodley to organise fundraising campaigns and look after the families of the accused.

In the 1960's Moodley worked as a nurse at King George Hospital and organised a nurses union to demand living wages and working conditions. The nurses went on strike. She and several others were fired. Congress helped to open up a dress shop where the nurses worked for a while to earn a living.

After Sharpeville, the African National Congress and the break-away Pan Africanist Congress were banned. Over 20,000 people were detained under "emergency" regulations. Moodley was among the first to be detained under the new "90 Day" detention law.

She was suspected of being a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Siswe, and was twice again detained and released without any charge being laid against her.

In 1965, she was once again detained for allegedly conducting illegal literacy classes. She also supported the people of Pondoland



Mourners carry coffin to graveside

in their battle against the bantustan system.

After the revival of the NIC in the 70's, Moodley attended every mass meeting and conference and helped in the various campaigns.

She worked with the Anti-SAIC committees in the successful campaign for a boycott of the Indian Council elections. She encouraged the formation of democratic community organisations like the various Housing Action Committees, and she revived interest in the women's movement.

Throughout her life Moodley lived in the background, shying away from publicity. In the first newspaper interview of her lifetime, one week before her death, Moodley was asked what she thought of political changes that had taken place in South Africa during the past few years.

"It is not enough," she said. "It is not what our people died for and are still dying for. What they have been imprisoned for, and what they went into exile for."

"We must have a complete say in the government and a fair and equal distribution of this country's immense wealth among all its people."

"I feel especially bitter about the fact that the true leaders of our country are still imprisoned, banished, banned and exiled. I hope to see

the day when our leaders will be able to assume their rightful positions in the government and serve the people of South Africa."

Speaking at her funeral service, Sibongile Kubeka, a member of the Durban Women's Movement told Poomani's relatives that Moodley had devoted her life for the struggle for freedom and had died a hero.

"She was a hero, she is a hero, and she will not be forgotten by her people" said Kubeka.

Others who paid tribute to Poomani Moodley were Helen Joseph, Archie Gumede (former ANC member and leader of the Release Mandela Committee), and Natal Indian Congress vice-president Thumba Pillay.

Messages of condolence and tribute were also sent from Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Yusuf Dadoo, Billy Nair, and many others, imprisoned in exile.

The funeral procession of more than 1,000 people walked to the nearby cemetery. Moodley's coffin was draped in the NIC colours while, in the background, a large banner proclaimed "Congress Lives On". The mourners sang Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica as she was laid to rest.

"Hamba Kahle, Poomani . . ."

A NATIONAL focus on removals was held in Grahamstown at the end of last month to draw together affected communities and others, involved in support work or legal advice.

"The conference was basically a learning experience," said one delegate. "It allowed organisations and individuals from communities threatened by removals to discuss problems and strategies during workshops and discussions".

The conference was held in the Eastern Cape because removals are taking place on a mass scale in this region and community organisation is lacking.

"Where to from here", was a question topping the list after case histories of communities such as St Wendolins, Inanda, Winterveld,

## National removals conference looks at community resistance

Crossroads and Mqwali were looked at and assessed.

Delegates felt community struggles of the past showed that solidarity was a community's most vital weapon, particularly in the face of a common state strategy to divide the people by playing tenants and landlords off against each other or by co-opting the area's chief.

Discussion also focussed on how support groups, church groups and lawyers fit into the struggle of a community threatened by removals.

Delegates recognised that support

groups could play a role but that action and organisation ultimately rested on the shoulders of the community itself. Support groups should only work with a community once they had been given a mandate from the people.

Support groups could play a negative role in organising and Crossroads was used as an example where outside groups had taken over the community's struggle.

Durban lawyer Yunus Mohammed spoke on different approaches to

how the law can be used by threatened communities.

A reformist approach to the law, he said, was to rely totally on the legal system to fight removals.

On the other hand, communities could take a democratic approach by first getting a mandate from the people. By recognising the law's limitations, a community could use and abuse it to aid organisations by giving the community a voice in court as a means of mobilising people.

In many cases the law can be used to advantage, but the community should not depend on lawyers. He said the danger of using the legal system had been experienced by some communities in the past where once legal action had been initiated, the community sat back and depended on lawyers for their strategy and to spearhead the fight.

This danger is ever-present if communities are not aware of the limitations of the law, he said.

To use the law to advantage a thorough understanding of technicalities was needed. For example laws relating to the expropriation and compensation of land are often confusing and a community could "buy time" to organise by forcing the department to take all the required legal steps.

## St Wendolins forced to fight ongoing battle

THE PEOPLE of St Wendolins have won an important victory in their struggle against removal.

A Group Areas Board hearing has recommended that the area be set aside for African occupation, a decision still to be confirmed by the Minister of Community Development. Until then evictions and threats of removal have continued.

St Wendolins is a community of about 30,000 outside Durban. It was labelled a black spot and zoned for Indian occupation. Since 1980 residents have been forced to demolish their well built houses and resettle in four room houses in new KwaZulu townships.

After many appeals made by the St Wendolins Welfare Committee, to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, removals were halted in December 1981. A Group Areas Board investigation was set up. The hearing, attended by 800 people, was held in June 1982. At the hearing, the Welfare Committee and other organisations submitted evidence.

The St Wendolins Welfare Committee waged an intensive campaign before the hearing to collect evidence and build community support. The Committee —

- held a mass meeting to protest against the removals;
- organised a petition which was signed by 4,500 people in two weeks;
- consulted the community through a survey and a door to door campaign;
- distributed pamphlets, posters and stickers.

More than 900 affidavits and signed statements were handed over to the Group Areas Board, and a memorandum was drawn up by the Welfare Committee and other organisations including the Natal Indian Congress, Durban Housing Action Committee and the National Council for Women.

As a result the Group Areas Board recommended that St Wendolins be set aside for African occupation. This spelt an initial victory for the people to remain at St Wendolins.

The evidence was then sent to the Minister of Community Development who had to make a final decision. They have received no reply from the Minister, and the threat of eviction remains.

Further attempts have been made by local officials to remove four long established families from their homes. They were summarily instructed to appear at the Commissioner's office.

They went to the office with two representatives from the Welfare Committee. However, at the Commissioner's office the representatives were dismissed and told that the

matter was "private". The four families were told they had to move and were offered inadequate and unacceptable alternatives. They were threatened with imprisonment if they refused to comply.

In a statement issued to the press, the Welfare Committee asks, "Is it in order that once again people should be pressed to move against their will, and even before the findings of the Group Areas Board investigation for a specific area are completed?"

St Wendolins has existed for over 100 years, and its residents have developed a strong community spirit.

The residents recognise the St Wendolins Welfare Committee as their official representatives and are united behind them. St Wendolins has been divided into 12 areas. Each area has two representatives who sit on an executive committee meeting weekly. This committee constitutes the Welfare Committee. Each area has a representative committee.

"Strong organisation at St Wendolins has drawn the people together and in unity they are determined to fight for their homes" commented a resident.

The land on which St Wendolins is situated was apparently "given" to the Marionhill Mission Institute by chiefs living in the area before the turn of the century. Some of the land was sold back to the people while other land was bought by the government. The Welfare Committee are demanding to know what the mission has done with the money obtained from selling the land.



Helen Joseph and Albertina Luthuli at Durban memorial service

## Crowd applauds Luthuli speech

AT A meeting held in his honour, Chief Albert Luthuli, former president general of the banned African National Congress and only South African winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, received a standing ovation from more than 1,000 people.

His voice boomed out in Durban's St Antony Church from a 1960 recording of his speech of acceptance of the Peace Prize.

The meeting was called to commemorate Luthuli's untimely death in a freak accident 15 years ago.

His presence remained as speaker after speaker paid tribute to him as the man who spearheaded the liberation struggle through the fifties and sixties.

Luthuli was elected president general of the ANC in 1952. During his presidency he was banned three times, tried for treason and finally banished to Groutville, Natal. Banning or no banning, the struggle goes on, he said.

Under Luthuli's leadership the Congress movement and the ANC grew phenomenally in the 1950's.

He encouraged the militant Youth League, was a key organiser of the 1952 Defiance Campaign, supported the idea of a Congress of the People and several mass actions, among them the anti-pass campaign, the campaigns against unjust laws and bus boycotts. He broke his third banning order and publicly burnt his pass.

The speaker said that this and his courage in the face of repression

served as a challenging example to all who knew him.

Nokukhanya, Luthuli's widow, was guest of honour at the service. Wearing a Congress badge and sitting before a massive banner of the Freedom Charter, she thanked the people for their tribute to her late husband.

Helen Joseph, formerly of the Federation of South African Women, recounted her experiences of the ANC leader, in her role as guest speaker. Details of Joseph's speech may not be reported as she is "listed" under the Internal Security Act.

Threats came from Inkatha that they would break up the meeting as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had not been invited, but there were no incidents.

## Another hike in people's daily bread

ANOTHER BREAD price increase has been introduced as from October 1. As usual, the hardest hit will be the poorest who depend on bread to survive.

The 5c increase of brown bread, from 29c to 35c a loaf and the 10c increase of white bread from 42c to 53c, is a far cry from the 9c paid for a loaf of bread ten years ago.

Since April last year, the price rise of brown bread has been 119 per cent and of white bread 104 per cent. This means the bread price has increased six times faster than the inflation rate.

Bread price rises are decided by the Wheat Board and the Minister of Agriculture. The Wheat Board says farmers, millers and bakers need to offset the production cost increases they have borne for some time, but the minister is not willing to increase the bread subsidy to help balance costs.

The R191 million set aside in the present budget for a bread subsidy is R76 million rand short, slashing the subsidy for white bread from 12 to 5 percent and for brown bread from 34 to 20 percent.

But it is not only the bread price that has increased dramatically in recent years. A family spends three times more to buy the same quantity of food it would have bought seven years ago.

The people hardest hit by food price rises are the poorest. According to figures released by the Department of Statistics, the lower income groups spend 36 percent of their income on food while the cent and the higher income groups 2 percent on food.

The increase means poor families will be forced to eat less. Doctors have expressed concern on the drastic effect the bread price increase

will have. At today's prices two babies die from malnutrition daily at King Edwards Hospital in Durban. The number must be far greater in rural areas.

The private sector is not altogether happy with the bread price increases. For example, Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay has launched an appeal to raise millions from other retailers in a bid to increase the bread subsidy. He has contributed R1 million to the fund and hopes that the government will match the amount raised by the private sector in an effort to curb rising prices. Checkers, however is unhappy about this scheme. They feel the money should be funded by the public and not the private sector.

Premier Milling on the other hand is not prepared to take part in the scheme.

These different responses from

the private sector indicate where each company makes its profits. Premier Milling owns 46 bakeries and together with Tiger Oats controls almost all the food factories in South Africa. For them, higher food prices mean increased profits. But Pick 'n Pay's profits depend on lower factory prices and on the consumers having more money to spare over and above their basic needs.

As it becomes harder for working people to make ends meet, some organisations have decided to campaign against high prices. The United Women's Organisation (UWO) in the Western Cape adopted "High Prices" as its uniting theme for the year.

In Durban Helen Joseph addressed a meeting at the University of Durban Westville to protest against the bread increases.

# Motor workers keep bosses on their toes

**Naawu general secretary Freddie Sauls speaks to *Saspu National* about the recent strike wave in the Eastern Cape: "Workers constantly retreat, reorganise and develop new strategies."**

**Q: Why did NAAWU decide to pull out of the Eastern Cape Motor Industrial Council?**

**A:** Well, the main reason why NAAWU withdrew from the council was because it became clear that when a deadlock was reached and the parties to the council went into dispute, the employers wanted to refer the dispute to arbitration.

This would have meant that the union as such and the employers would not have been involved in actual collective bargaining. A decision would have been taken by another person or persons and their decision would have been binding on the employees and employers.

In a collective bargaining structure and procedure, we could not accept that an outside party should take the decisions on behalf of our members. We believe that is the right of our members — they must take decisions.

They must eventually ratify or reject any agreement that comes out — this cannot be done by any other party.

So when it became clear that the employers wanted to push the matter to arbitration we felt that the only way to block that move was to resign from the council. We have effectively proved that our actions were correct.

**Q: So this is not an in-principle rejection of the Industrial Council system, but a rejection of specific developments on the East Cape Industrial Council for the motor manufacturing industry?**

**A:** Yes, our withdrawal isn't actually a question of principle. Our representation on the Council is not in any way related to questions of principle.

We see the Industrial Council actually just as a forum for collective bargaining. We withdrew from the Council to counter management strategies. We believe that the procedures in the Council should be that workers and their representatives should participate in a free democratic situation where collective bargaining takes place.

Like in our situation, we get our mandate from the workers. Their representatives get elected by the workers — they are accountable to the workers. So when we go to the Council there is a normal report back. We've got worker delegates on the Council. Every decision that we take, we are accountable to the workers for.

We do not take decisions unless the workers give us a mandate for that. We do not see our withdrawal from the Council as in any way involved with principle. It is a question of strategy.

**Q: NAAWU is now moving towards in-plant bargaining having pulled out of the Industrial Council. Do you see a new collective bargaining system taking place.**

**A:** We do not believe that in-plant bargaining is the solution to all the problems. We see in-plant bargaining at this point in time actually as a way out of the problem.

We believe in bargaining on a national basis but from an organisational basis of strength — in that

way we can achieve more for workers than bargaining with each company on an individual basis.

The present situation is that we are going for in-plant bargaining to overcome the present wage dispute. But we will again look at, and negotiate with the employer organisations, a procedure for collective bargaining in the future.

This has not been clearly spelled out yet. We have received guidelines from our national council. But we are not considering a new structure at this point in time.

In the long term we would look towards a regional or national bargaining position without foregoing in any way our right to negotiate in the plants.

We are negotiating on a number of issues already with individual companies. For instance at Volkswagen (VW), the shop steward in the plant has negotiated merit increases in the specific plant and retrenchment provisions, over and above the industrial agreement.

These are all matters that can be negotiated in-plant. So, we are looking at developing into a situation where we have regional or national bargaining in addition to in-plant bargaining.

But our base is in the factories. Whatever development comes from regional or national bargaining will depend on the base we have in the factories.

**Q: The dispute occurred during the start of a recessionary period. Was that the best time to have a pay dispute when there is the threat of lay-offs. Did it make the dispute more difficult than in the past?**

**A:** To us it did not make the dispute more difficult than before. A lot of people are claiming that we had chosen the wrong time to take the companies on. But, it must be accepted that our wage agreement ended on July 31.

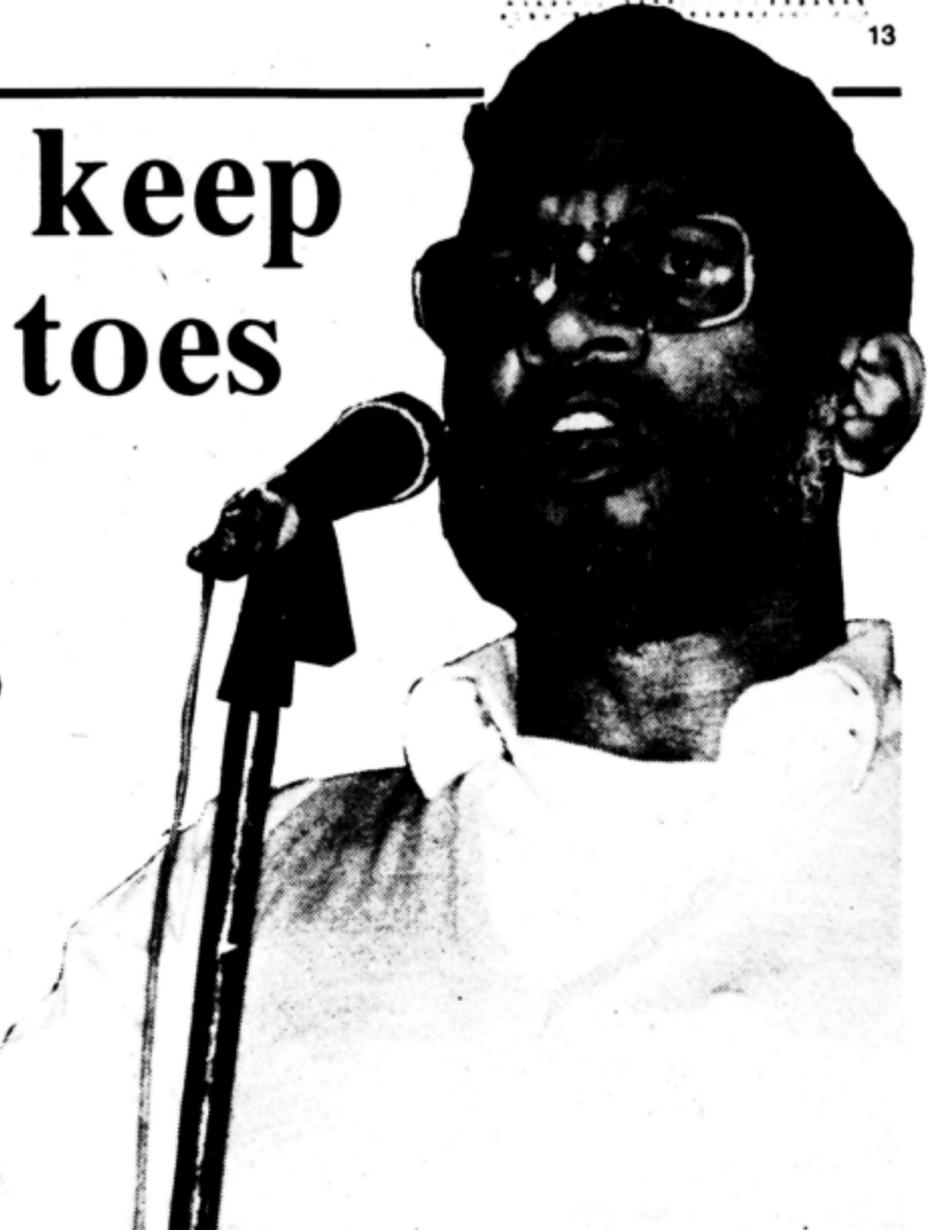
The only time when we could really go into dispute with the employers was at this point. But that did not in any way affect the organisational character or the power of the workers in the plant.

The problem that comes up is that it is stated that employers can easily retrench people. Whether we are in dispute with employers or not, they will still retrench people. To the workers in the plant, that was not really a serious issue.

You can see the happenings at VW in May (when 316 workers were retrenched). They retrenched people when we were not in dispute. We believe that the competitiveness of the cars — like for instance VW vehicles against Datsun — affects them more seriously in the present situation than in a situation when the economy is booming.

When the workers in the Eastern Cape actually cut back on the faster selling lines in the companies, it put them at a great disadvantage against the other companies in a recessionary period (when the market is shrinking). So the companies were losing a lot more than in a boom period.

**Q: So then at General Motors (GM), where they were due to launch the 'Ascona' there would in**



Naawu's Freddie Sauls address worker meeting

**fact be more pressure on GM to resolve the dispute rather than sit it out.**

**A:** This is exactly the situation. If the Ascona at GM is a fast-selling line — and in a recessionary period there is a problem to penetrate the market — and they get a strike, that hits the fast-selling line whether it is in a recessionary period or whether it's a boom period.

So a recession has not really got anything to do with the question of this strike. We don't really believe it. The only real thing is that in a recessionary period, the employer may have too many people employed under him and may take the opportunity to weed out so-called 'trouble makers' or 'instigators'.

But this is a risk the workers are prepared to take because they know that in any situation the employers would do that. But from an economic point of view we do not believe that if you are in a recessionary period it is a bad time. We believe that any time is the right time.

**Q: Ford has taken the toughest stand against the union compared to GM and VW. Why is this?**

**A:** I believe that Ford has taken the options that were open to them. They have not considered in any way whether to build on future relations.

They have decided that this is the best way to fight the union and they've taken that decision without considering the effects on the workers concerned — which we believe would be the normal reaction from any other company.

**Q: Don't you think Ford would want to try and force out either Naawu or Macwusa, so it only has to deal with one union?**

**A:** I don't believe any employer would just want one union. I believe they are happy when there are a number of unions. It is the easiest thing when you've got three or four unions.

They attempted to bring in Macwusa. We said we have no problem in negotiating together with Macwusa.

They tried to play off the white unions against us also. So management see it as beneficial to them to have a lot of different unions. But they will not say that publicly, because it would show that they are attempting to create divisions, to maintain control. And no employer

wants to discredit himself.

**Q: The dispute showed that workers adopted a sophisticated combination of tactics. Is this a new development for worker struggle in the Eastern Cape?**

**A:** Not just in the Eastern Cape but right across South Africa everyone will see that as the workers move on, step by step, that they retreat, reorganise, and develop new strategies.

I see it as an ongoing process. Not just in the automobile industry but in all organised factories right across South Africa. I think the co-ordination between the different factories around the Eastern Cape was highly successful.

And this again was just brought about by the relationship that has been built up through our local councils in Fosatu — through the area committees, through the close contact between workers on a day to day basis relating to the industry down here.

At a certain point in time, workers would decide what would be the best situation. And, all the actions that were adopted — the go-slows, the stoppages in different departments — came from the workers. And they felt 'look it's the best time to go in and do this. Give management a time to talk.'

The workers at VW are meeting again right now and I sitting here don't know what strategies they are going to develop today.

They will develop what they believe is best. And they will relate the strategies to the other workers and the other workers will consider again how to improve their strategies. This is how it is going on.

The only strategy that the guys have not accepted yet is to just sit in the plant and take the plant over till they've resolved the dispute.

This strategy was developed by the GM workers in the United States in 1936 but it hasn't come to South Africa yet.

**Q: How did it take place at VW? Did workers in each department decide on what strategy they would adopt or the general membership at the plant?**

**A:** No it was the general membership. It was taken at meetings of workers. They felt that instead of going out, they should rather just stop production in the plant. But there must be a lot of discussion taking place during break

periods among workers and their representatives. Decisions like the go-slow decision were actually taken at the general meetings outside the factories.

**Q: Was this effective?**

**A:** It proved what could be achieved by our organisational strength.

I think workers are growing more mature by the day in how to counter management attitudes.

The argument that came forward was also along the lines: 'Look let's go in and put psychological pressure on the companies. When we are outside in the townships management doesn't feel the pressure because they just lock the factory gates.'

So the best way is to be inside the factories where management is paying you, you pressurise them.

**Q: We believe a lot of faulty cars were coming off the production lines during the dispute.**

**A:** It is quite clear that a serious problem existed during that time. In our opinion it is a risk that was taken by the company to produce cars during a time when you have a dispute.

You must accept that if most of the inspectors are out of the production area, then the union members who have developed the expertise over a number of years cannot be held responsible for the faulty cars that come out of plants.

**Q: Volkswagen has said that it has shelved plans to expand in the Eastern Cape. There have also been various threats by employers to pull out of this area. How do you view these threats.**

**A:** We view this with complete disgust. The struggle between the workers and the employers was a clean and open struggle between organised labour and organised capital.

But when management go as far as using what we would term "underhand tactics", then we must completely condemn it. And we have condemned it.

But when people like the Mayor of Port Elizabeth and business editors jump on the bandwagon without knowing the facts, and blame the organised workers struggling for an improvement in their conditions, then that is completely detestable.

We knew by July 28 in a statement

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# Turning the lights on Soweto Council

THE ELECTRIFICATION of Soweto and the upgrading of its standard of living is not running smoothly.

The state's showpiece project is currently running at R3 million a month. Some cables have had to be dug up and relaid.

To cap this, few precautions have been taken to fence the trenches that have been dug, resulting in a large number of accidents. So far five people have died from injuries sustained from falling into the trenches.

For the people who have had their electricity switched on, the current has often been low, there have been power cuts and many complaints about electricity bills.

This, it seems, is how the state plans to win the support of the Soweto community. The electrification project is only part of an upgrading strategy by the state and big business which includes new housing schemes, Urban Foundation projects, and the 99 years leasehold scheme. Often the community councils are given some role in the implementation of these schemes in an attempt to enhance their political credibility.

Yet these efforts to win the support of the Soweto residents can not succeed as long as the services remain inadequate. And contrary to popular belief, it has been the people of the township who have paid for electrification and for other aspects of upgrading.

The cost of electricity in Soweto has increased 700% in the last two years. The original budget for the electrification project was R204 million. This has been increased by R8 million in recent months which has meant a further R1.60 per month for residents.

The director of WRAB, John Knoetze estimated that an average resident should pay about R35 per

month for electricity. Some people have received bills of hundreds of rand and they often have to pay for increases they can't account for. One woman had her monthly bill increased from R57.87 to R63.63 despite the fact that she had used the same number of units in each month.

Some companies provide housing for their employees who occupy either managerial or other higher paid positions. Company housing can weaken the bargaining position of workers because in a dispute they stand to lose their housing and their jobs.

The electrification of the townships benefits business in other ways as well. It provides them with an opportunity to expand their markets as the sale of household appliances increases. The electrification of Soweto has increased the profits of Television and Electrical Holdings by 28%.

"The government introduced electricity to pacify the people after 1976", commented a spokesperson for the Soweto Civic Association.

"It is a propaganda exercise to impress some people inside and outside the country. However most residents can't afford electricity because of low wages.

"People wonder whether the money from high electricity rates and high rents is also used to pay the Community Councillors."

Nevertheless, the community council takes credit for providing services such as electricity in an attempt to gain legitimacy and popularity.

While the electrification project is an attempt (as yet unsuccessfully carried out) by the state and big business to improve living standards and perhaps co-opt some urban dwellers, the community councils represent an attempt to satisfy the political aspirations of township

dwellers.

Community councils came into existence after 1977 and today there are over 200 community councils in South Africa.

They are established by the Minister of Co-operation and Development who decides who can vote in elections and what power the community council will have. He has the authority to withdraw powers from councils and even dissolve a council if he so desires.

The community councils have been told to take over some of the functions previously carried out by the Administration Boards. These boards do not receive large sums of money from the government and their financial situation is tight.

They could only have been pleased to hand over to the community councils the responsibility of fund-raising. As John Knoetze of WRAB said, "Now it's up to the Soweto Council to find ways of getting money... either from the residents or from employers, but definitely not from us as our resources are now dry."

The community councils have also been given the responsibility for collecting rents, raising rents and evicting tenants who are unable to pay. Township anger is now channelled against them instead of to the administration boards or the central government.

Yet the community councils do not wield the real power. There have been instances where community councillors have opposed rent increases that have been recommended to them by the Administration Boards. But, in Tlasegeng near Potchefstroom, a councillor who opposed an increase was simply expelled from the council.

Community Councils have been rejected in most townships in South Africa. When elections are held, election polls are rarely higher than



Soweto's trenches still lie open — they have claimed 5 lives

10%.

"The community council has no credibility", said the spokesperson from the Soweto Civic Association. "No wonder elections for community councils are being postponed for another year."

Elections for community councils around the country were to be held towards the end of this year. However the government announced that they would be postponed until next November. In the interim they plan to introduce the new Black Labour Authorities Bill which will slightly extend the powers of the existing local authorities.

The bill aims to create town and village councils in black urban areas which will essentially have municipal powers. Yet the Department of Co-operation and Development and the Minister in particular still has complete control over the councils and can disband them at any time.

Ultimately there is not much difference between community councils or town and village councils. They are unlikely to satisfy the majority of the people who have repeatedly said: "We don't want to be in charge of roads and rubbish. We want real and meaningful power to our lives, outside the system of apartheid."

# Sauls speaks on Naawu strategy

Continued from page 14

from the chairman of VW that the company was going to shelve the investment project due to the recession in the economy.

So we weren't actually surprised when the company came out and made this statement. We expected that they would use every dirty tactic they could lay their hands on to try and bash the union.

**Q:** And the media? What did you think of the coverage of the dispute?

**A:** There was a clear attempt by the companies to manipulate the press to attack and discredit the union.

In general, the first couple of days after the workers went on strike it seemed as if there were bombs landing on the workers, with attacks to completely discredit their demands.

The press went to town on the (initial) R3.50 an hour demand. But when workers modified their demands to R2.50 an hour, the press reports still came out discrediting the R3.50 demand.

It was clear there was a deliberate attempt to misinform the community and the public over the wage dispute.

Whether this was done by the companies concerned — giving the wrong information — or whether it

was deliberately done by business editors, I'm not sure.

But then afterwards, by the union keeping onto the press regarding this misinformation, it started to change and the daily reports were more factual.

On issues like the VW cutbacks, when reports were written by business editors, there was a clear management interest and they smashed into the union.

It was a complete waste of time because people working in other factories are not interested in that business reporting. They look at the practical day to day things.

The people that were really confused were the management people, because they were fed wrong information. And we knew we had the last laugh because we had had discussions with VW who gave us information long before the press came out with all those wrong statements.

**Q:** What about the long term effect of the dispute on the organisational strength of the union? Has the union come out stronger?

**A:** At this point it is still too early for us to determine what the results of the whole dispute are going to be. We would need about two or three months to analyse the effects.

But to date, it is quite clear that



Ford workers meet during the recent motor strikes

for the Ford guys, for example — out of a period of 25 working days they haven't worked for 22 days, from July 15 to August 20. When they went back, there was no financial assistance for the workers, to see how the people were going to react to this.

And on top of that you found that people from the so-called coloured Labour Party, Hendrickse and them, attacked the union.

We expected some more negative reaction from certain members in the plant because we accept that we are dealing with human beings.

But the attitude of the workers was completely amazing.

In the plants we have a committee structure of "contract activists" below the shop stewards. The shop stewards are recognised in the plants, but below them we've got workers that are not recognised (by

formation contacts.

Now Ford has completely wiped those guys out (during the recent retrenchments). But within a week, guys came forward and volunteered to take over their place and we've reorganised.

So the reorganisation at Ford is moving forward again. The people have got a clear working class consciousness now. To such an extent that during the past two months they have removed a Labour Party official saying he was not relating to the workers.

That sort of consciousness is developing. It would not have happened unless the dispute took place.

The workers have also removed from one of our branches, an official

of the Labour Party. Now this clearly shows that the workers in the plant are looking at their interests and the organisations, and are becoming more aware of what organisation means.

But I'm still worried about the situation if we are to go on a prolonged strike. We cannot expect people to live on water and fresh air alone.

The biggest drawback the union has now, is that we do not have a strike fund.

I believe strongly that if we did have a strike fund we would have won this battle in a shorter period. The companies know we haven't got one.

But the workers have come through much stronger and they are busy now reorganising inside the factories at all three plants. ●

SIX OUT of thirteen statements by ten accused in the marathon Mphetha treason trial in Cape Town have been ruled inadmissible as evidence.

In his judgement of the trial within a trial, Justice Williamson said after assessing the evidence of the ten accused he rejected all the claims of assault but found that in some cases other forms of pressure had been present.

The trial within a trial began in December last year following a claim by the defence council that statements made by the accused to Captain L. Knipe of the murder and squad had not been made voluntarily.

Most of the accused claimed they had been forced to make the statements after being assaulted by policemen. Others claimed additions had been made to their statements without their consent.

## Statements made under pressure rejected in ongoing Mphetha trial

In his ruling of the inadmissibility of the six statements, Justice Williamson said in most cases he found the pressures had been caused by the men's youth, their fear of detention and solitary confinement, the implication made by the police that they would be released if they made statements and in one case an "unfortunate remark" which might have been made by Captain Knipe.

The trial of veteran trade unionist and community leader Oscar Mphetha and 18 others facing charges of murder and terrorism has now been running for 18 months. The men have been in jail for two years.

Oscar Mphetha was detained in August 1980 following an incident during a bus boycott in Crossroads when an angry crowd stoned cars on the Klipfontein Road. Two motorists died.

The other accused were detained in late August and September, but it was only during December 1980 that full charges were given to the lawyers.

Mphetha, who turned 73 in detention on August 5, has spent several months of his detention in hospital. He has diabetes and has also undergone an operation to remove a prostrate gland.

Requests from the defence lawyers for Mphetha to be given bail have repeatedly been turned down by the Attorney General.

At the close of the state's case on September 3, Ian Farlam, SC, argued for the discharge of Mphetha. He said Mphetha should not have to undergo the state's "futile attempts" to convict him when there was not enough evidence to do so.

Earlier in the trial, on August 7, Defence counsel for 12 of the accused had argued for the discharge of Lawrence Lerotholi, Vuyisile Mzaza, Makawa Jabuva and two youths on the grounds that there

was not enough evidence to convict them.

J. Slabbert for the state did not oppose the application for Lerotholi and he was discharged.

Slabbert replied to the applications for the other four on September 9. He said the case on Mphetha was strong on both the terrorism and murder charges. He opposed the applications for the other four on the grounds that there was evidence they had been at the scene of the crime.

On September 17, Justice Williamson refused all the applications. He said he did not agree that there was insufficient evidence for a possible conviction of Mphetha.

There was also the possibility, judging by certain of the accused's statements, that Mphetha might be accused of implicating them.

## Exiled First hit by letter bomb in Moçambique

AN INTERNATIONAL outcry met news of Ruth First's death by a letter bomb in August.

At the time of her death, First was research director of the Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. She had lived in Mozambique since 1978, and focussed her work at the Centre not on academics for academics sake, but rather on creating a centre of research helping transform a society in the throes of change.

Ruth First was born in Johannesburg in 1925, into a left-wing family. Both her parents were socialists and supporters of the International Socialist League.

It was at Wits university that Ruth herself became politically involved for the first time. While studying for a BA (Soc Sci) she helped form the Federation of Progressive Students in 1942.

After leaving university, she worked for a short time with the Social Welfare Department of the Johannesburg Municipality, and then joined the staff of the newspaper, *The Guardian*. Six months earlier, she had followed her parents in joining the South African Communist Party.

Journalism in one form or another became a driving passion for the rest of her life: Whether it be working for a progressive newspaper or doing research for her books, the drive to write remained.

Her own journalism was described in her newspaper years as well-documented, carefully checked and vivid. Her topics were exposes — of farm labour, the horrors of compound life, and labour control.

When *The Guardian* was banned, she worked on *New Age*, *Advance*

and eventually *Spark*, all of which were eventually banned in the late 50's and early 60's.

Some see her greatest achievement of those times as her editorship of *Fighting Talk*, a journal which she pushed from unpromising beginnings to what was one of the most stimulating literary and political journals in South Africa. By the time it too was gagged in 1963, it had gained wide respect.

Her direct political involvement developed parallel to her journalistic career. She joined the Communist Party in the early 40's, and after her direct involvement in the massive mine strike of 1946, she became a member of the SACP's District Committee. She retained this post until the party was dissolved before being illegal under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950.

First was a founder-member of the Congress of Democrats, an organisation of white democrats which was part of the Congress Alliance. She was part of the massive process of drawing up the Freedom Charter in 1952. She worked extensively, sending out questionnaires and gathering the responses.

Like most people involved in resistance, she was subject to state action. Listed as a communist after the party was dissolved, she was one of the first to be banned from gatherings. She was also ordered to resign from various organisations, among them the Congress of Democrats.

In 1956, along with her husband, advocate Joe Slovo, she was arrested for high treason, and stood trial with 157 others in the now infamous treason trial. Charges against her were dropped two years later.



Ruth First during the famous treason trial

In 1962, both she and Joe Slovo were banned and restricted to Johannesburg for five years. The orders contained the now familiar stipulations: That she could not attend social or political gatherings or communicate with banned or listed people.

But she remained active in journalism, until in 1963, a decree issued under the Sabotage Act by then Minister of Justice John Vorster, banned her from journalism entirely.

First had gained special rights to study librarianship, but was detained while working in the Wits University library in 1963.

It was out of this detention that her famous account of detention, "117 Days" came. Like all her other work, it is banned in South Africa. It was her second book: Her first, on Namibia, is still seen by academics today as pivotal in any study of the territory.

Ruth First eventually left South Africa in 1964 on an exit permit to Kenya. There she began a book on Oginga Odinga. Again she was the victim of state action — and was deported from the country in 1964.

From Kenya she returned to London, and was reunited with

Slovo. He had fled from South Africa to Botswana just before First left. She took up a professorship at Durham University, where her writing continued. Her next work was "Through the Barrel of a Gun" which is a study of military rule in Africa.

She has written a few other books covering a wide variety of topics. She was joint author of a unique biography of Olive Schreiner, one of the first South African women novelists.

She also helped found the Review of African Political Economy (RAPE). She saw it as a forum for the forging of new ideas geared towards the process of change.

In Mozambique among her work was research on Mozambicans who work as migrants on South African mines. Its purpose was as a study for the Mozambique government to assess the country's reliance on South Africa.

In the last two years of her life, First worked tirelessly for the consolidation of Sadec (Southern African Development Coordination Conference) particularly in the sphere of social analysis that would lay the ground for greater unity in the region.

## Sactu links questioned in Fine trial

THE TRIAL of Alan Fine has been postponed until November 8 when judgement will be passed. Fine is facing charges under the Terrorism Act and an alternative charge under the Internal Security Act for his activities as an alleged member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

The state alleges that he conspired with members of SACTU to further its aims and those of the African National Congress (ANC). Alternatively, he is charged with participating in ANC activities.

Major Craig Williamson, the security policeman who infiltrated the ANC, was presented as the state's expert witness on the ANC. He said he was not an expert on SACTU. According to Williamson, SACTU, although it has its own identity, has allied itself with the revolutionary aims of the ANC and is part of the national liberation movement.

Fine testified that he would not have worked for SACTU if he had thought it was involved in revolutionary activities. He agreed to work for SACTU in 1978 because, he said, "as a trade union federation it would bring about change in South Africa. Due to the pressure of the growing trade union movement over the last ten years, the government has introduced changes which only a short time ago it regarded as unthinkable."

He admitted to having sent out numerous reports over the past 3 to 4 years to Jeanette Schoon in Botswana which she said would be referred to SACTU officials. The reports were sent through various dead-letter-boxes and later were glued between pages of *Farmer's Weekly* magazines.

Wits lecturer, Eddie Webster was presented as the defence's expert on labour matters. He countered the State's allegations that strikes, boycotts and organising trade unions were aimed to cripple South African industry and that the manipulation of trade unions and workers paved the way for the violent overthrow of the government.

He said changes in labour relations were occurring as an "evolutionary process" and that this had come about because of pressure by workers and trade unions.

SACTU is not a banned organisation. The State is attempting to convict Fine on the basis that both SACTU and the ANC aim to overthrow the government and that his activities furthered this aim. His defence lies in the fact that although there may be a conspiracy between SACTU and the ANC, this does not prove a conspiracy between Fine and the ANC.

## Chanting crowd teargassed in Pmb court

THE FIVE-WEEK long Pietermaritzburg treason trial came to a dramatic end in mid-September when police sprayed teargas into the courtroom to disperse the crowd.

Seconds after Justice van Heerden had sentenced Patrick Maqubela, Mboniswa Maqhutyana and Seth Gaba to 20 years, the crowd of spectators began to sing freedom songs and joined the three prisoners in chanting "Long live the ANC" and other slogans.

Their chants were silenced when police sprayed teargas into the courtroom, and spectators and lawyers emerged from the court with

streaming eyes, many coughing and sneezing uncontrollably.

Maqubela, Maqhutyana and Gaba were convicted for participating in eight Durban bomb blasts during 1980. These included a Field Street post box, the Cenotaph explosion, the bombing of two motorcar showrooms, an SADF recruiting centre and a railway line between Durban and Umlazi.

Earlier in the day, two prominent churchmen were called to give evidence in mitigation. President of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Hurley, and President of the

Methodist Conference, Dr Simon Gqubute asked the judge not to impose the death sentence and both said they would like to see it abolished.

The judge could have sentenced the three to be hanged as high treason is a capital offence and there was noticeable tension in the court until he announced that he would not impose the death penalty.

In the first week of the trial a series of witnesses refused to testify and were jailed for between 3 and 5 years. Judge van Heerden issued a stern warning at that stage that the was not prepared to let the trial

become a farce.

The following week one of the accused, Seth Gaba alleged he had been tortured and assaulted in detention and that he had been forced to make an incriminating statement.

The magistrate who had taken the statement said Gaba had made the confession while handcuffed to a chair.

The judge ruled that the statement had been made voluntarily and was admissible as evidence.

Defence for the three men has given notice that they want to appeal against both the sentence and the conviction.

# I spy with my little eye something beginning with CIA

**Allegations of CIA links have cast suspicion over the motives of a recent visit by an American labour grouping to South Africa.**



Brown — identified CIA agent



The AALC team in South Africa, Fred O'Donnell, Irving Brown and "Chick" Chaikin — dubious intentions?

THE AMERICAN Central Intelligence Agency is trying to gain influence in the South African trade union movement.

A high powered American labour delegation recently visited South Africa to discuss "assistance" programmes for the black trade union movement.

The programmes will be controlled by the African American Labour Centre (AALC), the giant American trade union body and the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO).

It will include the secondment of AALC staff to act as lecturers and trainers in South Africa and cash grants to black unionists, with a total budget of millions of dollars.

The delegation which was on a 10-day fact-finding mission, was made up of senior officials of the AFL-CIO. The delegation leader "Chick" Chaikin, vice-president of the AFL-CIO said, on his arrival, that the delegation would "meet unions across the spectrum, including Tucsas, the all-white Confederation of Labour and most emerging union groups". They would also meet employers and Government representatives.

The plans of the AALC have caused disquiet amongst trade unionists. They are concerned at long standing allegations that the AALC is linked to the CIA and that such a programme could serve to promote American investment interests rather than serve the South African labour movement.

The charges of AALC involvement with the CIA come from a number of researchers, trade unionists, journalists and former CIA operatives abroad, although the delegation denies the claims.

Critics allege that the CIA is involved in the union aid movement in order to co-opt unions and promote pliant black governments mindful of United States interests.

Jonathan Bloch, a British-based specialist on US and CIA involvement in Latin America and Africa, said: "The United States Government is worried by what it sees as radical influences in the trade union movement. The AALC would try to undercut that in South Africa and build up moderate forces. This is the role played by the AFL-CIO's aid affiliates in Asia, as well as in the rest of Africa."

The approach is quite sophisticated, but the ultimate object is to ensure American interests are not harmed. Whether or not they coincide with South Africa's interests are immaterial.

The delegation consists of Irving Brown, director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs department, Patrick O'Farrell, executive director of the AALC, Chick Chaikin, executive member of the AFL-CIO, and Frederick O'Neal, executive member of the AFL-CIO.

Brown has been identified as a CIA agent involved in splitting and manipulating foreign trade unions since the late forties in France, Portugal, Italy and African countries such as Zimbabwe.

He was identified as a CIA operative in 1967 by the former head of the CIA's international organisations division, Thomas Braden, in a Saturday Evening Post article entitled "Why I am glad the CIA is immoral".

It was admitted that the CIA channelled funds to Brown to split the French unions and to pay strong-arm squads drawn from the Corsican Mafia for his union-breaking programme.

His involvement in the CIA has since been charted by the Washington Post, former CIA agent Philip Agee and the London *Sunday Times*.

The *Times* exposed Brown's attempts to develop anti-left unions in Portugal, following the fall of the Caetano dictatorship, as well as attempts to split the Italian trade union movement.

Brown has admitted funding Zimbabwean trade unionist Reuben Jamela and told a Sunday paper that

he also provided funds for Joshua Nkomo, but would give no details.

Brown refused to deny the allegations of links with the CIA and in an interview repeated his standard answer: "If I were a CIA agent, I wouldn't tell you".

O'Farrell has been a career officer in AALC since his posting in 1967 to "restore democracy" to the Ghanaian labour movement after the right wing coup that overthrew Nkrumah.

Although Chaikin and O'Neal, the black member of the delegation, have never been publicly linked to the CIA, the director of the AALC's proposed South African programme, Nana Mahomo, who was an executive member of the banned Pan African Congress has been linked to the CIA since the early sixties.

He was expelled from the PAC for being a CIA spy and for embezzlement of PAC funds. He has also been named by self-proclaimed BOSS spy Gordon Winter as a CIA agent.

O'Farrell said Mahomo had been made director of any South African programme that may be implemented, following their visit, "because one can at least be confident that he knows this country."

"One of the most important things in the development of an activist programme by the AFL-CIO is conveying the necessity and gist of the programme to the workers."

"To achieve that readily one needs to have someone who has lived in this country. The story comes across with much more conviction from someone who has lived here."

The delegation met the Minister of Manpower, Fanie Botha, during their visit to discuss the possible implementation of an AALC programme.

Government sources believe that

in spite of the strident tone of AALC propaganda (the South African Government is referred to as the apartheid regime) and concern at the AALC's CIA links, for the moment the needs of both governments coincide and the AALC will be allowed some access, albeit closely monitored.

AFL-CIO interest in South African black unions began after the Durban strikes in 1973.

Brown, promised at the Tucsas annual congress that year, that "large funds" would be forthcoming if properly organised black trade unions were allowed.

In 1978, Brown was responsible for several Tucsas unionists attending the AFL-CIO's conference, where they opposed disinvestment and the recognition of the exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

In the same year, the AALC invited conservative black South African trade unionists to a Botswana conference. The meeting resulted in a big split in the Pan-African trade union movement, because of the AALC's resistance to any recognition of SACTU.

The AALC have focussed their attention in the past on whom they regard as the more responsible black trade unions, Tucsas and Cusa. They have organised a series of three month courses at Cornell University, America, which were attended by about twenty South African black trade unionists. Only four were from unions other than Cusa and Tucsas.

In 1981 the AFL-CIO announced a proposed aid programme for black unions in South Africa, including funding, training, providing information and "co-ordinating the US public response" to labour developments here.

Plans to open a South African office were hastily scrapped after newspaper reports here linked the AALC and AFL-CIO to the CIA's union manipulation programme in other African countries, Latin America and Asia.

The delegation is careful to stress that the present visit is only "fact finding" and that a full programme will only be introduced if unions and the South African government want it.

"We hope that black unions will see the advantages of associating with us," said Chaikin. The delegation indicated that a visit from the South African Embassy labour attaché in Washington had given them a clear idea "that the South African government is not too opposed to the idea."

In spite of persistent questioning at a Johannesburg press conference, the delegation couldn't or wouldn't disclose who had invited them.

"We are responding to a general invitation," said Chaikin. From whom?

"I don't know," confessed Chaikin. Then O'Farrell came to the rescue: "It was not a specific invitation made at any specific time. It was a general invitation made over many years by many people."

The delegation was also cagey about how much money their programme would spend in South Africa, but it is known that the AALC budget has shot up from just over three million dollars in 1979 to 8.5 million in 1981. Ninety percent of the budget comes from the American government.

The AFL-CIO has also appealed to unionists in America to donate to the South African programme.

"We would prefer to have nothing to do with them," said Gawu. "We see their role as complementary to

the dirty tricks that the United States has played as an imperialist power. The United States has become an enemy of the workers the world over."

Saawu and Macwusa were also not prepared to meet with the AFL-CIO delegation. Macwusa accused the AFL-CIO of supporting the Reagan administration's 'constructive engagement' policy towards South Africa.

An American-trained labour expert attached to a South African company, who did not want to be named, said: "When one looks at the record of the AFL-CIO in Africa, it becomes clear that they take an interest in African countries in a time of transition to African rule."

"The notion is to immunise the working class movement against more radical influences and to steer it in directions considered desirable by the American government."

"I think there is also an important role for the AALC in the post-independence phase and that is, essentially acting as a tool of American foreign policy. In the economic field one obviously wants a working class that will not create a climate that is inhospitable to American business and in the political field one has a tool of action which can be used against governments, as is witnessed by the intervention of American-trained trade unionists in the Brazilian coup of 1964 and the Chilean coup of 1973."

The AFL-CIO's Latin American equivalent of AALC is the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD). Latin American trade unionists trained by the AIFLD were in the forefront of the coups which overthrew the democratically-elected government of Allende in Chile and the civilian government of Brazil.

There is also documentation proving that the AIFLD in El Salvador routinely provides the CIA with its dossiers on trade unionists with whom it is working.

The AALC operates in some forty African countries, including Botswana where it operates the Botswana Trade Union Centre.

Solomon Mfima, leader of the Namibia Trade Union Council, was trained at the Gaborone centre. His union received large sums from the AALC, although Mfima has refused to comment on this.

Mfima formed the NTUC within months of returning from his Gaborone training course. At the same time he threatened a general mobilisation of the Namibian workers unless a national minimum wage was instituted by the authorities without delay.

The AALC's director, Mike Lescault, who accompanied the delegation in South Africa, immediately tried to dissociate the AALC: "I think the call was a bit premature, since they had only just completed the course with us."

In Nigeria a government investigation in 1977 found that AALC funding of the United Labour Congress in that country had been so great that most affiliated unions had not even bothered to pay their dues.

Joan Bruck, former head of the Christian World Federation of Labour commented, "The AFL-CIO has tried to buy trade union leaders who were generally poor and had no financial resources."

Observers also believe that AALC is keen to fasten on Inkatha as a political instrument. At a recent ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) meeting, Brown urged that the ICFTU recognise Chief Buthelezi as a "potentially decisive" force in South African politics, adding that he had often championed Chief Buthelezi's cause.

The AFL-CIO has just awarded its George Meany Human Rights Award to Neil Aggett (posthumously) and to Chief Buthelezi, who it describes as "head of the largest black liberation movement in South Africa."