



**Right wing
Violence
Hits the
Campuses**
See page 3



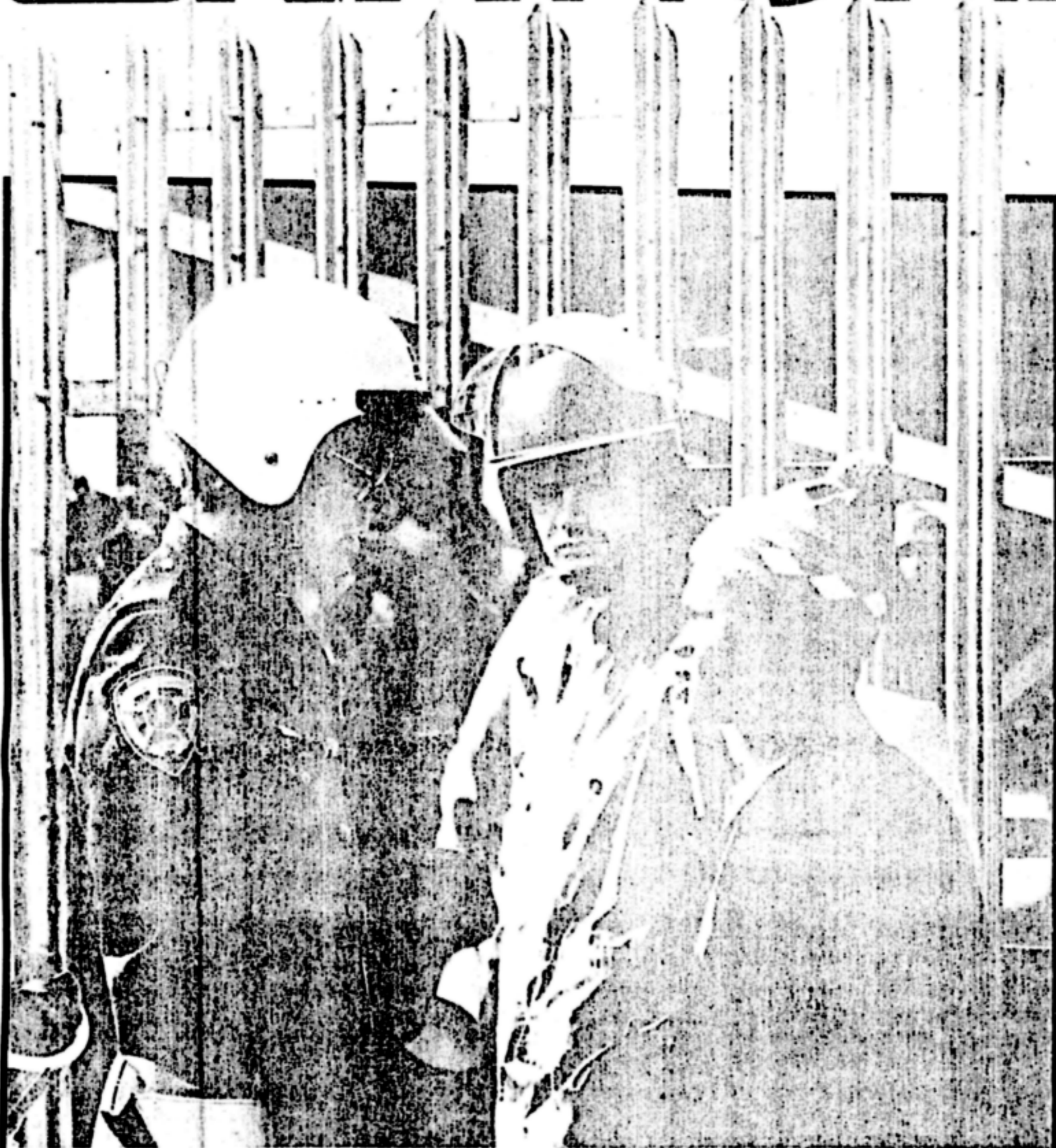
**20 000
women
defy unjust
pass laws**
See page 10



**Democratic
Blueprint
at Kliptown
Congress**
See Centre Spread

SASPU NATIONAL

Volume 1 No. 2. 1980



A confrontation at the recent Johannesburg municipal workers strike.

Country wide strikes get community support

WORKERS are increasingly taking the lead in the country wide resistance to the living conditions of the majority of South Africans.

In the past two months alone worker resistance and strike action has involved over 40 000 workers, with a new strike at least once every two days.

Unlike the 1973 strikes which were mainly in Natal, the latest upsurge is in all the major centres — as well as in smaller industrial towns like Estcourt, Kroonstad, Hammarsdale and Newcastle.

The wave of activity spans all industries — from the Post (Transvaal) newspaper to mines, factories, shops and even a workshop of 380 blind people who struck for better wages.

The awareness of the necessity for unified action has been shown through solidarity action, both across and within factories.

- In Cape Town, 700 meat workers struck in support of 60 workers fighting for union recognition at Table Bay Cold Storage.
- In the Eastern Cape, 2 000 workers at General Motors and Ford offered to come out in support of the 3 500 Volkswagen strikers in Uitenhage.
- In Kroonstad 80 workers struck when police detained some of their fellow workers and refused to go back to work until they were released.
- In Boksburg 55 struck at Rely Precision Casting over the dismissal of a worker, claiming that management was victimising him.

The labour action has also overshadowed the tide of school boycotts. In the Western Cape, students moved behind the meat workers, having largely dropped their own demands in favour of supporting those of the workers.

The upsurge of worker protest takes place against the background of soaring inflation. Recent re

10 000 workers leave a city in a mess

JHB Workers flex their Muscle

AS the first impact of the the strike by 10 000 municipal workers in Johannesburg subsides, the broader issues of this remarkable show of worker strength became clear.

The strike began on July 24 when workers at the Orlando Power Station struck for higher wages. The Johannesburg City Council fired these workers and began "importing" replacement labour from the homelands. At this point workers from other municipal departments began to down tools as Joseph Mavi, head of the Black Municipality Workers Union, warned that a further 9 000 Johannesburg workers would join the strike.

The BMWU began organising only months before the strike. The union rose in rejection of the Union of Johannesburg Municipal Workers — which Black

municipal workers saw as a "stooge" of the "white" trade unions.

While Mavi's union has chosen not to register under South Africa's new labour laws, the "rival" union hastily registered during the strike. The massive show of support for the unregistered union has been seen as an outright rejection of attempts to force "dummy organisations" on workers.

The response to the unions call for a strike in sympathy with the Orlando workers, shook the foundations of South Africa's political and economic system. Within 4 days, 10 000 municipal workers came out on strike — at least 2/3 of the City Council's workforce. The bulk of the strikers came from the cleansing, transport, electricity, gas and water departments, but almost every council department was

affected.

The strike was a powerful display of the high level of organisation and militancy of these workers. Probably the most important feature was that almost all strikers were contract labourers from the poorest areas in South Africa's homelands.

Contract labourers are in a weak position because of the ease with which they can be sent back to join the large "reserves" of unemployed workers in the rural areas. The sacrifices which the municipal workers were prepared to make therefore, showed a very high level of awareness of the need for democratic worker organisation in South Africa.

Workers' demands during the strike were clear and definite. They demanded that their minimum wage be increased from R33 a week to R58 a week and that

working conditions be revised. They also called for council recognition of their union as opposed to the "stooge" Union of Johannesburg Municipal Workers.

The reaction of the City Council to the strike was particularly brutal. The council both refused to negotiate with the union, and began to fire striking workers. The municipal compounds where the bulk of municipal workers live were sealed off to non-residents. As a result union officials were prevented from contacting the striking workers.

On the fifth day of the strike, with support at its peak, the City Council entered the compounds in an attempt to diffuse the situation. They called for representatives from the striking workers to come forward to negotiate. The



Striking Frametex workers ports say it now costs R1,00 to buy the same amount of food that cost R0,60 four years ago.

The rate of inflation has in the last few months reached its been higher for workers than for more wealthy groups.

About 30 incidents of worker action over the past two months

*To page 3

*To page 2

Massive strike wave rips SA

*From page 1

have been for better wages and working conditions — a direct response against the increased cost of living.

Many strikes have also included a long-term demand — for trade union recognition and independent worker representation.

- In East London 650 Western Province Preserving Co. workers walked out after management refused to recognise the African Food and Canning Union.

- Nearly 800 Putco workers on the Rand struck over the issue of independent worker representation. The 750 strong meat workers strike in Cape Town has been for non-racial democratic workers' committees in the meat industry.

The state's response to these gigantic upheavals has been confused. At the Sasol III construction plant 18000 striking workers were sent home for a long weekend by management, thus crushing the solidarity and organisation of the workers. But only for a time — recently 700 workers refused to work, their grievances remaining the same.

But in response to the Johannesburg municipal strike the state used its entire might to forcefully crush all worker resistance. Workers were starved and intimidated into submission when police allowed no-one in or out of the compounds in which the workers lived.

No attempt has been made by management or the state to alleviate conditions under which workers live and work. Nor have they been prepared to give in to workers, except in very rare cases.

Dismissals and detentions have been the order of the day.

Coupled with the bus and schools boycotts the wave of strikes presents a strong challenge to the existing system.

If worker militancy maintains its present course, then no let-up of strike activity in the foreseeable future can be expected.

Indeed, one can only expect an escalation of the present conflict.



Angry workers at the recent Frametex strike

THE wave of strikes in the Eastern Cape during June, centering around the Volkswagen assembly plant in Uitenhage, ended in a significant victory for the workers involved.

On June 16, 3 500 Black workers at the Volkswagen plant went on strike, demanding higher wages and, particularly, a minimum wage at R2.00 an hour. Within the next four days, more than 9 other factories in Uitenhage had gone out on strike, representing approximately 10 000 workers.

The factories on strike included S.K.F. wheel bearing factory, Link Construction Company, UCM Milling and, later, Goodyear Tyre Company. The various strikes in motor component factories forced the Ford Cortina Plant in

Port Elizabeth to close down, and the General Motors Plant to cut back significantly on production.

On June 20, Uitenhage was declared an "operational area" as hundreds of workers marched through the centre of the town.

On June 24 the managements of Volkswagen, Ford and General Motors met with worker representatives from Goodyear, and officials from the two FOSATU unions involved in the strike: the

National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers of South Africa and the United Automobile and Rubber Workers.

A minimum wage offer of R1.40 a day (to be increased to R2.00 by 1982) was made. Although at this stage most of the striking workers in Uitenhage reached agreements and agreed to return to work, workers at Volkswagen and Goodyear rejected the R1.40 offer.

When the Volkswagen plant reopened on June 27, very few workers returned to work. However, on July 4 the unions claimed that management had accepted the principle of a "living wage" for workers. This was seen as a particularly important breakthrough and the unions therefore called on the Volkswagen workers to return to work — united in a show of strength.

The strikes effectively ended on July 7, as thousands of workers returned to their jobs and agreed that there should be no further strike action while negotiations continued. During the following week, workers at Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen all accepted the new increased maximum wage offer at R1.45 per hour.

Eastern Cape Strike Revisited

The strange case of the Professor and the police

BOYCOTT STUDENTS RETURN TO UNIVERSITY — TO A ROW AND A BATON CHARGE

A group of students who had re-registered gathered beneath the administration building from which they were addressed by the rector. He used the opportunity to point out some of the student leaders. This provocation resulted in stone throwing.

Students assembled at the gates of the university then witnessed a Professor Pretorius appeal to the riot police to disperse the students mass.

Students and members of staff were beaten in the charge. Many of the students who were beaten had already registered and were attending lectures when the charge took place.

Even those who produced their new registration cards were beaten.

On the night of what has become known as Black Wednesday, a group of twenty three

community, and student leaders convened a meeting of over sixty people, who elected the Committee of Ten to negotiate on behalf of the community and to formulate a programme of action.

The day following these events and the formation of the Committee of Ten, a pamphlet was issued informing students of the programme of action.

The students' co-ordinating committee established a network of groups to caucus with students from various areas. Students agreed to return to university.

The Committee of Ten negotiated with the rector and put forward the students' demand for a mass meeting at Westville on June 25, a Wednesday. On the Monday before they returned, they learned that the rector had claimed that he was coming and chairing the meeting, and that

only academic issues would be discussed.

Concerned that the rector's actions would provoke students, the Committee of Ten persuaded the rector to allow a student to chair the meeting.

On the same day Adhir Maharaj, chairperson of the Constitutional committee which was involved in the struggle for securing an SRC constitution acceptable to the student body, was detained under section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

The following morning two more student leaders were detained.

One of them Altaf Karrim, was due to chair the mass meeting the same morning. The other detainee was Bobby Subryan, also of the constitutional committee. Karrim and Subryan had seen the rector the night prior to their arrest.

In all, seven students were detained. Yunus Shaik, Zunaid Osman, Rishi Bujram and Jacob Abba Omar were detained on May 27.

On June 24, the mass meeting was addressed by members of the Committee of Ten and student leaders.

The rector attempted to backtrack on his original

statement concerning the unconditional return of students, and tried to stop the meeting short of the two hour time period he had originally agreed to, on the ground that he had an urgent meeting in Pretoria.

Students decided that they would not be bulldozed and as they had not been given the time needed to make a decision they again walked out of the university.

After discussing the issue outside the university, the co-ordinating committee and the Committee of Ten issued a pamphlet stating that students would return on June 20 on their own terms, that students would re-register as those who had signed the rector's re-admission form on the 18th would be bound by his conditions.

After their return students continued to resist the attempts by the administration to backtrack on the conditions of return. Exams were boycotted in certain faculties resulting in the cancellation of midyear exams.

The events of June have demonstrated the necessity for unified action. The involvement of the community at large has resulted in an increase in organisational strength and the defeat of the university administration's policies.

The relationship between the academic staff and students has never been as firm — staff members having suffered in the baton charge with students.

Westville now has unified mass support for the student leaders and can now hold the SRC elections which they have been waiting for since May the 5th.

As one student puts it: "We came back on our own terms... This campus is now ours to rule."

Campus Sackings protest

IN their first show of protest in years, almost 700 University of Witwatersrand workers met to discuss the "unfair" sacking of five colleagues.

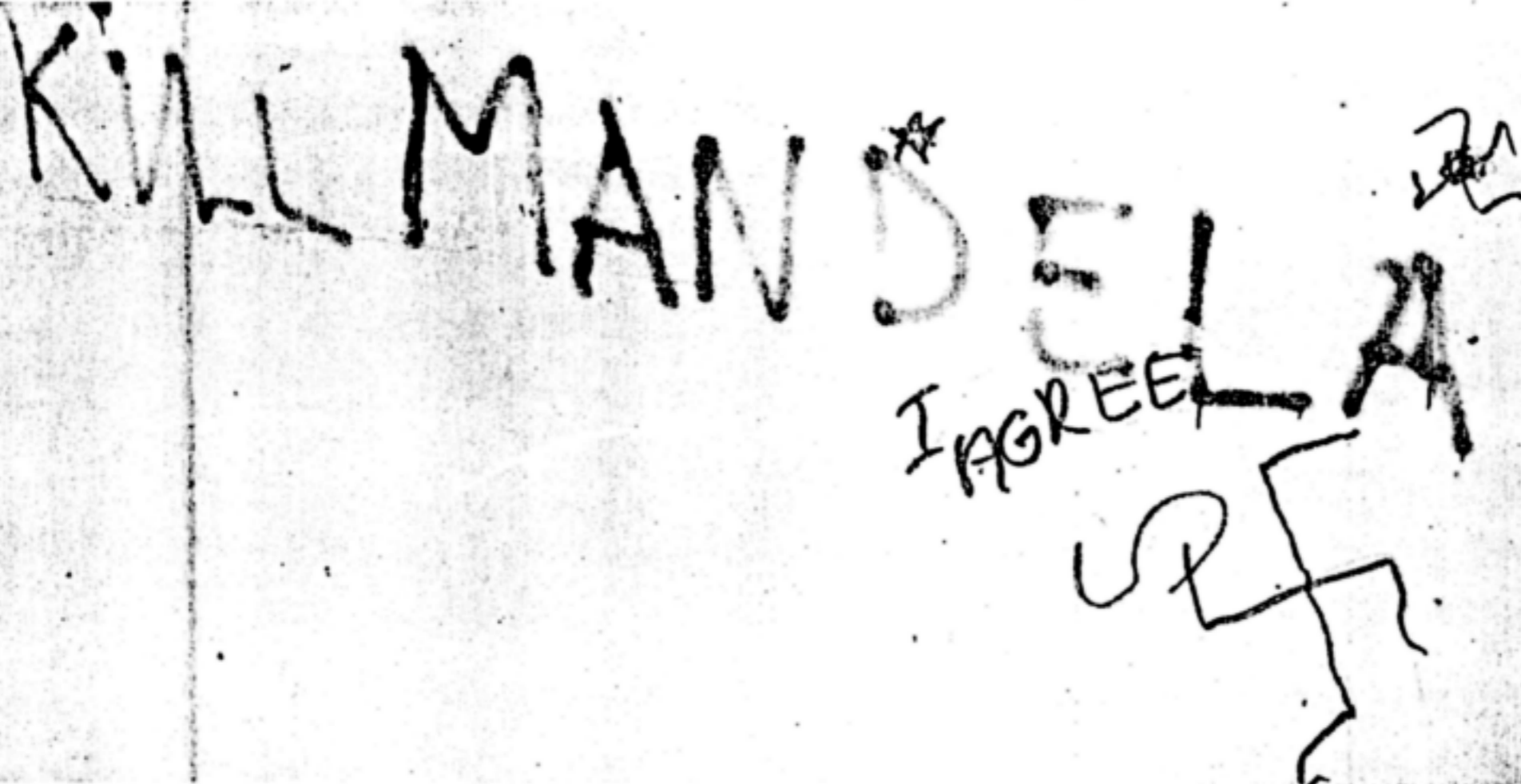
At the meeting held on July 2, workers said they felt victimised by their superiors, many of whom they said are unable to make ob-

jective evaluations of employee performances.

The meeting resolved to press for the unconditional reinstatement of the 5 dismissed workers and guarantees of no further sackings without good cause. It was also agreed to demand the "disciplining" of supervisors.

The Black University Workers Association (BUWA) personnel at the meeting agreed to convey these sentiments to administration, but refused to demand the unconditional reinstatement of dismissed workers, which they argued was out of their hands.

A further resolution, demanding adequate worker representation to avoid unfair labour practices was also passed.



Right wing graffiti on a Wits University wall

Threats and smear-pamphlets in new night-wing campus upsurge

RIGHT-WING fervour is on the upswing on the English campuses this year. Smear pamphlets threatening phone calls and indiscriminate acts of sabotage have become the order of the day.

At Wits, right-wing student activity had been in hibernation ever since their candidates suffered an ignominious defeat at the polls in the 1977 SRC election.

But after a hectic year of political activity on the Wits campus, right wingers have switched from passive, disquieted observers to active, vociferous dissidents.

At a seminar session on the campus earlier this year, featuring a speaker from the UANC, Bishop Abel Muzorewa's party a student disenchanted with what he regarded as provocative questioning from left wing students, waved a firearm and began making angry threats.

But it was only in June during the solidarity boycott and library lawn sit-ins that the rightist revival began to flourish. Students alienated by the singing and fiery speeches of the boycotts began gathering at the edge of the lawn shouting taunts and singing the national anthem. Helen Joseph was pelted with eggs while speaking.

One of the by-products of the boycott was the formation of a new conservative organisation. A group of students revived the Modern Conservative Students Movement, which had done little since its controversial invitation to

then Prime Minister John Vorster to address its inaugural dinner.

Not wishing to repeat the mistakes of their predecessors, the students have changed the name of the organisation to the more subtle appellation 'Students Moderate Alliance'.

Toilet doors, always a good indicator of suppressed political expression, are now experiencing a proliferation of anti-ANC and Mandela graffiti, probably in the wake of the high profile Free Mandela campaign run on the campus. Such right-wing witticisms as 'Recycle Waste Products - Free Mandela' have become part of the urinal social scientists' regular reading.

The centre of right wing activity at UCT is the Conservative Students' Alliance, the organization spearheaded last year by Brian Hack, who was acquitted in the Eglin shooting case.

This year the CSA's mouth-piece, the periodical, La Verite, has made a number of serious allegations about the SRC and NUSAS, both of which bodies are considering legal action against it.

In its May edition, La Verite criticized the lecture boycott held on campus by saying 'We are an academic institution, not a revolutionary training camp.'

Among other things, it accused Mr Richard Wickstead, a former Daily Dispatch journalist of being instrumental in getting that newspaper banned by the Matanzima government, and quoted 10 points from the Communist Manifesto,



the last of which calls for free education for all children in public schools. This phrase was underlined by the editors of La Verite, who comment underneath: "Heard this before?"

Several disturbing incidents have caused concern among UCT student leaders. One night some UCT SRC members were working late in their offices.

Two conservative students entered the office, ostensibly looking for someone and then "left". Soon after all the plugs went dead. The next morning students found that all the switches at the switchboard had been turned off.

Later that same evening an SRC member returned from a nearby cafe to the SRC offices, he was accosted by two students who asked why he was allowed to work in the offices at night. They went to complain to the UCT security officer, but got nowhere.

When the SRC member returned to his car, he found the tyres had been let down and the spark plug jacks had been switched.

The next morning students found a number of the locks in the SRC offices with matches

stuffed into them.

The SRC as yet has laid no charges, but student leaders say they have their own ideas about who was responsible.

The Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal is not widely known as a hotbed of leftism, yet a number of conservative student leaders on the campus feel themselves threatened by NUSAS. During Orientation Week anti-NUSAS talks were held secretly in various residences.

In one residence, William O'Brian, known to its officianades as WOB, pro NUSAS students have been frequently victimized.

Said one: "Walking through WOB with a NUSAS T-shirt on is like walking through a synagogue wearing a swastika". A NUSAS spokesperson on Maritzburg said: "The anti-NUSAS thrust seems to be well organised".

Now rightwingers on the Maritzburg SRC have called for a referendum to reconsider continued affiliation to NUSAS. The referendum will probably take place near the end of the year.

What has caused the escalation of conservatism in recent times on English campuses?

Wits SRC President Norman Manoim said: "Conservatism is a by-product of the increasing polarisation in the white community. As armed conflict becomes more of a reality, white students find they can no longer be indifferent onlookers. They've got to choose their side of the fence.

All the 'verlig' talk hides the real ASB

the fact the Minister of Police, Louis Le Grange, addressed the Congress.

The fact that the Minister of Police was invited to the Congress is indicative of the general direction of the ASB. While South Africa was witnessing a wave of political activity by its people, in the form of school boycotts, bus boycotts and strikes, the ASB chose to hear the point of view of the single figure who most blatantly represents the repressive nature of the apartheid state.

NUSAS officials have questioned why the ASB made no approach to representatives of Black schools and university organizations such as COSAS and AZASO.

While the presence of Inkatha members was obviously intended to show the willingness of the ASB to have the "Black" point of view, even delegates at the Congress recognized that Inkatha members are the most "moderate" Blacks in South Africa.

The ASB Congress was split into two basic factions. On the one side were the so-called 'conservatives', mainly from Pretoria University the University of the Orange Free State and Rand Afrikaans University.

On the other side were the so-called "liberals" the bulk of the delegation from the University of Potchestroom, together with individual delegates from U.O.F.S and R.A.U.

Nationalist Party loyalists severely criticized them for "deserting their nation" while many English speaking people hailed them as representatives of a "new breed of Afrikaner".

A closer examination of their actual political position shows that both these reactions are largely unfounded.

While they do call for a reconsideration of the Immorality Act and they do recognise the necessity for political rights for Urban Blacks, many of the ASB Dissidents do still regard themselves as loyal supporters of

the Nationalist Party.

On the other hand, even those who claim to be supporters of the Progressive Party do not in any significant way articulate demands similar to those expressed by Black student organizations.

One of the dissidents said at the Congress: "Our motives must come under the searchlight once more. Is our motive to selfishly serve our own white interests, or is it to allow Christian truth to triumph? Are we prepared to accept the full consequences of brotherly love and justice, and live accordingly?"

And SRC member at Wits University responded to this statement and the liberal break-away in general: "While I don't think we can doubt the sincerity and the courage of the people who have broken away from the ASB, I think it is a little premature to get as excited about them as many people appear to be doing".

The general "swing to the right" which was apparent among the majority of the delegates is worrying, but not altogether surprising.

After all, the ASB offices are still in the same building as those of the Broedebond.

10 000 JHB Municipal Workers down cans

*From page 1

solidarity of the workers was shown by their refusal to "expose" their leaders and demanded that the Council negotiate with the union.

The Council refused to do this and hired busses to take the workers back to the homelands. In a statement to the Sunday Express, a striking worker described how the compounds were locked as each worker was interviewed by a Council official. The workers were given the ultimatum of either returning to work or going back to the homelands. Workers who refused to return to work were put into busses and taken to the City Deep Compound. There they spent the night standing up, because of the incredibly crowded conditions.

On the night of 31 July the union tried to get a court interdict to prevent the Council and the state from "wrongfully or unlawfully detaining, restraining or assaulting members of the union". While they did eventually reach some kind of agreement with the City Council about the deportation of workers, later that night police detained Joseph Mavi. The following morning the striking workers were divided into groups and deported to their homelands under police escort.

While the central thrust of the municipal workers strike is now over, the effects on the population of Johannesburg are only beginning to be felt. The strike was a particularly strategic one, with the temporary collapse of essential services making for a very dramatic and visible show of worker power.

Together with the strike by PUTCO bus drivers in June, the municipal strike has reflected a rising sense of militancy amongst the working population on the Witwatersrand.

5 Fosatu Unions Quit the Metal Fed

FIVE Fosatu metal unions have left the South African Co-ordinating Council of the International Metal Workers Federation (IMF) alleging that some members of the council were trying to control the Fosatu unions rather than work with them.

The unions will however remain members of the 14-million strong IMF. They have only pulled out of the SA Co-ordinating Council, which was founded to build co-operation between the unions and to discuss matters affecting all metal workers.

Fosatu said that when the Eveready factory workers struck in Port Elizabeth last year the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions went "behind Fosatu's backs" and met the Minister of Labour and the Eveready management. Fosatu sees this as proof of a strategy to undermine its unions.

The five metal unions that have left the council are the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), the United Automobile and Rubber Workers (UAW), the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers (NUMAR WOSA), the Engineering and Allied Workers Union (EAWU) and the Western Province Motor Assembly Workers Union (WPMWU).

"We don't ride" call as bus boycott grows

CAPE TOWN's bus boycott, now in its second month, has drawn massive support from commuters, yet the transport authorities refuse to budge.

The boycott was called in response to a rise in fares ranging from 30 to 100 per cent, which had been granted by the National Transport Commission.

The NTC, which regulates fare increases, allowed 'only' a 55 per cent average increase after City Tramways, the largest privately owned public transport monopoly in South Africa had applied for a 64 per cent average increase.

Three days after the boycott began on June 2, services to Nyanga and Guguletu had been completely withdrawn. Buses were running empty and many were severely damaged by stonings. City Tramways' reaction was to 'supply according to demand'.

As the call of 'Azikwelwa' - 'We don't Ride' - spread, so the boycott spread to other areas such as Mannenberg, Crossroads, Elsies River, Mitchell's Plain, Heideveld and Eerste River. Services were either completely withdrawn or were running at less than 30 per cent of capacity.

By the end of the second week,

the estimated cost to City Tramways was R130 000. The company said these costs would be incorporated in running costs, and would be passed on in the form of a further application for another fares increase.

Community support manifested itself in different ways. People have either walked to work or have hitchhiked. Taxis have reduced their fares to the pre-increase bus fares and the train services have been overloaded with extra commuters.

The Bus Action Committee, the steering body for the boycott, issued a pamphlet calling on the community for support until City Tramways reduced its prices.

The Group Areas Act and other labour legislation already forced workers to travel long distances, and the increased fares only made the situation more intolerable. 'It is clear that the present transportation system is in the interests only of those who exploit and oppress us', the pamphlet said.

As yet City Tramways has refused to review the situation, and no end seems in sight.



Empty buses... while people walk to work.

Cape youth force bus co. to drop 83,3% rise

CONCERTED action by Worcester youth has forced the local bus company to grant a concession to school students.

After putting the fares up by a massive 83,3% the bus company, faced with protest, was forced to drop the prices, to a level only slightly higher than the original fares. The concession applies to students on their way to and from work only, however.

According to informed sources, fares of 12c were put up to 22c just before Christmas last year. The move met with massive dissatisfaction in the community, and calls for a boycott were made.

Despite the haste with which the campaign was organised and the holiday season, the first day of the boycott saw an estimated 50% of the community refusing to use the buses. The boycott was, however, met with shows of force by the police, and soon faded.

Soon after Christmas a meeting of Worcester youth was called, at which the Zweletemba Youth Planning Organisation (ZYPO) was set up to coordinate further action.

Three members of ZYPO then went to see the management of the bus company and demanded a meeting. Management responded by calling the police, claiming that there were three "terrorists from Zweletemba" at the offices.

The police arrived, and the youths explained that they simply wanted to discuss the bus fare increases. There were no grounds for arrest, and the police left.

Management then postponed the meeting, claiming that "they wanted to consult with the drivers". When the meeting finally took place, management tried another tactic: they became aggressive and threatening.

The youths were not intimidated, however, and finally forced the company to grant a concession. During the week, students would be allowed to pay 14c, while they would have to pay the full price over the weekends.

REMEMBER... THE BUS BOYCOTT IS IN YOUR INTEREST

issued by: the busfares action committee.

Gtown's vigilantes get no peace

A WEEKEND of violence followed the funeral of Mr Boyboy Nobiba, (16) who died from birdshot wounds in Grahamstown recently.

He was shot a week earlier, at the funeral of Mrs Violet Psili. She had been found dead of a bullet wound after police had dispersed a crowd of boycotting school pupils.

Police say that riot police in action that day were issued only with birdshot. They are still investigating the death.

Several people were shot in the latest incident of violence when birdshot was fired at close range. Police said that three hundred youths had attacked a hippo

with stones and petrol bombs. The hippo had been escorting a sneeze machine. The two vehicles came upon a road block of stones and burning tyres. The sneeze machine managed to get through, but the hippo was forced to stop.

It was then stoned and attempts were made to overturn it. A petrol bomb thrown at the hippo's windows exploded but caused no damage.

The funeral, attended by 1 500 people, was watched by police and security police through binoculars for nearly two hours.

A crowd of about 1 000 people moved rapidly up from the cemetery to the township after the

funeral. An airforce helicopter flew over them several times. The Eastern Province Herald reported that riot police, on directions from the helicopter, then moved into the township, followed by the sneeze machine and the hippo truck.

"A few minutes later there were two bursts of shotgun fire, followed by loud shouting", said the newspaper.

The newspaper said that at about 5 pm a school was set on fire. The reporter wrote: "Further up the hill another school had been burning fiercely for about an hour and to the right blazed the Tanti Beerhall."

"No police had arrived at the burning schools by nightfall, and I was officially told later that they had been unable to move vehicles past roadblocks in the township.

"At 6 pm there were seven large fires in Tanti and black smoke shrouded the township. Some of the flames, I was told later, came from the roadblocks erected with burning tyres."

The reporter also described driving through the township on Sunday, the day after the violence. "We had to stop half a dozen times while the riot police escorted us in another van dismantled road blocks erected with petrol drums and car

wreckage."

"One road block had a length of steel cable stretched across the road. Returning an hour later, some of the road blocks had already been rebuilt."

Some Rhodes students, trying to film and record the funeral, were banned from the area by the police. "This is now an operational area," they were told.

Bottle stores in the white section of Grahamstown were closed on Monday apparently because the authorities saw the violence as connected to alcohol.

Black frustration also turned against the unpopular peacemaker vigilante gang during Grahamstown violence last week.

Feeling against the peacemakers reached a peak during the recent school boycott in Grahamstown. The gang had earlier made enemies in the township by allegedly assaulting people and by punishing them in tribal courts.

Last Saturday's violence left a peacemaker leader's house burned down. A bakery van often driven by another peacemaker was also set afire. An alleged informer's house and shop were burned and he was killed. The houses of a security policeman and a school principal were also burned.

Feelings against the peacemakers ran high at the funeral. Speeches by elders, student and community leaders and by a representative from the nearby coloured high school lasted an hour and a half.

One student said he thought that police had moved into the township to protect peacemakers.

From the day the peacemakers interfered with the problem of education, the people hated them.

Students condemn PE boycott talks

STUDENT leaders in Port Elizabeth have strongly condemned the visit by Nationalist leaders to meet parents to discuss the boycott issue there.

This condemnation came after Dr Piet Koornhof recently went to Port Elizabeth and after Mr Verwey, a senior police representative, had a meeting with the parents of the students on July 21.

At a separate meeting held at the H.F. Verwoerd Airport, Dr Koornhof had discussions with parents' representatives Mr Mbane, Rev. Haya, Rev Soga and Mr A. Laman.

At a report back session to student leaders the parents representatives said that the Minister promised them that:

- There would be no police intervention in student activities that took place within school premises i.e. The Riotous Assemblies Act would not apply to school premises.
- The circuit inspector in Port Elizabeth, Mr Steve Buys, would be removed as was demanded by the students.
- Equal education to all was on programme. The Minister told the parents that they would have to wait for six to twelve months before it would be implemented.

But in opposition to Koornhof's promises, Mr Verwey issued a statement saying that police would enter schools and act if any pupils breached the law.

According to Rev Haya the meeting between the parents and Mr Verwey reached a deadlock.

"We could not solve the issue of Police intervention in schools. So we could not let our children be hounded by police while at school"

The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Port Elizabeth Students Council (PESC) members expressed reservations about future meetings with the "Nats" because the meetings only created confusion among the students.

The students advised the parents committee to reject any further meetings with members of the government or police force.

A visit by the Minister of Education and Training followed by the one from the Human Sciences Research Council to the Port Elizabeth parents committee was planned.

Both meetings are to be rejected according to Tango Laman, the chairperson of the Port Elizabeth branch of COSAS.

He further stated that "we are as clear on our stand as we are with our grievances, so promises or concessions will not change us. The boycott continues."

COSAS and PESC further clarified their stand with the parents, and said they appreciate the efforts made by the parents although they were not given a mandate to negotiate with the authorities.

Inkatha aids the state to stop school boycotters

MANY did not see the schools boycotts coming, but perhaps the least prepared of all were Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government.

Inkatha hastily backed off into a defensive stance which highlighted the conservative elements within it. Statements by Inkatha and KwaZulu officials in response to the boycotts showed that they were blissfully ignorant of its nature, often interpreting it as a conspiracy against Inkatha itself.

Threats of physical violence were the only 'negotiating tools' they could muster against the boycotters, showing the confusion of Inkatha's own attitudes to educational reform.

Inkatha's response reveals its inability to deal with mass-based struggle, for it relies for most of its support and guidance on the black middle class. Despite the movement's rhetoric about mass support among the Zulus, it has not taken up grass-roots demands. Indeed it could not do so without revealing its roots in apartheid and the homeland system.

The boycotts show that when Inkatha is faced by mass demands it becomes overtly part of the apartheid machine.

Buthelezi's first response to the school boycott was an attempt to draw together the 'Zulu people' under the banner of traditional ethnic identity, laying the 'blame' for the boycotts at the door of agitators and intimidators.

He lashed out at people in Reservoir Hills, the University of Durban-Westville and the Black Medical School, suggesting strongly that they were the agita-

tors in Durban unsettling the schoolchildren.

He added that an unidentified white man was paying Kwa Mashu schoolchildren R10 a day each for continuing the boycott. He was unable to give further details.

Buthelezi accused three Xhosa lawyers of agitating the schoolchildren because they received large sums of money from overseas for defending cases such as those of the boycotters.

Agreeing with his leader, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, a Mr Sithebe said Inkatha could see who was standing behind the school uniforms of the children. Naming the three lawyers, he said: 'It smells like Poswa, like Mxenge and Skweyiya standing behind the uniforms of our children.'

MOTIVATION

Mr M.A. Nzuzi in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly said he had heard one of the lawyers say: 'One sleeping Xhosa lawyer is worth ten Zulu lawyers'.

'There you have the motivation. They think the Zulus were easy prey,' He said.

The next scape-goat was Mr M. Subramoney, a Daily News reporter who was not thrown out of a meeting of Kwa Mashu schoolchildren who had chased African reporters from *Ilanga* away.

Mr Subramoney was attacked by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for 'denegrating our leader and misusing



Gatsha — hotline to Pretoria?

our children'. 'Subramoney must be very careful. He is very close to the Indian Ocean and the Inkatha current is very strong.'

Kwa Mashu schoolchildren, allegedly the ringleaders of the schools boycott, were 'persuaded' to go to Ulundi by Inkatha members who brought them before the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to explain why the boycott was continuing but not to explain the reasons behind the boycott itself.

They were handed over to the police to be 'spoken to' — a task which the Assembly didn't see as part of its duty. The youths later returned to Kwa Mashu.

The search for agitators and ringleaders was the uppermost concern of Buthelezi, Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. There was no attempt to look at the underlying causes of the boycott, only a determination to stamp it out at all costs as a threat to Inkatha.

Inkatha issued a strong warning to Indians at a meeting of the Black Alliance, which consists of Inkatha, the Reform Party, and the Coloured Labour Party.

The warning was: 'Stop interfering in our schools or face the consequences'.

Following Inkatha's 'agitator' response, came a series of threats of physical violence.

The Minister of Education and

Culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, gave a not so gentle hint: 'We must not be blamed for any action we take against those who are not in school on Monday. We must not be blamed if we lose patience'.

At an Inkatha meeting a Kwa Mashu minister, Rev A.B. Mbambo, was injured when he was set upon by an impi for allegedly being involved in the boycott. Buthelezi himself had to step in and stop the impi. The action served as a warning to those who acted against Inkatha's wishes and it bolstered the image of Buthelezi as a moderate man.

MANHANDLED

At the same Inkatha meeting, Ms A. Mnguni, a Kwa Mashu councillor was also manhandled.

There were reports of violent clashes between boycotting schoolchildren and Inkatha supporters armed with knobkerries, spears and knives.

Umlazi residents assaulted boycotting students who were allegedly attempting to gain 'support for the boycott, while in Kwa Mashu parents armed with sticks and kieres prepared to meet boycotting students.

A third trend in Inkatha's response to the boycott was the 'conspiracy theory'.

In the KwaZulu Legislative

Assembly Buthelezi described the boycott as a 'carefully orchestrated international campaign against Inkatha, my leadership and this Assembly'

He said that those behind the strike were attempting to convince the world that youth were spurning Inkatha and Buthelezi. He argued that 'extra-Natalian African radical factions' were attempting to embarrass the KwaZulu leaders by inducing children to boycott.

At a meeting at a Kwa Mashu stadium Buthelezi argued that the African National Congress had 'largely lost touch with the feelings and attitudes of the majority of Black people'.

He said that he did not want to stand by and see the ANC establish itself in the lunatic fringes within SA. The ANC was not going to liberate SA.

Inkatha's inability to respond to mass demands means that a mass-based movement like the ANC will pose a threat to Inkatha. When put to the test on an issue like the boycott, the rhetoric of Inkatha as a liberation movement withdraws into a reactionary shell, and the attempt to discredit the ANC is understandable in terms of Inkatha's limitations.

In some areas, such as Umlazi, where Buthelezi's support is strong, Inkatha managed to contain the boycott. In other areas, such as working class Kwa Mashu, the youth ignored Inkatha pressures and stayed away from school.

At first Buthelezi threatened the boycotters with expulsion if they did not go back to school. Getting little response, he extended the deadline, and still later backpeddled further by announcing that students would not necessarily be expelled, because of the 'high level of intimidation'.

Inkatha justified its anti-boycott stance by arguing that it had its own stance on education reform, and that boycotting classes and burning down schools was not part of it. But the movement never outlined its strategy on education.

What emerged instead was its inability to cope with mass demands.

Which leaves us to ponder: where is Inkatha going?

Death knell for apartheid?

AN OAU official described his hopes for the 17th ordinary summit of the OAU, held at Freetown, Sierra Leone, in July, by saying: 'Freetown must be about Freedom. Freedom from oppression first and the freedom of Africa from underdevelopment.'

It was in this spirit that the summit took place, disproving western predictions that the OAU was "close to self-destruction".

The summit was in many ways an historic one. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe took his place as the leader of the newly independent Zimbabwe, the 50th member of the OAU.

President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola was another newly elected head of state to participate in Freetown. The most significant outcome was however, the clearly defined direction adopted by the summit on South Africa.

The Freetown summit was characterized by a definite feeling that African countries faced a "gigantic challenge" in completing the unfinished business of the liberation of Southern Africa.

With Zimbabwean independence seen as a significant step towards this liberation, members of the OAU felt the need for a coordinated African strategy to both ensure the independence of Namibia and the dissolution of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Both Angola and Zambia complained to the OAU of attacks by South Africa and emphasized the necessity for the termination

of South Africa's "illegal occupation" of Namibia.

The summit reaffirmed its unconditional support for SWAPO as the "sole authentic representative of the Namibian people", and stated that Walvis Bay remains an "integral part of Namibia".

The OAU resolved to call on its members to step up support of SWAPO and to intensify the international appeal for South Africa to withdraw from the territory.

The attitude of the Freetown summit towards South Africa itself was largely reflected by the support given by many leaders to the international campaign calling for the release of ANC executive member, Nelson Mandela.

As one Tanzanian official said: "Mandela's release must be Africa's crusade".

The OAU strategy towards South Africa began to emerge clearly at the meeting of the OAU Liberation Committee held in Dar es Salaam in April. At this meeting a strategy was adopted which included:

- Supplying extensive material and diplomatic aid to the ANC and PAC.
- Providing aid for the Front-line States.
- Initiating a concentrated effort to ensure the political and economic isolation of South Africa from the international community.



ANC's Oliver Tambo.

Two significant leaders at the Freetown summit were SWAPO's Sam Nujoma and the ANC's Oliver Tambo.

These two were central in initiating calls for an embargo of South Africa and the enforcement of the ban of arms supplies to the country. The OAU resolved to set up a body which would both monitor oil movements to South Africa and try to persuade

countries in the West to back an oil embargo of South Africa.

A further major issue at the OAU summit revolved around the possible admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) as a full member of the body.

The phosphate-rich western Sahara was "given" to Morocco and Mauritania when Spain gave

up the colony in 1975. The struggle for the independence and self-determination of the territory was taken up by the Polisario Front—a close ally of the ANC (S.A.), Z.A.P.U and SWAPO.

Although Mauritania withdrew from the region, Morocco has continued fighting against the Polisario front at a cost of one million dollars a day.

The Eastern Saharan Republic of the Polisario has officially been recognized by 26 African states. At the Khartoum OAU summit in 1978 a Committee of "Five Wise Men" was established to look into the western Sharan question.

The committee recommended that a referendum be held to determine the future of the country. However this was totally rejected by Morocco.

President Samora Machel of Mozambique accused Morocco of "genocide" at the Freetown summit, saying: "Moroccan expansionism is an intolerable challenge to our organization and a flagrant violation of the OAU".

Although it was suggested at Freetown that the new republic be admitted as a member at this stage, it was finally resolved that a further peace effort would be attempted.

An OAU Committee of "interested parties" has been set up to attempt to bring about a cease-fire and hold a democratic referendum—a step the Polisario Front see as establishing the self-determination of the Saharan people.

SASPU NATIONAL

Their Demands are our Demands

THE general crisis of the past five months has had a number of important effects. Firstly, with the 40 000 strong wave of strikes that have swept the country in the last two months, the growing awareness of the need to bring other groups into unified activity as well as putting forward political demands has been demonstrated.

It was constantly emphasised during the Cape Meat strike, that the demands of strikes were the demands of all oppressed people in South Africa — for democratic non-racial representation of their own choice.

Secondly, the link between factory and community is now clear. Workplace and community oppression are inseparable and therefore unified resistance comes about. The community exerts important controls over the workforce — housing, rents, transport, health, education and the Group Areas Act all seem to discipline and disorganise workers.

It is clear that when communities are mobilised, the support base for workers is broadened; which increases the moral, numerical and material strength of oppressed people.

State repression will continue to increase popular resistance despite the more sophisticated controls being introduced. Further, the liberal attempts at diffusing the situation like in the Johannesburg municipal workers strike and the Meat strike in Cape Town fail to recognise that moderate party policies will not solve the problems of the oppressed. Until such time as the people's demands are met and in particular the demand for genuine democratic leadership, unified resistance will increase.

Beware of the Stick behind the Carrot

Many moderate politicians have recently acknowledged their support for the state and Big business' Total strategy. As has been frequently pointed out, any slackening of controls upon a small sector of the oppressed necessarily ensures intensified repression of the majority of South Africans — which has been illustrated in the reaction of the state and Big business to the recent wave of strikes and boycotts.

Moderate senses may well be dulled through the "hearts and minds" campaigns presently being engaged in, but the victims of brute repression will surely only experience the stick behind the carrot, or is it a "quirt"?

Intensified Repression

The massive detention blitz over the last two months has seen community leaders, trade unionists, student leaders and a host of other individuals being immobilized.

Along with the ban of meetings introduced in mid-June, the state has engaged in activity suitable for a state of emergency, with some towns being cordoned off, liquor outlets closed in some areas, road blocks and the use of force.

The state has strengthened itself through a variety of laws which allow for retrospective charges. In the light of this legislation, plus the recent amendments to the Police Bill, one might anticipate an escalation of charges based on the possession or transfer of information.

As part of the increasing repression, the state is likely to try every measure possible to quell the resistance. The history of South Africa is littered with casualties who have naively disregarded the strength of the state.

One Stormy day above Cape Town...



Saspu Editor wins court case

THE first of the five trials of UCT students charged under the Publications Act ended with a small victory for the student press when Bish Russell, ex-National Student editor, was discharged.

His trial took place at the end of June in the Cape Town Magistrate's court, where he was accused of producing a banned publication.

The state considered it a straight-forward case because following the 1977 court victory of Wits Students' Sean Moroney, the legislation has been amended to preclude the contents of the publication being considered by the court.

The publications Control Board's decision must now be accepted by the court as conclusive evidence of the publication's undesirability.

Accordingly, the state attempted to present their case on documentary evidence alone — a copy of the banned National Student, a copy of the Government Gazette in which it was banned, and a letter from the censors saying they had banned it.

But defence lawyer Peter Hodes argued that in the recent case of David Russell, charged with producing an undesirable pamphlet, the Cape Town Supreme Court ruled that the onus was on the state to prove that the accused had deliberately intended to have the publication banned.

The scanty documentary evidence presented in no way proved that Bish Russell had the necessary criminal intention.

The magistrate agreed that the evidence was insufficient, and said

that the state had not shown that Russell was the editor of the National Student, nor that he had produced any other publications, nor that he had had any intention of having National Student banned.

He said that in fact he found the publication quite mild except for some cynical statements. Accordingly, he discharged him without the defence even completing their case.

Whether this establishes a precedent is not yet clear. The other four students, Andrew Thompson, Richard Goode, Andre Kraak and Andrew Boraine are still awaiting trial.

Presumably the state will now attempt to establish their alleged criminal intent—but, at least, one blow has been struck against this draconian law.

Freedom Charter 13 let loose

THIRTEEN University of Cape Town students appeared in court on July 28 on a charge of distributing a banned publication.

This was a sequel to the handing out of Freedom Charters and pamphlets calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, to commuters on March 28.

The students were taken to Caledon Square for questioning that morning. At noon the Freedom Charter edition they were distributing was declared undesirable as recorded in the Government Gazette.

The students were originally charged under the Internal Security Act, but this was later

changed to a Publication's Act charge.

On July 2, the state began its case by calling witnesses to identify the students in the dock, as those found distributing.

One witness, Constable P. Rademeyer, said that he had seen two of the seven students he took to Caledon Square actually distributing pamphlets. He could not be sure about the other five.

Mr Peter Hodes, who appeared for the students, asked a Mr Basson, a security policeman, whether he knew that the Freedom Charter appeared in a number of books that were not banned in South Africa. Mr Hodes then produced these books in court.

The 13 students on trial were Chrispian Olver, Sarah Cullinan, Vernon Matzopoulos, Anita Kupper, Sue Mydral, Gavin Evans, Christopher Giffard, Michele Solomons, Sarah Ward, Clair Moore, Gregory Zinn, Richard Goode, and a 17-year old who may not be named.

When they reappeared in court on July 28, their lawyer asked for a discharge of all the students on the grounds that the publication was banned after it was distributed.

The magistrate granted a discharge but on the basis that the state was unable to prove that the students had intent to break the law.

Subscribe Now

To South Africa's' Newest Literary Magazine

The Bloody Horse

A bold exciting magazine devoted to good writing. Containing a stimulating mixture of creative writing, debate, book reviews, photography and art.

Open to all writing which is innovative, original and combative and of a high quality and relevance.

A bi-monthly — Your first edition will be with you in September

Subscription rates for six editions
Southern Africa: R9,75 (incl. G.S.T.)
Overseas: \$25 (U.S.) or £12.50 (U.K.) Airmail
\$15 (U.S.) Airmail or £7.50 (U.K.) Surface

The Bloody Horse
P.O. Box 6690
Johannesburg 2000
South Africa

WORK IN PROGRESS

EDITORIAL ADDRESS:
PO Box 93174,
2143 Yeoville,
South Africa.

is a journal which explores and presents ideas and material about contemporary South African society. WIP appears five times per year.

regular features

include summaries of political trials, and items on resistance by the working class.

some articles

in previous editions have dealt with resettlement, the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions, the Solomon Mahlangu case, strikes at Ford, Eveready, Kronco, bus boycotts, rents protests, the strike of meatworkers in the Western Cape, the Pietermaritzburg Treason Trial, total strategy, community organisation and the press.

subscriptions

are available to organisations, individuals, and groups who wish to distribute WIP.

Rates in Southern Africa:

Individuals: R5-00 per annum.
Organisations: R10-00 per annum.
Group distribution: 80c per copy. Reduced rates and/or a certain number of complimentary copies can be arranged on request.

ADVERTISE WITH SASPU
— GO NATIONAL

THE ANGRY, almost hysterical, official Government reaction to the recent breaking off of diplomatic relations by Zimbabwe should be viewed against the background of South Africa's almost total political and diplomatic isolation in Africa.

More specifically, it dramatically focussed attention on the collapse of Prime Minister P.W. Botha's ambitious strategy — announced in Parliament in April last year — of launching "a constellation of Southern African states" which would provide a framework for closer economic co-operation. It would have included countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Botswana and Swaziland.

On November 22, last year Mr Botha officially launched his constellation at an historic meeting in Johannesburg. It was blindly and enthusiastically supported by Mr Harry Oppenheimer and the whole English business establishment.

But the landslide victory of Robert Mugabe in the February elections and the crushing defeat of Bishop Abel Muzorewa was a major and irreversible setback to Botha's constellation dream.

Bishop Muzorewa had, prior to the elections, already publicly backed the Botha constellation and committed his future Government to ensuring that Zimbabwe would join the constellation.

The Mugabe takeover meant effectively that the proposed constellation would be confined to white controlled South Africa and its satellites — the "independent" and semi-independent Bantustans.

Then at the end of June, Mr Mugabe announced that the South African diplomats in Salisbury had to leave, after he had accused the mission of being involved in recruiting men for the South African Defence Force.

For days the Government — with Foreign Minister Pik Botha in the lead, and enthusiastically backed by its press, vented its anger at Zimbabwe, slamming Mr Mugabe and suggesting that the country was on the verge of economic collapse with a growing exodus of whites.

Even the highly cautious and conservative Sunday Times, which has largely backed Mr Botha's policy initiatives, criticized the Government. It referred to Mr Pik Botha's "display of bellicosity" on television, which had "propelled the country into an unseemly mood compounded of equal parts of hysteria and vindictiveness".

Opposition newspapers attacked the Government for its over-reaction.

The Zimbabwe of Mugabe has clearly given a total new dimension to the South African conflict situation.

On April 1, only a month after the elections, Zimbabwe was one of the signatories at a summit meeting when 9 African countries

Mugabe snubs PW, and it's goodbye to those grand 'constellation' plans



Robert Mugabe
A new dimension



Samora Machel
Better railway links



Kenneth Kaunda
Lusaka alliance

in Lusaka formed a new Southern African alliance. The others were Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania and Angola.

The declared aim of this Lusaka summit was to form an alliance to reduce the economic dependence of these countries on South Africa. The joint declaration was significantly entitled "Southern Africa toward economic liberation".

In effect this is a constellation to counter Pretoria's constellation.

The two constellations are diametrically opposed politically, although both only advocate regional economic cooperation. The Botha constellation is essentially a strategy to use South Africa's immense economic power and wealth to manipulate its Black neighbours and exert subtle pressure to ensure that they "behave" themselves as far as South Africa is concerned.

It's a continuation of Mr John Vorster's outward movement and policies of dialogue and detente of the late sixties and early seventies to use economic realities and cooperation in an attempt to score political triumphs.

This strategy in Southern Africa was helped by realities such as increased SA-African trade (openly and secretly), reliance on SA transport, railways and communications system; South African food supplies at times of economic disaster; and the importance as wage earners of

tens of thousands of workers from these states in South Africa when there is no work in their own countries.

In a memorandum in 1969 Dr Henry Kissinger remarked:

"The aim of South Africa's outward policy is largely through economic incentives to induce African countries to enter into some degree of cooperation with SA, thus breaking South Africa's isolation and eventually reducing liberation pressures."

Had the other African states joined the Pretoria constellation, Mr Botha's ultimate triumph would have been the fact that the fundamental aspects of his apartheid policies would have been unaltered — Bantustans, homeland citizenship, separate residential areas and schools, pass laws and race classification.

The Lusaka constellation clearly wants to reduce the economic dependence of their countries on South Africa for political reasons.

Its other three aims are:

The forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration.

The mobilisation of resources to promote the implementation of national interstate and regional policies.

Concerted action to secure international co-operation.

But the most important aspect of the Lusaka declaration was the emphasis on the urgent development of transport and communications in the region, because it is the one key area in which the black states in the region have become increasingly dependent on SA in the past few years.

Thus in the past 18 months the SA Railways, operating through Zimbabwe to Zambia and as far north as Zaire's mineral rich Shaba province, has carried almost 50 percent of the external trade of Zambia and Shaba.

Due to the inefficiency of the Dar es Salaam harbour, the loss of Angolan harbours because of the civil war, and the run-down of the Beira and Maputo harbours during the Zimbabwean war and after the Portuguese collapse, South African harbours such as Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth were vital outlets for the economies of these countries, although they are nearly 3000 kilometres away.

During the past few years the SA Government has given considerable attention to its railway diplomacy in Southern Africa. A key figure has been the shrewd, pragmatic, Dr Kobus Loubser, the general manager of the Railways.

In the recent past he has made a number of categorical pronouncements such as "The ultimate realization of a

confederation of Southern African states will depend on the right use of the present railway communications with South Africa's neighbours". "In the context of the political isolation of SA transport diplomacy can be seen as the strongest and most strategic method to counter it," and, stressing the vital role of the SA Railways for Mr Botha's constellation dreams, he observed that Africa's railway network was a symbol of "lasting unity" which the politicians "cannot draw asunder".

As a direct counter, and first step towards reducing their independence on SA, the Lusaka summit created a Southern African transport and communications commission to co-ordinate and develop their own railways, harbours and communications facilities.

The crux of this long term strategy is the rapid improvement and expansion of the Mozambican harbours Beira and Maputo, and the railway links between Mozambique and the other African states.

The importance of Zimbabwe in this strategy thus becomes clear, for the road and railway links from South Africa to the north run through Zimbabwe.

In effect the Lusaka plan is thus to "highjack" the African traffic to the harbours of the white South and to direct them to the Mozambican ports.

Significantly, since the Lusaka conference several subsequent working meetings have been held to discuss the railway and harbour situation.

Thus for this "highjack" strategy to succeed, the speedy development and expansion of facilities and improvement of efficiency at the Mozambique harbour are a vital prerequisite.

Recently a Mozambican spokesman stated that their harbours would in the near future be able to cope with the planned increase in traffic.

Thus the first phase in this battle of constellation and counter-constellation in Southern Africa has begun.

It is important to realise that the aim of the Lusaka alliance is not to abandon all economic ties with South Africa. Their discussions have reflected a sober realisation that would be impossible, and would cripple their economies.

The aim is to continue with normal essential economic links such as trade, which already exist between Mozambique and apartheid South Africa.

But all other ties, especially those which give South Africa a political hold and leverage, should be reduced and eventually totally cut off by developing and expanding their own transport system.

It is thus essentially a long term strategy — and a part of the total political, economic, diplomatic and military struggle to wrestle power from white minority-controlled South Africa.

Hennie Serfontein

Twenty-thousand women sing a song of defiance

— but Apartheid remains tone deaf

‘Strydom you have struck a rock, you have tampered with the women

THESE lines, sung by 20 000 heroic women of the 1950's epitomises the spirit and determination which lay behind all the massive pass protests during this decade.

During those years the organisation and unity between all the oppressed women of South Africa became evident. Their struggle against passes was the dominant mobilising issue and most of the liberation movements rallied to the women's lead.

The two most significant womens' organisations which emerged at this time were the African National Congress Womens League (ANCWL) and the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). The ANCWL was directly linked to this body. The Federation however played a different role.

One of its most important functions was acting as a linking body between the organisations making up the Congress Alliance. Every woman member of the Congress Alliance organisations was automatically a member of the Federation. So although the Federation had an organising executive it drew its base from the broadest cross section of the population and provided a forum for women to meet, discuss and formulate coordinated policies around issues which concerned women as well as the broader liberation struggle.

One of the driving forces in the Federation from the beginning was Lillian Ngoyi. She had come into political prominence during the defiance campaign in 1952, joined the ANC and became very active in the ANC Women's League. Ngoyi was elected President of both the NACWL and FSAW, thus strengthening the link between the two organisations. The ANCWL was always the largest and most dominant of the Federations affiliates. Because of this the Federation worked closely with the ANCWL, usually supporting and taking up the same concerns.

Some other affiliated organisations of the Federation were the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, the Cape Housewives League, The League of Non European Women, and the Food and Canning workers Union.

The idea of of Womens Federation was first acted upon in 1953. Women from all over the country got together and decided that a National Federation be established. On April 17, 1954 The Federation of South African Women held its first National Conference of women. Here it was decided to take up all issues of womens rights. The Women's Charter was also adopted at the conference. The charter advocated a non racial policy and called for the joint activity of the various women's sections of the liberation movements. It called for the removal of racial and class discriminations. It called for the right to vote, the right to education, medical care and

August 9th is National Womens' Day. On this day people remember the Women and the Womens' organisations of the 1950s and in particular the FSAW.

proper homes. The charter also sought to express the needs and aspirations of all the women of South Africa and to bring about the emancipation of women from the special disabilities they suffered under laws, customs, conventions and to strive for a genuine South African democracy based on complete equality and friendship between men and women and between the different sections of the population.

The Federation was inspired to a great extent by the formation in 1945 of the Women's International Democratic Federation. Already at this early stage Communist Party women formed the Transvaal All Womens Union which was absorbed into the Federation in 1954.

Trade unions also proved to be a good training ground for many Federation leaders such as Frances Baard, Elizabeth Mafeking, Liz Abrahams and Ray Alexander. Also many of the Federations activities concerned labour and trade union problems.

However, to understand the nature of and the reasons for the protests in the 1950's one must look at the South African economy and South African capitalism in the 1950's. The large capitalist industries relied largely on migratory labour. In the 50's the subsistence economy played a large role in reproducing the migrant work force. In this way the cost and responsibility of reproducing the work force was shifted from the state and capital and placed on the shoulders of the workers themselves.

However in the 1950's urbanisation increased tremendously as can be seen by the great influx of women into the cities. Family units were then established in the urban areas rather than having the men, oscillating between the rural and urban areas. But this was not in the State's interest and they were forced to implement measures which would keep the women in the rural areas.

To ensure that women did stay in the rural areas, fulfilling their role as reproducers of the work force, the state attempted once



Helen Joseph celebrates after the acquittals in the Treason Trial.



Maggie Resha at Baragwanath protest meeting against issuing of passes to nurses.

again (it had first attempted to do so in 1913 but had failed) to issue passes to women.

Women were also in a vulnerable position because of their status as a reserve army of labour. They could be drawn into the industrial economy in large numbers but in times of economic crisis they were the first to be expelled.

Thus successful womens oppression in South Africa was due to a large extent to structural factors, and to the fact that women were already oppressed on these levels—racially, sexually and due to their class position.

It was largely because women saw their oppression in this way that they identified their oppression and problems as part of broader problems and their solutions as part of the broader liberation movement.

Both the ANCWL and the Federation were aware of these issues and attempted to deal with the problems constructively.

One of the Federation's most important resolutions was to "strive to remove all laws that restrict free movement". So in 1955 the Federation began their campaign against passes for women. This campaign was significant in that it drew the masses of the women into the political arena. African women began to overcome their tremendous cultural and political pressures



Time expired — women stand anxiously in the streets during one of the anti-pass protests.

and succeeded in emerging a viable vital political force.

In the Orange Free State, Winburg women were the first to receive passes. Lillian Ngoyi met with them to discuss the issue and the women realised the implications of the issuing of passes to women. They then marched to the magistrate's office in protest and burnt their passes.

The anti-pass campaigns also occurred extensively in the rural areas. Perhaps the most well known of these was the Bafurutsu women of Zeerust in 1957. These women refused to take passes and strongly opposed the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act. Their protest lasted for a year.

In October 1958 2000 women were arrested in Johannesburg during two weeks of demonstrations against the issue of passes.

Although protests were based mainly around the issue of passes, these escalated in many places to protests over other grievances such as wages, migrancy, cattle dipping, and beerhalls and Bantu Education.

The Federation for instance, fought for accomodation for young male migrants forced to sleep in the open on the ground. They succeeded in getting them alternate accomodation.

The Federation also played an important role in the alternate veld schools (cultural clubs)

during the country-wide boycott of Bantu Education in the early 1950's. These were organised initially by the ANC.

The government strongly opposed these clubs. A pamphlet published at the time describe the response.

"The scene is a South African Courtroom. There are pieces of chalk, exercise books and slate lying about—exhibits in a criminal case. Witnesses are testifying. "I saw the accused point to a black board. "I saw the children reading books."

The accused are charged with teaching children. Let this be quite clear. They are not charged with teaching subversive or immoral doctrines; with teaching by harsh or undesirable methods; with teaching under insanitary or overcrowded conditions; with teaching subjects which they are not competent to teach. Their quality as teachers, the nature of the instruction they give, are not under investigation. They are simply charged with teaching black children, for unless you are part of the Government's Bantu Education Department you commit a crime by teaching black children—by teaching them anything, anyhow. If you are convicted you may be fined imprisoned, even banished from your home town for life."

The Federation also fought proposed rent increases on sub economic housing in 1954. They organised a nation wide campaign against these rent increases which they saw as an attack on the already low standard of living of





Police break up protest meeting outside Helen Joseph's house after her order of house arrest (the first house arrest order in South Africa).



The Police were usually on hand to provide transport



Lillian Ngoyi — President of ANCWL & FSAW from 1956.



1956 FSAW National Conference — women gather to discuss policy and action.

the people. Of course the Federation had a large part in the organisation and planning of the Congress of the People in 1955. They canvassed for women's demands to be included in the Freedom Charter. A meeting was called in Johannesburg in May to discuss "WHAT WOMEN DEMAND". They also managed to bring a few women from the International Democratic Federation to witness the Congress of the people.

On August 7th the Federation organised a 'Congress of Mothers' in Johannesburg to discuss how the women of South Africa would help to implement the aims of the Freedom Charter. But passes remained the burning issue of the 50's. Members of the Congress Alliance had this to say on the issue:

"The struggle against passes has gone on, sometimes fiercer, sometimes quieter, for many years. The new round of the struggle which is opening as a result of the threat to extend the passes to African women, does not mark the beginning of the struggle, but only a new phase. It opens up the possibility of widening and making changes in the whole struggle against passes and of rousing great sections of the people for the struggle.

Together with the ANCWL, the Federation formed a Joint Planning Committee to organize in the massive demonstration on Pretoria on August 9, 1956.

20 000 women from all over South Africa scraped train fares together and travelled to Pretoria. Led by Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Sophie Williams the women marched through the city and gathered in the amphitheatre outside the Union buildings. They stood for 30 minutes in silent protest and they then sang "Strydom you have struck a rock, you have tampered with the women".

Nationwide demonstrations of solidarity took place during the day drawing the country's attention to the implacable stand the women were taking.

The determination and great unity of the women in organising, attending and merely getting to the August 9th demonstration proved the Federation to be a strong political force.

However a major setback occurred on December 5th when Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Martha Methlaka, Frances Baard and Bertha Mashaba, executive members of the Federation were among the 156 people arrested and charged with treason.

As time went on, each new demonstration by women against passes was met with stricter state legislation and the state began to concentrate on specific sectors of the population. For instance, the Nursing Amendment Act which made it compulsory for nurses and trainee nurses to have identity numbers which could only be issued on passes. The Federation organised a large demonstration at

Baragwanath hospital. Their protest was met by armed police.

In 1957 the state clamped down on domestic workers declaring that they must have passes to be employed legally. The Congress of Democrats in conjunction with the Federation worked extremely hard in white areas telling employers that passes for women were not yet compulsory by law.

In Sophiatown the ANCWL organised a protest march and 2000 women went to jail.

Because the women faced heavy jail sentences and fines, and because of pressure from the men, the ANC took a stand of this issue. They decided that it was futile to engage in defiance action in the face of the then current laws. This strategy had worked in the past but they now placed their emphasis on "educating and organising women "against passes rather then emerging in direct confrontation with authority.

In January 1958 the ANC formally took up the issue of passes since it was seen that the government was succeeding in getting passes to more and more women. A national Anti Pass Planning Council was established.

Both the Federation and the ANC were at pains to remain within the law. They saw their strategy as consisting of mass displays of non violent protest. To this end 1959 was optimistically called 'the greatest anti pass year' by the Planning Council.

But the campaign against passes could not be sustained and all momentum gradually ground to a halt. After the massacre at the PAC (Pan African Congress) initiated demonstration at Sharpeville in March of 1960 a state of emergency was called and the ANC and the PAC were banned. Their banning marked the end of the mass non violent resistance programmes of the 50's.

After 1960 The Federation slowly but definitely began to decline. Its third National Conference in Port Elizabeth in September 1961 was well attended and delegates were in good spirits. However the tolerated limits within which the Federation could act were severly restricted. Their leaders were banned and the organisation as a whole was on the defensive and in 1964 the Federation crumbled, never formally dissolved, but with its programme driven underground.

Because of the pressing and unavoidable issue of passes during the 1950's the Federation had been unable to carry out fully some of its other major programmes concerning women and women's consciousness. And it is perhaps because of this historically unavoidable fact that the Federation had nothing substantial to fall back on and nothing to hold the organisation together after the political turbulence of the 50's and the

early 60's had died down.

The Federation did however contribute to a rapidly rising consciousness among women. They began to see themselves as actively part of the struggle for liberation.

The men took a while to adjust to these very unconventional attitudes and actions from the women. In a report to the Womens Internationl Democratic Federation the Transvaal branch of the Federation said:

Many men who are politically active in outlook still follow a great resentment exists towards women who seek independent activities or even express independent opinions"

The Federation of South African Women provided a new dimension to the struggle for liberation. It rejected the role of women as tea makers and typists that characterised most previous political activity of women. It insisted on equal treatment for women in the Congress Alliance, made autonomous decisions and saw clearly that women were a political force in their own right. It urged women to unify a long non racial rather than multi racial lines and stressed their solidarity as mothers. The federation never lost sight of the broader goals and worked continually for general liberation, realizing that women could not be united on the basis of their sex alone, and that their struggle was also the struggle of the whole people.



The site where, in 1955, representatives of all South Africans drew up the Freedom Charter.

Bare veld at Kliptown — the site where, 25 years ago, 3 000 South Africans met to draw up

Blueprint for democracy

THERE'S a bare stretch of veld near Kliptown on the outskirts of Johannesburg. It's littered with discarded plastic bags and a few rusty cans.

There's nothing there to indicate the extraordinary significance of this site.

For it was here, exactly 25 years ago that 3 000 South Africans of all races gathered to draw up the Freedom Charter, the most important document in South African history.

This meeting, known as the Congress of the People, was convened by the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organization, and the Congress of Democrats.

The 3 000 delegates who attended represented in turn millions of other South Africans, making the Congress the most representative and democratic gathering in this country's history.

The Congress of the People came as the culmination of decades of non-violent resistance to successive South African governments.

As far back as 1913 there had been protests by women in rural areas against attempts to make them carry pass books.

In the 1940's thousands of people in the Cape joined in protests against high food prices.

Exactly five years to the day before the Freedom Charter was signed, there was a massive stayaway from work in protest against the banning of the South African Communist Party and the shooting by police of 18 people at a May labour demonstration.

DEFIANCE

This marked the beginning of a period of increased militancy on the part of progressive organisations culminating in the Defiance Campaign which began in 1952 and involved the rejection of six laws: The Pass Laws, the Stock Limitation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Authorities Act and the Coloured Voters' Act.

In 1954, after the passing of the Bantu Education Act, which separated white and black education, thousands of children stayed away from school, while younger children were taken out by their parents, all of whom became involved in alternative education programmes.

It was at this state that the Congress Alliance, the umbrella body representing the ANC, SAIC, SACPO and the Congress of Democrats, decided that it was necessary to co-ordinate all the demands for change that had been made, in an attempt to draw up a

blueprint for a democratic South Africa.

The Alliance invited everyone in the country to send in their demands, which would be incorporated in a common document called the Freedom Charter.

Millions of People sent in the ideas of the kind of South Africa they wanted to live in, and on June 25 and 26 3 000 Delegates — workers, farmers, women and students, of all races and colours — gathered at Kliptown near Johannesburg.

In the absence of Chief Albert Luthuli, President General of the ANC and the driving force behind the Congress, the meeting was chaired by a series of people from the different organisations represented.

Despite the fact that many people from the Cape and Natal were arrested on the way to Kliptown, over 3 000 people were present.

The ANC had been established in 1912, and during its 43 year history had built up a huge following.

The Congress of Democrats was formed in the wake of Defiance Campaign by men and women adhering to the same non racial principles of the ANC. At a meeting in Duncan Hall, Oliver Tambo appealed to the predominantly white audience which consisted largely of former South African Communist Party members and white liberals, to enter the struggle. A provisional committee of Democrats was established which had the United National Declaration of Human Rights as its basic policy document. This committee developed into the Congress of Democrats, making up the fourth arm of the Congress movement.

RESISTANCE

The South African Indian Congress was a product of passive resistance to the Asiatic Land Act of 1946. At its request, India had broken off diplomatic relations with South Africa.

The South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation had its base

among coloured workers in the Western Cape, while the South African Congress of Trade Unions (which was to become the fifth formal member of the Congress Alliance after the Congress of the People) represented workers of all races and realised the key political role workers had to play in the future of the country.

Of these organisations the ANC had a women's movement dedicated to the liberation of women within the broader liberation struggle.

The Charter itself has been called a simple and uncomplicated document reflecting the wishes of millions of ordinary South Africans.

It declares that: South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

Government shall be by the people, and for the people.

All national groups shall have equal rights.

All people shall share in the country's wealth.

The land shall be re-divided among those who work on it, to banish famine and hunger.

All shall be equal before the law.

All shall enjoy equal human rights.

There shall be work and work security for all.

All people shall have the right to education.

All people shall enjoy good housing, good health care and a comfortable life.

There shall be peace and friendship between South Africa and her neighbours.

The Charter was adopted by the five movements within the Congress Alliance as their policy and has now become a manifesto of South African peoples' struggle for freedom.

A year after the Kliptown meeting, 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance were arrested — among them Chief Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, who was heading the Defiance Campaign and charged with treason.

They were acquitted after a trial lasting more than four years.

BANNED

The ANC was banned in 1960. Two years later the Congress of Democrats was banned by the Nationalist Government, while SACTU, SACPO and the SAIC had to curtail their normal activities after many of their leaders were banned.

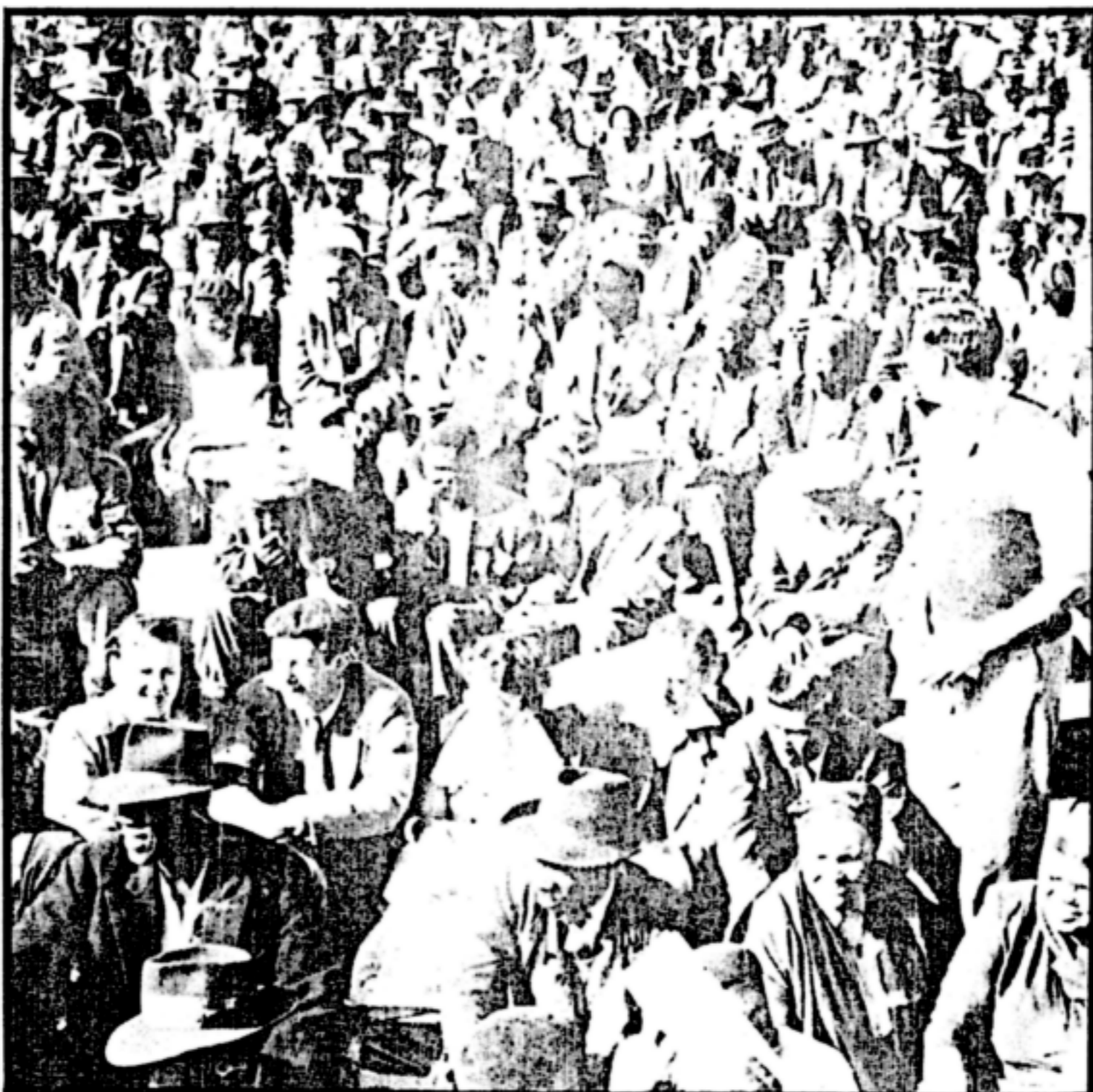
Albert Luthuli, who had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961, died in 1967 while under a banning order.

Nelson Mandela, jailed in 1963 on charges of sabotage, has been on Robben Island for 16 years now, as have his colleagues Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathadra and Dennis Goldberg who is serving his sentence in Pretoria.

But although the people behind the Freedom Charter have been silenced, the spirit of this remarkable document is still strong in the hearts of South Africans.

And this year, the 25th anniversary of the Charter, there has been renewed international recognition of the importance of this document.

As South Africa is once again enveloped in the flames of black rage, the Freedom Charter rings out a challenging message to apartheid: 'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty.'



Congress of the People . . . the most democratic meeting in SA history.

Printed for Saspu National by Ace Printers, 482 Loop Street, Pietermaritzburg

The thousands no housing list will mention

THE African housing shortage is said to be 163 000 units. A massive figure — yet it reflects only part of the truth.

The figure is calculated from the official waiting lists for houses of the Bantu Administration Boards and the Department of Community Development. It does not reflect the REAL housing shortage.

For amongst those excluded from these lists are those without permanent residence rights in 'white' urban areas, women without husbands, families where the wife does not qualify for permanent urban residence, and others who have to resort to illegal squatting.

In Soweto the official waiting list for houses is in the region of 12 000 families — many of whom have been waiting since 1969 for a house.

The Black Sash points out that this figure includes only married men over 21 with urban residence rights, whose wives also qualify for urban residence, with dependents.

There is also a secondary waiting list of about 10 000 people according to the 1976 figures — with different urban residence rights, who must wait for those on the first list to be accommodated before they have any hope of getting houses.

These lists together do not begin to account for the actual housing need in Soweto/urban areas.

Excluded altogether are unmarried, widowed or divorced women. Only women who were allocated a house before 1968, or those already occupying a house with their dependents when their husbands died or divorced them

THE revolts of 1976 and 1977 showed that urban blacks had not 'bought' separate development.

It became clear to both industry and the state that new forms of control were necessary to dissipate political radicalism among black South Africans.

A new strategy emerged the promotion of a middle class ideology amongst urban blacks, in effect, an offer of higher living standards for the few in return for political passivity from the many.

One of the best known expressions of this policy is the Urban Foundation, established in 1977, in the wake of the riots. Not only does the Urban Foundation's expressed policy promote the idea of building a buffer black middle class, its practical record reinforces this role.

Speaking at the founding conference of the Foundation, tobacco magnate Dr Anton Rupert said that the purpose of the gathering was 'to accommodate co-ordinate on an ongoing basis the private sector's endeavours at improving the quality of life in the urban black townships'.

The Foundation's aim he said, would be to 'encourage the transformation of South African's urban black communities into stable, essentially middle class societies, subscribing to the values of the free enterprise society and having a vested interest in their own survival'.

He said that information presented to the UF conference showed that 'the matter of housing looms large amongst the problems of urban black communities and this would be a logical point of departure for the Foundation's efforts.'

'Housing and its related facilities after all represent the basis of family life and the real foundation of a settled middle class society,' he said.

can be registered as legal tenants.

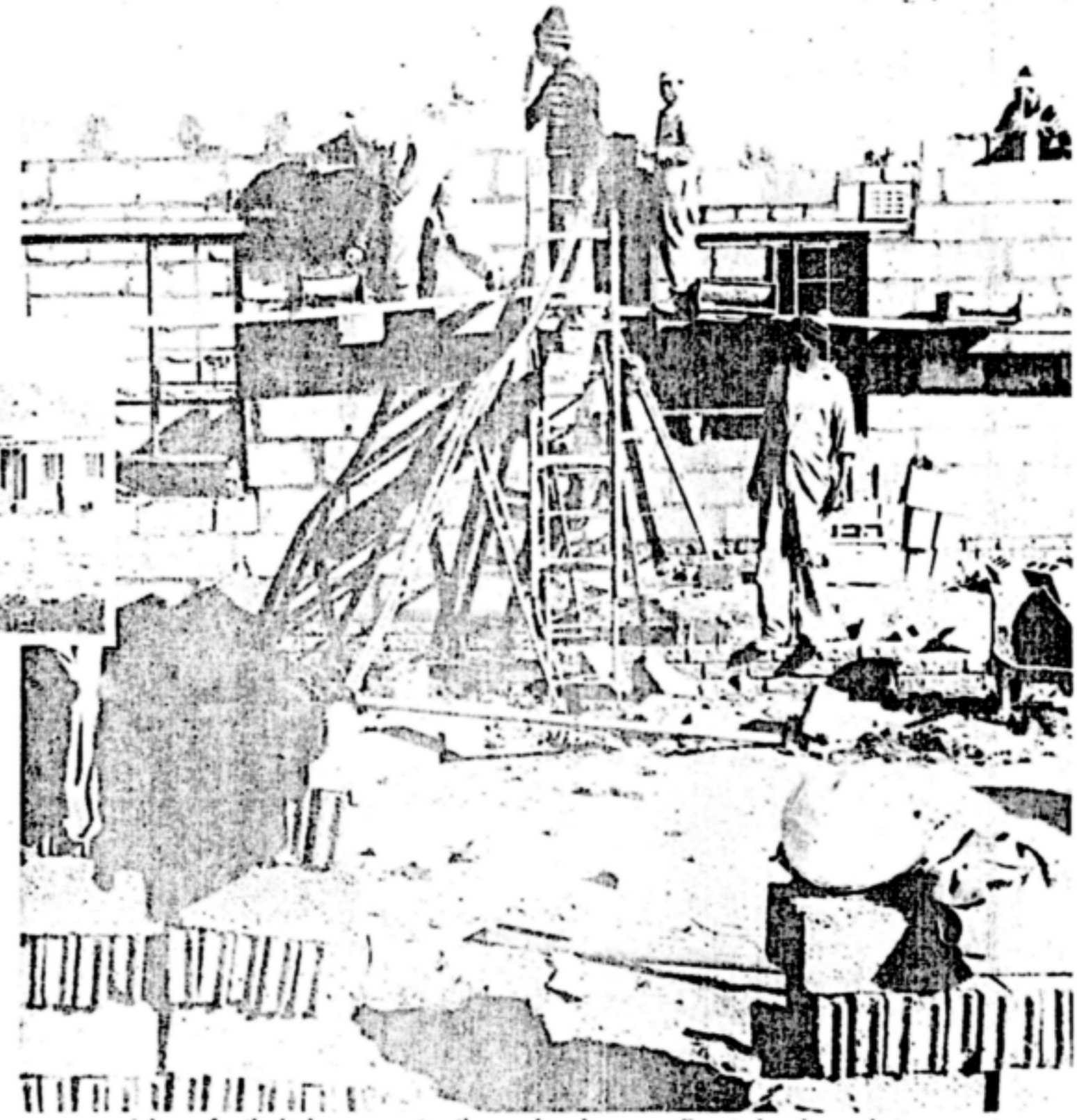
Families in which the wife does not qualify for permanent urban residence are not entitled to houses. And there are also a large number of families who do not have permission to be in a 'white' urban areas at all, and who therefore have to find accommodation as tenants in other people's houses.

Government policy is that all families without permanent urban residence rights will in due course have to leave and to find accommodation in their own Bantustans.

Even those whose presence is not illegal are being encouraged to move to new townships in the homelands, and to commute daily to their workplaces in 'white' South Africa.

Quite where these people are supposed to live remains a mystery. For the housing shortage in the Bantustan 'towns' is even worse than that in the 'white' urban areas — as huge squatter camps like Winterveld in Bophutswana and those outside Kwa-Mashu in Kwazulu indicate.

In Lebowa, for example, there are 13 proclaimed townships. The total urban population is estimated at 128 947 people, accommodated in 16 000 houses —



A home for the lucky... construction workers busy on a Soweto housing project

an average of 8 people in a four-roomed house.

Government officials and liberal academics alike blame the housing shortage on a lack of finance.

The administration boards said in their evidence to the Rieck Commission that a lack of funds was the most important single cause of the housing shortage.

And commenting on last year's budget, the Star made a similar

point: 'The R73 million voted for low cost housing for blacks in the budget is enough to build only 12 500 new units at today's construction costs.'

This is a far cry from the 34 000 new houses required yearly to accommodate the natural increase in the number of blacks and an even further cry from solving the group's housing backlog estimated at 163 000 units'.

There are in fact two different

spirit of the Pimville project to that of Mitchell's Plain in the Cape: 'Care is taken to create a road network in which vehicle and pedestrian traffic are separated and cul de sacs encourage neighbourliness and security'.

The Urban Foundation's activities have in fact come in for a great deal of criticism.

A senior WRAB official said that the Foundation's housing loan scheme would only benefit middle class blacks, since inflation and high unemployment meant that others would not be able to afford them.

The UF had countered these objections by stressing that it sees itself as a catalyst for further development. The Foundation's Mr Justice Steyn said in a recent newspaper interview:

'Our objective is to act as a catalyst for urban development by demonstrating that the quality of life in African townships can be improved by imaginative planning and with capital from the private sector'.

The UF's show piece in self help housing is a project at Khutsong outside Carletonville. The Foundation is cooperating with the Department of Community Development to rehouse people from Unilkomos, a shanty town.

Women from families who cannot afford to pay the deposit on their materials are employed by the Foundation to make bricks and roof trusses for 3 months at R30 per week. Two thirds of this wage must be saved for a deposit on a house for the woman involved.

The only other work available to these women is domestic work in Carletonville at R40 to R60 a month. Where the money for bond repayments will come from once the 3 months service to the Urban Foundation is over, is not certain.

financial problems involved.

The first relates to a shortage of funds actually available from which the Administration Boards can borrow to build sub-economic housing. This money comes from the National Housing Fund, which receives a grant from the budget each year.

The amount of money made available is inadequate. But what is more, an increasing proportion of this money is being spent on housing in the homelands.

The Rieck Commission spells this policy out clearly: 'Since the sixties high priority has been given to the establishment of towns in the Black states.'

'A great deal of this action has been designed to provide accommodation for blacks who work in the white areas and who commute on a daily basis between their places of residence in the Black States and the white areas, and to give effect to the policy that Blacks should to the maximum extent, live in their own areas on a daily, weekly, or periodic basis'.

The second financial shortage regards the financing of administration and services in existing black townships.

Since the early 1920's the government has insisted that African townships be self-financing. So revenue from rents, and liquor registration fees is needed to cover the costs of water, sewerage and garbage disposal in the townships.

The result is that Administration Boards cannot start building new mass housing projects because they cannot afford to finance the water, sewerage and garbage disposal systems which are needed.

Township revenue depends on the limited resources of the working class people living there, so it is obviously small. And until recently as much as 80 per cent of the Administration Boards' revenue was diverted into financing townships in the Bantustans.

Today this figure is apparently 20 per cent but allegations have been made that the East Rand Administration Board, for example, spends a good deal more than 20 per cent of its money in Lebowa.

All the Administration Boards thus experience financial difficulties. The West Rand Administration Board has been in debt to the tune of R11,4 million. The result: new housing projects are out of the question.

Foundation mathematics: multiply the haves; divide the have-nots



Justice M T Steyn

'Not surprisingly, therefore, the UF's emphasis is on a 'better quality of house' for the middle class black family, rather than mass housing for the homeless.

A statement by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries in 1976 clearly illustrated the private sector's attitude to the housing problem: 'The Urban Black, whether he be a graduate or a street sweeper is allocated the house by the Administration Board and is obliged to live there.'

'With the housing standardised as it is, it makes very little difference to the individual's circumstances within the house, but it does directly affect his aspirations and his dignity,

'He is deeply conscious that his children are forced to mix with others of a lower social stratum which can only serve to negate the standards set by the parents.'

The actual work of the Urban

Foundation in the sphere of housing does not indicate that the foundation aims to do much more than promote a middle class ideology.

Its resources are not sufficient to provide either the actual material basis of a black middle class or any kind of solution to the housing shortage. And at present only 23 per cent of its annual budget of R20 million is spent on housing.

In 1978 UF representative negotiated loans totalling R30 million from Chase Manhattan Bank Citibank and the Morgan Guarantee Trust Company, at an average interest rate of 4,85 per cent a year.

This money will be loaned to building societies in South Africa and will be available at standard interest rates for prospective home owners. The building societies have agreed to match all loans taken out on rand for rand basis.

The foundation's track record in terms of actually providing housing is not impressive.

It has involved itself in a housing project in Pimville, Soweto, where its architects planned a model neighbourhood of 1 000 houses. So far 257 of these houses have been built. Each costs between R7 500 and R12 500.

A UF report compared the

Typhoid spectre looms over

Little was known about Inanda, a sprawling squatter camp outside Durban, except that it provided cheap labour for Durban's factories and domestic workers for wealthy homes. But in July this year typhoid was found in Inanda, and an epidemic threatened to spread from the camp to Durban itself.

SASPU NATIONAL investigates

THIS year a new name was forced on the consciousness of the white residents of Durban: Inanda.

Durbanites are vaguely aware of the existence of Umlazi and Kwa Mashu - 'Doris, our girl', stays in one of them. For the life of me I can never remember which, you know'.

Now, Inanda has appeared on the pages of the local newspapers - typhoid has been 'discovered' there.

Employers began to wonder whether their labour units came from Inanda. The papers carried regular stories on the growing, spreading epidemic. Municipal and State Health officials were quoted. The Urban Foundation, MPs and lesser 'experts' were quoted.

A committee was formed and water was trucked into Inanda. Pictures showed long queues of women with plastic drums, waiting for the water-trailers.

Health officials moved in and instituted an immunisation campaign. End of problem. Durban sighed. The media lost interest and wagged its tail over a new crisis - a rabies outbreak.

A few months later, in July, Inanda reappeared. A Sunday paper, reported that the government had started a site-and-service scheme in Inanda, hailed as a breakthrough in efforts to solve the housing 'problem'. Once again the Urban Foundation and various experts were quoted.

Inanda will become increasingly fixed in our conscious map of South Africa in the next few

years. It is an area lying north of the sprawling black townships of Ntuzuma and Kwa Mashu, and west of Durban's latest town planning disaster - the Indian township of Phoenix.

It is a hilly area, incised by deep valleys and split by narrow ridge lines. Part of Inanda is in KwaZulu, part of it is a released area. It is home to over 130 000 people.

Until the 50's, this whole area north of the Umgeni had been agricultural land. Large sugar estate lands were expropriated to build Kwa Mashu and, later, Phoenix. The Inanda area consisted mainly of African and Indian small holdings.

In the late 50's and early 60's Kwa Mashu was built to receive the relocated 'squatters' from Cato Manor. But large numbers of these people resisted the stark conditions and control mechanisms of the township, and moved further north to build their own informal settlements in Inanda. In the 60's and 70's rural migrants, and urban migrants from other townships moved into the area.

Communities such as Mamba, eMawothi, AMotana, Bombay, Congo and Africa grew up.

It did not matter whether you were a Transkeian, Ciskeian, Sotho, Pondq or Zulu. There were no township managers in Inanda. You just rented a piece of land from the landlord and built you home, or sublet a shack.



Inanda's water has always been fouled

The released area is controlled by the South African Trust (née SA Bantu Trust, née SA Native Trust). It is administered by the Verulam magistrate, for the Department of Co-operation and Development. It is not yet part of KwaZulu, although the schools are run by the KwaZulu Education Department.

The story would appear to unfold as follows: Sometime in the latter half of last year, community 'leaders' approached the Urban Foundation. They spoke of severe water problems.

There were only a few boreholes and taps in the whole area. These were under private control and water was sold at exorbitant prices. People even walked to Kwa Mashu to buy water.

They spoke of disease rampant in the area - typhoid, gastro-enteritis, and related health problems. For many years this had been so.

But, so long as it posed no

threat to municipal (white) Durban, little notice was taken, especially by the media.

The Urban Foundation spent 6 months putting together a basic water reticulation scheme for Released Area 33, which would have cost R2,5 million.

It also spent this time trying to find out which government department was responsible for it, and then tried to persuade it to tackle the water problem.

The matter would probably have rested there. But the summer rains failed to appear, and drought came to Natal.

In Inanda, the streams dried up, the river levels fell and the bore holes pumped from lower levels.

There being no reticulated sewerage system the water sources had always been fouled, especially in recent years as more and more people crowded into Mamba, eMawothi, and AMotana and Bombay.

Health conditions worsened

rapidly. The ever-present typhoid and gastro-enteritis spread rapidly. People started to die in greater numbers. The few clinics in the area reported statistics indicating an epidemic.

Inanda is comfortably out of sight and mind of the vast majority of Durban's whites. But typhoid has not yet been taught to respect the politico-administrative boundaries of 'separate development'. This fact is known all too well by municipal and State Health officials.

They rapidly mounted an immunisation campaign which reached only 30-40 000 people. The media duly reported the outbreak. The obvious temporary solution was to get 'clean' water to the area.

A committee was formed with officials from the Department of Co-operation and Development, the Urban Foundation and others.

The most interesting of the 'others' was a Brigadier Lloyed, the SADF representative, from

Actstop acts to stop racist evictions

AT A RECENT meeting of Nationalist Party supporters in Jeppe, Johannesburg, Minister of Community Development Marais Steyn warned black tenants living in the "white" areas of central Johannesburg that they would shortly face "the full force of the law" if they did not - somehow - remove themselves to their respective Group Areas.

In issuing his ultimatum to the "illegal" tenants, Minister Steyn overlooked two major factors.

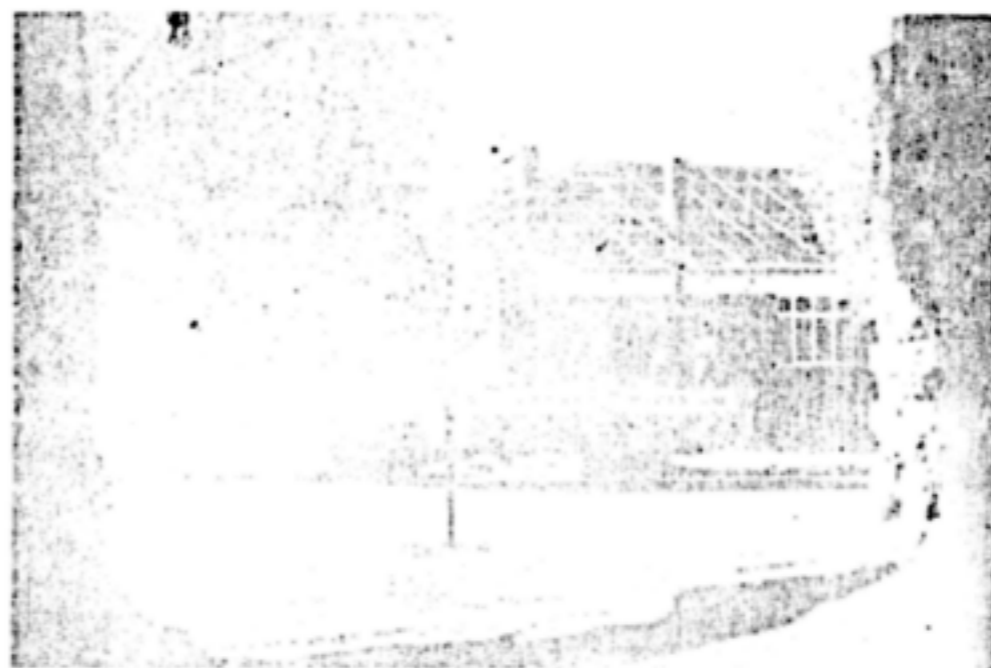
Firstly that the tenants are presently in a no-win situation. The housing shortage for all black communities in the city is so desperate that the choice for tenants is literally facing the natural elements or facing the Group Areas police and prosecution.

Hundreds of families have been forced to take the second course of action. There is no mythical

third course of a home - comfortable or otherwise - in a legally secure Group Area. If there was such a possibility many tenants would have taken it.

They would then have avoided the indignity of repeated police visits at all times of the day and night. They would have been freed from an exploitable position in relation to certain unscrupulous landlords. They would be able to come and go from their homes freely to have as many visitors as they cared for - in short, to proclaim their existence instead of hiding it.

The second factor overlooked by Minister Steyn was that some people have a higher regard than he for justice and the judicial system. Persistent legal efforts by Actstop (the Action Committee to Stop Evictions) have resulted in two test cases being scheduled for hearing in the Bloemfontein



Another demolition, courtesy Community Development.

Appeal Court in September this year.

Minister Steyn has indicated that he views such legal proceedings as a mere hinderance, a means of temporarily tying his hands and delaying the inevitable evictions.

It has been reported that the Attorney General is presently investigating whether the Minister's statements in this regard are in contempt of court.

Actstop spokesmen are non-committal as to the probable outcome of the Appeal Court cases. However, Chairman Cassim Saloojee points out that already legal action has yielded definite results.

"For the last year or so no tenants on Actstop's books have been evicted on actual Group

Areas charges. Tenants have had the relative security of knowing that they could not be convicted before the Appeal Court judgement.

"This protection has applied not only to the 500 to 600 families listed on Actstop's files, but to many other tenants, unknown to us, who are aware that the whole legal validity of the Group Areas proclamation in Johannesburg is being questioned in court and have pleaded not guilty as a result of this."

In addition, approximately 35 members of the Johannesburg legal profession have made a significant stand in offering free legal defence for individual tenants, if required.

Saloojee emphatically refutes any allegations that large sums of

money are involved in defending tenants. "All professional legal services offered via Actstop are on a pro amico basis. Lawyers involved are motivated by their individual ideas of social justice and not by generous sponsorship from any unnamed sources."

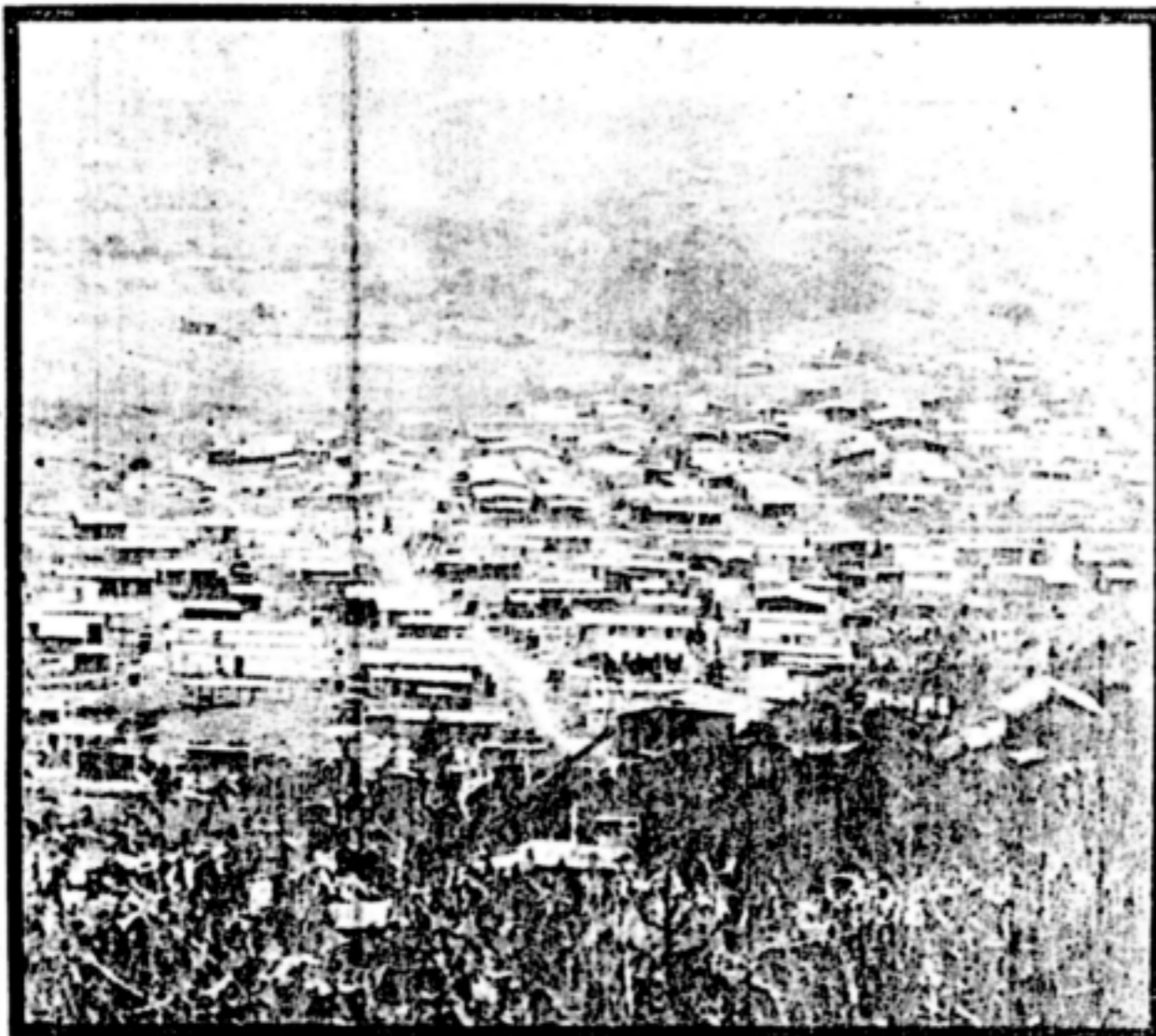
Hoever, legal action has only partially answered the problems of the tenants. Endless additional complications arise daily, due directly to their supposed illegal status:

- Estate agents and landlords have been subjected to official pressure and in turn seek to pressurise tenants into leaving by all means of invalid notices.

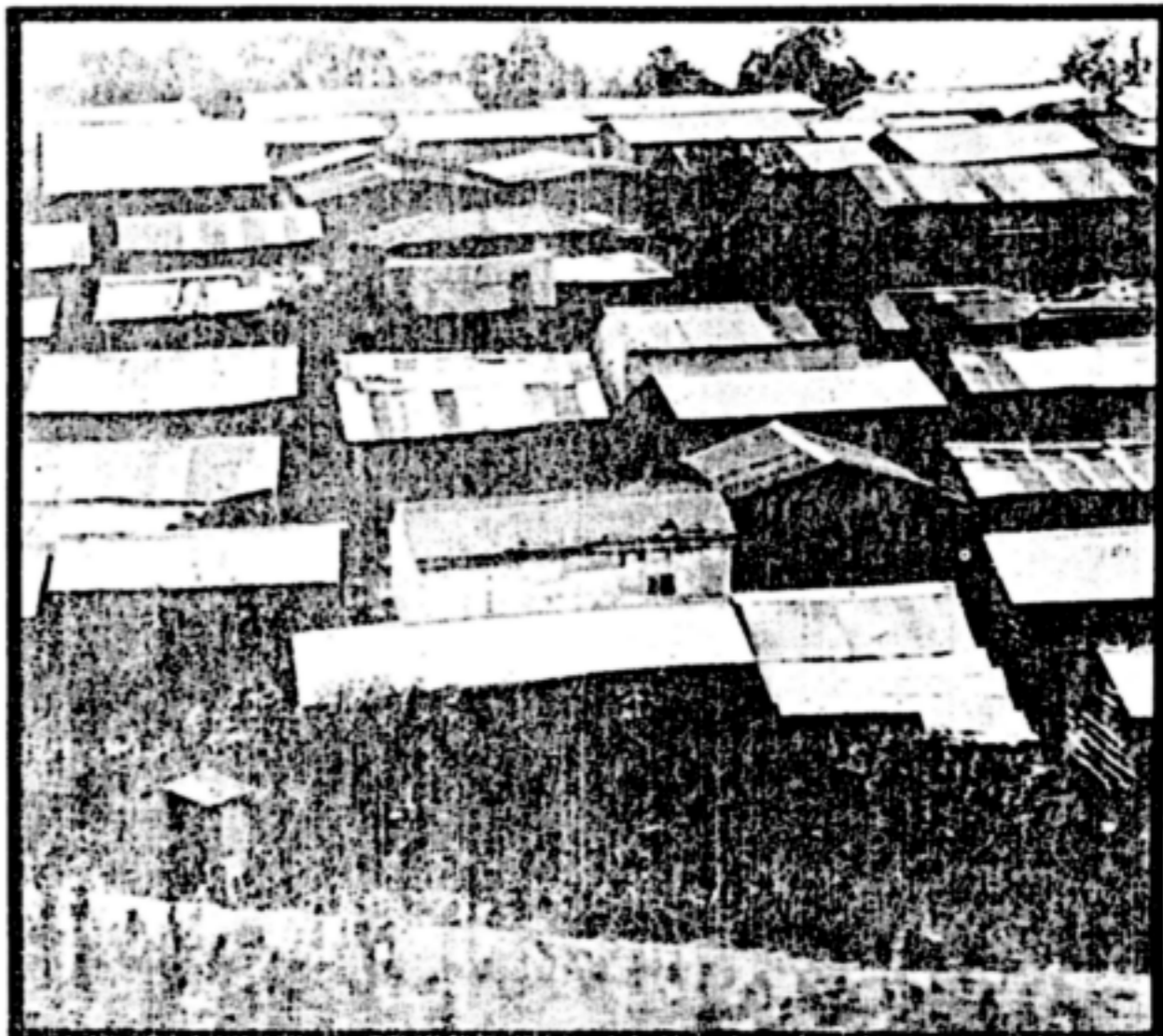
- Individual members of the Group Areas police have admitted to attempting to gain convictions despite the Appeal cases and tenants report that false legal information has been given to them by the police.

- Tenants are bound to their buildings in a number of ways. In the first place their choice of flats is strictly limited. Secondly, they risk a separate charge for each change of residential address. If landlords are unscrupulous, this presents an ideal situation for exorbitant rentals and neglect of maintenance of premises.

forgotten Inanda squatters



An area incised by deep valleys



Inanda — a potential "security risk" for cops.

Natal Command. Lloyd delivered a paper on the army's Civic Action programme at the Rural Development conference staged by the Urban Foundation last year.

This Committee superintended the temporary solution of trucking in 300 000 litres of water a day to 14 water points. At the beginning of July the Department of Co-operation and Development assumed full responsibility for the temporary water supply.

The drought has worsened since and the daily water supply has had to be increased to 500 000 litres.

Yet this 'solution' is more geared to containing the threat to Durban than solving the problem of the conditions in Inanda.

The Mzinyati River to the west has been identified as a prime typhoid hazard and the eMawothi settlement as the area with the worst health conditions.

However, the Mzinyati flows through the KwaZulu district of

Ndwedwe which is the responsibility of the KwaZulu Health Department.

The State Health Department only has jurisdiction in non-black areas such as Released Area 33, and can merely notify KwaZulu of the problem. At this stage there does not appear to be any co-ordinated health approach.

Whatever is done, the spectre of typhoid will lurk in the community for years to come. Ten per cent of those who contract typhoid remain carriers for up to ten years and four to five per cent are potential carriers for an indefinite period.

Inanda has been a 'problem area' for other reasons. The area of Bombay was described by Captain John Wright of the Durban Drug Squad as a 'dagga factory'.

When police raid the shacks, the occupants scatter and no-one will admit to owning or occupying shacks in which dagga is found. Which means that unlike the

townships where control is possible, in areas such as Bombay, police have no idea who is who and who is where.

Inanda, similarly could be identified as a potential 'security risk' area, since state control is relatively weak. This problem must have been considered at the highest government level. One can only speculate on the role played by Brigadier Lloyd.

Certain basic decisions were taken by the authorities. The area was to be 'developed' and very quickly too. Within a few weeks Department of Co-operation and Development officials swarmed on to a vacant piece of land just north of Ntuzuma.

In a few weeks they had pegged out 4 500 sites, put in pit privies on each site, bulldozed dust roads and begun looking around for people to be relocated there.

They have chosen the people of eMawothi and having cleared their area, will site and service it

and move another group into it and so on. These sites are also to have reticulated water with stand-pipes every 100m.

This approach is being hailed as a 'breakthrough' because people will be allowed to erect their own dwellings on the site at lower standards than those demanded in the formal housing sector. Just what these standards will be, does not appear to have been decided yet.

There has been virtually no liaison and consultation with the people of Inanda. There appears to have been little attempt to the development with the peoples' needs and priorities in mind.

In fact the approach has been much the same as it always was. Only this time the state appears to have discovered a magical solution — let the people build their own homes, and the Department just digs them a few pit toilets in clay, shale soil. Hey presto!

On Sunday July 13 Department officials and Verulam Magis-

trate addressed the people of eMawothi and informed them of the plans. There was resistance to the scheme at two levels.

Most of the people do not want to move until such time as schools are provided — there are two schools in eMawothi but none at the site-and-service scheme.

On the other level Mr Roger Ngobo, KwaZulu MP for the area, protested that he had not been consulted. He owns vast tracts of land and has a substantial income from his shack tenants which he stands to lose should the people be moved.

So much for the big breakthrough. People will have stand pipes every hundred metres; pit toilets which are really only a temporary solution; they will build their homes in neatly gridded sites.

A formal township administrative system will no doubt be established. All the better for surveillance and control.

- Unreasonable restrictions are often placed on visitors to "illegal" tenants and the occupation of flats by tenants with children. In certain instances caretakers exercise almost tyrannical control over their tenants.

Actstop believes that many of these problems, as well as the ultimate possibility of large scale evictions and homelessness, can only be combatted by persistent organisational efforts.

Regular localised tenants' meetings have become a feature of the organisation's activities. The aim is to promote solidarity amongst tenants and to equip all with a basic knowledge of their rights. Actstop continues to strive for increased public awareness of the issues involved in "illegal tenancy".

An Actstop committee member puts it this way. "Actstop is a single-minded organisation. Its central purpose is opposition to racial housing policy and pursuit of the belief that people should have the freedom to choose where they live.

"Because of this single-mindedness, we believe we draw support from many different quarters — affected tenants and nominees, certain landlords and caretakers, human rights organisations, church groups, various newspapers and concerned individuals. We are confident that any attempts at mass eviction would encounter significant resistance."

SADF trains Bantustan youth

CISKEI plans to open a work colony of 50 recruits within the next few months, as part of its new youth movement programme.

And according to Die Burger, mouthpiece of the National Party in the Cape, the South African government is also considering workcamps for black youths in other parts of the country.

The Ciskei workshop was foreshadowed at a 1978 conference in a paper about problems facing the Ciskei government which said:

"The normal highspirited and energetic youth find no constructive outlet for their energies or for the fulfillment of their aspirations; and so they become instruments for rebellious and riotous behaviour, and they may be skilfully manipulated by underground, subversive elements.

"It is unlikely that development in agriculture and industry spheres will substantially alleviate this critical situation and the initiation of some form of youth orientation programme is an urgent priority."

Announcing the formation of a youth movement called Intsika Ye Sizwe or "Pillar of the Nation," Chief Sebe said early this year that the youth do not have channels to give expression to fears and aspirations.

Many ex-pupils could not find work and "they inevitably turn to crime or some other form of anti-social behaviour," he said.



Chief Sebe

The political activities and acts of violence in urban areas were in many cases attributable to the activities of these "frustrated young men and women".

Sebe said the answer was "a youth movement that will not only keep the wolf away from the door but will occupy our youth meaningfully and profitably for a whole year".

- Some of the aims of the movement suggested by Sebe are:
- To stimulate love of culture and "fatherland".
- To identify future leaders.

- To stimulate "a sense of discipline, patriotism, nationalism and love of soil".

Early newspaper reports said the aim of the proposed workcamps for black youths under this movement was to "discipline them so they can play a meaningful role in the South African economy".

Sebe responded, saying: "Much accent has been laid in the press on the disciplinary aspects of the training and, as a result, an entirely wrong impression of the type of movement envisaged has arisen."

But the recruits of the workcamp — or "inmates" as a recent advertisement called them — will wear uniform during their one year service period.

S.A. government officials will help train them, and a SADF official will advise on what is called "discipline training".

The director of the youth movement has also confirmed that the camp will operate on military disciplinary lines — even though actual military training will not be given. And, while Chief Sebe has said that scheme will not be compulsory, his remark, "at least not in the early stages" hints at future possibilities.

The Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange said recently when he opened the Ciskei Legislative Assembly: "I'm sure the product of this youth programme

will be disciplined, qualified and motivated citizens of the Ciskei."

The Minister said the ANC aimed to disrupt social order to achieve a socialist government under majority rule. He warned the assembly: "Your country is also a target".

"My advice to Ciskeians is to respect and honour their own leaders and to be loyal to their country, traditions and religion." To the youth he said: "Learn. Educate yourselves. Listen to your parents, respect your customs, traditions, your forefathers and present leaders who have brought you so far."

Mr Le Grange said the youth movement would reduce unemployment among post-school youth and inspire them "with cultural riches and the historic heritage of their nation".

The accent of the youth movement will be on providing employment and rendering national service, the secretary of the Chief Minister has said.

However Sebe has said that the workcamps will even train civil servants "no matter how highly qualified academically they may be, so that they can be trained to know where and how to contribute towards the welfare of the Ciskei."

It's fashionable to worry about hunger. But can ANYONE offer a solution?

IN the second half of 1979, starvation in the Bantustans suddenly became a fashionable topic.

People wrote about it, people spoke about it, people deplored it. But nobody knew quite what to do.

There were some who wanted to start a 'Rural Foundation' like the Urban Foundation. Some wanted to organise massive soup kitchens.

Some thought that growing spinach was the answer. Others supported soya beans. There were those who felt that if only the people in rural areas could be taught to save, then this problem would be solved.

Others felt that mechanisation and capitalist farming were the real answer.

Hardly ever was the suggestion made that the problem was a political one.

Little was heard speak of economic power, of redistribution of land, of an end to migrant labour.

The problem was always posed as one of ignorance or poverty or even of laziness.

No-one ever spoke about dis-empowerment.

In South Africa, the rural areas are the end of the line.

Here are dumped those who the capitalist economy cannot employ; here are to be found people without land, without jobs, without cattle; here are to be found reserves of labour, employed when the economy wants them, sent back when they are no longer needed.

The consequences are inevitable: poverty, disease, malnutrition, social disintegration.

There is no solution to this plight of millions except political and economic restructuring.

The tone was set by the two convenors of the meeting. Dr Browde explained that she had got involved because of the deep personal pain that she experienced as a result of the extensive malnutrition. Dr Motlana emphasised that this was a meeting to respond to an emergency situation.

"This is not a political meeting. The political future of the country will be sorted out by blacks," he said.

The futility of such attempts is well demonstrated by one example: the sad history of the Hunger Concern Programme.

In early August 1974 Dr Selma Browde the Progressive Federal Party MPC and Dr Nthato Motlana of the Committee of Ten sent out a letter expressing concern at the widespread malnutrition in rural South Africa.

They called a meeting for 21 August to discuss a six point programme of action.

This was to include famine relief, various "self-help programmes" of agricultural or cottage industry nature, nutrition education and the provision of medical assistance.

Of the invited speakers, only Dr Trudy Thomas demonstrated any understanding of the problem. Dr Thomas has had much experience of malnutrition in the Ciskei.

The other speaker at the meeting was the Reverend Ron Brauteseth from World Vision. Speaking in the style of a Billy Graham revivalist preacher, he explained that World Vision had launched a campaign to raise R5 000 000 to feed the hungry children of South Africa.



Dr Nthato Motlana

sing a country wide "40 hour fast", where people were to give up six meals, and contribute the money saved to World Vision.

They had also mass produced little hollow plastic loaves of bread called "love loafs". These were to be distributed through churches for people to fill with money and then return to World Vision.

No greater clarity came out of the discussion. One medical student argued that a milk subsidy was simply charity and would do more harm than good.

He said that the money could be used much more effectively in Community Development programmes, and that after 5 or 10 years people would then be able to look after themselves and charity would then not be needed.

It was agreed the representatives of organisations should be invited to a smaller planning meeting a few weeks later.

This meeting took place at Dr Browde's home during December. It was attended by World Vision and other church based groups, various medical people interested in community health, and the representatives of several community development organisations.

Because World Vision was there talking more loudly than anyone else, the general feeling of the meeting was that World Vision knew more about the subject than anyone else. Because no-one else had any ideas, it was felt that people should support World Vision in their attempts to raise money.

Nothing was heard about the Hunger Concern Programme for some months. However, on May 13 this year, another meeting was held at Dr Browde's house. Obviously things had been going on behind the scenes. World Vision was no longer the star of the show.

Instead, Dr Browde introduced Mr Vic Allen, as a person who had some proposed solution to the problems. Up until February this year Mr Allen was the managing director of Roussel Laboratories, a British pharmaceutical company which operates in South Africa.

Mr Allen now works for an organisation called Syncom. The work that Syncom does is not clear. It describes itself as a "Think Tank" aiming to produce "scientific" solutions to South Africa's problems.

Its headquarters are in Sandton, its name plate is painted on to a South African flag. The impression that Syncom is working on "Total Strategy solutions" for South Africa is reinforced by the kind of programme that Mr Allen proposed to the meeting.

He said that he was setting up a national Rural Trust. Trustees will include Mr J. Roberts of

The face of hunger in Southern Africa . . . all sorts of suggestions, but how many of them will work?

Roberts Construction, a Mr Squires from Cape Town, and Mr Potter of the Transvaal Society of Accountants.

Mr Allen said that Syncom had analysed the replies to the letters that had been sent to hospitals about the milk subsidy, and that the conclusion was that at least 50 000 children would die of malnutrition before the end of winter.

Saving these children was to be the first project of the Rural Trust. The plan to save them is rather a strange affair.

The intention is to buy up 35 tons of Medifeed, a high protein concentrated food. He says that 2 cents worth of Medifeed a day could keep a child alive.

The Medifeed will then be packed in small packets and distributed to rural hospitals by the army. The hospitals would then sell these packets to mothers of malnourished children.

He said that the whole project would cost R900 000. He expected the State to pay two thirds of this, and said that the rest of the money will have to be raised.

There are a number of interesting sides to this project.

The first is that high protein foods do not solve the problems of malnutrition when the victim is suffering because of a diet that is deficient in calories as well as in protein.

The second is that Medifeed is manufactured by Roussel Laboratories, the company where Mr Allen was, until very recently, managing director.

The third is that the use of the army in a programme such as this marks a very cynical attempt to "win the hearts and minds" of the rural population.



'Historic' court win for bus workers

THE GRAHAMSTOWN Supreme court has granted an interdict stopping Port Elizabeth Tramways from dismissing workers who refuse to join the recently established in-company Bay Busworkers' Union.

Applicants in the case were the unregistered black Transport and Allied Workers' Union, a member union of Urban Training Projects, which began organising at Port Elizabeth Tramways several months ago and now claims 300 members out of the black staff of more than 500 at Tramways.

In papers before the court six Tramways employees, also members of Transport and Allied, alleged that the Tramways general manager, Mr Carl Coetzer, had told workers that those who refused to join his in-company union would be fired.

Six employees filed affidavits claiming they had been given notice of dismissal after refusing to sign application forms for the in-company union, and claimed that the only inference possible was that they were being dismissed for refusing to join the union.

Other allegations are that Port Elizabeth Tramways had set up the Bay Busworkers Union in an attempt to introduce a closed shop which would effectively exercise control over its employees' labour organisation through its own private union.

DISMISSED

A founding affidavit by Mr Mike Mohatta, the general secretary of Transport and Allied, alleged that on May 21 this year, Mr Coetzer told a workers' meeting that those who refused to join his in-company union would be dismissed one by one.

Mr Mohatta said he had written to the holding company of Port Elizabeth Tramways, Tollgate Holdings, to explain his concern about the situation in the company.

A copy of the letter included in the papers before the court signed by Mr Mohatta, expressed grave concern at the relationship between the company and the workers and - accused management of forcing workers through intimidation and possible victimisation to join the in-company union.

It was claimed that on June 23, Mr Ballard at Port Elizabeth Tramways told one of the applicants, Mr Raymond Cekisana, that he had been told by Mr Coetzer and a Mr Van der Merwe to tell the six applicants that if they did not join the union they would be fired.

The founding affidavit noted that the date of termination of services was the same as the date on which the in-company union became effective.

In his judgement, Mr Justice Smalberger called on Port Elizabeth Tramways and Bay Busworkers union to give reason before August 5 why it should not be interdicted from:

Dismissing all or any of the six applicants or any other employee because of their membership of the Transport and Allied workers union or their refusal or failure to make application for the in-company union.

Requiring any prospective employee to become a member of the in-company union or preventing him from joining Transport and Allied.

Legal observers believe the interim order is likely to have an important effect on the country's labour relations because it deals with the right of free association and at the same time it suggests that black unions have a legal standing to bring actions in court.

As one speaker commented, it was difficult to see how the government could help to save people from conditions that were created by government policy.

The fourth is that rural hospitals are seldom in contact with the mothers of malnourished children.

The most important point is that the proposed project in no way challenges the social and economic conditions that cause malnutrition.

Despite these obvious flaws, the meeting as a whole was extremely impressed by Mr Allen.

One could almost hear the sighs of relief as the Hunger Concern Programme pleased to be relieved of the responsibility for saving all those children, decided to hand over the problem to the National Rural Trust.

Some things however are certain. Neither Medifeed nor any other miracle food will solve the problems of malnutrition; the use of them will not help people in the rural areas; the problem is too vast to be helped by any well intentioned charity of self help programme.

The only way that hunger will be eradicated is through a national programme of reconstruction, in which the emphasis is put on a redistribution of land, and of political and economic power.