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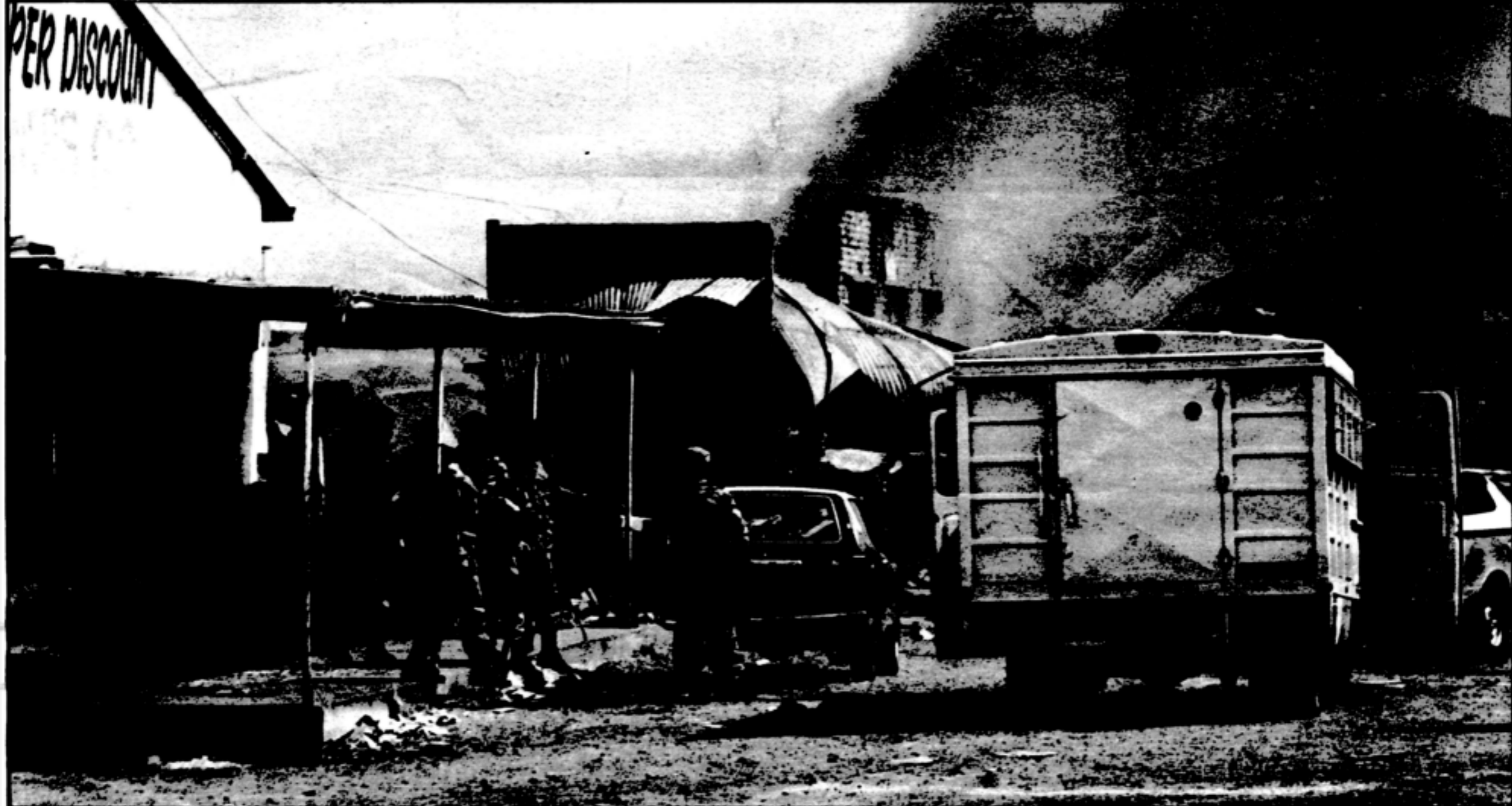
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SASPU NATIONAL

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Armed police arrive too late to save a Vaal councillor's shop from destruction. 31 people have died in recent clashes in the area

Death toll rising as apartheid lashes out

NATIONAL reports on a country in flames

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THE DEATH toll from clashes between police and anti-government protesters has risen to nearly forty in two weeks.

Most recently, the Congress of South African Students' Soweto branch secretary died after being shot by police.

In townships in the Vaal, the death toll has reached at least 31 after violent clashes between police and residents in Sharpville, Evaton and Sebokeng.

The death follows some of the most severe challenges to the government in recent years.

Nationwide, the United Democratic Front (UDF), organised an intensive attack on the coloured and the Indian elections held under the new constitution.

In many areas of the Transvaal, residents in African townships reacted angrily when rents were increased despite warnings that people could not afford them.

Hundreds of thousands of students boycotted classes in protest against the lack of Students Representative Councils in schools, inadequate and undemocratic education, and the implementation of the new constitution.

In every case the government's response has been to call in the

police.

To block the well-organised boycott campaign against the elections, police mounted a heavy presence around polling stations, arresting at least two hundred UDF supporters.

And a number of prominent leaders of the UDF and affiliated organisations were detained. Most are in 'preventive' detention.

Despite the clampdown, the anti-constitution campaign convinced 82 percent of coloureds and 85 percent of Indians to stay away from the polls, seriously denting Prime Minister P.W. Botha's reform plans.

When residents in the Transvaal township of Evaton, Sharpville and Sebokeng staged a massive stay-at-home and held huge demonstrations to protest rent increases, police were called in.

In the ensuing clashes, at least 31 people were killed, including four community councillors who were reported to have opened fire on the crowd. Police were forced to bring in armoured personnel carriers.

The clashes came to a temporary halt when a 4 000-strong crowd marched on the Lekoa Administration Board offices bearing a white flag. Leaders met with Board officials

demanding a drop in rents, the release of all those detained, and no interference from police in funerals to bury the victims of police bullets.

Government reaction to students protests has been equally harsh. Only last week police shot Soweto Cosas branch secretary, Bongani Khumalo as he was leaving the home of a friend.

Police alleged Khumalo had been shot at after throwing a petrol bomb at a police bus. He died on the way to hospital.

But eye witnesses said he was shot as he was leaving the yard of a friend's home.

Thousands have attended funerals in Daveyton, Wattville and Imbali to bury students killed during clashes with police.

During the run-up to the August elections all Indian pupils boycotting schools to protest the elections, were suspended.

Scores of schools have been closed by the Department of Education and Training to force students to drop boycotts. Schools are closed in Pretoria's African townships, in Cradock, Imbali, Welkom and most of the East Rand.

Township anger also boiled over in Imbali, when the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof visited the township. Residents marched on the hall in which Koornhof was due to speak. They were driven away with teargas and sjamboks.

The government has placed a ban on indoor political meetings until the end of the month.

The ban affects 21 magisterial districts, including many 'trouble spots'. 15 areas in the Transvaal, including the Vaal townships, Pretoria, the East Rand, Krugersdorp and Pietersburg; two in Natal, two in the Eastern Cape and two in the Orange Free State, are affected.

THE VAAL



Fierce measures to stop protest but anger at new deal runs deep

From page 1

A ban on all outdoor political gatherings has been in force for years. In reaction to the recent protest and anti-constitution victory, Minister of Law and Order Louis Le Grange imposed the ban 'in the interest of maintaining public peace'.

Earlier he reimposed detention orders on seven Natal leaders detained during the clampdown on the UDF. A successful application to the Supreme Court previously had

released them from section 28 detention.

In anticipation of further detention orders the men went into hiding, later entering the British embassy in Durban applying for political asylum.

The conflicts seem set to continue. The government has consistently said the unrest is simply caused by 'agitators'.

And the economic conditions show further signs of worsening. Severe cuts in government spending have

led thousands of workers in the construction and other industries to be laid off.

The government recently announced a 12.5 per cent increase in the sugar price. The price of bread is expected to go up in October.

A record number of strikes have taken place this year. And up to 90000 mine workers are poised to go on a legal strike unless the Chamber of Mines comes up with an acceptable wage offer.



Evaton residents flee police teargas

IN FLAMES



VAAL RESIDENTS have paid a heavy price for their opposition to rents they cannot afford and a town council they never voted for.

On the last weekend in August more than 2 000 Vaal residents gathered to protest against rent increases. As at previous meetings they demanded the resignation of community councillors. They also resolved not to pay September rents until the increases were dropped.

Since the time increases were announced, the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) and other organisations had warned that people could not pay the rents.

These warnings were not heeded. As the weekend of September 1 approached, councillors in Bophelong were forced to get police protection from angry residents at a rent

Simmering anger erupts at rent hikes

meeting and administration board vehicles and buses were stoned.

On Sunday September 2, three mass meetings were held in the Vaal area. Residents resolved to stay away from work and school and to march on administration board offices. Businesses were asked to close for the day.

On Monday morning residents

gathered and marched to the offices. One the way they passed the house of Evaton councillor Leburu Diphoko.

They asked him to accompany them. Instead he pulled a gun and fired at the crowd, killing two people. The crowd turned on him and killed him.

This man, who feared the community he was supposed to represent, set in motion a week of violence

which left many dead and hundreds injured.

The first day was a series of running battles between police and protesters. Police at first used rubber bullets and teargas, but then turned to live ammunition.

The next day official figures listed 26 dead and 48 injured, but residents' estimates were much higher. It was reported that Sebokeng hospital was

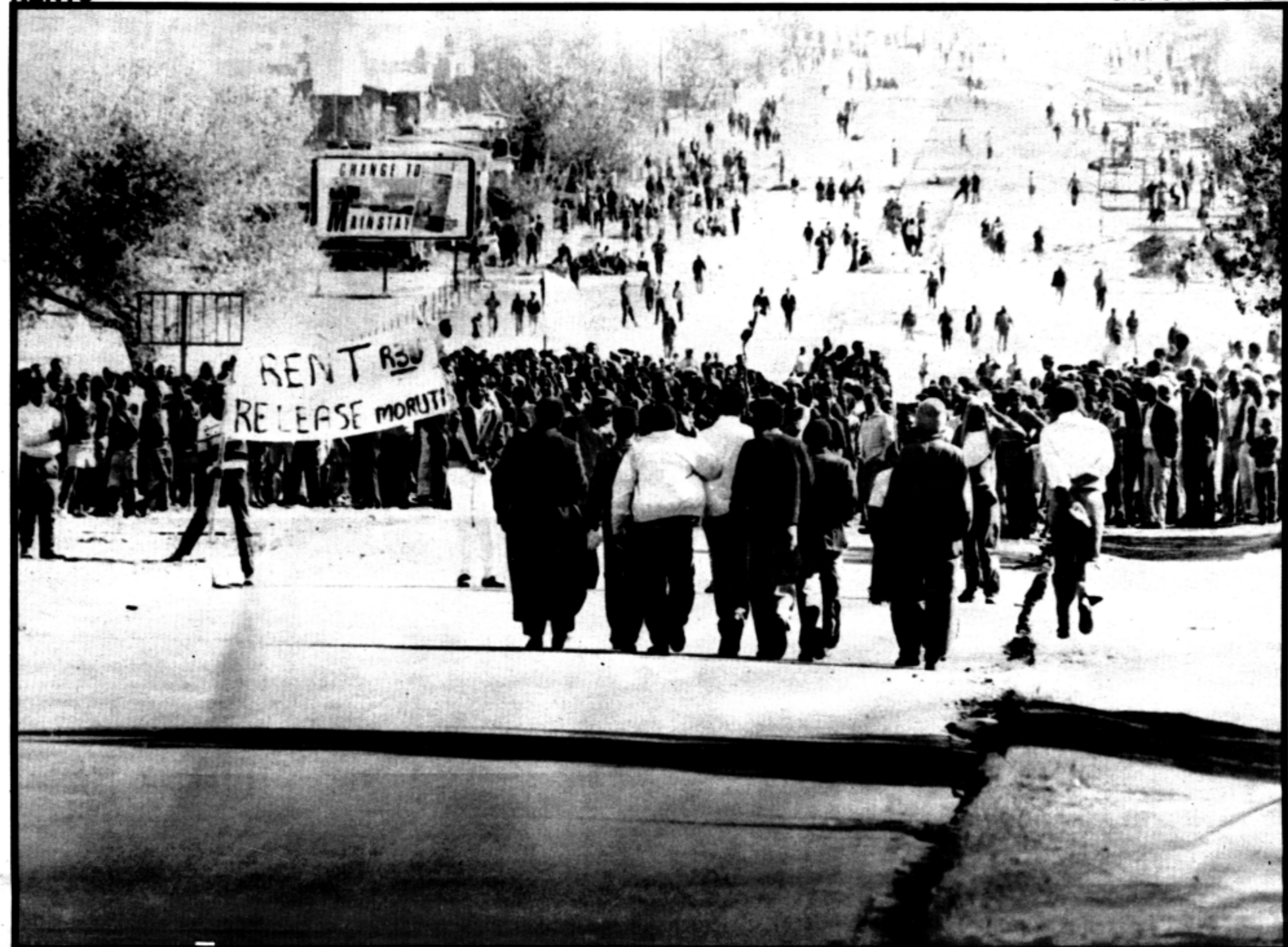
full. Police placed a ban on information about the injured.

More than 35 people were arrested and many were missing. Buses weren't running and as food ran out there were reports of people being shot by white farmers when they went to shops on the Golden Highway.

On Wednesday more than 3 000 people gathered outside the administration board offices for negotiations with officials. The people carried white flags and called for the release of detainees.

It was revealed that the Lekoa Town Council had no legal right to impose increases as they had not been approved by the Department of Co-operation and Development, nor

To page 4



4 000 people gather outside the Lekoa Administration Board offices in the Vaal demanding a drop in rents. It followed days of clashes with the police that left 31 dead

Rents down, 'stooges' out say residents

From page 3
gazetted.

On Thursday Lekoa Town Council chairperson, Esau Mahlatsi, came out of hiding and appeared in the company of senior government officials — including Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Le Grange claimed that rent increases were not the cause of the unrest, but that 'certain individuals and organisations' were behind it.

Mahlatsi said, 'I agree with him, some people use rent in order to cause trouble. These are the agitators and instigators.' He also announced that rent increases would go ahead as soon as they had been gazetted.

'One of the 'mistakes' in handling the situation was 'there were too few police to counteract the violence, otherwise houses couldn't have been burnt.' He said he was unaware of allegations that police had shot and killed children playing in their yards.

On Saturday, September 8, talks between township officials, town councillors and community leaders representing residents from the different townships deadlocked.

Community leaders put forward residents' demands:

●The resignation of all town councillors.

'The councillors are having private meetings with the administration board. The councillors must resign.

They don't represent our people, so the case is closed. They are defunct, they are not operating, they have lost control of the whole situation. For their own safety they must resign and leave the township, and rents must go down,' one leader said.

●Rent increases must be dropped and rents decreased. 'We won't be made to pay for our oppression,' said one resident.

High electricity rates and insufficient meter reading were additional sources of discontent. Residents said services should be subsidised by profits from liquor outlets.

Vaal residents have been struggling with shrinking pay packets as increased prices and GST take their toll. An Orange-Vaal General Workers Union spokesperson said Sharpeville and the surrounding townships were becoming very expensive places to live.

Rents range from just over R50 a month to R70 a month. The already tight money situation was worsened by retrenchments in the steel, chemical and fertiliser industries.

●An independent inquiry into the allocation of business sites in the area. Residents say town councillors are monopolising business

●The release of all detainees and withdrawal of police from the area.

Most of the councillors have refused to resign. They say they will do so if the people who elected them tell them to. But the Lekoa Town



Armed police face the 4 000 residents at the Lekoa council offices



At the height of the Sebokeng demonstrations, youths display their determination

Council was elected by nine percent of the community, and the Evaton Town Council by even less (5 percent).

Most residents boycotted the elections last year because they were seen as no solution to Africans' lack of political rights.

Having ignored their community's feelings, the Vaal councillors felt the consequences, and fled for police protection

After the unrest two meetings for community leaders to report back to residents on negotiations with officials were banned.

About 2 000 people gathered at a meeting in Sebokeng to find police and notices banning the meeting. Several people were injured when teargas and rubber bullets were fired at the crowd.

As the violence abated, UDF vice-

president Frank Chikane, said heavy security measures were hampering attempts to get food, doctors and lawyers into the area.

Members of the VCA found it difficult to move around the townships to help distressed families and said they were being singled out for police harassment.

There were reports that injured people have been afraid to go to hospital as police had been randomly arresting people as they get discharged. The VCA, with the assistance of the UDF set up clinics to treat those injured in the unrest.

By the week's end the number of dead, injured and arrested was unclear. Official figures said 31 dead, and Vaal leaders spoke of at least 30 detentions, while many more people were missing.

Hundreds of homes and many

businesses were destroyed. Businesses owned by councillors were the first targets.

Shops of Indian traders were also hit. Said one resident, 'It is not a question of race or racial hatred, it is capitalism. The people are exploited, that is why they hit some shops.'

The house and dry cleaning business of one Indian businessman were left untouched. All the businesses surrounding his were completely gutted. People say this is because they knew him to be sympathetic to their cause.

Community leaders are still collecting information on the numbers of dead, injured, detained and missing. Families are having difficulty tracing missing relatives and friends as there is no easy access to the hospital, and police have not released details of detainees.



Wattville residents bury a student killed in clashes with police

Bantu education crumbling

BANTU Education schools have come to a standstill in large parts of the Transvaal and in some areas in the Free State and Eastern Cape.

Violent confrontations between police and students have escalated and at least seven students in the East Rand and an unknown number in the Vaal have been killed. Scores of others have been injured, detained or arrested.

A recent victim, Congress of South African Students (Cosas) Soweto branch secretary, Bongani Kumalo, was allegedly repeatedly shot at and killed by police.

The Department of Education and Training (DET) has closed all schools in the Vaal, East Rand, Soweto, Mamelodi and Soshanguve.

This, along with the blanket ban on meetings all over the Transvaal is seen as an attempt to stop the growing support for boycotting students. Solidarity between students, parents and other residents has grown in recent weeks and resistance has been directed at community councils and police.

At the time of the closure, an estimated 160 000 students nationwide were on boycott demanding



Despite repression, students remain resolute in their demands

democratic SRC's, abolition of the prefect system and age limit laws, and an end to excessive corporal punishment:

●93000 students in the Vaal townships of Bophelong, Boipatong, Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Evaton.

●East Rand students — 5000 in Daveyton, 6000 in Katlehong, 2000 in Thokoza, 5000 in Tembisa, 2000 in Vosloorus and 6000 in Wattville.

●About 2500 students in Mamelodi and Soshanguve and 6000 in Saulsville/Atteridgeville near

Pretoria.

●2000 students in Alexandra, near Johannesburg.

●3000 students in Welkom.

●2000 students in Tumahole.

●3000 students in Queenstown and 7000 in Cradock in the Eastern Cape.

In Soweto, where there have been sporadic boycotts, conflict is intensifying daily. At a Cosas meeting in solidarity with people killed in the Vaal and other areas, students demanded the establishment of democratically elected SRC's, the scrapping of the prefect system, use of corporal punishment only as laid down by DET regulations, and the immediate resignation of community councils.

Students strongly condemned the closure of schools and planned a meeting to discuss the issue. But on the day, all meetings had been banned and crowds gathered there were dispersed by police.

Large contingents of police have moved into Soweto and houses of community councillors are under heavy police guard. Clashes between police and youth have intensified.

In Tumahole, Tembisa, Katlehong, Daveyton and Watville there have

been violent confrontations with police. Students say anger and frustration is growing as police attacks on boycotting students continue and authorities refuse to meet students' demands.

●In Katlehong a youth was shot dead and several people were injured when mourners set fire to the township mayor's home. Students stoned police who had come to disrupt their meeting.

●In Mankweng, in the Northern Transvaal, a school administration block and the car of the Circuit Inspector was burnt out.

●In Tumahole two schools have been suspended after police clashed with people who had erected barricades around the homes of four community councillors.

●In Warmbaths students smashed windows and burnt the cars of their school principal and one teacher.

●In Mamelodi, near Pretoria, police baton charged students in their double-story school. Many were seriously injured when they jumped from the second floor to escape police.

●University of the North students have clashed with Lebowa police. They are on boycott demanding the dismissal of three lecturers and the scrapping of university regulations which specify that students must pass a certain number of courses to stay at university.

●In Soshanguve, Mabopane East Technikon students have been refused readmission after they boycotted classes last month.

●Students at Ngoye university in Natal are on boycott demanding the readmission of 11 expelled students, and Fort Hare students are boycotting in solidarity with victims of the Vaal unrest.

Evaton mother tells of tragic death

SASPU NATIONAL spoke to Hilda Shange, mother of William Bibi Shange who was shot during the Vaal uprisings. He would have turned 16 on 22 September.

She said he was coming home from school at about 10am on Monday morning. 'At about 11.30 the other children came to say that he had been shot. After he was shot some people helped him into a back yard and that is where we found him. He

was still conscious then. We couldn't get transport to go to hospital.'

While he was still conscious he told his mother he was standing at the school fence, (next to Ntsale Primary) when he heard some shots. As he turned a bullet hit him in his side and lodged in his spinal cord. He told his mother that councillor Dutch Diphoko's son shot him.

His mother sat with him the whole

day and the whole night, giving him water. They tried to get transport to take him to hospital, but could get none, so they had to do their best to look after him.

On Tuesday morning, he was very weak. His last words to his mother were 'Mummy, I've got no more blood, give me water..', she said 'yes, my baby,' but he had passed away, at 10h15. He will be buried with other victims.



Mrs Hilda Shange, grieving mother



Students help boost the anti-election call and continue to press their demands

Students stay away to keep constitution out

NATIONWIDE student protests during the ethnic elections have shown more clearly than all the ballot boxes put together that students have totally rejected the new apartheid constitution.

Almost one million students from South Africa's schools, universities, technikons and training colleges boycotted classes countrywide following a joint call by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) for a fortnight of protest against the elections.

Before the elections, the Department of Education and Training confirmed that some 30 000 students were boycotting classes. This figure more than doubled as students in every province, town, bantustan and urban township joined forces with fellow students.

In spite of a wave of repression during the election period, students withstood threats of suspension, school closures and tough police action.

By August 22, coloured education officials confirmed some 624 000 students under its control were not at school — 80 percent of primary, junior, secondary and senior secondary students. Students put the figure even higher.

Indian education officials

acknowledged that students at most schools on polling day joined the protests, with at least 150 000 behind the boycott.

In the Western Cape student mobilisation reached its highest point since the 1980 school boycotts.

The climax of the boycott was a massive Azaso-Cosas rally the day before the elections. Over 7000 students from UWC, UCT, technikons, training colleges and about 50 schools attended.

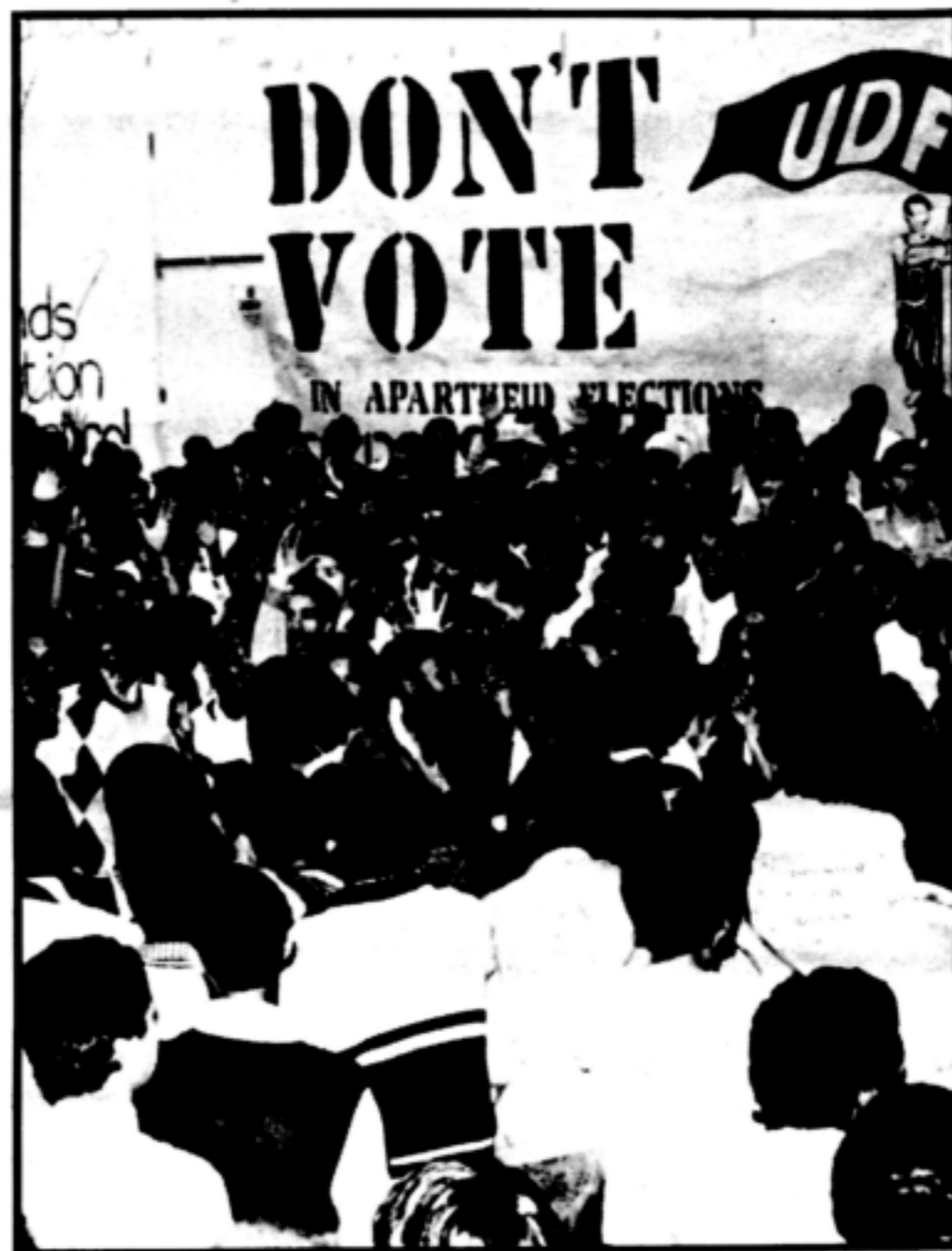
In Port Elizabeth, African students from New Brighton, kwaZakele and Zwide boycotted for the entire election period. They were joined by about 5 000 students from eight coloured and Indian high schools. Schools in Grahamstown, Graaf-Reinet, Fort Beaufort, Humansdorp, Queenstown and Kirkwood, and the Cape Teachers Training College also joined the boycotts.

In East London about 4 000 high school students from Duncan Village and from coloured and Indian areas boycotted.

University students boycotted at Fort Hare, Rhodes and the University of the Transkei.

A peaceful demonstration of more than 1000 Bloemfontein students converged on polling booths.

The demonstration was broken up by riot police.



Joint Azaso-Cosas rally at UWC brings anti-election mobilisation to a peak

Another demonstration from the nearby coloured high school, Dr Block High School, was also broken up by police.

In Natal, schools in Durban and Maritzburg came out in force against the elections joining students boycotting at the University of Durban-Westville and all campuses of the

University of Natal.

In Lamontville, all schools are reported to have boycotted. In Maritzburg, students from Sobantu township marched to join protesting students at Eastwood High. Riot police armed with teargas, sjamboks and batons entered the school premises and ordered protesters to disperse.

School students from Bosmont, Riverlea, Reiger Park, Kliptown, Eldorado Park and Nigel in the Transvaal boycotted classes. Many were arrested during demonstrations.

In the Indian areas students from six high schools in Lenasia, Fordsbury and Laudium boycotted from before the coloured elections until after the Indian elections.

School and university students were among those who suffered heavy police action in Lenasia. Teargas and rubber bullets were used to disperse about 1000 demonstrators in Actonville.

Protests from Soweto school students and at Vista university and the teachers training college intensified on polling days.

About 4000 Turfloop university students boycotted classes from August 22, and were joined by school students in the nearby Mankweng township. Medunsa students also boycotted classes.

In Potchefstroom, about 1000 school students boycotted classes and were teargassed and sjambokked by police as they marched to a nearby Indian polling station. A number of students were detained, and two of them are said to be seriously injured and under police guard in hospital.

Detained leaders continue the fight

SEVEN SECTION 28 detainees took on the Minister of Law and Order at his own game — and won.

Following an application by friends and relatives for their release, a Natal Supreme Court Judge, Mr Justice B Law, found that the minister's reasons for detention were not sufficient. In terms of the Internal Security Act the minister has to give detainees written reason for their detention.

Referring to Le Grange's statement that he was 'satisfied' that the detainees had attempted by their actions and utterances to create a revolutionary climate which would endanger law and order, Mr Justice Law said: 'His 'satisfaction' is a conclusion. What he describes as information is in fact his reason for coming to his conclusion.'

Because the minister had not supplied any information on which his reasons were based, the detention notices were invalid.

The seven were detained on August 21, and had been served with six month detention orders. They are UDF president, Archie Gumede, Natal Indian Congress (NIC) president George Sewpersadh, NIC vice-chairperson M J Naidoo, Mewa Ramgobin and Billy Nair, NIC members, Kader Hassim of the African People's Democratic Union and Sam Kikine.

Realising his error, Le Grange immediately made out new detention orders. He added an additional reason to the detention orders. It says that he will not furnish additional reasons for detention because it may be to the detriment of public interest.

A large manhunt for the released detainees was launched. But six of the detainees sought refuge at the British consulate in Durban. After lengthy high-level negotiations the British have agreed not to kick the men out.

In the Transvaal, a Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice H Nestadt, ruled that there was sufficient reason to continue detaining other Section 28 detainees. They had been served new notices after Justice Law ordered the release of the seven in Natal.

Another victory was won for detainees when a Rand Supreme Court judge ruled that section 28 detainees could see their lawyer in private.

Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Release Mandela Committee publicity secretary, brought an urgent application against the Commissioner of Police and the officer commanding Diepkloof Prison after the commissioner refused to allow him to see his attorney out of hearing of warders.

Metal workers show unique unity

Black and white workers have jointly organised and supported a legal strike at Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation in Witbank.

Fosatu's Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) and the SA Boiler-makers Society (SABS) called for a strike ballot at Highveld's four plants and the Mapoch mine after they rejected a company offer of wage in-

Rawu workers unfairly fired

Support for about 50 striking workers at the Grand Bazaars warehouse in Cape Town has spread to other branches of the supermarket chain.

A committee representing 11 branches has been elected to coordinate support activity for workers who downed tools in protest against the dismissal of two Retail and Allied Workers Union (Rawu) members.

A Rawu spokesperson said workers went on strike after two leading committee members had been fired for no good reason. Management claimed the two had taken some pills from another worker who had then complained to her supervisor.

creases ranging from seven to thirteen per cent.

SABS organises skilled artisans, most of them whites.

About 70 percent of the workforce — over 3 000 workers — voted in favour of strike action.

The two unions also organised an unofficial ballot for white workers belonging to the Mine Workers

The workers said this was a playful incident which management used as an excuse. The worker soon had her pills returned and she in fact joined the strike against the dismissals. 'I cannot accept that they were sacked over my pills,' she said.

Now workers at all Grand Bazaars branches are complaining about unfair work conditions.

'Some workers were earning R189 a month, though many of us were good, hard workers with long service. But management treats us badly. Every two or three months a few workers are fired with no reasons given,' said one of the striking workers.

Union, Yster en Staal Unie and the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

All these unions had accepted Highveld's pay offer. But 45 percent of these workers voted for a strike.

A seven to thirteen percent increase was what the Industrial Council for the metal industry had offered metal workers in May this year. Both Mawu and SABS rejected it.

After a joint meeting with SABS, Mawu members went out on strike.

A Mawu spokesperson said the dispute was not really about whether Highveld Steel, owned by Anglo-American, could afford increased wages. It was over Anglo's policy of forcing workers to negotiate wages through the industrial council and not at plant level.

The SA Council of the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF) gave the Highveld workers its full support. An IMF statement said it was 'indeed surprising that an Anglo American company which recently announced record turnover figures and a healthy profit cannot accede to the workers demand of R2 per hour minimum wage.'



Nationwide student demands raised up high at mass funeral

Brutal repression in Daveyton

STUDENTS from four schools in Daveyton on the East Rand, who have boycotted classes since the beginning of August, have suffered heavy police action and the killing of four of their fellow students.

Their demands echo those of students across the country — the introduction of Student Representative Councils, the scrapping of the prefect system, and an end to the age limit law and corporal punishment.

Students say police continually disrupt meetings they hold to discuss their boycotts. But they have stood firm.

On Tuesday, August 14, Patrick Phala, a lower primary school student was allegedly shot in the head by police on his way home. He remained in a critical condition for two weeks before he died.

The DET twice suspended classes after students refused to end their boycott as none of their demands had been met.

The second suspension was until August 30. On that day students gathered in the school grounds but didn't attend classes. They demanded the release of fellow students who had been detained.

At assembly later on, the principal told students to return to classes. When asked about students' demands he said he didn't have any power to meet them. Students became angry.

After hearing a noise at Hulwazi, the neighbouring school, students went to investigate. They saw Hulwazi students had been locked in-



Repression of students went beyond school gates and into the townships

side the school yard. The principal was pointing a gun, threatening to shoot any student who jumped the fence. He refused to give students the key to the gate.

Students said police arrived and began attacking them.

At the same time students at two other schools, Davey and H.B.Nyathi, were meeting to discuss

their position. They were interrupted when police vans surrounded the school where they were meeting.

Students closed the gates and asked the principal for protection from the police. He went to the police and asked them to leave, but they ignored him, said students.

Police entered the school premises and began beating students and firing



Funeral procession led by Cosas banner

buck-shot and teargas. Some students passed out after police fired five teargas canisters into the housecraft centre where they were hiding.

Police continued patrolling the township, allegedly firing shots.

That day, three students were shot dead while seeking cover in yards. About 20 students were taken to hospital and more than 20 were detained.

The parents of one of the students who was killed said they found him with five shots in his back.

Many were taken to hospital with buck-shot still inside them. Some were not admitted, but were told the bullets would come out on their own.

Students said the following day the schools were empty. But they heard that some members of the community vented their anger at the attacks of the previous day by attacking bottle stores and cars, many of them belonging to councillors or rich businessmen.

Despite restrictions and a ban on meetings, thousands of students and other residents attended mass funerals for the victims.

Community angered at eviction

MRS MAVELA, a resident of Veeplaas in Port Elizabeth was forced out of her house and now community councillor Mr Thamsanqa Linda, has taken it over for himself.

Linda is deputy-mayor of the Kayamandi Town Council which controls the New Brighton, Kwazakhele, Zwide and Walmer townships.

Mrs Mavela lived in one of the older houses in the township which are much bigger than the newer ones. Last year she was allegedly tricked into signing forms which made it possible for her to be evicted.

People in the area are angry about this. About 1 100 people attended meetings called by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO) to discuss this and other community issues such as shack demolitions, the clampdown on shebeens and indiscriminate evictions.

Pebco's Mr Hashe told the meeting that Mr Scholz the town clerk had said that while shacks were a hazard, people would be accommodated there because no other housing could be provided for them.

Pebco speakers also accused councillors and officials of collecting money from residents for functions to celebrate their 'successes'.

Peyco president Mkhusele Jack said young people had to realise the suffering their parents endured because of the regulations governing urban Africans.

Residents raised the issue of high rents at the Pebco meeting. The very next day the Kayamandi council advertised its intention to raise rents and service charges in the Eastern Province Herald. The advert said objections to the increase could be made within 21 days.

Earlier this year the Daveyton Town Council on the East Rand was forced to delay a rent increase because it failed to give residents enough time to lodge their objections.



Thousands of students and residents defied bans to attend Daveyton funeral

UNIVERSITY of the Transkei (Unitra), showpiece of South Africa's first independent bantustan, is crumbling.

The university closed early in July after confrontations between police and students.

This term, as the Indian and coloured elections approached and anti-constitution feeling mounted students took up the national call and boycotted for three days during the week of the coloured elections and the day of the Indian elections.

The first three days of boycott passed uneventfully. There was a total boycott of classes, characterised by peaceful marches and singing.

Cops take over Transkei campus

But the next day, residence permits of two academics, newly elected onto the Staff Association, were withdrawn. Twenty-four hours later they were deported, police came onto campus and the SRC went into hiding.

The real clampdown came after the weekend. Police officially took control of student disciplinary matters

and meetings of more than three people were banned.

On the day of the Indian election, students boycotted classes. One tiny incident sparked off a fierce police reprisal.

The principal, Professor B. Van der Merwe came out of a senate meeting, bumped into someone and fell off his crutches.

Police then burst into the womens residence to chase out male students who had taken refuge there.

Approximately 250 male students were taken away but police have refused to release a list of those held. At least twelve students were taken straight to hospital, two of them had been blinded in one eye.

The arrested students were scattered in various prisons throughout Transkei. They have not been allowed visits or food parcels.

The principal's comment on the campus violence was that, as far as he knew, 'police came to protect those who wanted to go to lectures'.

THE NEW parliaments opened at the beginning of September with as much ceremony and enthusiasm as the government could whip up.

But pomp and ceremony could not hide the dismal failure of the elections which put Hendrickse, Rajbansi and 118 others into the new parliaments.

With low polls in both elections, the decisions and speeches made in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives will sound a bit hollow.

The two new houses represent a small fraction of the population. Official statistics released after the elections claim the House of Representatives will represent 30 percent of the registered coloured voters, and the House of Delegates 20 percent of Indians.

But figures released by the United Democratic Front (UDF), which spearheaded the boycott campaign, show that the House of Representatives represents just 17 percent of the coloured population.

The UDF points out that over 1,5 million coloureds were eligible to vote, but only 250 000 did so. Which means the Labour Party — under the leadership of Rev Allan Hendrickse — has a mandate of less than 18 percent.

And the House of Delegates has even less credibility says the UDF. Of more than 500 000 Indians eligible to vote only 83 000 did so. 85 percent of the Indian population rejected the constitution, refusing to vote.

And Africans — by far the majority of the South African population — were not allowed to vote.

The new tri-cameral parliament was implemented against a backdrop of detentions, widespread repression and violence.

Over 35 campaigners against the new constitution were detained just before the coloured election on August 22. They included Archie Gumede, a UDF president, Natal Indian Congress (NIC) president, George Sewpersadh, Transvaal Indian Congress president, Essop Jassat, general secretary of the Release Mandela Committee, Aubrey Mokoena, UDF publicity secretary, Terror Lekota, UDF national treasurer, Mewa Ramgobin, Transvaal UDF secretary, Moss Chikane and Billy Nair, an organiser of the Anti-Election Committee and recently released after twenty years on Robben Island.

There were also widespread arrests at the polls on election day. As many as 200 anti-constitution campaigners were arrested or held by police.

A huge police presence at the polls tried to block the activities of anti-election groups. At times baton charging and firing of teargas occurred more rapidly than voting.

The low polls can be seen as a victory for anti-election forces. A UDF statement said: 'The government and its surrogates have suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the democratic movement.'

'The massive stay away from the polls in both the coloured and the Indian elections is an expression of an unequivocal rejection of Botha's



An elderly victim of a police baton charge is helped away in Lenasia

Boycotts, batons

The 'reform' plans met with near total rejection from coloureds and Indians in the

fraudulent 'reforms'.

In a joint statement, the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses hailed the low poll as an enormous victory for those struggling for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

'In view of the low poll, the TIC and the NIC call on all those 'elected' to resign immediately. We hold them as well as all other candidates as being jointly responsible with the government for the violence and bloodshed on voting day, as well as for the continued detention of our leaders,' the statement said.

They condemned police violence and harassment. 'Peaceful demonstrations were met with teargas, bullets, baton and sjambok charges. Many innocent people were hurt by the police and many detained.'

Independent unions representing 300 000 workers countrywide said it was ridiculous for the government to take the election results as a mandate to go ahead with the new constitution.

'It is time this government realised that apartheid in whatever guise is unacceptable to the majority of workers' the statement said.

The six unions — Fosatu, Cusa, Gwu, CTMWU, Ccawusa and FCWU also reject attempts by the government to blame the low polls on intimidation.

'The government swung the whole

power of the state in support of the elections. In addition it set out to harass progressive organisations, culminating in the detention of more than 100 key activists from these organisations.'

During the Indian election several policemen were injured and a number of people arrested in clashes with anti-constitution demonstrators at polling booths throughout the country.

Most of the clashes were in the Transvaal, the worst in Lenasia, where police used tearsmoke and sjamboks

on a number of occasions.

On the morning of election day, 500 people marched from Ikageng township near Potchefstroom to the Indian residential area. Police attacked them with teargas and sjamboks.

In Durban, seven people were arrested on charges of intimidation, and NIC supporters were detained for handing out pamphlets.

In Fordsburg, five people were arrested during a placard demonstration. Police dispersed gatherings of 500 people in Soweto and 300 people in

Lenasia. Two people were arrested. At Jabulani, police used teargas to disperse 550 people, who threw stones at police and their cars.

In the afternoon, police broke up a demonstration in Chatsworth, Durban,



One of the few who voted in the coloured elections. A mere 18 percent voted UDF supporter salutes from a police car



THE BOTHA government must be worried.

It came up with a 'new deal', packaged it in the best wrapping it could, brought in the best salesmen it could buy, repeatedly told the country how nice it was, — but could not sell it.

So the government tried pleading and promising improvements in the future. It threatened, brought in the police and courts and detentions. Still it was rejected.

If Botha tries to claim he has a mandate for his reforms, tell him this:

●1,36 million whites said 'yes' to his reform in last November's white referendum;

●150 379 Africans said 'yes' to his local authorities last November;

●272 657 coloureds said 'yes' in last month's elections

●83 320 Indians said 'yes' in the August 28 election.

Add those up and you get 1,8 million 'yes' votes and over 28 million 'no' votes. Not much of a mandate.

Constitution: one for, fifteen a

Through a hard-fought campaign, the United Democratic Front and other democratic organisations have won their fight to deny the government a mandate for its constitution.

In the August 22 elections for coloureds, only 272 657 people voted. The government says this is a 31 percent mandate. But it bases this on the number of people who registered (809 939) rather than the total number of coloured adults (1 515 484).

That means that over 600 000 adults refused to register, despite it being against the law. Over 1,2 million coloureds did not vote for the new constitution.

The poll in the August 22 election was lower than ever before in coloured elections.

In other words, one out of two whites supports the constitution. But they are only 15 percent of South Africa's population. Six out of seven Indians reject the constitution. Four out of five coloureds reject the constitution. Except for very, very few Africans, the entire African population has refused support for the new constitution.

In other words, the government has a mandate from only one out of every 16 South Africans. 15 out of 16 South Africans have refused to give Botha the go-ahead for his constitution.

So, when people claim the 'reforms' are imposed on South Africa by an undemocratic and authoritarian government, they are not exaggerating.

In 1969, 35 percent of coloureds voted in the Coloured Representative Council elections. In 1975, 25 percent voted. And even with all the publicity in the new constitution elections, only 17 percent voted.

In the Western Cape — where the majority of coloureds live — 96 percent chose not to vote. Without the endorsement of this area, the most important as far as 'coloured politics' goes, no-one can claim a mandate.

The Labour Party, which has nearly all seats in the House of representatives, has an even smaller mandate. It got 75 percent of the votes cast on August 22. Only 12 percent of coloured voters support their presence in the new parliament. Allen Hendrickse only has the support of one out of five people in

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A young woman overcome by teargas outside a polling booth

and a low, low poll

elections. And this was despite the SABC propaganda, police intimidation and promises

a march in Pimville, Soweto, another placard demonstration in Fordsburg, a large gathering on the outskirts of the township in Queenstown and a march on a township police station in Germiston.

In the evening, two men were detained outside an East London polling booth. Just before polling closed, demonstrating Rhodes University students were driven away from a polling booth with sjamboks.

The clashes climaxed in the evening. Police used teargas and rubber bullets against demonstrators in Actonville, Benoni, an hour after the polling booths closed. In response, police vehicles were stoned. Three people were arrested.

In Lenasia there were sporadic clashes between police and protesters throughout the day. Trouble started when police charged a peaceful demonstration outside a polling booth. According to eye-witnesses this was unprovoked. Police told people they had three minutes to disperse, but they charged after 30 seconds. Fleeing demonstrators were chased into shops and houses, and beaten there.

Teargas was seemingly randomly shot into houses in Lenasia, and a clinic treating the wounded had teargas shot into it three times.

From there on clashes continued. Candidates and their supporters took part in attacks on protesters, and some journalists were assaulted.

In the evening fighting broke out when police tried to break up a crowd of protestors. After teargas and a baton charge, the crowd retaliated by throwing bricks at the police. The police opened fire with rubber bullets.

Protesters overturned a police car and threw three petrol bombs, bricks and stones at the police.

At least 80 demonstrators were injured, some seriously. Five policemen were reported injured in the clashes which carried on into the night.

After the low polls in the coloured election were made known, the UDF said: 'It is universally accepted that no free and fair election can take place in an atmosphere of harassment and fear. As the UDF has pointed out, these elections were in fact conducted in the context of an undeclared State of Emergency.'

The UDF based its statement on the huge police presence at the polls. Uniformed police, members of the Reaction Unit and well-known security police crowded the polls, often outnumbering candidates, helpers and voters.

As Virgil Bonhomme, head of the United Committee of Concern which spear-headed the campaign against coloured elections in Natal, said:

'Volunteers who were monitoring candidates and trying to check intimidation were hounded by squads of police.

It appeared that the more volunteers we threw into an area, the more they increased their own force.'

'In many areas, if police alone had voted, the poll would have been much

higher.'

In the Cape Peninsula — where the average poll was four per cent of potential voters — UDF organisers were continually harassed. Activists watching the polling stations to count voters and make sure there was no intimidation, were chased away by police.

Many were arrested for minor offences. In one case, after being asked to leave the polling area, a UDF organiser sat in a library some distance



Power salutes and slogans from the ranks of anti-election, UDF supporters

against

constituency. Elections for the Indian House of shows the same pattern.

320 Indians voted on August 28, and not. In other words, six out of an adults did not vote. The government based on registered voters (411 not the total number of Indian could vote (536 415).

and Rajbansi, the leader of the people's Party, which will rule in the of Delegates, got fewer votes in the last SAIC election. Six out of people in his area rejected the con- dy, the leader of Solidarity, which

is the second largest party in the Indian parliament was also rejected by his constituency. Seven out of eight people boycotted his election.

City Press newspaper reported a case of 'one man, one vote' — an Indian candidate elected to parliament received only one vote.

In both the elections some of the voting was questionable. It was found that dead people had somehow cast 'special votes'.

A special vote, is a vote reserved for people who can't reach the polling booths on voting day because of illness or physical disability. It is controlled by government-elected polling officers. Other people were found to have voted twice.

If 'special votes' are excluded, only 13 per cent of Indians voted in the Indian elections.

While the government has tried mathematical tricks to make the poll look bigger, the message is clear — 15 out of every 16 South Africans do not support the new constitution.

away. While watching the voters, she was arrested for 'loitering'.

Andrew Hendriks, head of the Friends Of The UDF which spearheaded the campaign in East London, said there was similar harassment there.

In the coloured townships of Johannesburg, there were numerous arrests and attacks by police.

In Newclare, a peaceful demonstration was forcefully broken up. Three women holding placards were arrested, and the crowd surrounding them was baton-charged. Earlier a man who had given a 'power' salute was arrested.

In Riverlea protesters who had gathered at the polling station were detained. In Bosmont, police with dogs and batons broke up a gathering.

Police violence was worst in Eldorado Park. A large crowd gathered in the early evening at the polling booth. Police moved in with batons, but were repulsed. They then fired teargas and rubber bullets, injuring many people. One person was reported to have been shot at point blank range, and then beaten while on the ground.

Controversy still surrounds the voting procedure.

According to the TIC and NIC, special votes were abused. These were meant to be used by the sick, people away from home on election day, or by people unable to reach the polls.

But in the Indian elections, of the 83 000 votes cast, over 24 700 were special votes. This means nearly 30 per cent of votes were cast before polling day. In Laudium, near Pretoria, over 70 per cent of votes were special votes. In Actonville the figure was 60 per cent.

Explaining this unusually high number of special votes, the TIC said: 'There have been widespread reports of intimidation of poor, illiterate voters as well as pensioners who have been threatened with loss of pensions, or lured with false promises to vote.'

The Laudium special votes office looked more like an election-day office than one providing a special service to disabled, ill or absent voters as defined in the Electoral Act. A man who allegedly voted twice was arrested and the TIC collected 23 affidavits from people alleging irregularities in the votes.

In some places it was discovered that dead people had 'voted' using special votes. In the North-Western Cape constituency it was found that two dead people had voted. In the same constituency, people arriving to vote on election day were told they had already cast special votes, even though they had not.

The TIC and NIC have collected nearly one hundred affidavits alleging voting irregularities. Excluding special votes, the percentage poll in the Indian election was 11,5 per cent and in the coloured elections about 15 per cent.

The government found it difficult to explain the low polls. Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, blamed 'intimidators' for scaring people into not voting. Another source close to the Labour Party said coloured people were 'inexperienced' when it came to voting.

Some of the parties blamed the government, saying the detentions of UDF leaders made it difficult for them to explain how they were using the new parliaments as a 'platform' from which to change apartheid.

The day before the coloured elections, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, said it did not matter if there was a low poll. The new constitution would be implemented no matter what the poll but despite the total rejection of the constitution by those who could vote, and the many who could not, the constitution is going ahead.

The government's reform dream is being fulfilled. But for them it has turned into a nightmare.

SASPU NATIONAL

Apartheid's history - another bloody chapter

SHARPEVILLE...the name echoes with the sound of the police shots that cut down 69 fleeing demonstrators 24 years ago.

Once again South Africans have died because they refused to accept poverty and racial domination.

Sharpeville 24 years ago and today was a moment when the conflicts and frustrations which are deeply rooted in South African society burst angrily and violently into the open.

And like 24 years ago, the explosion must be seen against a long period of consistent and organised opposition to apartheid by those subjected to it.

Waves of opposition

Months of campaigning against the constitution have produced an undeniably low poll from which democratic South Africans could draw strength and hope. Across the country nearly a million students in schools, universities, technikons and colleges have boycotted in protest against the education system, against an undemocratic constitution and out of solidarity and loyalty to their fellows.

Township residents have stopped councils from raising rents and forced many of these unpopular 'leaders' to resign.

Despite the recession, there have been more strikes and disputes in 1984 than ever before. And there are battles begun long ago, like the Ciskei bus boycott which is well into its second year and shows no signs of weakening.

And there are the unseen battles every minute of every day, the struggle to survive that forces thousands to dodge or break the law. In all these struggles against the government and the ruling group there have been victories. Three weeks ago the loud call for the people, and not apartheid constitutions, to govern was one such a victory.

But the explosion in the Vaal was another tragic reminder of the bitter price of apartheid and the determination of those who hold power and privilege to keep it for themselves.

And there have been other victims. Ten have died in clashes between students and police and the toll rises each day. Residents in Tumahole, Daveyton, Lamontville, Imbali and elsewhere have all had to bury their dead.

Hundreds have been arrested, sjambokked and teargassed at the polls, and popular leaders locked away.

And there are the unseen victims. Workers fired and retrenched, sometimes for striking, sometimes because they are beginning to show signs of organised strength. Every 40 seconds another person falls foul of the pass laws and pays the price — fines, imprisonment and deportation to a barren bantustan. Most go quietly.

Protest, frustration, anger

The Vaal, however, was a loud and violent eruption. Faced with a political system which most African people have rejected; and with appalling township conditions and a budget which puts state security before houses and comfort, the government dumped all their problems into the laps of local authorities.

News of the Lekoa increase was met with protest. Residents held large meetings and took a decision to stay away from work in protest. The Vaal Civic Association warned the councillors that people could not afford the increase.

But this fell on deaf ears. And so anger grew and spilled over.

Thousands took to the streets. In the conflict that followed, frustration and anger were directed at targets that have always been hit first — councillors and their businesses, busses, government property, exploitative shop-owners and police.

The people of the Vaal paid a heavy price for this anger and frustration. But in the final analysis blame for the loss of life lies with a government which chose to ignore people's dissatisfaction. It lies with a system in which people are not paid living wages, and where by and large the system keeps the rich wealthy and the majority poor and working.

No peace until the people govern

But this system is looking at a rough road ahead. Getting 'middle men' from the community to do apartheid's dirty work puts part of the government's machinery in easy reach of popular anger.

Sobantu, Edendale and Inanda in Natal have all refused to accept Councils. Sebe cannot enter Mdantsane. If Buthelezi takes control of Lamontville he will find it difficult to rule.

The warning signs were there when the Local Authorities were rejected. The message to the new parliaments is clear.

Tragic events like those in the Vaal will be inevitable as long as wages are low and the resources of the country maintain the super-wealth of the few; so long as the majority are shut off from central government.

As people in the Vaal, East Rand, Orange Free State and Natal bury their dead, the message of Sharpeville 1960 still echoes in their minds: to have peace, the people must govern; to have prosperity the wealth of the country must be shared; there must be work and security, houses and comfort.



"Rents we can afford" - the demand spreads

IF RAJBANSI and Henrickse had paid attention to the rough time Town Councils in African Townships are having, they might have thought twice about the new constitution.

The Black Local Authorities Act is a major part of the government's new strategy. The system of Town Councils that it provides for was overwhelmingly rejected last year. Less than 10 per cent of township residents went to the polls in the Black Local Authorities elections.

But Town Councils are still trying to make an unworkable system work. Facing bankruptcy and debt they have increased rent and service charges in an attempt to solve their problems. Communities have refused to pay for a system they don't support and can't afford.

In Rathanda, near Heidelberg, residents forced all seven councillors to resign at the end of July over rent increases. A day later four of the councillors changed their minds.

In a heated meeting with the Rathanda Civic Representative Association (RCRA) the four tried to justify their change of heart by saying the East Rand Development Board (ERDB) had decided to suspend the rent increase for 30 days until September 1.

Residents were told the council had a R500 000 deficit and had to increase rents. RCRA chairperson, Mr Paul Mokoena, said residents were



Residents protest at council hikes

'very bitter' as they weren't responsible for such financial losses. They walked out of the meeting.

Mr Mokoena was approached earlier in August by two men who said they were policemen and warned him that he was 'burning his fingers' by continuing to oppose the rent increases. Mr Mokoena was subsequently detained on September 1.

Rathanda residents have vowed not to pay the increases, saying ERDB takes their money but gives them nothing.

Residents of Huhudi, near Vryburg in the Northern Cape, disrupted a community council meeting on August 1. The meeting, to discuss the removal of Huhudi people to

Pudimoe was attended by about 200 people.

Chairperson of the Town Council, Mr John Dikole, told the meeting about the removal and their decision to meet Koornhof on August 31, when a final decision on the removal would be taken.

Delegates to meet Koornhof would include people from the Vryburg Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the Vryburg Town Council and the Community Council.

Many residents left the meeting after hearing that the Huhudi Civic Association (Huca) had not been included in the delegation.

A speaker pointed out that more than 1 500 people had elected Huca their representatives because they realised that the community council had failed to represent them and would never do so. Therefore any decision taken at the Koornhof meeting would be unacceptable.

And in Soweto the Diepkloof Civic Association is opposing an electricity levy of R19 per month for every house. The levy will be imposed regardless of whether residents have electricity or not.

In addition the Diepkloof council is planning another monthly levy of R19 per house to pay back a loan they raised to upgrade the sewerage system. After the Vaal unrest the Soweto City Council announced it would delay the electricity levy.

In a circular to residents the civic association asks 'with the low wages earned by the majority of our people, how on earth are we expected to pay for the fat cheques of councillors and redundant old white employees?'

Daveyton residents won a reprieve when the town council announced a R5 cut in the proposed increases.

Federation moves a step closer

The proposed new trade union federation has been brought a big step closer after union representatives met in Cape Town in August.

A statement issued by an inter-union feasibility committee said a constitution for the new federation had 'virtually been finalised'. A sub-committee would now draw up a declaration of principles and consider other outstanding matters. The feasibility committee would then meet again.

The following unions, representing 300 000 workers were present: Federation of South African Trade Unions, the Council of Unions of South Africa, the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, the General Workers' Union and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union.

Car workers squeezed

ACROSS South Africa workers in the motor industry are losing their jobs. And those still employed are being forced to work shorter weeks and take long periods of time off.

●Ford in Port Elizabeth has closed its plant for a week and retrenched 425 workers;

●Amcar shut down its Pretoria plant for a month and retrenched 330 workers;

●Nissan put workers on a three-day working week and laid off 324 of them.

These three companies retrenched over 2 000 workers in the first five months this year. Other companies

cutting back include General Motors in Port Elizabeth who laid off 129 workers and Alfa Romeo who shortened their working-week from four days to three.

At present only two motor manufacturers are on a five-day working week.

Ford industrial relations director Fred Ferreira said these drastic steps were regrettable but necessary. Recent economic measures had depressed the South African economy and the motor industry in particular.

Car sales have dropped sharply with the increase in general sales tax. 'We see virtually no prospect of improvement in the short and medium term,' Mr Ferreira said.

Eastern Cape regional secretary of the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu), Les Kettleas, said the union had urged management to look for alternatives to retrenchment.

'Many families would be severely hit. The motor industry should not forget its social responsibility its employees.'

Taffy Adler, Naawu branch secretary in Pretoria said it was difficult to accept retrenchments in July and August when June was a record month for car sales.

around the hall.

The home of Imbali's mayor Mr Patrick Pakkies was stoned and severely damaged.

The next day, Muzi Morgan Ntombela was shot dead by police after a crowd allegedly stoned a security policeman's home. Two others were wounded in the incident.

Imbali is the only Pietermaritzburg township which still has a town council. The Sobantu and Edendale councils have both collapsed.

Imbali slams the door in Koornhof's face

PUPILS IN IMBALI, Pietermaritzburg who were asked to form a guard of honour while Dr Koornhof visited the township to inaugurate the Town Council, boycotted classes instead.

And while councillors tried to enjoy this visit from their employer, police used teargas and sjamboks to drive angry demonstrators away from the hall where the ceremony took place.

Almost 9 000 pupils boycotted clas-

ses on the day Dr Koornhof, minister of Cooperation and Development paid Imbali a visit. And from 7.30 in the morning about 1 500 demonstrators with placards gathered outside the community hall.

For the next eight hours police and residents clashed. Teargas was fired, buildings and vehicles were damaged by stones, and protestors used rocks, burning tyres, broken glass and disused vehicles to block off streets

Gatsha meets Lamontville stay away

CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI went to Lamontville this month and held a 'peaceful' meeting with 10 000 of his supporters.

But it was not a 'peace' the chief could be proud of. And most of the supporters were bussed in from other

Lessons on Inkatha out

INKATHA-STYLE education is running into opposition from some KwaZulu students. Over 500 students at Bekisisa Secondary School in Ntuzuma township near Kwa Mashu boycotted classes for over a week recently.

Their grievances included:

- They had to spend a 30-minute period on Inkatha lessons every week, but it was not an examination subject. They were also required to join the Inkatha Youth Brigade and wear Inkatha uniforms.

- Two students were expelled in March, one for coughing during silence at assembly and one for being absent from prayers.

- The bad behaviour of their principal, Mr Maqwaza.

The boycott began on a Thursday. Students refused to enter classes, demanded Maqwaza's resignation and overturned his car.

After the weekend students returned to the school grounds. They were attacked by police with teargas. School was suspended for another week.

Parents decided to back the students. They said the school should re-open, but warned that students should not be victimised. Classes returned to normal the next day.

TGWU looks at way forward

MORE THAN 700 members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) gathered to discuss their progress and direction for the coming year — and enjoyed a day of dancing, singing and feasting.

TGWU branch chairperson Jethro Dlalisa said the struggle of the working class was not an easy one. The government seeks every means of tightening control, while employers take a hard line against unions. 'But we are happy to be united today, with a show of strength and a hope for the future,' he said.

Fosatu president Chris Dlamini said workers must unite in their trade unions and stand together with other progressive organisations. 'In the communities we are facing high rents, poor services, inadequate schools. We must encourage our members to participate in opposition to these conditions, by joining civic organisations and forming an opposition to the community councils,' he said.

'We cannot expect the present government to draw up a constitution we accept,' said Vuyo Nduna, IGWU organiser for the East Rand. 'This government will always draw up 'apartheid constitutions'. We will never regard it as our government, he said.

A speaker from the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers Union called on workers to remember the puppet institutions of African townships.

Ma Lydia Kompe, IGWU branch secretary, described how the union had grown in the Transvaal over the

areas.

Buthelezi told the meeting that there was 'nothing wrong' with incorporating Lamontville into Kwazulu. Events of the previous weeks spoke differently and led many residents to stay away from the meeting.

After Buthelezi announced his intention to visit Lamontville the Joint Rents Action Committee (Jorac) called a meeting with him. They said the proposed rally would not be able to deal with the problem of Lamontville and could lead to violence and loss of life.

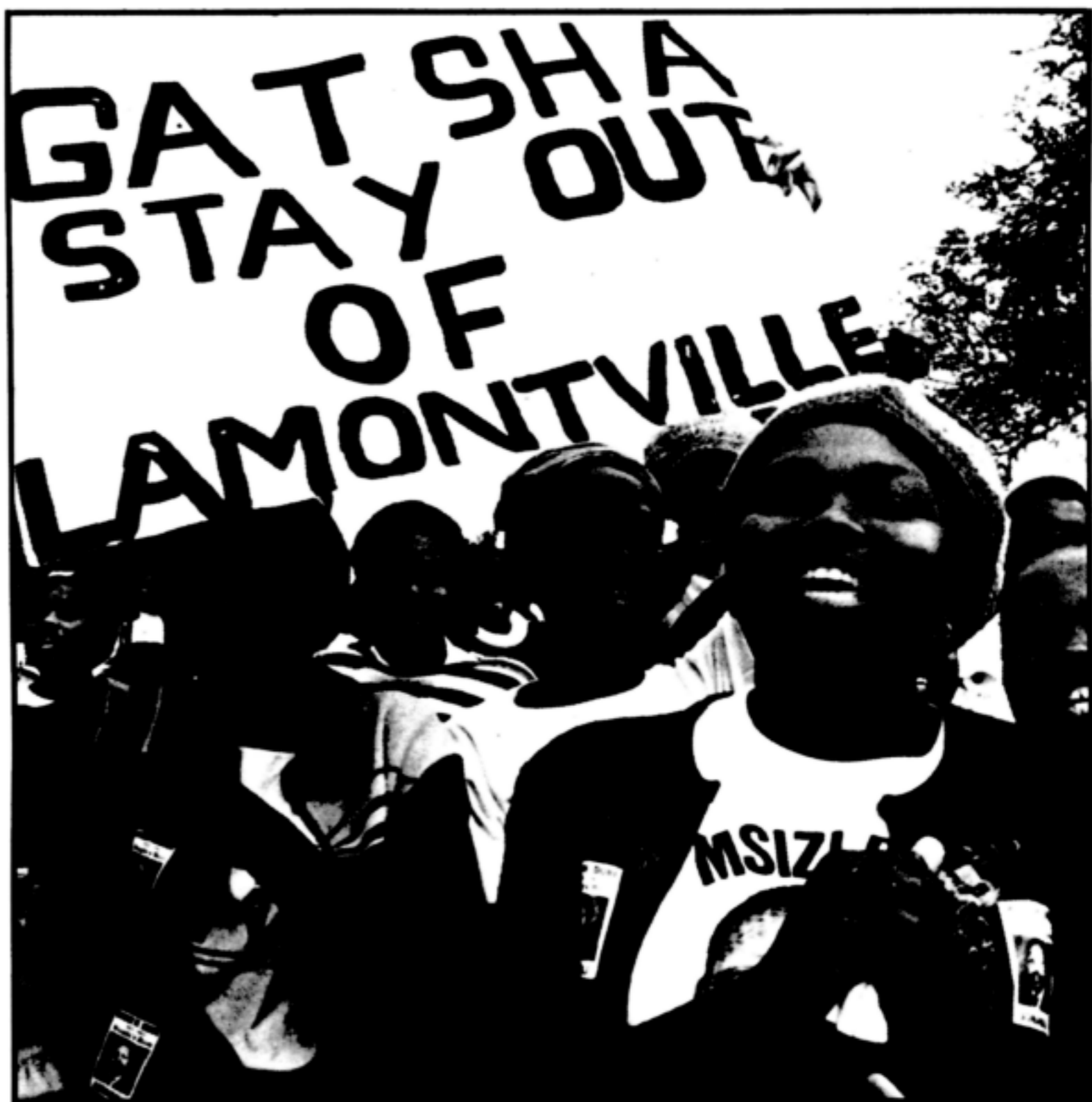
At the Inkatha Youth Brigade's annual conference, Buthelezi ridiculed the letter, but said he would meet with 'Jorac pipsqueaks'. Delicate negotiations between Jorac and Inkatha followed, but Buthelezi would not budge and went ahead distributing thousands of invitations in Durban.

Violence in Hambanathi the weekend before the proposed rally left three dead and eight houses gutted.

Residents said a 100-strong Inkatha mob armed with pangas marched into the township and terrorised residents from Saturday through to Sunday. A school principal, Mr Alfred Sithole was hacked to death and his house set alight. Two others, apparently visitors to the area, were also killed.

Members of the Hambanathi Residents Association (HRA) were the target of the attacks. Richard Gumede, Jorac chairperson, and Ian Mkhize, Jorac secretary, had their homes burned down, forcing the families to sleep in the open. Police found signs of a petrol bomb in Mkhize's gutted car.

After the weekend violence, Ham-



Lamontville residents bluntly state their case. They will not live under Gatsha's rule

banathi residents fled the township fearing further violence. As Buthelezi's rally drew closer, Jorac organised buses for Lamontville residents who left the township, fearing violence.

Jorac appealed to the acting chief magistrate to stop Buthelezi's rally. When this failed, they brought an urgent application before the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. The court ruled that the meeting could go ahead.

And so it did — in an almost deserted Lamontville, with some remaining residents watching the imported Inkatha supporters from the

surrounding hills and the safety of their houses.

Buthelezi told his supporters they would have nothing to lose by joining Kwazulu. But incorporation into the homeland could mean the loss of section 10 rights for Lamontville and Hambanathi residents. And the KwaZulu government's admission that 100 000 pensions could not be paid due to lack of funds is a bad sign for the future.

In addition to this, reports of Inkatha mobs going door to door in Hambanathi to check on residents' allegiances, and allegations by Swaziland that thousands are seeking refuge there from Inkatha harassment, give Inkatha opponents cause to fear life under the KwaZulu government.

These are not the only reasons residents oppose incorporation into Kwazulu. Jorac has pointed out that the incorporation plans are part of apartheid's grand design to divide South Africa, and it is this that residents oppose as well.

Clothing closed shop opened up

The National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) has dealt another blow to the closed shop system.

The Garment Workers Industrial Union (GWIU), a member of the Trade Union Council of SA (Tuca) has a closed shop agreement in the garment industry which forces workers to belong to it.

NUTW, a Fosatu affiliate, has recruited a majority of workers at the Pinetown clothing firm James North Africa, and is recognised by the company. But workers have kept their membership of GWIU — under the closed shop, leaving GWIU would cost them their jobs.

GWIU responded to NUTW'S challenge by changing its constitution so that workers who joined a rival union could be expelled. They ordered workers who had joined NUTW to appear at an inquiry.

NUTW took this issue to the Industrial Court, saying it was an 'unfair labour practice.'

The court ruled in their favour and GWIU has abandoned attempts to expel NUTW members.

Bosses take advantage of bantustans

A strike involving 1 700 workers at two radio-manufacturing plants in the Northern Transvaal highlighted the appalling working conditions of bantustan workers.

The workers, mostly members of the Black Electrical and Electronic Workers' Union (Beewu), demanded a 50 per cent wage increase, recognition of their union, an end to unfair dismissals and paid maternity leave.

Their employer, Tempest International, has plants in Pietersburg and in nearby Seshego. The Pietersburg workers are paid the Industrial Council minimum wage of R1,53 an hour. But Seshego falls under Lebowa and so the IC ruling does not apply there (or in any bantustan).

Tempest's wages in Seshego are 34 cents an hour, or R13 a week. Commenting on these low wages, Tempest boss Philip Sussman said: 'That's the only reason we went to Seshego.'

And recognition of Beewu? 'I will not talk to the union. I would rather shut down the company,' he said.

Not surprisingly, Beewu failed to reach agreement with management.

Printers press on with new union

The National Union of Printers and Allied Workers Union (Nupawu) was launched in Soweto recently. Nupawu aims to organise workers in the printing industry, including photo laboratories and newspaper distribution.

The first meeting elected an executive as follows:

Alfred Mtsolongo, national president; Albert Mhlungu, Transvaal president; Ben Nthombeni, treasurer; Martin Mporeng, secretary, and Tembikile Sohluko, additional executive member.

Nupawu is presently organising in the Transvaal, but is aiming to establish itself nationally at a later stage.



'Forward with the workers struggle' - part of the 700 crowd

past two years. 'Our last AGM was in 1982. Then we had a branch membership of about 600. Now it is over 2 000. We had no recognition agreements, and now we have ten,' she said.

But she warned workers there were still battles to be won. Municipalities

and many transport companies were still refusing to recognise the union.

The meeting concluded with a meal prepared from an ox slaughtered by union members the previous day. 'There must be some enjoyment, said branch chairperson Dlalisa. 'It is a living struggle.'

Deaths and detentions prop up fraudulent constitution

As opposition to apartheid has intensified with the implementation of the new constitution, so apartheid's opponents have suffered intimidation, assaults, detentions and death

AN 18-YEAR OLD is shot dead in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg; an awaiting-trial prisoner is found hanged in his cell; clashes between police and boycotting students leave six dead on the East Rand; a police raid at the University of the Transkei puts students in hospital.

All of this during election week for the tri-cameral parliament, the highlight of prime minister PW Botha's reforms.

It is no coincidence that reform's big moment has also been a period of intense repression.

At least 33 people have been killed since the beginning of August, many in clashes with police. And the evils of solitary confinement have claimed another life.

Awaiting-trial prisoner Ephraim Mthethwa was found dead in his cell on August 25. Police said he had hanged himself.

A few days before, Mthethwa's lawyers warned authorities he was in a disturbed mental state and tried unsuccessfully to get him transferred to a hospital for psychiatric treatment.

Police have been at pains to point out that Mthethwa was not a detainee but an awaiting-trial prisoner. But detention pressure groups argue that he was still being held in solitary confinement, and this was to blame for his death.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) reports that 572 people have been detained in the first eight months of this year compared with 453 in the whole of last year. This increase in detentions is seen as a response to the strong anti-election movement spearheaded by the UDF — 119 people were detained in



Protest against eve-of-election arrests

August alone.

A police swoop on boycott campaign leaders put 41 people in detention under the Internal Security Act. Of these 17 were detained indefinitely under section 28, while 24 were held under Section 50.

Section 28 detainees have their names entered on the 'Consolidated List'. 'Listed' people cannot be quoted, and cannot practise law.

In addition to the detentions, the official figure for election-related arrests is 152.

For example, people monitoring elections were accused of loitering, and holding illegal gatherings, and threatened with charges. In Oudtshoorn, people wearing UDF buttons were stopped and questioned by police. A high-school student was summoned to appear in court for wearing an illegal placard, i.e. wearing a UDF button.

Opposition to rent increases has also met with a harsh government response.

In mid-August the Rathanda Civic Representative Association (RCRA) chairperson, Mr Paul Mokoena, was warned by two men, who identified themselves as policemen, that police



Good question

would 'deal' with him if he continued 'inciting' residents against rent increases. On September 1, the day the rent increases came into effect, Mr Mokoena was detained. Police did not confirm his detention.

An outspoken critic of the increases in Sharpeville, Rev. Tebogo Moselane, has twice had his life and the life of his family threatened. An Orange Vaal General Workers Union organiser had her house stoned, and received a threatening phone call.

The union offices were also stoned and an anti-stay-away pamphlet left there.

When all this failed, teargas, batons and bullets have been brought out — the conflict in the Vaal is the most recent example.

Since the death of Papiki Loape in Thabong in August eight people have died in confrontations between boycotting students and police.

Six-year old Thabe Sibeko was shot dead at his home in Wattville, Benoni. Joyce Nzame (9) was shot dead in Daveyton.

The events over the election period prove beyond doubt that the government for all its talk will not listen to what the people say. And when the people speak too loudly for the government's comfort they are brutally silenced.

A familiar sight at 'free-and-fair' elections



A big part of the 'reform' process. But repression's hand is not always so easily seen

Angry words in PW's post

GOVERNMENTS AND churches around the world have condemned police violence during the coloured and Indian elections.

The Dutch government issued a statement expressing its concern about the arrests and the 'violent treatment' of groups opposing the new constitution.

Churches in Holland sent a telegram to the South African ambassador there expressing anxiety and outrage at the arrests.

The Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs called on the South African government to release the detainees, as did the Swedish govern-

ment.

The acting secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC) sent a telegram to Prime Minister PW Botha which strongly condemned the arrests and demanded the immediate release of detainees.

Other political, social and church organisations in Europe voiced their protest against the detentions, and many sent messages of support to the UDF.

The Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, in her letter of congratulations to the Natal Indian Congress on its 90th birthday, also condemned the detentions.

Treason, ANC links alleged

The trial of Roland Hunter, Patricia Hanekom and Derek Hanekom resumes on September 12 after three postponements. They face charges of treason, with alternative charges of contravening the protection of Information Act, the Internal Security Act and the Publications Act.

They previously appeared in court in April and in August, after being detained in December last year.

The state alleges the three are members or active supporters of the banned African National Congress (ANC), or have associated themselves with its aims and objectives or conspired with its members.

The Hanekoms allegedly made contact with ANC supporters in Botswana in 1981.

encouraged or assisted Mr Hunter, a clerk in the military intelligence to pass intelligence information to the ANC.

The Judge, Mr Justice DJ Curlewis put a blanket prohibition on the publication of certain details of the case and indicated that he might do so with other information in the case.

Turf student trial

A university of the North (Turfloop) student appeared in Tzaneen magistrate's court on September 5, after being in detention for five months. Ms Reagon Ntombi (34) was not asked to plead and the case was postponed for two weeks. This was her second court appearance after being detained at the Botswana border in March this year.

Cell death inquest

Disturbing evidence is emerging in a Nelspruit inquest court, where the death of Norman Sikatane in 1982 is being investigated.

Sikatane was arrested on December 10, 1982, on suspicion of robbery. He was brought to the police station, which was only six kilometers away, nearly four hours later.

Despite evidence that pain prevented Sikatane from eating, sleeping and going to the toilet for 48 hours, only one policeman recorded that the prisoner had any complaints.

Policemen admitted to the court that it was their duty to take an injured prisoner to the district surgeon. But Sikatane was only taken to a clinic two days after his arrest.

A nurse at the clinic, which was only 100 meters away advised he should be taken to hospital immediately. Instead he was put back in his cell and died from peritonitis.

District surgeon Dr E T Malan said this was caused by a blow to his stomach on the day he was arrested. He said an operation could have saved Sikatane's life.

Training charge

In Durban, six youth face various charges under the Internal Security Act, including trying to leave the country for ANC military training.

The six are: Thembinkosi Marrant (23), Sibusiso Mathebula (23),

Phelelani Mshengu (24), Lucky Mphumulo (19), Frederick Msomi (22) and Alec Chirwa (20).

A seventh accused, Mr Ephraim Mthethwa was found dead in his cell on August 25.

Workers convicted

GENERAL secretary of the Food, Beverage and Allied Workers Union, Mr 'Skakes' Sikhakhane, and 26 workers were convicted in the Potchefstroom magistrate's court for holding an illegal gathering outside a factory in the area.

Sikhakhane and the others were arrested outside the Chubby Chicks plant after addressing a group of workers who claimed they had been locked out of the factory during a dispute.

Lawyers acting for Sikhakhane plan to appeal in the Supreme Court against the decision. This case is seen as an important test of whether police can take action against unionists who hold meetings with workers outside factories during disputes.

Court-singing trial

THE TRIAL of seven people charged with demonstrating in court will go ahead after an application for a discharge after the close of the state's case was unsuccessful.

Helen Joseph, Heather Barclay, Tom Manthatha, Mike Roussos, Benita Pavlicevic, Beulah Rolnick and Kerrie Sheperd are alleged to have sung and given clenched-fist salutes while court was in session during the Treason trial of Carl Niehaus and Jansie Lourens.

They face alternative charges of contempt of court.

They applied for discharge on grounds that it was not enough for the state to say they constituted a demonstration because they were in court singing. The state had to prove the demonstration was connected to court proceedings in question.

The trial has been postponed until December 4.

Charges against an eighth accused, Lucienne Hunter, have been withdrawn.



L to r: 100 000 South African soldiers in Namibia - one for every 12 Namibians; 'Swapo is the people, the people you see around you'; Namibians in the SADF ... South Africa's insurance

Namibia's years of agony

Namibia's war has been long and bitter. But 10 000 deaths have not killed Swapo. The people keep it alive ...

SUNDAY 26 August marked the 18th year of Namibia's war of independence.

More than 10 000 Namibians — one percent of the population — have died in the war and an estimated 100 000 have fled the country. Those who remain live under severe restrictions and daily terror.

The economy is crashing, the land is devastated by the war. But the people's resolve to resist South African occupation has remained as firm as ever.

South Africa invaded Namibia and captured it from Germany during the first world war. Since then it has held on to the territory despite international protest.

The United Nations (UN) made several unsuccessful attempts to intervene. At the same time a powerful internal resistance movement began to emerge.

The Ovambo People's Organisation — later the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) — mobilised people in opposition to forced removals, campaigned against South Africa's imposition of apartheid laws in Namibia and petitioned the UN to compel South Africa to withdraw.

But international diplomatic pressure and internal peaceful resistance failed to produce any results.

Winning the peace

Guerilla operations were launched in August 1966 after the world court ruled that it was powerless to act against South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

The first military engagement took place when South African helicopters fired on a guerilla training camp in Northern Ovamboland, killing two and capturing 27 guerillas.

The 27 were charged two years later under the South African Terrorism Act, made retrospective especially to cover the case. Among them was Ioivo ja Toivo, convicted under a clause which made it possible to hold one Swapo member guilty for another's actions.

The first guerilla operations caught South Africa completely by surprise — a headline in the Sunday Times read 'Did Terrorists Come By Air?' It was hard to believe guerillas had travelled from Zambia to Namibia's west coast, across inhospitable terrain, carrying weapons and supplies.

The South African Defence Force (SADF) only had three bases in Namibia at the time. Today it has 80.



Opposition inside Namibia, militant and strong

Guerilla operations spread east through Ovamboland, the Okavango, the Caprivi strip and later the Grootfontein district.

At that stage the South African Police (SAP) managed to contain the war, but in the 1970's a massive build up of South African armed forces began in earnest.

In December 1971 a massive general strike of about 20 000 contract workers spread across the country. About 13 000 workers were transported back to their homes in Ovamboland, but protest continued with public meetings and demonstrations.

The SADF was called in to help the SAP crush the strike. This marked the beginning of the SADF's active participation in the war. It started with border patrols, but by 1973 the SADF had taken control over South Africa's counter-insurgency operations.

The SADF did not limit itself to purely military activity. In August 1973 SADF troops in armoured cars assisted the SAP in trying to stop the Swapo-led boycott of elections in Ovamboland. Even so only 2.5 percent of the electorate voted.

Increasing numbers of South African troops were conscripted to Namibia and by June 1974 there were some 15 000 troops in the country.

By 1981 there were 100 000 South African soldiers in Namibia — one soldier for every 12 Namibians.

Angola provided Swapo's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army

of Namibia (PLAN), with a secure base and an enlarged front almost 1000 miles long. Training bases and refugee camps were set up in Southern Angola, and guerilla operations became more frequent and more effective.

In an attempt to counter this, in 1978 the SADF launched large scale 'pre-emptive' strikes across the border into Angola.

In October 1977 a large PLAN incursion led to a three-day battle which left 60 insurgents and six security force members dead. Many saw this as an indication that Swapo was prepared to move beyond simple guerilla warfare and to operate in large groups.

Escalating war

The SADF had been expecting small, lightly armed groups and was taken by surprise. They responded by embarking on a series of 'external' operations to destroy Swapo's military infrastructure in Angola — based on the assumption that it was better to attack unarmed refugees than wait until they became armed guerillas.

The first was a devastating airborne attack on Cassinga in May 1978 which killed 1000 refugees. The most recent was 'Operation Askari' this year.

After each 'pre-emptive' raid military spokespeople have announced that Swapo's 'backbone was broken'. Yet each time Swapo has come back fighting, and even official estimates have put its troop strength

at about 10 000 in the last six years.

Observers say Swapo's support among the Namibian population makes this possible. People in the war-zones (Ovambo and Kavango) are described as 'peasants or workers by day and guerillas by night' — arms are cached and civilians conduct guerilla operations at night.

PLAN is also said to emphasise the political nature of its struggle and insurgents work at politicising the population.

PLAN's ranks are continually increased by refugees and recruits from Namibia. 70 000 Namibians are said to be in Angola and Zambia, several thousand of whom are undergoing military training. When compulsory conscription was introduced in Namibia, 100 people a week were reported to be crossing the border.

This support for Swapo has forced the South African government to use both co-option and repression to undermine it.

The SADF has tried to win the people's hearts and minds through its Civic Action Programme in schools and medical and public services. But this has failed dismally — South African troops in whatever guise, are seen as an army of occupation and their 'civic action' has only caused more resentment.

Another strategy has been to 'Namibianise' the armed forces. Drawing Namibians into army and police units (90 percent of Koevoet members are black Namibians) is an attempt to sow division and confusion in the communities.

Co-option is failing so repression is used to try and crush local support for Swapo. The most blatant example of this is the notorious special counter-insurgency unit 'Koevoet'.

There is widespread evidence of brutalities they have committed. A common tactic they use is to pose as guerillas, accept food and shelter from civilians, and then punish them.

Koevoet's reign of terror has totally wrecked the 'hearts and minds' campaign and further alienated the Namibian people. Support for insurgents has increased and church groups have concluded that the longer South African troops are in Namibia, the greater Swapo's support will be.

Namibians also suffer under harsh security legislation. For example, AG9 empowers any policeman, railway policeman or soldier to detain anyone at any place for 30 days, on suspicion that the person has committed an offence or has any information.

The people's support

Despite all this, even the South African government plans for a watered-down Namibian independence have had to recognise the massive internal support for Swapo.

South Africa wants an internal settlement where the constitution is drawn up before the elections, so that the other internal parties (the 1983 Multi-Party conference) can entrench themselves and prevent Swapo from forming a majority government. All indications are that free and fair elections under UN Resolution 435 would result in a landslide Swapo victory.

The other part of South Africa's strategy is for the 'Namibianised' armed forces — trained and equipped by South Africa — to take over when South African forces have to get out.

Swapo has stated it will never consider a settlement that does not follow Resolution 435 and will continue the struggle for 'total independence and social liberation'.

The fact that Swapo has sustained its war effort for 18 years against an occupying force with far superior war technology and ten times its size, is a clear indication of Swapo's overwhelming support from the people of Namibia.

Even its opponents are forced to admit this — as the conservative former editor of the Windhoek Advertiser, Leon Kok, said, 'Swapo is the people, the people you see around you'.

'GSI GOES up, then rent, then bread, then bus fares... It's like when you walk down the road and four or five dogs run out of a yard and start snapping at you. You can kick one or two of them, but the others keep on coming. And the ones you kicked are soon back.'

This year South Africans have been hit by an endless stream of price increases — meat, eggs and dairy products in January, maize and train fares in March, petrol, electricity, water and coal in April. Add to that increases in the price of sugar, tea, rents, hospital and clinic fees, and bread and it is not surprising people feel under attack.

But it is not always clear who or what is doing the attacking.

Clearly most people have no control over the price and quality of food, housing and transport, so a good place to start would be with the few who do.

Housing for black people has always been tightly controlled by the government. It has used the Group Areas Act, the pass laws and removals to destroy communities and force people to live in specific places.

It has also kept strict control over how much money should be spent on housing and where that money should come from. As far back as 1922, the government decided that African townships should be 'self-financing'. Money for houses, sewerage, roads and recreation should come out of the residents' pockets, in the form of rents, license fees, liquor sales and fines.

Last year George de V Morrison, deputy-minister of Cooperation said: 'Blacks should provide their own housing and make use of the opportunities the government gives them to do so.' The government could simply not afford to supply them with houses, he said.

Black Local Authorities were set up to take responsibility for housing and services in African townships. And the new Indian and coloured parliaments will have to take care of housing as one of their 'own affairs'.

High rents - why?

The new Town Councils in African townships have inherited all the debts and problems of the administration boards. The Orange-Vaal Board handed over debts of three-and-a-half million rand to the new councils. The Soweto Council is now R14 million in debt.

In the face of these problems, the Councils have turned on residents to get them out of trouble, just as those who opposed the Black Local Authorities elections had warned. For example in July, the Daveyton Council, faced with a deficit of R3.8 million, tried to push rent up by R14, subtenants' fees by R7.50, burial fees by R5 and water and electricity deposits to R75.

There is little hope that these councils or the government will build houses to overcome the housing shortage estimated to be nearly 400 000 houses for Africans, 80 000 for Indians and 180 000 for coloured people. And the 'opportunities to build their own homes' which the deputy-minister was talking about are all very expensive.

8 000 people are being moved to Tsakane on the East Rand. Only those people who earn less than R150 a month will qualify to rent houses. Others can apply for loans of R2 800 to build their own houses.

These schemes are described as 'self-help' but in fact they shift the burden of housing expenses onto residents and away from the government. And how can people working a long day then come home and build their houses?

In Grassy Park in Cape Town, a plot of land costs R3 422. Loans of between R3 000 and R7 000 are available for building materials. A person building a house in this way has to pay a R300 'participation fee' and a R300 'handling fee'.

After one month they will have to

Our money buys less each day. Why? Most people can't



L to r: Basic foods are hard to afford; Money has to be kept back for transport to work; Some things are just luxuries now.

The hands that pick the people's pockets



No home and no money. And no protection from rising prices and unemployment.

pay back the loan on the land and after twelve months the loan on the materials. A person who earns R170 a month will have to pay R75 a month for two years. That is nearly half his or her salary.

Improvements to township services are also costing residents a lot. In Soweto, all residents pay a R17 electricity levy, but thousands have no power yet. In Chiawelo, 200 residents paid a R200 electricity deposit, but have received nothing for eight months.

As if all these expenses were not enough, authorities have spent money on things which are designed to improve apartheid and not township conditions.

Since 1971 the administration boards have built 47 693 houses in the bantustans. The Soweto Council which has such difficulty keeping rents down despite all its election promises, plans to spend R24 million improving hostels for single migrants.

Why is transport so expensive? One reason is that black people have been forced to live in townships far from the cities where they work. People have been moved from District Six to Mitchells Plain, Pageview to Lenasia, Sophiatown to Orlando, and now Crossroads to Khayelitsha.

Bus transport is mostly in the hands of a few companies like Putco,

Intollgate Holdings, United Transport Holdings and the Ciskei Transport Corporation. Their main concern is to run a profitable business.

They increase their fares regularly, usually claiming that running costs are up and taxis are taking away their passengers. Putco's recent increase was based on claims that their earnings had dropped steadily since 1980.

In fact most of Putco's profits are ploughed back into new buses, depots and workshops. Between 1980 and 1983, the value of Putco's property increased from R46.2 million to R113.7 million. The government seems to accept this.

Bus-fares and profits

A company wishing to increase bus fares has to apply to the Road Transportation Board. A hearing is held where people can oppose the increase, but evidence of the profits made by bus companies doesn't seem to impress the Board. In 1982, Putco's own accountant admitted that the company was making a profit of 60 per cent each year, but the increase was still passed.

The government says it lightens the burden of increases by subsidising bus transport. But subsidies are only given on weekly tickets, called clip-cards. These have to be used up in one week. A six day clip-card is

much cheaper than buying six single tickets — a weekly card from Alexandra to Johannesburg city centre costs R3.50 whereas single fares cost 50 cents each.

But someone who is unemployed, a person doing a piece job or a mother wishing to shop in town cannot take advantage of this subsidy because they cannot afford to travel to town every day.

And now the subsidy is being reduced. In this year's budget, money for public bus passenger transport was cut by R68 million.

People cannot survive without food, but price rises are forcing many to eat less and less. In May a survey found that people were eating less than they were six months before.

If rent and bus fares go up, and wages, pensions and unemployment insurance stay the same or rise too slowly, people are forced to meet these expenses out of food money. If they do not pay their rent they are evicted. Without money for transport they lose their jobs.

On top of this, the price of food has risen sharply. Food you could buy for one rand in 1975 now costs R2.70. A 2.5 kilogram bag of mealie-meal has risen in price from 35 cents to R1.04, brown bread from 13 cents to 37 cents, and 2.5 kg of sugar from 45c to R1.64.

Why is food so expensive? Between the time food is produced and the time it reaches the table, it goes through the hands of various government departments and private companies. And this helps push up the prices.

Maize is South Africa's most important crop, partly because it is staple food for millions and partly because it affects so many other prices. Maize price increases this year pushed up the cost of beef, chicken, eggs and milk — maize to feed cattle accounts for one-third of the expenses of milk producers.

The maize price increase was justified by the serious damage caused to the crops by the drought. But this is only part of the explanation.

Apartheid has been condemned worldwide and the government has a strong fear that South Africa could be cut off from receiving certain goods. Farmers have been forced to buy locally-made fertilizers, tractors, insecticides and even packing-bags so as not to leave the country vulnerable to sanctions or boycotts.

This has made these goods much more expensive and pushed up farmers' costs.

In 1982, 208 000 tons of fertiliser had to be imported. To protect local industry, it was handed over to

control prices. A few can. Saspu National looks at . . .



Shops are full, but people battle to afford what they sell. Bantustan residents suffer the most.

AE&CI for packaging and distribution.

They sold it to Fedmis and Triomf for 35 per cent more than they had paid for it. Fedmis and Triomf in turn pushed up the price to farmers by another 24,5 per cent. When all this was finished, fertiliser which was imported at R203 a ton was sold at R341 a ton.

But while farmers pay a lot for imports, they are protected in other ways. They certainly don't have to spend much on their workers. Wages are very low — in 1982, full-time farm workers were getting a monthly cash wage of less than R34, plus R30 to R50 in food and fuel.

Farmers also get plenty of financial assistance from the government. By the end of 1983, farmers owed the government R5 000 million.

Farmers have a strong influence on

the price of agricultural products. For example, SA's 6 000 maize producers are organised in the National Maize Producers' Organisation (Nampo).

Every year Nampo asks the Maize Board to increase the price which farmers are paid for their maize. (The Maize Board is one of twenty control boards which decide on the price of basic foods. They are all dominated by farmer and government representatives.)

Until two years ago, South Africa produced huge surpluses of maize. In 1981 for example, farmers produced over double the amount needed to feed South Africa.

That year the local price of maize reached a record high. And at the same time five million tons of maize were exported at a loss of R50 per ton.

This happened with other foods as well. In January the Dairy Board said it would be selling 9 700 tons of skimmed milk powder to Japan and Taiwan at a loss of R21 million rand because there was no 'economic market in SA at present'.

Behind food prices

But at the same time local manufacturers pushed their prices up. Skimmed milk powder was now selling for R3,40 kg compared with R1,13kg on the world market.

The exported milk powder could have provided 600 000 children with a litre of milk a day for six months — half a litre is enough to prevent kwashiorkor.

Some boards have gone to incredible lengths to keep local prices high. In 1982 the price of eggs fell

dramatically. The Egg Board bought up 700 000 eggs, then refused to put them on sale. This created a shortage and forced prices up again.

After going through the boards, fresh food is refined, packaged and distributed. All these steps add to the costs especially as food companies make large profits.

In 1980 food prices rose so that food costing one rand now cost R1,30. Of this extra 30 cents, 18 cents was a result of increased costs in processing, packaging, distribution and marketing.

The food industry like many others is increasingly being dominated by a small number of giant corporations. Koo-Langeberg controls 70 - 80 per cent of the tinned fruit and vegetable market. Recently a giant sugar corporation Tongaat-Hullet was formed which will control 70 per cent of all

sugar sales in South Africa.

The actual selling of food is also a profitable business. Pick and Pay's earnings have gone up from R1,8 million in 1973 to R48 million in 1983. OK Bazaars profits rose from R54 million to R70 million in one year.

What has the government done to keep food prices down? Bread has been subsidised but this has been decreasing.

In 1982 the subsidy was dropped from R160 million to R158 million. This year the subsidy on white bread was dropped altogether and the brown bread subsidy was reduced from 17 cents a loaf to 11.

And price control? Last year, price control on milk was kept for producers but taken away for distribution. So with farmers getting 33 cents a litre for their milk, cafes and small shops were selling it for 71 cents and more.

One of the government's most powerful influences on food prices has been a damaging one. GST has pushed food prices way up. Although certain foods have now been exempted from GST, many feel this does not go far enough. GST still has to be paid on foods popular with poorer people such as tinned fish, soya beans and jam. And other essentials such as candles, paraffin, coal and medicine are not exempt at all and have become more expensive.

Rent, food and transport are just some of the things people are paying more for. There are plenty of others. In the Transvaal, minimum fees at clinics have been raised from R2 to R5. In the Cape, people earning between R200 and R300 a month are now expected to pay R12 to attend a day hospital.

Low wages

The majority of South Africans cannot afford these price increases.

The average income of African households in 1982 was estimated to be R204 a month. The Household Subsistence Level which is a conservative figure for how much a family needs to live was higher in every part of the country — R237 in Benoni, R257 in Cape Town, R261 in Uitenhage and R271 in Johannesburg.

But even if wages have increased in some cases, this gain has been cut away by the high and growing number of unemployed in South Africa. Some estimate South Africa has nearly three million unemployed people, nearly all of them black.

The unemployment insurance fund does not provide adequate support. Many workers and workseekers cannot join the fund at all, including school-leavers looking for their first jobs, seasonal workers, farmworkers (who number around two million), and South Africa's 800 000 domestic workers.

As a result, only about one-third of South Africa's workers are members of the UIF.

Even those who are members do not get enough to live on. They are only allowed to collect UIF for 26 weeks in each year. And the system for paying workers out is inefficient and uncooperative — in 1982 only 136 160 workers managed to get UIF payments.

So the burden of supporting unemployed family members falls on those lucky enough to have jobs. Surveys in Soweto show that over half of all households make payments to dependants, especially to people living in the bantustans.

A new constitution will do nothing to protect people from rising prices and low wages. Like community councils and bantustan governments, the new parliaments will have to solve problems like the housing shortage with no control over the money needed to do this.

And, as always the power of bus companies, farmers, food manufacturers and employers to push up prices and keep wages down is left untouched.

While all eyes were on the ballot boxes . . .

Monday August 20

- Police confirm that a suspected guerrilla was killed in a shootout in Mapeta, Soweto on the weekend. The man, whose name is withheld, was allegedly responsible for a limpet mine explosion in Roodepoort a week before.
- A memorial service is held for Ruth First at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. First, an exiled South African activist and writer, was assassinated by a letter bomb in August 1982.
- 9 000 East Rand pupils remain on boycott in spite of an ultimatum from the Department of Education and Training (DET) threatening closure of their schools. The total number on boycott nationwide rises to 30 000.
- Three explosive devices are found on railway trucks in Langlaagte near Johannesburg. Police remove and defuse them.
- A Swazi delegation holds talks with Foreign Minister Pik Botha to defuse rising tension along the border between Swaziland and Ingwavuma. Swaziland claims 7 000 refugees have fled Ingwavuma to escape Inkatha intimidation.
- The Trade Union Council in Britain is handed a resolution from one of its members, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, calling on member unions 'to use all means available to ensure that a British government does not again play host to a white South African prime minister.' The resolution later won majority support at the TUC Congress.

Tuesday August 21

- 1 200 workers at the Dunlop factory in Durban, all members of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu), are fired soon after voting to embark on a legal strike.
- Tembisa students attack the homes of the mayor and one of the town councillors. Police use teargas and 11 people are arrested.
- A strike involving 1 500 workers at Lever Brothers brings the number of strikers in Durban to 3 000.
- After wage negotiations at Anglo-American Highveld Steel reach deadlock, 70 percent of the workforce votes for a legal strike. Workers of all races vote in the ballot which is jointly organised by Mawu and the South African Boilermakers Society.
- It is revealed that a total of 76 people have been executed this year. Another 178 are still on Death Row.
- A Cradock teacher, Mr G Fort Calata, is dismissed from his job by the DET. Mr Calata has been in security police detention for five months. He receives no pay for the time spent in prison, according to his wife.
- Nominations for the Edendale Advisory Board close with no candidates offering themselves for election. This leaves Imbali as the only township in the Pietermaritzburg area with a functioning council.
- Workers at the Datsun Nissan plant in Pretoria are put on a three-day working week. This is to hold off retrenchments but reduces the wages of the 4 000 hourly paid workers. Only two motor car manufacturers are still working a five day week.
- A mob of 200 people, believed to be Inkatha supporters, attacked the homes of Joint Residents Action Committee (Jorac) officials in Hambanathi. The houses of Ian Mkhize and Richard Gumede are stoned and Mkhize's car is set alight.
- Police set up 15 roadblocks in and around Johannesburg.

Wednesday August 22

- 'Illegals' living in shacks at Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto are warned by the Diepmeadow Town Council to leave the area within two weeks.
- The offices of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union in Evander are ransacked by unknown people. CWIU organises workers at the Sasol Two and Three plants in Secunda. Earlier a CWIU official received a death threat.
- The number of anti-election activists in detention reaches 50.
- 152 students are arrested for differing lengths of time.
- Police fire bullets, buckshot and tear-smoke at boycotting students in Daveyton.
- The government announces that South Africa's first nuclear power generator at Koeberg is now in full use after delays caused by sabotage.
- A government spokesperson says R7,5 million will be spent on renovating the Union buildings.
- Police arrest a 24-year old man in connection with the petrol bombing of a new-

Millions said don't vote - the constitution won't change the system. While everyone watched the polls, life in South Africa went on in the usual way . . . and proved the boycotters right



Above: NIC celebrates



I: Inkatha



r: students



KTC - no new deal



Kangwane and Koornhof - friends again

ly elected MP's home in Ravensmead, Cape Town.

Thursday August 23

- DET offices in Ophirton, Johannesburg, are damaged by a limpet mine blast.
- Indian pupils boycotting classes in protest against the elections are suspended indefinitely by the directorate of Indian Education.
- The Diepmeadow Town Council threatens to forcibly remove 1 000 shack dwellers from the Mzimhlophe Transit camp in Soweto.
- Workers on a go-slow for higher wages at the Goodyear Company in Uitenhage are fired.
- A managing-director of the company which owns Penge mine discloses figures which show 80 per cent of the workers at the mine are exposed to quantities of asbestos fibre which would be considered unsafe in other countries.
- 1 500 Imbali residents and students demonstrate against a visit to the township by Dr Piet Koornhof. Police use sjamboks and teargas to disperse a crowd gathered outside the hall Koornhof had been invited to open.

Friday August 24

- The regional offices of the SA Railway Police in Johannesburg are severely



Rents conflict

damaged by a bomb blast. Five people, four of them railway policemen are injured.

- An Imbali youth is shot dead and two others wounded by police after a group of residents allegedly stoned a security policeman's house.
- 30 Thabong students are released on R200 bail after appearing in a Welkom Regional Court.
- Two professors from the University of Transkei (Unitra) are deported and escorted out of the bantustan by police. Students boycott lectures in protest. Eight Unitra lecturers have been expelled in the past three months.
- South African technicians withdraw from talks with Lesotho on a R2 000 million water project. A Lesotho government spokesperson describes it as an attempt to force them into signing an Nkomati-style peace pact.
- Swazi police arrest five ANC members

Friday August 24

- The regional offices of the SA Railway Police in Johannesburg are severely

- found dead in his cell in the Durban Central Prison. Mthethwa of Lamontville, and six others were facing charges under the Internal Security Act.
- Moss Chikane, Transvaal UDF secretary is picked up by security police at his Mamelodi home and detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.
- Three people are hacked to death and three houses set alight in Hambanathi. Those killed and those whose homes are destroyed are all members of the UDF and Jorac.

Monday August 27

- The governor of the Reserve Bank Dr G de Kock warns that the government will have to cut public spending.
- United Nations secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar says South African insistence on linking a Namibian settlement to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is making implementation of Resolution 435, the UN plan for independence, impossible.
- Namibian Christian Democratic Party leader Ham Rohr names several civilians whom he says have been killed by SA security forces in Kavango. Rohr urges PW Botha to put an end to the killing.
- Classrooms at Soshanguve Secondary School are set alight.
- Five youths are held after unrest in Mamelodi.
- A Daveyton youth is still unconscious after sustaining a head injury during unrest earlier in the month.
- Boycotts of Indian schools continue despite the suspension of 1 500 pupils who stayed away last week.

Tuesday August 28

- Over 3 000 Turfloop students protesting against the Indian election clash violently with Lebowa police.
- The National Union of Textile Workers declares a dispute with the Frame group of textile companies. For ten years Frame has refused to recognise the union.
- Seven long-term political prisoners at Windhoek's Central Prison enter the sixth day of a hunger strike in protest against prison food.
- A legal suit is filed against successful Laudium candidate Boetie Abramjee. It concerns alleged irregularities in the allocation of plots while Abramjee was the chairperson of the Laudium Management Committee.
- Workers at Dunlop in Benoni down tools in sympathy with fired Dunlop workers in Durban.
- Contract workers, fired after striking at a Cape Town factory, are arrested for being in the Cape illegally.

Wednesday August 29

- At least 300 Unitra students are hauled from their beds at daybreak, baton-charged by Transkei security police and beaten up before being arrested. Authorities give no explanation for the raid. Unitra is declared officially closed until September 11.
- The SA Council of Churches reveals that three new resettlement camps have been set up near Ladysmith.
- Brigadier JC Coetsee, Divisional Commissioner of the Soweto police, praises the 'restraint and patience' shown by police at the Lenasia polling booths.

Thursday August 30

- Three people are killed and several treated for bullet wounds after violence erupts in Daveyton and Katilehong.
- A 19 year-old is shot dead in Thokoza and two others injured.
- Security police seize a large cache of weapons and explosives in Soweto.
- Police recapture security detainee Justice Ngidi who escaped in June.
- Shelters at KTC in the Western Cape are torn down again as talks between officials and squatters break down.
- Ciskei police detain Mdantsane attorney Joe Tutani and three others.
- Dieter and Ruth Gerhardt, convicted of treason last year, are refused leave to appeal.

Friday August 31

- KaNgwane is given 'self-governing' status, one step away from taking 'independence'.
- Reverend Tebogo Moselane, an opponent of community councils in the Vaal area, is attacked for the second time.
- PW Botha meets US Secretary of State Chester Crocker to discuss 'the peace process in Southern Africa'.
- Three members of the Seshego Executive Committee of Azapo appear in the Pietersburg magistrate's court charged with putting up anti-election posters without permission.
- Ngoye students boycott classes in protest against the barring of 11 students from the university.

Saturday August 25

- It is reported that 12 firms have gone completely bankrupt every day for the past four months.
- The Technical Advice Group warns that 200 000 people in the North-Eastern Transvaal may have been exposed to dangerous levels of asbestos and risk getting lung cancer.
- Over 2 000 people defy a magistrate's ban and attend the funeral of Hendrick Nkuna in Tembisa. Nkuna was killed in clashes between police and students at the Mabopane Technikon earlier in August.
- Minister Louis le Grange announces that since August 18, 173 people have been held in connection with anti-election activity.

Sunday August 26

- Ephraim Thomsanqa Mthethwa, 22, is