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TEARS AND TURMOIL

KTC community smoulders



Congress unites Cape youth
● See page 3



Progressive unions . . . doing it with class
● See centre



Frelimo: Machel spells it out
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Republic day — a leap of faith?

TWO YEARS ago last week thousands of democrats throughout the country demonstrated their opposition to the Apartheid Republic.

The events surrounding the anti-Republic Day activities were significant in that they involved a wide spectrum of organisations in a campaign against the symbols of oppression and exploitation in South Africa.

Worker organisations, community groups, students and women were unanimous in their rejection of the present system and united in large-scale mass mobilisation.

Like the Release Mandela Campaign, Anti-SAIC, the bus, schools and meat boycotts, and other campaigns in 1980 and 1981, anti-Republic characterised a particular phase in the growth of the progressive movement.

This growth took place on two levels: first, the grassroots organisation of the oppressed developed around issues affecting them in the community, workplace and schools. Second, the progressive movement launched high-profile 'political' mobilisation.

These two levels differed both in terms of the form of organisation and the issues they took up. Grassroots organisation tried to involve people in immediate and local issues — issues which were specific to that group of people — a specific factory, school or community.

The demands put forward were aimed at rectifying a particular grievance and, as such, this form of organisation laid a lot of emphasis on involving the ordinary working people in that community — not the leaders, the intellectuals or the professionals.

The aim was not merely to hold meetings or establish committees, but rather to initiate ongoing concrete activity, providing some service or assistance to people and involving them in democratic decision-making.

On the other level, high-profile mass mobilisation has generally taken up issues that affect the oppressed and exploited as a whole, and has relied largely on mass meetings and media to get its message across. As such, it has been difficult to consolidate this mobilisation into permanent and participative programmes.

The issues and demands put forward are often abstract and not immediately within our grasp. They do not necessarily affect people directly, and what people do not experience in their daily lives is difficult to relate to.

- Release Mandela!
- Forward to a People's Republic!
- An Injury to One is an Injury to All!

These campaign slogans have echoed across South Africa, and represent the will of the people. As such, they can serve as beacons to guide us, but they do not organise people as they do not demand anything more of us than our tacit or explicit support and endorsement. They seldom pose specific tasks and responsibilities for us to act on or carry out.



Ideally, these two levels — grassroots organisation and 'political' mobilisation — should complement each other. The one mobilises and motivates people who could then be drawn into the specific programmes of the different grassroots organisations. The high-profile campaigns can tackle issues which are beyond the scope of the grassroots organisations which are limited by their definition as workplace, community, student or women.

The danger is, of course, that the high-profile campaigns may outstrip the work of local organisations. They draw heavily on human and material resources, both of which grassroots organisations have, but only in short supply. They often result in attracting the wrath of state repression and neutralising the leaders of the campaigns, who are usually drawn from the local groups. Lastly, the demands and activities may be 'too political' and lose support as a result.

The issues taken up by 'first level' — grassroots — organisation such as rents, wages and school conditions are aspects of a system of racial domination and economic exploitation. While these organisations confront the immediate problems affecting a category of people in one place at one time, they do not always show the link between specific local issues and the processes of domination and exploitation which affect oppressed people as a whole.

People do not automatically draw the link between their local problems and the problems experienced in other areas. Neither are they likely to link issues like garbage removals, authoritarian teachers, or overtime to underlying structures of exploitation.

In fact, the links are not clear because they are concealed and misrepresented so that people will not see their life situation as a product of class domination.

Instead, we are expected to believe that we are responsible for our own situations, that those who

hold political and economic power in our society deserve it, that they acquired it by fair and legitimate means, through hard work and natural ability.

The poor and oppressed, we are told, have only themselves to blame for their plight, and political repression is necessary to protect 'society' from the total onslaught which threatens to undermine our democratic and free country.

All sorts of rationalisations and justifications are employed to keep us in the dark and make sure that we don't see the connections between racial oppression and economic exploitation, and that we don't question the validity of such a social system.

In order to expose these links we need to organise around specific local issues, struggles with which people can identify and in which they can involve themselves. By doing this they can clarify the fact that local ills are symptomatic of a sick society.

It is important and necessary to treat the symptoms, but before they can be eradicated the disease itself must be cured.

Changing a sick society requires struggle at both the local and national level. Local struggles must take the immediate issues and locate them within the broader context. They must show that these are issues that affect the oppressed masses as a whole.

However, by their very nature, local organisations are not able to contest these issues in their broader national political context. It is necessary therefore to build organisations which can contest issues which affect many areas and constituencies.

Such organisations, however, must pick up where local organisation leaves off and extend the processes of organisation and education. Local organisations are able to begin the process of exposing and changing the relations of domination and exploitation, but this process needs to be continued.

Campaigns and ad hoc organisation around issues which affect a broad range of people enable us to go beyond the limitations of grassroots organisation, to challenge oppression on a broader, political scale.

Too often, however, we have forgotten that organisation and education of people is a process, involving a number of stages, starting at the grassroots and ending with a national political movement. While we have begun to build grassroots organisation on the one hand, and have engaged in national political mobilisation on the other, the bridges between the two have yet to be built.

In the past we have leapt from local community, women, student, and workplace issues to the national political ones and assumed that the links between the two are obvious to the people.

This has at times been a leap of faith which has left out a number of important and necessary stages of organisation, mobilisation and education. We must ensure in future, when taking up broader issues, that we start where grassroots organisation ends, and in this way develop them further until organisationally and ideologically we reach the national political level.

YOUTH

W. Cape youth unite

OVER 1 000 members of Western Cape youth organisations gathered in Cape Town from May 27 to 29 to launch the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco).

Cayco, made up of twenty youth organisations which have emerged during the last three years, aims to:

- Unite youth in the Cape.
- Respond to the demands and aspirations of all young people whether they be cultural, economic or political.
- Find ways and means of linking up with the youth in other areas, regions or provinces with similar aims and objectives as Cayco.
- Build good relations between youth and parents.
- Create a spirit of trust, responsibility, understanding and love among its members.

Messages of support from many progressive organisations saluted Cayco as one of the most significant events in recent times. 'The unity of youth is important in our long hard struggle. Their active participation will bring us to victory,' said one statement.

On the first night, Johannesburg unionist Nongezi Radebe said youth had a rightful place in the struggle. 'The fact you are here now to organise means we will win. This is because there are people who went before us

Groups gather to launch Cape Youth Congress



'The future belongs to you and will be what you make it today, not tomorrow.'

— Shepherd Mati, Cayco Congress

and left deep footprints in the ground. We must walk in these footprints.'

One youth member said being part of a community meant youth groups could identify with the issues affecting that community. 'Young people can develop a role in their communities as well as in the broader democratic movement,' she said.

Cayco intends organising among all youth. 'The youth are everywhere — they are the workers, the unemployed, the teenagers and so on,' said another member.

'All experience the same problems. These will be solved through unity and collective action. The unity of youth organisations will strengthen that.'

Cosas president Shepard Mati referred to a resolution passed at the last Cosas congress to look into organising youth. 'Cosas salutes Cayco,' he said. He hoped initiatives in the rest of the country would soon lead to organisations such as Cayco.

'The future belongs to you and will be what you make it today, not tomorrow,' he said.

55 still in detention according to DPSC

ACCORDING TO figures released by the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), there are at present 55 people in detention in South Africa.

Heading the list is the Transvaal with 28 detainees, and the Ciskei with 16.

In May 13 people were detained. These included:

- Sidney Mufamadi and Monde Mditshwa, both officials of the General and Allied Workers Union, who were detained while travelling through the Ciskei.

- Two African Food and Canning Workers Union members, Dlaki Vani and Linda Ngodeka who were detained in Queenstown. Ngodeka has been released.

- Pule Pule, an executive member of Azapo who was detained at his Soweto home.

Other detainees from Soweto, who are now under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, include Dan Lehodi and Thomas Sibiyi. Joseph Zulu, from Soweto was detained in early May and released shortly afterwards.

In Port Elizabeth, five people were detained in May. Siphon Hina and Tuli Bobo, both from New Brighton, and a Kwazakele family - Mr and Mrs Tyutyu and Ms Tyutyu.

In April this year three people were released after spending eleven months in detention. Mathatha Tsedu, from Pietersburg, Mampe Ntshingwane from Kagiso, and Elias Mtshingane were released on April 20.

In March, at least 12 people were released from detention without charges being laid against them, and at least nine in February.

According to the DPSC, of the 73 recorded detentions since the beginning of the year only ten people were charged and few used as state witnesses.

The rest have either been released or remain in detention.

A DPSC spokesperson said it was difficult to be precise about detention figures. 'The problem is people are often detained without it coming to the attention of the public. On the other hand, sometimes people are released, and their release goes unreported.'



Thousands gathered at Wits to say no to the Quota Bill.

Varsities to ignore Quota

Opposition to the new Bill mounts

STUDENTS ALL around the country have rallied around the Nusas call to oppose the 'Quota Bill'.

Their demand, in opposition to the quota system, is that 'the doors of learning and culture shall be open', a demand drawn from the Freedom Charter.

At English universities throughout South Africa banners, posters, stickers and speeches have attacked the Quota Bill for restricting the access of blacks to the 'white' universities.

Saic visit sparks protest

STUDENTS AT Durban Springfield Teachers Training College called a weeklong boycott of lectures in protest against the presence of the Minister of Education and the Saic chairperson on campus.

800 Springfield Students held a peaceful gathering on campus to demand an explanation from the rector. They were dispersed by riot police with sjamboks, teargas and dogs.

Students then gathered on campus to ask the Rector to discuss de Klerk's address, as well as the low financial allocations to the student Interim Committee and other student organisations.

Boycotting students passed a resolu-

tion: The Bill provoked a widespread reaction from students, staff and the administration.

The administration have condemned the Bill as undermining academic freedom, where the universities reserve the right to decide what is taught, to whom, and who teaches on the criteria of academic merit alone. They have held meetings condemning the Bill, and are fighting the issue by negotiating with the government, who they hope will 'see reason'.

tion:

- Demanding that funds to the Interim Committee be increased.

- Condemning the meeting on campus with Saic and government officials.

- Demanding an explanation why hostel students were sent home before the Saic and government officials addressed the student gathering.

- The rector should make himself available to the student body for negotiations in a democratic manner.

- Students should have the right to invite any speaker to address them.

Issuing a call for solidarity with the Springfield students, Azaso called on the students to stand firm in their resolve.

At meetings held by university administrations no discussion from the floor has been allowed. While many staff members have supported the admin approach, a number have sided with Nusas in calling for firmer action. A meeting of 250 UCT staff members called on the administration to publicly refuse to implement the quota system if it becomes law.

Nusas has adopted a firm stand. Nusas president Kate Phillip addressed a gathering of 2 500 students and staff at UCT which demanded that the university refuse to implement the quota system.

At Rhodes, 400 students marched to admin demanding a more militant stand from the university.

At the University of Natal in Durban a meeting of 1200 students was addressed by veteran campaigner Helen Joseph and Azaso President Joe Phaahla. They called on the university to ignore any quota and to allow black students to continue studying.

At Pietermaritzburg, presently unaffiliated to Nusas, Nusas supporters led a campaign in which 500 people attended a protest meeting, and 250 students marched to admin to present a petition calling on the university to ignore the quota system if it became law.

Jhb gets into gear on UDF

Organisations form Transvaal General Council of the UDF

AT A recent meeting in Johannesburg, 31 organisations joined forces to form the Transvaal General Council of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Delegates and observers from a wide range of organisations adopted a declaration forming the UDF and pledged to fight against the government's constitutional proposals and oppressive legislation including the Koornhof Bills.

Organisations subscribing to the UDF declaration include a wide range of unions, community, student, women and church organisations. Amongst them are Saawu, Gawu, MGWUSA, Cusa, Ccawusa, the Soweto Civic Association, the Kagiso Residents Organisation, the Mohlakeng Residents Association, Cosas, Azaso, the Federation of South African Women, the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Witwatersrand Council of Churches, the Young Christian Students and Nusas.

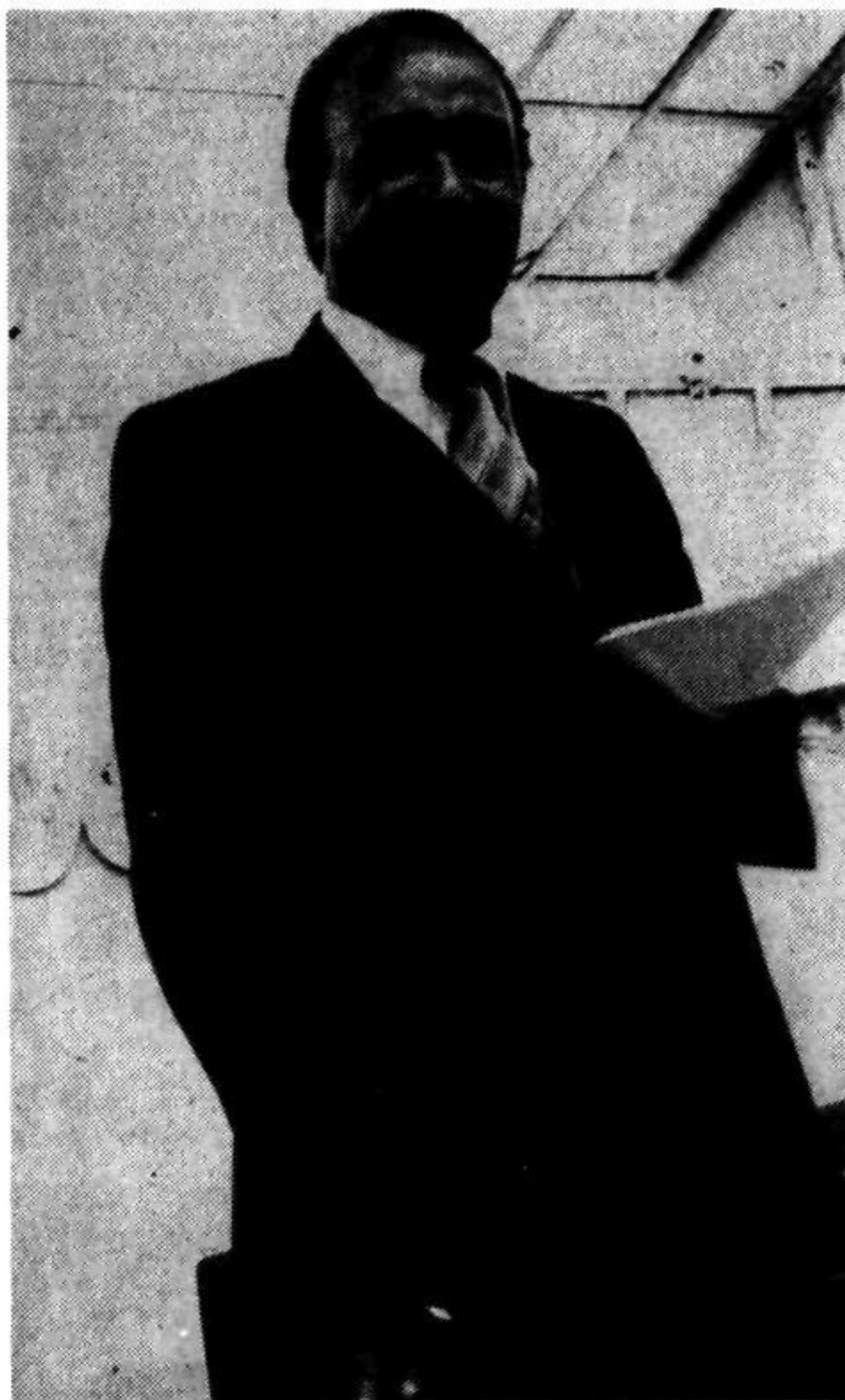
Observers included the Food and Canning Workers Union, the SA Catholic Bishops Conference and the Black Sash.

The declaration pledged the organisations' 'unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non-racial, unitary state in South Africa, undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations as formulated in the Bantustan policy'.

A resolution adopted at the meeting said the Constitution Bill was the result of the acute political crisis the South African government was facing following generations of oppressive rule over the majority of South Africans.

The resolution said the Constitution Bill was an attempt by the government to solve the crisis by co-opting certain sections of the oppressed into the white laager whilst continuing to exclude the majority of the people from real decision making.

The purpose of this was that the government 'hoped to fragment the solidarity of the oppressed people in general and the working class in par-



Veteran campaigner Archie Gumede after his election as local UDF president.

ticular', the resolution said.

For this reason the meeting resolved to 'call on all the sections of our people to reject and resist the Constitution Bill'.

The meeting also decided to vigorously oppose the introduction of the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill.

'The provision of this Bill will result in massive pass raids and persecutions, the growth of huge squatter settlements on the Bantustan borders and the dramatic increase in rural poverty and human suffering,' said the proposer of a motion condemning the Bill's introduction.

She said through the Bantustan strategy, the government had attempted to export the contradictions inherent within the system of racial capitalism from the centre to the periphery. It had done this by the mass removal of thousands from the

'white areas' to the Bantustans, facilitated by the influx control system. The motion opposing the Orderly Movement Bill said mass resistance to apartheid had led the government to adopt a dual strategy to stem the march to genuine democracy:

'It seeks to co-opt a black middle class on the one hand whilst increasing repression against the majority of the people and tightening influx control on the other'.

The meeting also formed a Transvaal Council of the UDF consisting of two representatives from each member organisation. The Council's first task is to elect a secretariat to carry out its day to day work. Until such time as the secretariat is elected, the present UDF interim committee will carry out these functions. The General Council will also establish UDF regional committees.



Union reps at UDF launch



Jerry Coovadia — elected chairperson

Gumede heads new Dbn Front

ORGANISED OPPOSITION to the government's constitutional proposals and Koornhof Bills under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDF) is mounting.

Over 40 organisations including community, trade union, student, women, church, youth and political organisations launched the UDF in the Natal region at a meeting in Durban recently.

UDF affiliated organisations in the region so far include the Natal Indian Congress, the Release Mandela Committee, the Democratic Lawyers Association, Cosas and Azaso.

Delegates at the meeting adopted the UDF declaration and pledged support for the campaign to fight the government's proposals.

A speaker at the meeting said the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills should be seen as a total entity 'which seek to divide our people'. They were a 'threat to the unity we strive for among all oppressed people'.

The UDF was formed to rally together democratic forces to oppose the proposals, he said.

For the campaign to be effective the UDF should strive for maximum participation in the campaign and develop 'unity in struggle', said another speaker.

He said this meant more than national unity at a leadership level — unity should be built 'from the bottom upwards'.

Supporting this view the meeting

recommended that national organisations participate alongside local organisations in the regional UDF structures to ensure meaningful activity and the campaign's success.

It was suggested the UDF structure be flexible, catering for different conditions and accommodating different types of progressive organisations.

This would also allow the structure to develop as more organisations threw their weight behind the UDF campaign.

A 22 member general committee was elected from representatives from the different organisations present. The committee consists of a seven member executive and 15 general members.

The meeting also pledged support for people in Lamontville and surrounding areas in their struggle against rent increases. Speakers said the increases, like the Koornhof Bills were part of the government's attempts to remove people from the urban areas.

Azaso forms Transvaal region com

AN AZASO Transvaal Regional Committee was formed at a workshop hosted by the Wits Black Students' Society (BSS) in mid-May.

This, Azaso's first regional workshop in the Transvaal, was attended by over 100 students from Turfloop, Medunsa and Wits, with delegates from Natal and other observers contributing to the two-day discussions.

In his opening address, Azaso vice-president Giyani Mdluli said students needed to 'critically assess and evaluate our activities. We must identify our mistakes and learn from them.'

Following a paper on 'Crisis and Reform', discussion saw students as a target for the state's co-option policy because, by being at university, they form part of a privileged layer of society.

Speaking on the proposed Education Charter, national executive member Paul Sefularo from Medunsa said, 'The mention of the word 'charter' immediately brings to mind the most democratic document ever drawn up by the peace-loving peoples of our country. The Freedom Charter is a beacon for the non-racial democratic movement and the minimum demand for a future South Africa'.

'The Education Charter', he said, 'will and must encapsulate all the educational demands of all sectors of our communities'.



Community leader Dr Ismael Mohamed elected chairperson.

Tvl Anti-PC takes off to zap proposals

THE TRANSVAAL Anti-PC Committee was launched on May 8 at a packed meeting in Western, a coloured area near Johannesburg, and Dr Ismael Mohamed, community leader was elected chairperson.

The meeting was called by the Ad-Hoc-Anti-PC Committee formed at the beginning of the year in response to the government's new constitutional proposals and the Labour Party's decision to accept them.

Since then, the committee has been discussing, canvassing support and planning for an organisation to oppose the government's proposals.

'We have grassroots organisations which are fighting high rents and big electricity bills etc,' said Dr Mohamed, who chaired the meeting.

'But we do not have a political organisation to mobilise and organise people in all areas to oppose the constitutional proposals.'

The Ad-Hoc Committee has set up working groups in many areas. Through pamphlets, house meetings, seminars and the community newspaper it has gauged the opposition to, and informed people of the implications of the proposals and the implications of the Labour Party decision to accept them.



Frank Chikane

At the meeting messages of support were received from a wide range of organisations including the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, Cosas, the Committee of Ten, Soweto Civic Association, Gawu and the Federation of South African Women.

Guest speaker Frank Chikane welcomed the formation of the Anti-PC Committee as 'a beacon of hope and the beginning of a new phase in our struggle.'

He said the government's reform proposals were 'a package of

hypocrisy' which would not 'involve the masses in any decisions'.

'It is a government ruled by the rich against the workers', he said.

A declaration to form the Anti-PC Committee was adopted by the meeting. It called for a 'National Convention to resolve the problems of our country', and saw the constitutional reforms as:

- A state strategy to divide the growing unity of the oppressed.
- A sophisticated scheme to entrench white minority rule.
- Entrenching economic exploitation and social inequality.
- Fostering racialism and all the evils that flow from it.
- Being imposed on the oppressed.

Fifteen office bearers were elected to sit on the Committee. These included people who have been taking up and fighting for the demands of communities in different areas of the Transvaal. Chairperson Dr Mohamed is a member of the UDF interim committee and a TIC member. Naz Pahad from the TIC and Isaac Mogase, chairperson of the Diepkloof Civic Association, and Mrs Lambert and George Dullim who previously resigned from the Labour Party were also elected.

STUDENTS



Piet Koornhof. The student press has long been bust for digging up dirt among the dales.

Koornhof courts admin to censor UCT paper

More than a peep from Piet as Varsity blows his trumpet

'THE UCT student press is under attack. This time it is not by the state but by the university', said student Max Ozinsky at a meeting at Cape Town University in response to the Principal's attempts to prevent the student newspaper, Varsity, from publishing a lecture given by Dr Piet Koornhof to the political studies department.

UCT Principal Dr Stewart Saunders, at Koornhof's insistence, had banned Varsity from publishing a broadsheet on Koornhof's guest lecture on the constitutional proposals, on the grounds that the talk was 'off the record'.

Varsity ignored the ban and published the broadsheet to expose to

students the context of Koornhof's lecture. As a result 18 Varsity staff members were charged with disobeying Saunders' orders and accused of unethical behaviour.

On the basis that the matter was sub-judice, Saunders then ordered SRC president Anton Richman and all student publication editors to give no further publicity to the issue.

In an open letter to Saunders, signed by over 50 student newspapers, faculty councils and societies, students expressed distress over the handling of the issue. About 400 called for an open hearing of the university court and for a review of UCT's disciplinary structure.

MSC faces admin pressure

THE FUTURE of Medunsa's Medical Students Council (MSC) hangs in the balance after students rejected a constitution imposed on them by the University Council.

The Council's constitution is different from one students submitted to university authorities last year.

The Council informed students that they would be bound by its constitution from May 1 this year.

A student body mass meeting rejected the Council's constitution, saying amendments made by university authorities were suppressive, undemocratic and were an attempt by authorities to deny students academic freedom.

Students resolved to suspend the

MSC, which would now act as a Constitutions Ad-hoc Committee to negotiate with university authorities to recognise the students' original constitution.

In a circular to students, the acting rector Prof H J Dunston said changes made by the University Council were 'an attempt to prevent the MSC from ruling students. In other words to protect the students.'

Authorities also ruled that membership of the students' council be terminated if a member failed during the year he or she had been elected.

Other amendments included a ruling that only students who had successfully completed their first year at the un-

iversity be allowed membership of the students' council.

'If the student body is not prepared to accept this constitution, there will be a period during which Medunsa will be without an SRC until such time as they do accept it,' the MSC was told.

Students, however, have reaffirmed their confidence in the MSC and the Constitutions Ad-hoc Committee. 'The MSC is representative of the student body, practising mass participatory democracy,' a student said.

The student body mandated the Ad-hoc Committee to convey their decisions to the rector. They have given university authorities a month to resolve the issue.

King's trial postponed

ATHLONE ACTIVIST, Headley King, 27, who was originally detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on February 7, appeared in the Paarl Regional Court from May 16 to 18.

He was charged with ANC membership, and alternatively with furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

King was alleged to have attended ANC meetings in Maseru, to have tried to recruit members and to have had ANC documents. He pleaded not guilty to both charges.

A trial-within-a-trial was held to determine the admissibility of a confession King made to a magistrate on March 2 while still in detention. The state argued the detention under Section 29 did not in itself constitute pressure on a detainee to make a statement. King testified he had understood he would not be released from detention until he made a confession.

The magistrate, A J Burger, ruled King's evidence inadmissible.

University of Western Cape student Michael Coetzee, 23, detained in Port Elizabeth on January 24, was called as a state witness. Initially when asked to take the oath, he swore by ANC president Oliver Tambo.

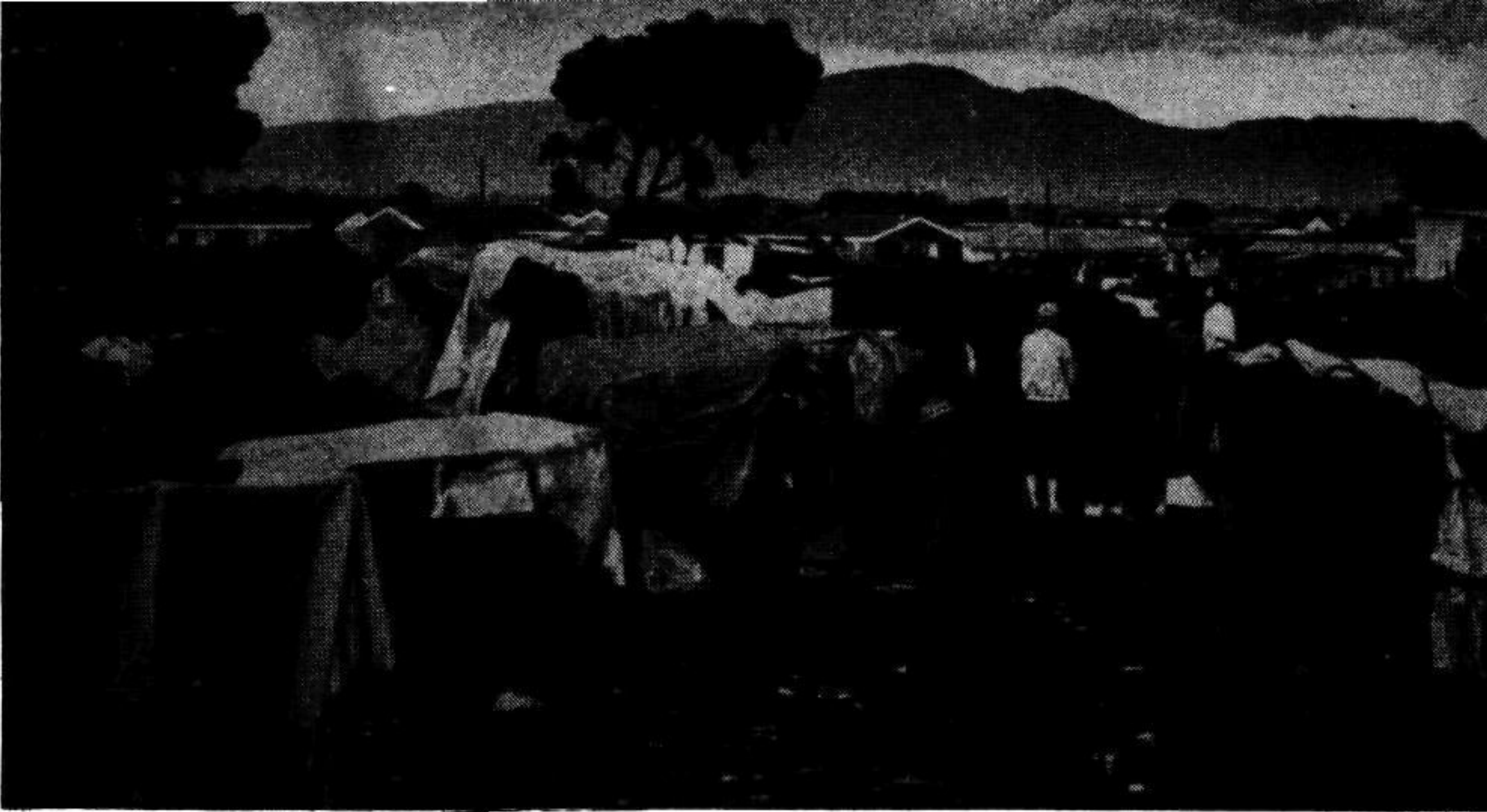
Coetzee was recalled twice by the state prosecutor and finally took the prescribed oath, but was described as an unreliable witness after denying the contents of a sworn statement made to the security police during detention. Named as an accomplice, he has subsequently been charged with perjury and is being held as an awaiting trial prisoner.

Mitchells Plain teacher, Zelda Holtzman detained since February 9, was also called as a state witness and named as an accomplice, but she had not made a statement in detention.

In her evidence, Holtzman did not implicate the accused and, although she was absolved from prosecution, she continues to be detained under Section 31 of the Internal Security Act.

In his own evidence, King told the court how his political awareness arose out of surrounding events such as those of 1976 and 1980. This had led to his involvement in community organization in the Hanover Park area, concentrating on day-to-day issues such as rent-hikes and bus fare increases. He testified to becoming aware of the ANC, amongst many other organisations, while at UWC, and admitted to supporting the Freedom Charter.

Judgement in the case was reserved until August 1.



Over 600 families made KTC their home. And then the raids came.

The houses that squatters built, Koornhof burnt

Barbed wire and fire has forced the KTC people out. But their will to resist continues.

ALL THAT remains of the KTC squatter camp in the Western Cape is a sandy wasteland surrounded by coils of barbed wire. The people have gone — but their poverty, suffering and struggle to survive continues.

The KTC issue started in January last year when people began moving onto land adjacent to the Kekase Trading Camp which had been cleared for building. A year later, KTC had mushroomed into a fully-fledged camp containing over 200 families who had fled the overcrowding in Peninsula townships.

On February 16, government officials took action against the squatters, raiding the camp and tearing down over 600 black plastic shelters. This was the first of a series of raids. Police returned several times, each time demolishing shelters and burning building materials.

The raids climaxed on February 25, when police moved into the camp in 45 police vehicles and arrested 289 people. The KTC community remained united throughout. During the massive February 25 raid, acting on a community decision, they handed themselves over to the police for arrest. All those arrested were charged in the Langa Commissioner's Court for failing to show their passes and for being in the area illegally. The cases were postponed and bail was refused.

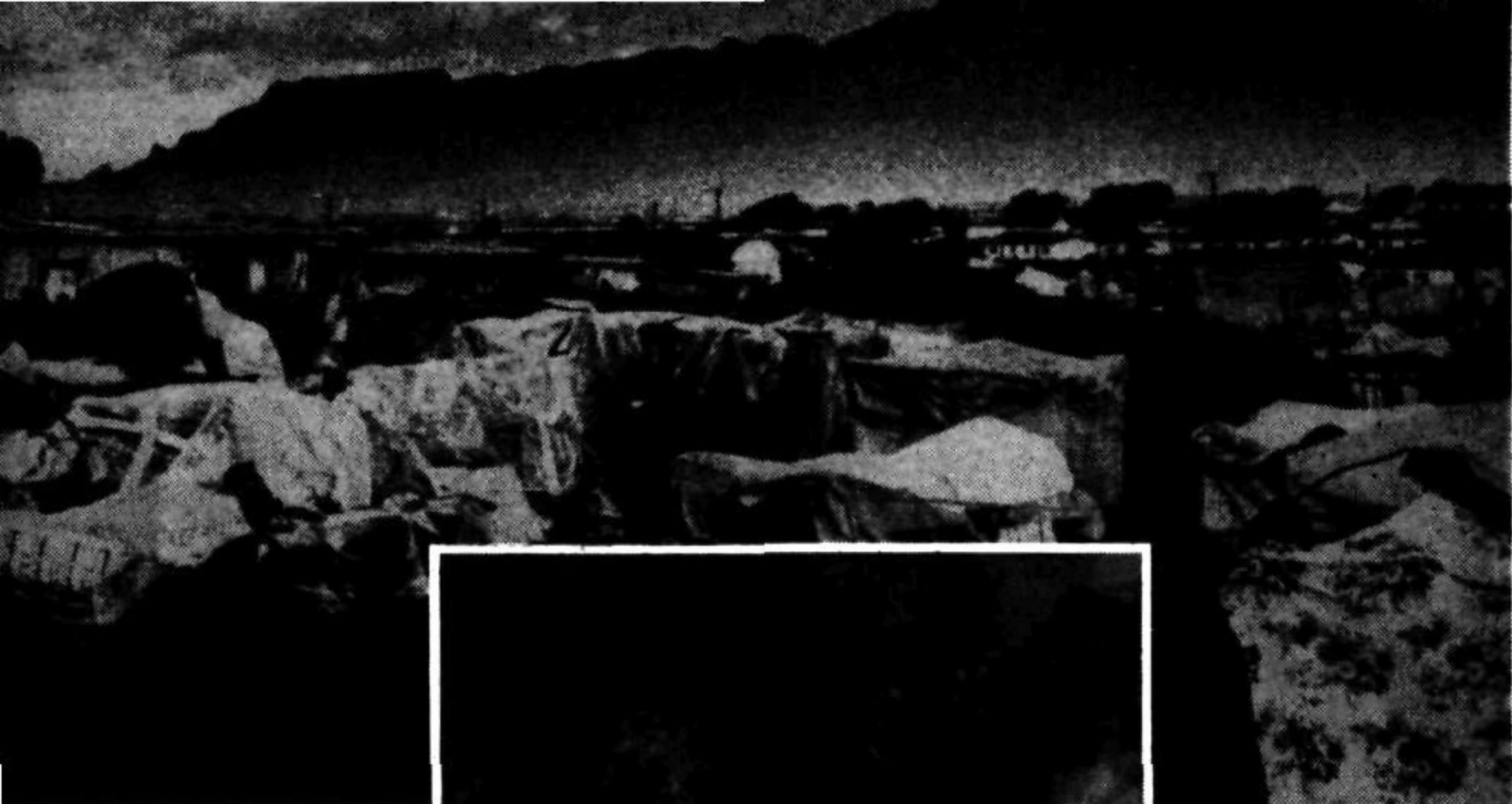
The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr. Piet Koornhof, then proposed the government's solution. He announced 200 houses would be provided for the most deserving people, and that 2500 serviced sites would be made available to those legally in the area.



Police fire teargas at squatters.

On March 1, the case against those charged for failing to produce their passes were dropped. Those who were allegedly in the area illegally were fined between R30 and R70 and given suspended sentences. The raids continued, and many people were arrested and brought to court. Several acquittals followed after the courts accepted there was a shortage of houses in the townships since none had been built between 1972 and 1982.

The authorities began reacting to the squatters in earnest. Their possessions including medicine, food and blankets, were confiscated. A 24-hour vigil was set up at the camp by a paramilitary force — which included armoured personnel carriers and tear-smoke machines mounted on landrovers — heavily-armed police and Western Cape Administration Board officials. Pieces of plastic used as shelters for babies were confiscated and burned. Families taking refuge in holes in the ground had search lights trained at them throughout the bitter-



ly cold and rainy nights.

Throughout their ordeal the KTC people remained united. The KTC steering committee elected by the camp refused to be broken and as committee members were arrested, others were elected to replace them.

'There is no peace with the administration board,' one KTC resident said. 'They say we can stay here but they make it difficult for us to stay. Perhaps they hope we will give up but we will never give up'. The squatters also resisted being divided by the authorities, who continually tried to force them into groups of 'legals' and 'illegals'.

Support for the KTC community came from many quarters. At a meeting of 1500 Cahac members, a motion in support of the squatters was passed unanimously. The meeting also called for an end to intimidation and restated their demand for housing, security and comfort in the land of one's birth. Organisations such as the Black Sash, Women for Peace and the PFP condemned the situation at KTC, calling for urgent attention to be paid to the plight of the squatters.

One of the burning issues for the KTC community was the recently debated Constitutional Bill. 'How can reform mean the burning of shelters, mass arrests and removal of people?' they asked.

In a dawn raid on May 18, police raided KTC, firing tear-gas canisters for over two hours at the crowd who had gathered. Included in the crowd were squatters, students and members of several organisations who had arrived for a protest meeting. Police arrested 39 men and 37 women for allegedly squatting illegally. Their trial



Agony as shelters burn to the ground.

is continuing.

Now, it seems, all the KTC squatters have moved. The 'legals' are being housed in beerhalls in Langa and Nyanga while they wait to be moved to a new township 33 kms from Cape Town. The 'illegals' face charges.

There are about 600 families waiting for houses in the Western Cape townships and many thousands of squatters are living in shacks in such areas as Belhar, Kraaifontein, Werkgenot, Crossroads, Hout Bay and Nyanga Bush. The proposed new township for blacks will take 10 years to build and many suspect it will not materialise at all.

A squatter said: 'We have heard lots from Koornhof. He promised Crossroads people houses, he promised us 2500 sites at KTC. None has he carried out. Can we believe him now?'

Meanwhile, in a shock move, Koornhof announced recently that the residents of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu would eventually be moved to the proposed township of Khayalitsha near Mitchells Plain.

Koornhof told parliament the area would be developed to 'consolidate' black housing in the Cape metropolitan area. He said the government believed the people affected would move 'voluntarily.'

Cahac deplored the decision — which would mean the uprooting of more than 125 000 people — and said people should have the right to move where they chose, and should be consulted before decisions that affected their lives were taken.

The United Womens Organisation (UWO) said nothing caused more bitterness than the uprooting of settled communities.



Cahac meeting protests against government housing sales.

Threat of Clairwood removals

A SETTLED community of 6000 people would be forcibly uprooted if the Durban City Council pushes ahead with its plans to rezone Clairwood for industrial use.

The Clairwood Ratepayers Association (CRPA), assisted by a recently formed support group, is pressurising the Council to reassess its 'bulldozer' approach to the community. The CRPA has been fighting against the area's industrialisation, which would force all present residents to move, since the late sixties.

In the mid 1960's Clairwood was zoned for special residential purposes. Strangely enough, however, light industry was encouraged and residential development effectively frozen.

A compensation clause had been added to the building regulations, specifying that people building after this date would not be recompensed for new buildings. The uncertainty this caused assisted the area's steady degradation.

The so-called 'slum nature' of Clairwood and the many people who 'voluntarily' moved out, now makes it a lot simpler for the Durban City Council to implement its industrialisation plans.

The sense of history, tradition and community ties so important to the people living there seem to be ignored by the Council which clearly favours the industrialists and residents who want to sell their properties.

Spearheaded by Diakonia, a conference was held on Saturday May 16 to highlight the Clairwood issue and inform various other supportive groups of its urgency. Black Sash, other church groups, UND and UDW were invited.

A support committee was appointed at the conference to assist the CRPA in its struggle.

A lecturer from UND and a member of the support committee, Dr JJ McCarthy, discovered that 95 percent of Durban's present industrial land has been expropriated from the black communities. He suggests that the small number of jobs (15000) the council is claiming to provide with the new industries does not warrant the effort. At least 40 percent more jobs would have to be created by the year 2000.

He called for a metropolitan as opposed to a regional approach in planning so that other areas could be considered suitable for industry.

Housing 'groot gemors'

A CROWD of 15 00 people at the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee meeting in Cape Town broke into spontaneous applause when Cahac secretary Trevor Manuel described the housing crisis as a 'groot gemors'.

The meeting, called by Cahac to protest against housing sales, drew busloads of people from all over the Western Cape to Hanover Park community centre.

Manuel outlined the costs caused by the group areas policy which had resulted in demolishing good houses in Constantia, District Six and Goodwood.

'Every time people are moved to new areas more money must be spent on new houses', he said. 'The money for these houses comes from our taxes. We can't afford it. They want to draw blood from a stone to try and show that apartheid can work'.

'To make matters worse, the government now wants to sell the houses to us at a profit. They want us to pay for their mess'.

Joseph Marks, a Steenberg resident, said more than 300,000 people were looking for houses, but instead of providing these, the government spent almost 200 million on defence to

protect apartheid.

'Together we can never fail', said Cahac vice-chair May Prinse. 'We must take forward the housing struggle and build organisation'.

The meeting unanimously rejected house sales and the ten percent rent increase.

It also resolved to reject the new constitutional proposals, the Koornhoff Bills and pledged solidarity and support with the KTC people.

'We must stand together and show the council what we can do. We demand that the government takes responsibility for housing'

Police bust concert

RIOT POLICE with rifles, teargas, sjamboks and dogs broke up a Durban campus concert on May 20 by giving the three thousand concert-goers 20 minutes to disperse.

The free open-air concert had been organised by the Ad Hoc Academic Freedom Committee with the campus music station, Dome Music Radio.

Although there had been no hint of unrest during the afternoon's proceedings, at 6.40 pm, just as the band M15 finished its set, about 40 riot police marched onto the field's edges. They told the organisers the concert was an 'illegal gathering', contravening Section 43.3 of the Internal Security Act which may prohibit any meeting 'for the maintenance of public peace' or to prevent 'feelings of racial hostility of different race groups'.

Head of the squad Major van der Merwe said his men would not

hesitate to intervene if the 20 minute ultimatum wasn't met.

For most people this was their first direct confrontation with armed security police and most left quickly. A few lingered and shouted abuse at police until further reinforcements arrived in vans to disperse the 'drunkards', as a police statement to the press put it.

Prior to the concert, the organisers had applied for, and been granted, a Group Areas Act permit from the Department of Community Development for the non-racial concert.

They had also, under instruction from the City Police, applied to the Chief Magistrate for a permit, but received no reply.

Both the Law faculty and Admin backed their decision to go ahead with the concert.

Criminal law lecturer Nico Steytler said it was arguable whether Section



Quiet before the storm.

46.3 even applied to the concert, since a group of people listening to music could hardly be 'a threat to the state'.

Concert organiser George de Greef said, 'The police action radicalised a lot more people than the concert would have.'

A mass meeting on campus was held a week after the incident, and apart from one abstention, the floor voted to hold another Academic Freedom concert in the near future.

June 6 is D-day for Mpetha trial

JUNE 6 is the day scheduled for judgement in the marathon trial of veteran trade unionist and community leader, Oscar Mpetha, and 17 other people in the Cape Supreme Court.

The trial in which the accused face 'terrorism' and murder charges has been running since March 1981. It arose out of incidents at Klipfontein Road near Crossroads during the City Bus boycotts.

The trial was marked by many trials-within-trials to test the admissibility of statements made by several of the accused while in detention. It was also characterised by the calling of a vast number of state witnesses, many of whom also made statements during long periods in detention.

Whites break ranks to join sweet union

THE FOSATU affiliated Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union has taken a small number of white artisans into its ranks. The artisans are employed by Kelloggs South Africa at their factory in Springs.

Fosatu president and Kelloggs employee, Chris Dlamini explained the circumstances leading to their becoming union members: 'Our union has a strong factory floor organisation and has been able to win significant benefits for our members. The artisans in question have no representation. They have various grievances, for example, some of them have been unfairly dismissed.'

Dlamini said he had explained to the artisans that on the factory floor workers are divided because white artisans traditionally supported management. He told them that they were all workers and would be stronger if they spoke with one voice to management.

White artisans joined the union in February this year. Out of 16 eligible artisans 13 are now Sweet Food members.

As union members the artisans have made their presence felt. Previously all report back meetings were conducted in Zulu. Now report backs are in Afrikaans as well. The new members have shown an interest in union affairs and Dlamini says they have a good relationship with fellow black union members.



Raymond Suttner: free but concerned for death-row six.

Suttner out after 7 years

POLITICAL PRISONER Raymond Suttner, 37, was released from Pretoria Security Prison last month after serving a 7 and a half year sentence.

Suttner, after 5 months detention, was sentenced in 1975 under the Suppression of Communism Act. At the time he was a senior lecturer in law at Durban University.

Commenting on his release, Suttner said, 'Obviously I'm pleased to be out. But there are many political prisoners — including six on death row now — who remain behind bars.'

'I would like these people to be given the opportunity to play a more constructive role towards creating conditions which will make it possible to achieve peace and social justice in South Africa.'

Suttner was on the executives of both the UCT SRC and Nusas in the mid-sixties. His studies have been about the status of African women under customary law in SA, and the role of the SA judiciary.

At present he is doing an LLD through UNISA into international law problems regarding SA's relation to the UN. From June he will hold a research position at the African Studies Institute at Wits University.

PC proposals still 'a heresy'

THE CHURCH in South Africa has a duty to speak out its objections to the government's constitutional proposals, according to the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allen Boesak.

Boesak, who had just returned from Canada where he had been awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Victoria, was speaking at the AGM of the Durban church agency Diakonia.

Discussing the Christian response to the constitutional proposals, Boesak said that in terms of the proposals, racism was once again written into the country's constitution.

He said all the 'basic apartheid laws' - those laws without which the system could not survive, like mixed marriages, group areas, and racial classifications - remain unchanged.

'White minority rule and control



Dr Allen Boesak

over the economy is entrenched and given credibility by the willing participation of those in the black community more interested in short-term economic gains and the semblance of political power than in the genuine liberation of all people of South Africa.'

Boesak emphasised his belief that the church has no option but to reject the proposals, because of its entrenchment of apartheid.

'Apartheid is based on the premise that there is a basic irreconcilability of people who did not share the same background. The gospel tells us that in Jesus Christ reconciliation and community between people is indeed possible, however different they may be.'

Commenting on the government's claim to be Christian Boesak said 'We have no reason to laud the communists, but we must not blame them

for things they did not do. It was not the communists who took away our land, who created the homelands, who drafted the security legislation, who detain those who fight for justice, torturing them in the jails and banning them. It is not the communists who killed Steve Biko and Saul Mkhize.'

'These things are done by the South African government, the very government which claims to be Christian. And they have been done in the name of Christ and of Christianity.'

Boesak said the church had to fight the new proposals because apartheid was in opposition to the will of God for this country. In its claim to be Christian, he said, apartheid is 'a blasphemy, idolatry and a heresy.'

'How can the church witness to justice and peace of the kingdom of God when we keep silent in the face of the ongoing injustice that apartheid represents,' he asked.

Before his address, Dr Boesak held an hour long meeting with the Natal executive of the United Democratic Front, the body formed to oppose the constitutional proposals, across a broad spectrum of organisations.

Commenting afterwards on the formation of the UDF, Boesak said he thought it was a significant step. The 'work of a body such as this was all the more urgent and important, he said, because of the vast amount of government propaganda in South Africa and overseas, in favour of the proposals.'

Cosas Alex elects new executive

ON MAY 22, Cosas (Alex Branch) held a meeting to elect the new executive for 1983.

Before the elections, a speaker said that Cosas was being misinterpreted as a 'political' or 'boycotters' organisation.

'Cosas is a students' organisation fighting for students' rights. It deals with problems like unfair dismissals, corporal punishment, enforcement of school uniforms, locking of gates, fees and lack of text books.'

It was stressed that demands made were not irresponsible.

Another speaker said 'The present education system promotes and creates class differences teaching students to be individualistic. South Africa is divided and ruled by a minority. We want an education that will help us to live, think and act together to change our society.'

An executive committee of nine students was elected with Vincent Tshabalala as chairperson of the Alex Branch.



Placard protest by Lenasia residents.

Sparks as Lens plugs in

Residents boycott high electricity bills.

LENASIA RESIDENTS have decided for the second month running to boycott the high electricity tariffs charged by the Peri-Urban Board. Instead they will pay their bills according to the lower tariffs charged by the Johannesburg City Council for electricity.

This decision was reached at recent meetings of the Lenasia Federated Residents Association.

The decision follows the refusal by the secretary of the Peri-Urban Board to meet residents to discuss the higher tariffs. The FRA wrote to the board more than two months ago threatening to boycott the higher tariffs unless the Board met with them.

Earlier this year the Peri-Urban Board took over control of Lenasia Extensions 8, 9, 10, and 11 from the Johannesburg City Council (JCC). As a result residents are expected to pay 15 percent more for electricity and 30 percent more for water than the JCC charges residents in other parts of Lenasia. In addition the Board has demanded an R8,63 per month service charge. No such charge was made by the JCC.

At the time, the FRA submitted a memorandum to the Board stating that:

- Residents rejected the higher tariff charges.
- Residents rejected any extra service charge.
- Residents wanted the JCC to ad-

minister Extensions 8, 9, 10, 11.

●Residents demanded the Board meet them to discuss their demands.

Last month in a massive show of strength, three quarters of the residents paid their electricity accounts according to the old JCC rates.

On the due date for payment, hundreds of residents gathered at the Board's offices in Lenasia to pay their accounts. Many wielded placards saying 'We reject the Peri Urban Board' and 'We belong to Johannesburg'.

Security policemen detained two residents for a few hours. One of those detained was a resident who had come to pay his account. The other was Sadha Veeran, a veteran community activist, executive member of the Extension 10 Residents Association, and member of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Despite these protests, the Peri Urban Board has refused to lower the tariffs or to meet with residents. In the light of this intransigence, the FRA decided not to pay the higher tariffs until the Board meets the organisation to negotiate an acceptable settlement.

In a recent press statement the FRA said: 'The Authorities usually find white Residents and Ratepayers Associations acceptable, but not those found in black townships. Why is this dual policy and double standards practiced?'

In an effort to ignore the FRA, the Peri Urban Board has elected a Con-

sultative Committee for the area. Residents have condemned this body. Over one thousand residents signed a petition calling on the authorities to recognise the FRA as the democratically elected and legitimate voice of the people.

Nismawu wins first recognition agreement in RB

THE NATIONAL Iron, Steel, Metal and Allied Workers Union (Nismawu) has recently signed a recognition agreement with Richards Bay Minerals.

Nismawu is an affiliate of the National Federation of Workers. In terms of the recognition agreement, the union has the right to elect shopstewards to represent employees on day to day grievances, as well as negotiating conditions of employment and wages.

The company has already been told of a worker decision to open negotiations for a minimum wage of R3.00 per hour.

Nismawu views the agreement as a major breakthrough and as a victory for all unregistered unions.

The agreement covers 957 employees. Although it is the Nismawu's first formal agreement, negotiations have already begun in other areas.

Surprise ruling for Mwaala

Swapo guerilla trial sets treason precedent

IN AN historic judgement in Windhoek last month, a supreme court judge ruled that most Namibians would probably not wish the death sentence to be imposed on a young Swapo guerilla, Angula Mwaala, 22.

Mwaala was on trial for his life after he had been captured by the SADF last year. He was found guilty of being an accomplice to the murder on July 16 of a farm labourer, who had killed one of Mwaala's Swapo comrades with a rifle provided by the defence force.

The labourer, a member of the SWA Area Force, received a R2 000 reward from the authorities for his actions.

Mwaala was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment on a terrorism charge, eight years for murder and two for robbery, with the sentences running concurrently.

Pio Teek, for Mwaala, immediately gave notice of his intention to appeal against the murder and robbery charge.

Earlier, arguing in mitigation of sentence, Teek said his client had committed a 'political crime' and it had to be taken into consideration that the dead man was killed as an act of war. He was a member of the Area Forces, and as such, an enemy of Swapo.

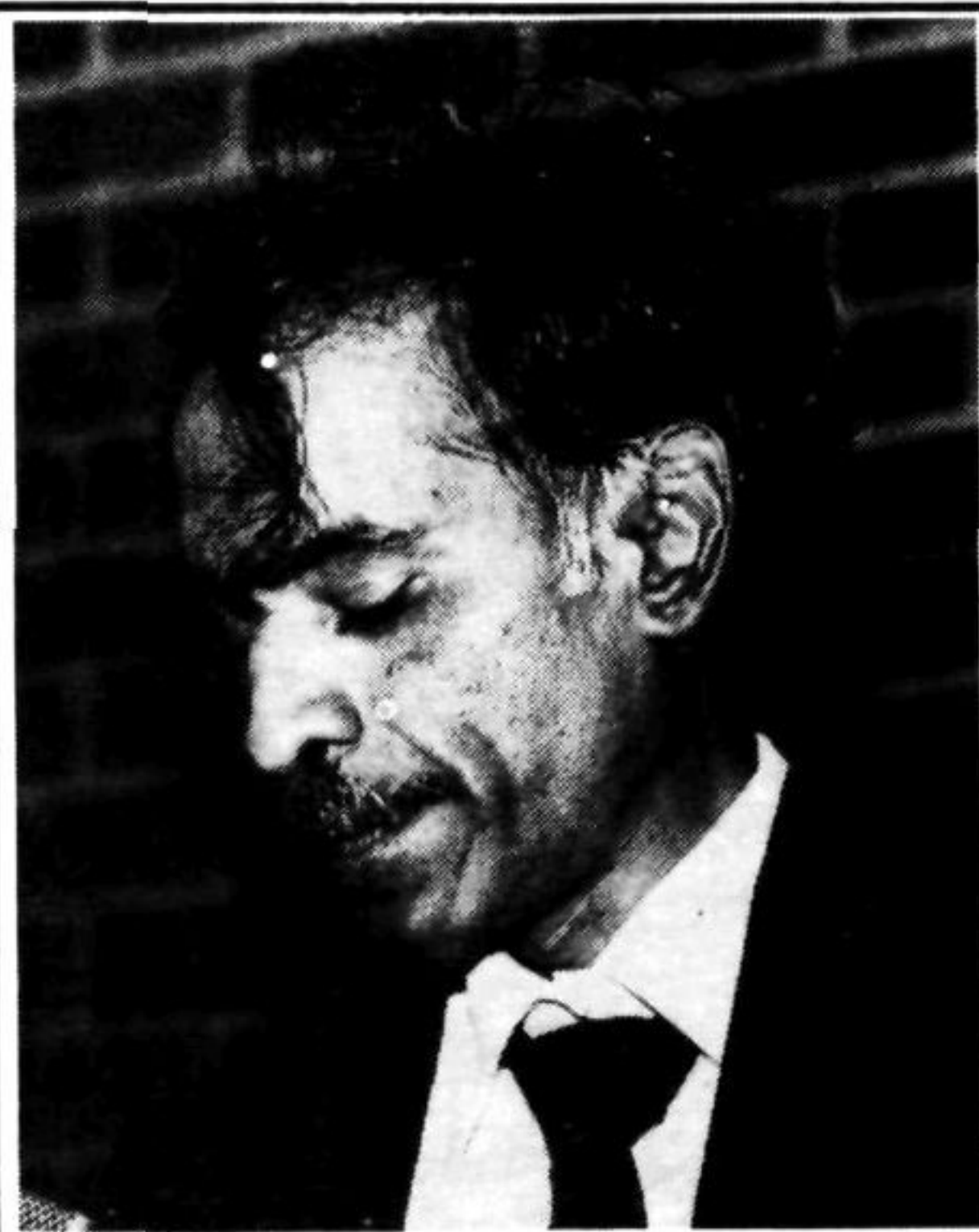
He said the court would 'take regard of the feelings of the majority of people of this country' if it did not impose the death sentence. There could well be 'substantial support' for Mwaala's actions as they were part of a strategy aimed at gaining independence for the territory from South Africa.

Teek said the South African government's provocation in refusing for decades to grant independence and end its illegitimate occupation of Namibia also had to be seen as a 'mitigating circumstance'.

Mwaala did not take part in the actual killing of Shikongo, but was found guilty of murder by association.

In June 1980, he was taken by Swapo guerillas operating in his home area to Angola, where he received military and political training.

He was subsequently wounded in a shootout with members of the paramilitary unit Koevoet (Crowbar) and returned to Angola for medical treat-



Banned Sewpersadh charged

GEORGE SEWPERSADH, who has served 18 months of a five year banning order, has been charged with contravening the order and is to appear in the Durban Magistrate's Court on June 7.

He is alleged to have been at the Blue Lagoon, a beach cafe, after 6pm. In terms of his banning order, Sewpersadh has to be home from 6pm to 6am on weekdays and from 6pm on Friday to 6am on Monday. He may not receive any guests, attend any meetings or gatherings or leave the magisterial district where he lives.

ment.

In April 1982, he and other members of Swapo's military wing, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), returned to Namibia and were able to infiltrate areas well south of the war zone, right down to the farming areas of Tsumeb, Otavi and Otjiwarongo.

Subsequent to Shikongo's killing, Mwaala's comrades were killed in a shootout with the SADF and he was taken prisoner, culminating in his trial in Windhoek.

The trial aroused much public interest in Namibia and open sessions were well attended, with some of Swapo's internal executive members putting in daily appearances.

It is thought Angula Mwaala could well be one of the last Swapo guerillas to face trial, as most captured guerillas are now imprisoned in the prisoner of war camp at Marienthal and at other secret locations throughout Namibia.

Paper strike: some wins some losses

A LONG struggle over union recognition and wage increases has ended in partial victory for the workers of Premier Paper Mills. Management has agreed to negotiate with worker-elected shop stewards of Fosatu affiliated Paper, Wood and Allied Workers Union which represents 80 percent of the workers at the plant. They have also offered workers a ten cents an hour increase after consistently refusing to give an across the board increase.

However workers demand a twenty cents an hour increase. They point to the fact that company turnover increased from 13,9 million to 16,2

million rand in the six months preceeding the dispute. Earnings on shares likewise rose from 83 cents to 93 cents. Management has claimed it cannot afford the increase because of the recession. The workers feel this claim is invalid.

The dispute began at the end of April when management called the workers together and announced increases for certain categories of workers. Only 48 out of a total workforce of 350 benefitted from the increases. To justify their actions, management claimed that the union had agreed to the increases.

At a meeting with Premier workers, the union denied agreeing to selective increases. Workers accused management of trying to divide the workers and undermine the union. They demanded management give increases to all workers. Management agreed there had been a 'misunderstanding', but refused to give increases to all workers. The following week workers from all four shifts went on strike in support of their demands.

Management responded by cancelling their recognition agreement with the union and offering to meet worker representatives in July to negotiate a wage increase. The workers refused to accept this and pointed out that the union and the workers were in fact 'the same thing' and therefore the workers could not go back to work without union recognition.

Management refused to budge. The next morning workers were greeted by eight police vans and management withdrew some clock-in cards, indicating some workers would be fired.

The shop stewards decided that workers should go back to work before their unity was broken. They got management to agree that none of the workers would be victimised if they returned to work.

Management continued to refuse to meet with either union officials or the elected shop stewards to proceed with wage negotiations. Instead they tried to organise the election of a new workers committee. Their attempts failed as workers boycotted the elections. The union also informed management they were proceeding with an unfair labour practice case against the company for refusing to negotiate with a representative trade union.

Management backed down and agreed to negotiate the wage increases with the shop stewards as union representatives. They also asked the union to submit a new recognition agreement to them. However they have so far refused to offer workers more than a ten cents an hour increase.

Deaths add to conflict

Another blow for Driefontein as two die in detention

TENSION IS running high in Driefontein ever since community leader Saul Mkhize was gunned down by police in April.

Another community leader, Philemon Nyende, who is a member of the Driefontein Board of Directors, has been charged with incitement for the part he allegedly played in organising the protest meeting at which Mkhize was shot.

He has appeared in court four times, but each time the case was postponed. It is believed the Attorney-General will list the charges against Nyende when the policeman who allegedly shot Mkhize, Constable Nienaber, comes to court.

Const Nienaber is still working at the Dirkiesdorp police station, which rose to prominence when Mkhize was shot and two members of the Driefontein community died while being held by police in connection with allegations of stock theft.

They were Themba Manana, 38, and 16-year-old Zephania Sibanyone.

On May 2, Manana and his father, Absolom, were arrested by Dirkiesdorp police and questioned in connection with alleged stock theft. Absolom Manana, who was taken to Standerton for questioning, alleges he was tortured during interrogation and given electric shocks. This was confirmed by the Standerton doctor who examined him. When he was returned to Dirkiesdorp two days later, he was told his son was dead.

A post-mortem was conducted in Johannesburg, and the state pathologist, Professor J Scheepers, sent samples of tissue to be tested for burn marks that could have been the result of electric shocks. A murder docket has been opened.

A week later, police issued a statement saying Zephania Sibanyone died in the kitchen of the Dirkiesdorp police station 'while enjoying a meal'. The police believe the young cattle herd died from natural causes, but the results of the post-mortem have not yet been released.

The Driefontien community, which is threatened with resettlement, believe the deaths are connected with government attempts to force them off their land.



Lukewarm response to Masa plunge

ONCE AGAIN the Medical Association of South Africa (Masa) is in the limelight.

Not since the Biko affair has Masa attracted so much coverage in the newspapers, criticism from its detractors and support from the government.

It was after intense local and international pressure that Masa was forced to launch a committee of investigation into the treatment of detainees under security legislation.

One and a half years of research, committee meetings and oral evidence by interested parties culminated in a report handed in to government officials.

Now one of the most important recommendations — that detainees should have access to private doctors of their choice — has been rejected out of hand by the Minister of Health, Dr Nak van der Merwe. He argued that they would pose a 'security risk'.

Also rejected was the recommendation for the establishment of an independent watchdog committee to review the health care of detainees.

Professor Guy de Klerk, the chairperson of the Masa federal council said: 'There is nothing we can do about it'.

The Detainees Parents Support Committee, the major pressure group concerned with detention, has appealed to Masa not to passively accept the government's stand.

The DPSC said it regarded access to private doctors as one of the most important Masa recommendations.

While it supported the Masa view that detainees were maltreated, it said the only real safeguard against abuse was to allow access to family, friends, lawyers and private doctors.

De Klerk, however, argued there had been an improvement in the



Face of despair: Mother of detainee Themba Manana, who died in police custody.

medical care of detainees and that most of the recommendations had been successfully implemented.

Among the Masa recommendations accepted by the government were:

- detainees should not be kept in solitary confinement for more than seven days and at no time without regular physical and psychiatric treatment.

- detainees should be monitored closely for suicidal tendencies during interrogation or periods of isolation.

Other recommendations included:

- detainees should not be physically tortured.

- two people should be present during interrogation which should be monitored by closed-circuit television.

- detainees should be medically ex-

amined within 24 hours of their detention.

- legislation should be passed outlining the rights of detainees and the duties of the authorities holding them.

The DPSC welcomed the fact that Masa identified problems concerning the health care of detainees.

It said: 'They voice the opinion that serious maltreatment of detainees does occur and that there are insufficient safeguards in existing legislation to prevent such maltreatment.'

'However, the recommendations which they offer to correct the situation are severely limited and do little to change the closed system of detention and solitary confinement.'

'For so long as this closed system continues we maintain that it is impos-

sible for district surgeons to serve the interests of their patients in conforming with the principles of the Tokyo Declaration.

'This being so, Masa should be calling for the abolition of solitary confinement and the scrapping of the entire closed system of detention', the DPSC concluded.

The Tokyo Declaration is an internationally accepted guide for doctors treating prisoners. According to the DPSC it is being violated by Masa's implicit acceptance of the practice of solitary confinement.

The Tokyo Declaration states 'the doctor shall not countenance, condone or participate in the practice of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading procedures'.

DROUGHT

Squeezing life from the hard, dry country



This century's worst drought hits rural folk hardest.

ABOUT 30000 rural South African children are likely to die before the year is out as crops wither and fail in the face of the worst drought this century.

The Bantustans — where people struggle at the best of times to make a living from infertile, overcrowded land — are now dry dustlands, incapable of nurturing either crops or animals. Total crop failure has been reported from several areas in Gazankulu, Lebowa, Bophutatswana and Venda.

Large scale retrenchments of migrant workers as a result of the recession and the cut-back of seasonal labour on drought-ravaged farms have removed many families' only alternative source of money for food.

And already, it is taking its toll of human life. Hospitals all over the Northern Transvaal report a drastically increased intake of malnutrition cases. Deaths from kwashiorkor have more than doubled.

The drought just aggravates an already desperate situation in a country where 2,9 million children suffer from malnutrition, 1,5 million of these from the more severe second degree malnutrition. The children, already weakened by long-standing and chronic malnutrition, develop complications like pneumonia, from ordinary childhood diseases such as measles and whooping cough.

The incidence of typhoid and other gastrointestinal diseases is also likely to soar because lack of water makes it impossible to maintain hygienic living conditions.

Health facilities in the Bantustans are few and far between. Mostly, they are remote mission clinics and small hospitals, most of which have now been taken over by the Bantustan authorities. Even

those that do exist have been badly hit by the drought. Many are without water at all and have to cart it in bucketloads. Others go for whole days at a time without water.

In an emergency attempt to improve the situation, the authorities have tried to sink new boreholes. However, only one or two had produced any water and this was scanty.

Hospitals and clinics have reported a 100 percent increase in the number of children admitted with malnutrition and kwashiorkor, a disease caused by lack of protein.

Some are much higher. For example, Subiaco Clinic, just south of the University of the North, is a tiny clinic attached to a Roman Catholic mission station. The sisters say that since the drought began last year, they have had an average of one 'kwashi death' a week. Before the drought, there were five or six a year.

Jane Furse Hospital in Sekhukuneland has also seen a twofold increase in the number of 'kwashi' cases. The hospital — the biggest in Lebowa — cannot cope with the number of children admitted and they lie two or three to a cot meant for one. Their mothers camp on the floor to help the overworked nursing staff care for them.

Doctors at the hospital say there are many more children wandering around with malnutrition and kwashiorkor who should be admitted but there is no room for them. One of the hardest hit hospitals is the Helina Franz Hospital, about 90 kilometres north of Pietersburg, an area where the drought is particularly severe. In addition to the malnutrition-related diseases, many cases of TB, gastro-enteritis, whooping cough and measles were also being

treated.

There are many more children who don't get to hospital. There is no transport to get them there or their parents do not have the R4 necessary to pay the hospital. They are just buried where they die.

The drought has caused much hardship throughout South Africa but the only places where people are dying from it are the Bantustans. Part of the explanation for this lies in South Africa's history.

The 1913 Land Act allocated 13 percent of the land to Africans. The rest was reserved for whites. Over the years, the policy has become increasingly sophisticated and hundreds of thousands of blacks were moved from land in the 'white areas' and dumped on land that fell into one of the Bantustans. These Bantustans, low in rainfall and poor in natural resources, became grossly overcrowded and incapable of supporting the people.

Women and children, the unemployed, the old and sick — all of those who cannot supply labour for industry — are dumped in the Bantustans. Their only means of survival is the crops they can grow on the overcrowded, often infertile land.

The workers earn barely enough to support themselves and often the separation between families means they no longer feel a strong sense of responsibility for relatives living far away and send home money irregularly, if at all.

And so, for the tens of thousands of people in the Bantustans, the success or failure of their crops means the difference between having something to feed themselves and their children — and going hungry.

For them, the drought means starvation.

IN A CLASS OF THEIR OWN

With the bosses trying to control them, can the trade unions stand firm and still keep pace with the rising militancy of the working class?



THE PAST five years has witnessed a growth in the size and stature of the independent trade union movement.

Its growth parallels the spread of the democratic non-racial position, the decline of black consciousness in the minds of the people, and the development of progressive community, student and women's organisation.

Today, the unions are emerging as one of the key forces on the South African political map, alongside other grassroots organisations.

This situation is not surprising. It is the logical consequence of a series of key developments over the past thirty years, which have gone through several phases.

In the 1950's there was large-scale mobilisation of the oppressed masses against intensified apartheid rule, spearheaded by political organisations like the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

There were campaigns to defy unjust laws, oppose the removal of people from one area to another, boycott the products of unscrupulous employers, to reject racist education and to demand a national minimum wage.

The anti-pass campaign in 1960 was met with unprecedented repression as individuals and organisations were banned, and leaders detained or tried in court.

The clampdown was so severe that organisations like the ANC and Sactu were forced to operate clandestinely, while others disintegrated.

The ANC formed its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, while its external mission under the leadership of Oliver Tambo came to assume an ever greater degree of responsibility, particularly after the arrest and conviction of members of the high command in the early sixties.

The force of the blow was such that it took years before organisation re-emerged amongst the oppressed people.

Black students formed the South African Students Organisation in 1969. A few years later the Black Community Programmes and the Black Peoples Convention were formed, and the South African Students Movement.

Spontaneous strike action by black workers in 1973-74 led to the establishment of some 21 trade unions.

Although these organisations emerged in the same period, two very distinct camps were created.

On the one hand, Saso, SASM, BPC and BCP were linked by their perception of the struggle as a racial one, aimed at the liberation of the black people from racial oppression.

The unions, on the other, were organising workers against exploitative bosses, and although many of them did not see their activities as anti-capitalist, they nonetheless saw the struggle in class terms, between capital and labour.

This left very little common ideological ground between the black consciousness organisations and the independent trade unions. As a result there was little or no working relationship between them.

Their differences were even more marked in the forms of organisation they adopted. The BC groups drew on students, intellectuals and artists who tended to philosophise rather than organise. In



contrast unions organised factory-based structures with worker participation on issues of immediate concern to their members.

Despite the democratic non-racial position adopted by many unions, black consciousness was ideologically dominant at this stage, and a progressive network of community, student, women and factory organisation hardly existed.

Thus the unions developed in isolation from the BC-inclined student and political groupings. There was no alliance between them, no joint programmes and campaigns. Not even the upheavals of 1976 threw these groups together.

In the late 70's things began to change. The banning of black consciousness organisations in October 1977 forced activists to start from scratch.

This new phase of organisation was different from the last. The focus was on organising people, not ideas. Organisation was local and specific to the needs of people in that particular community, school or factory.

While these organisations were not overtly political, they gave people the opportunity to challenge their immediate problems and to gain confidence from conscious and united action which promised the potential for people to change their own lives, and, indeed, society.

From 1979 democratic organisation swept through South Africa. This wave of organisation was accompanied by a change in the political climate — for the first time in twenty years there were organised mass campaigns in which organisa-

'Unions found it easier to organise because of the progressive political climate other grassroots organisations were creating.'



tions were brought together in militant protest around political demands.

Their identification with each others' programmes and struggles was reinforced by their support for the principles of non-racial democratic organisation, and this made a working relationship possible.

The unions that emerged in the late 70's were far more part of a progressive community than those operating before.

Operating in a more politicised environment, they tended to be more militant and assertive. Their leadership was drawn from workers who had risen through the ranks and whose consciousness grew out of experience and struggle.

In the early eighties black consciousness gave way to non-racial democratic approach identified with the principles of the Freedom Charter.

Local community groups, national student organisations, trade unions and the women's movement started linking up their immediate demands for reform to longer term principles for a new form of society.

The Charter contained these broad democratic principles and so became a common reference point, a loose but clear ideological thread running through the activities of these organisations.

These first level organisations have also been linked by the fact that they are products of the same circumstances.

This has produced a strong sense of unity, both in direction and in the knowledge that others are also engaged in struggle. People and organisations

'The militance of the African working class made it possible for some unions to sign up large numbers of workers in a short space of time'.

know that they alone cannot bring about change.

A national democratic movement representing not one area, but representing all the oppressed and exploited was seen to be necessary to campaign for the freedom towards which all grassroots organisations strive.

The issues which the new wave of democratic organisations have taken up show this. The African Food and Canning Workers Union, an ex-Sactu affiliate, set the ball rolling in 1979 when a strike by some of their members at Fattis and Monis resulted in a nation-wide boycott of the company's products.

The boycott increased the pressure on the company and eventually they were forced to settle with the union. Besides it being the first consumer boycott in years in support of worker demands, it promoted organisation in the communities and links between community and factory organisations.

In 1980 a strike of meat workers belonging to the General Workers Union led to a boycott of red meat products. The union pointed out that the issue over which workers had struck — the right of workers to democratically elect a non-racial fac-

tory committee — was a direct parallel of the demand of the majority of South Africans to be able to democratically elect non-racial political representatives.

The meat strike and boycott coincided with the school and bus boycotts. It was inevitable that the organisation of these different campaigns would overlap and combine.

There were consequences to this overlap: first, the ad hoc student, labour and community groups met to discuss strategy jointly, extending the potential and effect of the different campaigns.

This showed the links between different sites of struggle in a way that clarified the nature of their own struggles, and promoted solidarity between different sectors of the oppressed.

During the Fattis and Monis boycott the South African Council on Sport threatened to continue the boycott after the dispute was resolved on the grounds that the union was 'selling out the workers'. As a result of this the striking meat workers ensured they retain a high degree of control over the support activities of community and student groups.

However, in so doing they had clearly overreacted and had blurred the distinction between the different spheres of organisation.

Finally, the overt participation of the union in the other boycotts contributed to the detention of a number of key union activists.

By this stage the tactic was clearly established, and unions began to draw on the increased strength and bargaining power that student and community organisation offered them.

The Chemical Workers Industrial Union threatened a boycott of Colgate products if a deadlock with management was not resolved, and the South African Allied Workers Union appealed for support in the struggle against Wilson-Rowntrees.

This support had more subtle aspects to it as well. Unions found it easier to organise because of the progressive political climate that other grassroots organisations were creating.

Workers were exposed to organisation and mobilisation in the communities where they live; their fear of authority diminished and their confidence in democratic organisations increased; their politicised sons and daughters discussed issues with them; and the unions themselves were growing stronger and more militant.

Independent unions aligned themselves with overtly political campaigns like those for the release of Nelson Mandela, the anti- Republic Day and anti-SAIC, and with general opposition to the Ciskei regime.

In some instances these campaigns came at awkward times and forced democratic organisations to divert their attention and energies away from their immediate programmes in order to take up the campaigns. Some unions paid dearly for the leadership they provided.

As a result activists and organisations have given more thought to making political campaigns complement the programmes of grassroots organisation, even when the campaign issues are forced upon them by the government and the bosses.

The more militant and political climate expressed itself through the activities of all the democratic organisations. The unions were no exception.

1981 and 1982 were highlighted by a large number of strikes. On occasion, they spread like wild fire through the region as rank and file

militancy was passed on in the hostels, and on the trains and buses.

At one pint in 1982 metal workers on the East Rand staged 20 strikes in February and March and another seven in late April and early May.

The militancy of the African working class made it possible for some unions to sign up large numbers of workers in short periods of time.

In some cases, however, the unions did not have sufficient organisers to consolidate them into factory structures, and consequently could not channel their militancy.

Thus workers sometimes launched unstrategic assaults that had little chance of success.

The Metal and Allied Workers Union almost doubled in size to 35000 in 1982 with most of the growth occurring on the East Rand. At the time there was only one organiser to handle these workers. With some 27 strikes in the first four months of 1982 it is easy to realise the situation was impossible to handle.

Mawu's treatment of the situation placed a number of interesting items on the labour movement agenda.

To cope with the organisational load Mawu's organiser decided to shift some of the responsibility for organising factories onto the shop stewards of already organised factories.

A Shop Stewards Council was established to bring all the shop stewards together to discuss the state of organisation in their region and to work out ways of extending and consolidating their organisation.

This coming together of shop stewards also made it possible to initiate and co-ordinate joint action between the different factories and unions on the East Rand.

Right from the start workers discussed a wide range of issues. Along with issues of dismissals, retrenchments, the Industrial Council system, strikes and other factory-based issues, they discussed high rents, the demolition of shacks, and other local community issues.

Although it emerged out of the needs of the union, the Shop Stewards Council extended the scope of discussion and action of the East Rand workers. It is likely to provide a channel in the future through which they can engage in broader struggles, and possibly in alliance with community, student and women's groups.

Linked to Mawu's complex situation on the East Rand is their decision to join the national Industrial Council for the metal industry.

Their argument is that the metal industry is dominated by 1000 major factories (out of a total of 8000). To negotiate effectively with all of these through local structures would be impossible for the union in its present circumstances.

So, Mawu argues, it has become necessary for the union to deal with employers on a centralised and national scale, particularly because metal employers are well organised through the Steel and Engineering Federation of South Africa (Seifsa).

The decision to join the Industrial Council comes in the wake of some key defeats in the wave of rolling strikes that swept across the East Rand in the beginning of 1982, and which highlighted the over-extension of union resources and the lack of consolidation.

Mawu has stressed that it sees the Industrial Council negotiations as a base from which further negotiations on the factory floor can proceed.

However, management has given no assurance that they will concede the principal of plant-level negotiation. Even if they do, in its current state Mawu would not have sufficiently developed structures to conduct negotiations at plant level between bosses and workers.

Therefore, it is difficult to see how their participation in the Industrial Council will help them consolidate their plant-level organisation. It might, at most, give them breathing space during which they can draw things together.

Mawu have not stated categorically that they will

'The challenge facing the unions is to develop democratic shop-floor structures capable of negotiating with the bosses at a plant level.'

withdraw from the Industrial Council if management do not agree to plant-level bargaining. They have, however, said that they will not allow their participation in such a centralised bargaining structure to undermine the involvement of their members in union decision-making and negotiations.

The Mawu strategy is but one of many developed to deal with the new and more sophisticated assaults launched by the bosses and the government.

In 1979, when the government officially conceded the right of black trade unions to exist and provided criteria for their registration they appealed to the bosses not to deal with unregistered unions.

The success of the unions who refused to register, particularly of Saawu, AFCWU and GWU organising up the East Coast, forced the bosses to break with the Department of Manpower and to negotiate with them.

By 1981 the Minister of Manpower had also retreated and was urging employers to deal with unregistered unions if they were representative of the workforce.

Having failed to induce key unions to register the government and bosses changed their strategy. Now they are trying to force or persuade unions to accept an institutionalised bargaining system. They hope this will centralise negotiations and reduce

the involvement of the militant rank-and-file in union affairs.

The terrain of struggle between the bosses and the union has consequently shifted from recognition and the Industrial Councils.

Management has stopped trying to prevent union penetration into their factories. They have become willing to deal with unions who have managed to sign up a respectable number of workers.

Once management has agreed to deal with a union, they then insist on formalising the relationship by concluding a recognition agreement.

These are usually long, complex and legalistic. They commit the union to clauses which limits its scope of action at the same time as offering concessions for which the union would have had to fight for in the past.

For example, in the old days of 1979-'80 management used to fight tooth and nail to prevent the unions getting access to their premises, holding union meetings during office hours, or having a stop-order system where union membership fees are automatically deducted from the members' wages.

These and other concessions, which make the operation of the union so much easier, are now made readily available. But the catch is they go together with clauses committing the union to, for example, industrial peace.

This makes it difficult for the union to engage in militant activity.

The bosses realised it was militant rank-and-file activity that led to the failure of the registration option which they hoped would dampen the union growth. Thus, while on the one hand, they were forced to back down on the implementation of that strategy, on the other they adopted another which would achieve the same ends.

The unions would be controlled through a recognition package which includes Industrial Councils, rather than registration.

While the legitimacy of the black trade unions had been established in the eyes of the government, the bosses were now assuming the responsibility of control.

It is the bosses who are now in the front row in the struggle against the development of the already existing unions, and the aim is to weaken them as far as possible.

The danger posed by the recognition agreements, which is the major weapon being used by the bosses, is clear where there is a lack of shop-floor organisation.

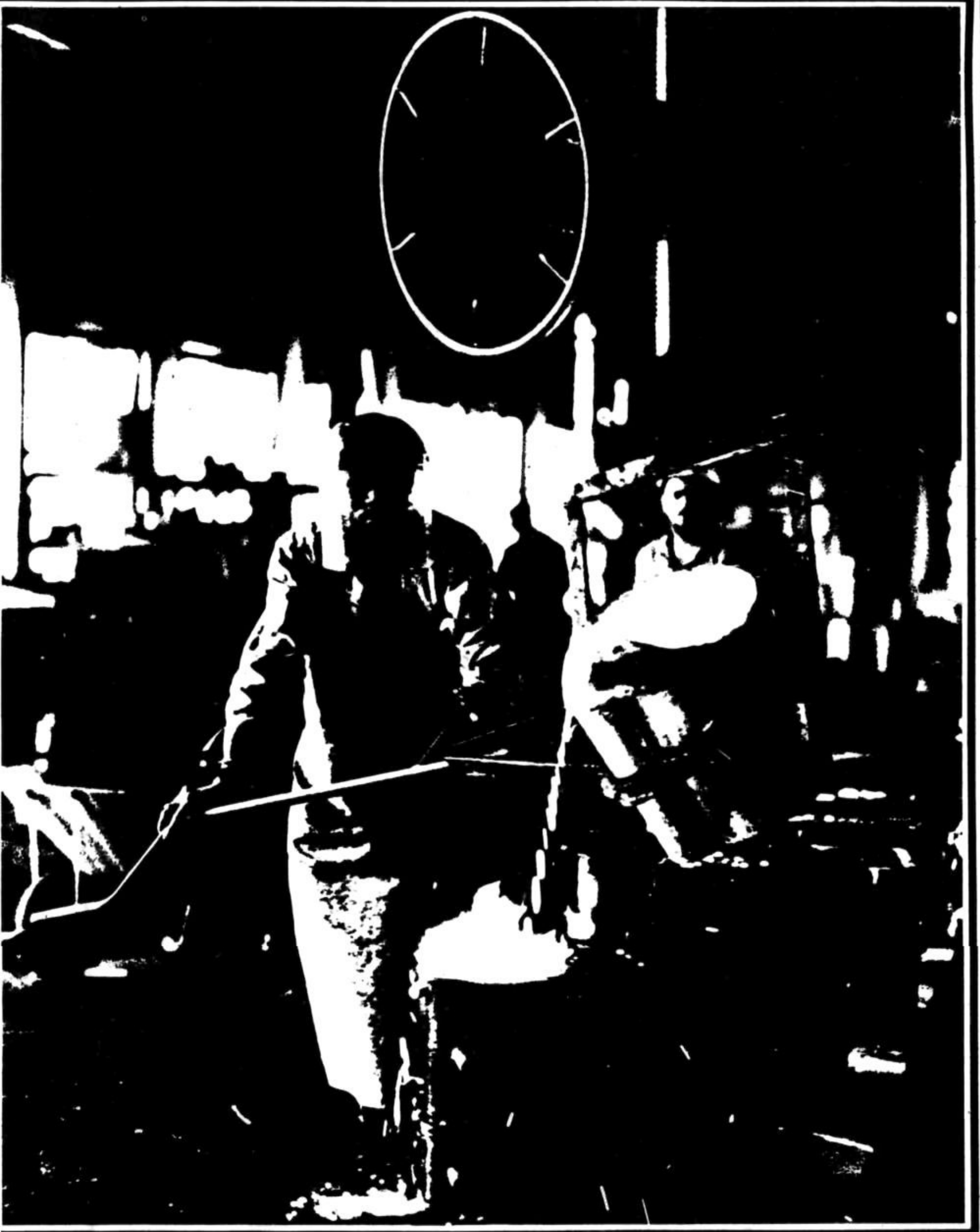
The challenge facing the unions is to develop democratic shop-floor structures capable of negotiating with the bosses at a plant level.

In this way the unions would counter the attempts by the bosses to co-opt the them into a bureaucratic bargaining system.

The current moves within the labour movement towards unity are particularly important in this regard. Unity would make it possible for the unions to form a stronger bloc against the attempts by the bosses and the government to neutralise them.

Unity would also promote co-ordination and joint action, especially at a regional level where the need for unions to share resources and assist each other organisationally is becoming imperative.

The experience of the Shop Stewards Councils on the East Rand, at the level of joint strategising and collective education around issues that are both immediate to the factory, and that transcend its boundaries, is an important pointer as to how this unity can be built.



SACC awaits its fate

Eloff commission weighs up evidence

THE FATE of the South African Council of Churches now hangs in the balance as the five members of the Eloff Commission of Inquiry consider the thousands of pages of evidence presented to them over the last six months.

The key question now is whether the commission will accept the recommendation made by the Chief of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee.

In a lengthy submission in March, Gen Coetzee called on the commission to recommend that the Council be stopped from receiving foreign funds and that it lose its exemption from the Fundraising Act, which gives it free reign to raise money outside the country.

Such a move would cripple the SACC, since it receives at least 90 percent of its R4 500 000 annual budget from European and American church organisations.

Further, his recommendations would affect all organisations that receive foreign funding. He also called for the creation of a Foreign Agents Act which would require the registration of all organisations receiving donations from outside the country.

Gen Coetzee analysed all the activities of the SACC and said its assertion that it did not support the African National Congress (ANC) or any other political organisation should be tested against its actions.

He accused the SACC and its General Secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, of contributing to the credibility of the ANC and detailed meetings between SACC and ANC leaders overseas.

He pointed to its assistance to the families of detainees, political prisoners and banned persons, its attitude to disinvestment, and involvement in trade unionism and questioned the motivations of its educational work.

The SACC condoned the onslaught against South Africa and criticised the country's defence, he said.

It was doubtful it had the support of the majority of South Africans as it claimed, he added.

Although Bishop Tutu said that 15



Rev Peter Storey (left) and Bishop Desmond Tutu discuss proceedings.

000 000 belonged to SACC member churches, the 1980 census showed that only 10 000 000 — or 37 percent of the population — belonged to these churches.

He concluded that there was 'probably merit in the statement that the SACC is manipulated by a highly politicised leadership, is funded by outside influences hostile to the present system in South Africa and gives itself an importance not reflected in reality.'

The SACC was able to be radical because it was funded by people hostile to South Africa. This would end if it relied on funds from its member churches, forcing it to become more representative, he said.

His evidence was backed by dozens of SACC documents from police files, many of which had been stamped 'Top Secret'.

The moment they heard this evidence SACC officials telephoned their funders in Europe and America and within days their representatives arrived to give evidence.

The commission heard some of the world's most important church leaders reject the suggestion that they used

their funds to manipulate the SACC. One after another said the funds were given at the SACC's request since local churches could not afford it.

They also warned that world anger would follow any moves to restrict the activities of the SACC.

They were followed by South African church leaders. The heads of the Methodist, Anglican, Catholic, and other churches connected with the SACC declared their support for the organisation.

But the main reply to Gen Coetzee came from the president of the SACC, Rev Peter Storey, who delivered a powerful and emotional submission expressing outrage that the Council had been so misrepresented.

It was not surprising if there were close parallels between the aims of the ANC and those of the SACC, he said.

This could be understood as part of the worldwide rejection of apartheid and a desire for fundamental change.

But, he added, there was a radical divergence when it came to the methods used by the two organisations.

The SACC was unequivocally committed to the path of non-violence,

but it would not rule out contact or dialogue with Christians in the ANC, he said.

He denied that the SACC supported disinvestment and said that the suggestion that they were manipulated by foreign funders was 'an attempt to cheapen and devalue an amazing story of Christian charity which has brought untold benefits to the people of our land.'

It was impudent to question the Council's role in education, he said, pointing out that the church had been responsible for virtually all black education before the 1950's.

'Of course, education has a role to play in liberation. We are committed to the freedom of the black people and good education is not only part of the road to freedom but ensures that freedom will be exercised responsibly,' he said.

He added that most of the help had been given to students to go through the Bantu Education system. 'Are we now to believe that sending a child to a Bantu Education school is part of a subversive plot?', he asked.

The SACC helped the families of detainees and political prisoners because 'there are none so vulnerable, none so helpless, none so utterly alone and without hope' as a detainee in solitary confinement.

He accused Gen Coetzee of practising McCarthyism and drew on a biblical reference to warn the commission: 'You risk finding yourselves at war with God.'

The commission looked mainly at the politics and finances of the SACC, but in fact much of the debate was between differing theologies. Although the chairperson of the Commission, Justice C F Eloff, said he would not adjudicate on questions of religion, the debate often centered around the role of the church in society.

Gen Coetzee also said he would not comment on SACC theology, but was repeatedly accused of basing his submission on the belief that the church should concern itself only with saving souls and not with wider social or political matters.

Bishop Desmond Tutu made extensive use of the writings of Afrikaans theologians to argue that the church had to be concerned with all of life and that there was no distinction between religious man and political man.

He submitted a 130-page memorandum to show 'that my motivation is not political but is based on my interpretation of Scripture.'

Although the commission has now ended its public hearings, its report is only expected to be tabled in next year's parliamentary session. So the Council will now have a year to wait before knowing its fate.

FRELIMO



Marcelino Dos Santos

Discipline and hard work at 4th Frelimo congress

Machel sets the tone with hard lines against corruption.

CLASS STRUGGLE and the enemies of the Mozambican revolution were key themes at Frelimo's fourth party congress held in April.

Mozambican president, Samora Machel told congress that: 'With independence, the power established in our country is the power of the workers. The working class, the leading force of the revolution, and the peasantry, the main physical force of the revolution, have joined forces against exploitation for socialism.'

Machel said that imperialism had tried to build up forces inside Mozambique towards the end of the colonial period that would be alternatives to Frelimo. When this failed, imperialism chose the racist regimes in the region, mainly South Africa, to carry out its attacks on the Mozambican revolution.

The Mozambican leader said that the aims of 'South African' aggression were to create a climate of insecurity and terror to cause hunger by damaging agriculture and trade to make Frelimo's policy of socialisation of the countryside impossible.

It was also to create the idea that there is a national opposition movement in Mozambique, as a pretext 'for further, more open and direct action by South Africa against our people'. It is also aimed to frustrate the regional cooperation of SADCC.

However, Machel also noted that the Mozambican state was 'not so much infiltrated as corrupted'. He demanded that leading figures make sacrifices rather than enjoy an easy life.

'When we started the liberation war, a minority had to make sacrifices on behalf of the majority,' he said.

A Frelimo Central Committee report to the congress also referred to certain groups who lost their privileges in the revolution, such as traditional chiefs and who formed 'a possible social base' for South Africa 'in carrying out the imperialist plan for political and ideological subversion.'

The report said that some Mozambicans who had enjoyed limited privileges under colonialism now aspired to bourgeois status. Their bureaucratic methods of work opposed 'any measure which seeks to simplify organisation' or to 'increase worker participation in planning'.

The report also warned that the socialist transformation of individuals was proceeding at a slower pace than the transformation of society's material base. This subjective factor 'could provoke setbacks'.

Dedication to the Party

Frelimo has 110323 members, organised in 4244 party cells. These figures, the first to be given on party membership, are in the Central Committee's report to the party's fourth congress. Peasants make up 54 percent of party members, and 19 percent are working class. Women account for 26 percent.

The report criticises weaknesses in the party's apparatus, arising in part from placing key cadres in the state rather than the party apparatus. The



President Machel . . . keeping Mozambique's forces in line.

document also notes that, due to the lack of qualified cadres, there is a tendency in the party to relax political criteria in order not to lose an individual with administrative capacities.

The Central Committee called for a fight against this: 'the qualities we seek in cadres are dedication to the party, to the people, to the country and to socialism, party discipline and an ability to work with the masses. Cadres must master the party's political line which means they must master Marxism-Leninism.'

The report adds that 'revolutionary theory without examples of its practical application in the Mozambican context cannot be properly useful to party militants. The Central Committee was to start a sweeping reorganisation of the programme for teaching Marxism-Leninism at all levels', said the report.

Also criticised are individuals imbued with a petty-bourgeois spirit, who want to centralise all the decision-making in their hands. This inhibits the people from participating.

People's tribunals

43606 Mozambicans have been elected to People's Assemblies at provincial, district and local level, according to the Central Committee report. The report argues for decentralisation to allow local people's assemblies to make decisions, planning, distributing tools to peasants, control of local supplies and, in urban areas, control over the state-owned housing pool. The current state apparatus is over-centralised in Maputo says the report.

The state apparatus, argues the report, should not concentrate its activity on the direct management of reproduction and services. Instead it should guide and support all productive sectors — the state sector, the cooperative sector, the peasant family sec-

tor, and the private sector. This follows the 1980 offensive to make the state apparatus more efficient.

On the question of legality, the report says that the state must repress its enemies and at the same time reduce arbitrary behaviour towards the rights of the ordinary citizen. An important part of this is the decolonisation of law. Ten provincial People's Tribunals, 34 district People's Tribunals and 535 local People's Tribunals have been set up since 1978.

More women attended

Delegates to the Frelimo Congress reflected the nature of the party and the social base of the Mozambican revolution.

Of the 687 delegates present, 195 were peasants, 175 were working class and 129 were from the FPLM. The remaining 170 were from the state apparatus, commerce and services, the party and the mass democratic organisations.

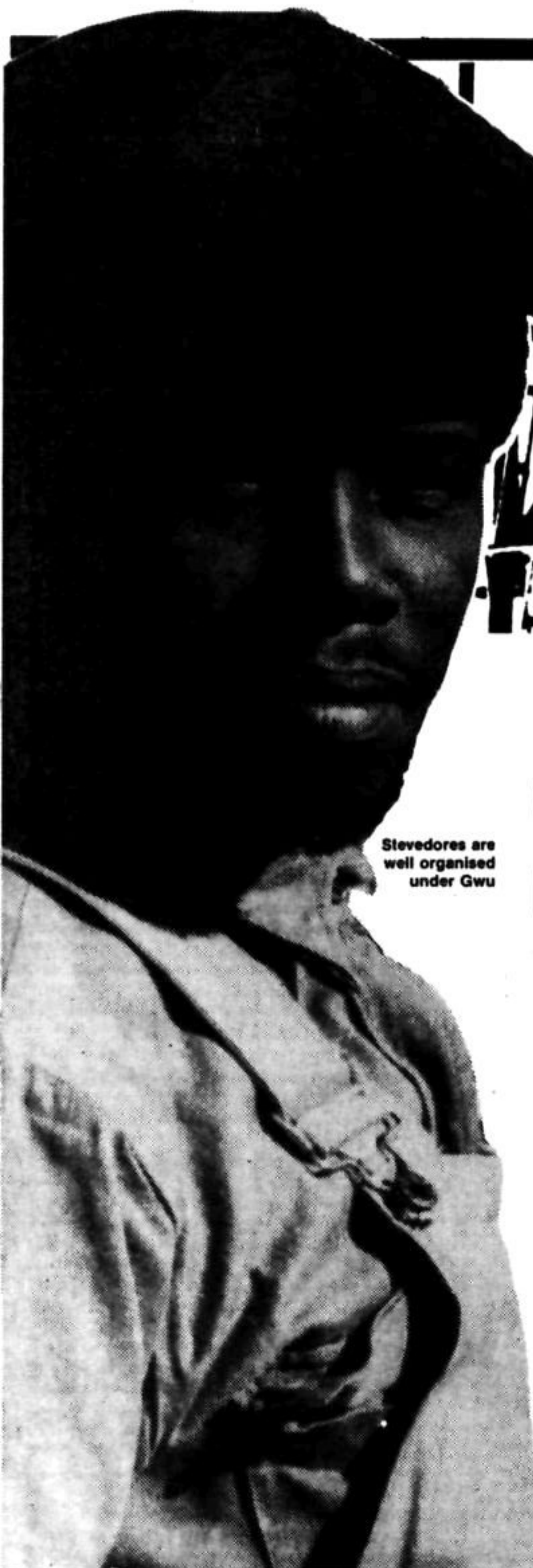
Fifteen percent of the delegates were women. This is twice as high a percentage as the third congress in 1977.

Only 53 delegates had any higher education, while 54 delegates were illiterate. A congress report said this reflected the heavy weight of Mozambique's colonial heritage.

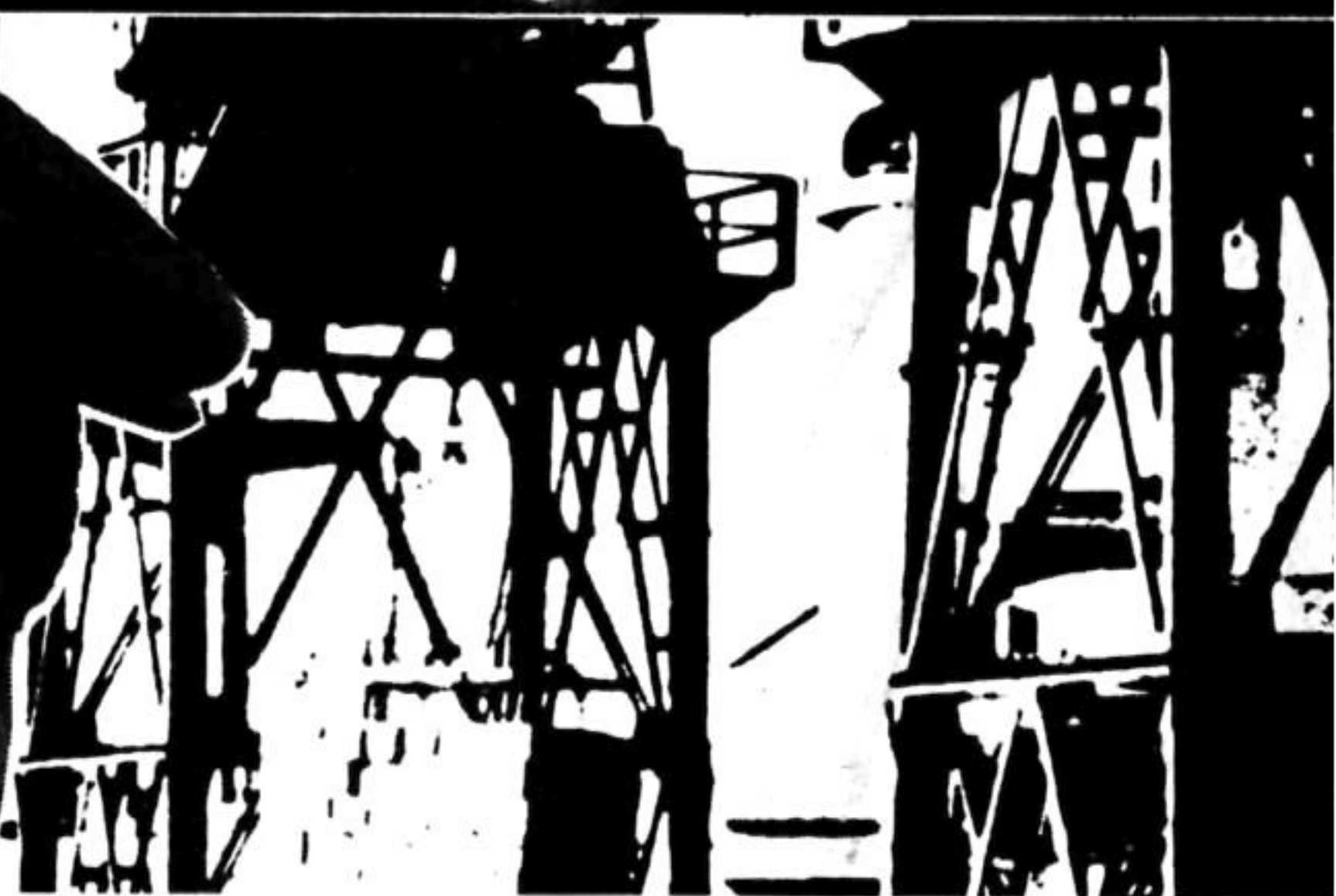
More than 300 foreign delegates attended the congress. Oliver Tambo of the ANC won a standing ovation for his congress address. Other speakers came from the communist parties of Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, and the Eastern Bloc. The Congolese Party of Labour, Copwe of Ethiopia and the Polisario Front also spoke.

Other delegates represented the FLN of Algeria, the Portuguese Socialist Party, the Dutch Labour Party, the West German Social Democratic Party, the French Socialist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party.

DOCKWORKERS



Stevedores are well organised under Gwu



Dock bosses in deep water as union moves in

SINCE LATE 1982 stevedores in all four major South African ports have been negotiating wages and working conditions with the stevedoring bosses.

Although the main representative union, the General Workers Union, is unregistered and has clearly stated its intentions of remaining so, the workers, who include African, 'coloured' and Indian men, have won for themselves the same rights to bargain enjoyed by workers in Industrial Councils.

In fact, by not being subject to all the controls imposed by an Industrial Council, they could be said to have greater rights. As one Durban worker put it, 'We no longer have to strike for higher wages. Now we just talk and our wages are increased.'

The history of stevedore organisation has involved almost all possible types of wage determination. The stevedores were the backbone of the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) when it first started in Cape Town in 1919. The first ICU strike was at the docks and led to substantial wage increases for the stevedores several months later. The increase was achieved by direct negotiations between the ICU and the bosses.

When the ICU's strength waned in Cape Town in the late 20's, the stevedores continued to be organised in the Cape Town Stevedoring and Dock Workers Union (CTSDWU). Although the ICU, as a general union, was denied registration under the industrial Conciliation (IC) Act of 1924, the



DOCKWORKERS

CTSDWU was one of the two chiefly African unions strong enough to gain registration. They became party to a stevedoring industrial council and the first agreement was negotiated in 1932.

The CTSDWU's organisational strength and privileged position declined because of an over-concentration by the union officials on negotiations with the bosses at meetings of the Council.

In 1937 the IC Act was amended so as to exclude 'pass bearing Natives'. In 1956 racially mixed unions could not be registered under the amended Act. From the early 40's the Department of Labour started trying to get rid of the problem which the CTSDWU and a few other unions represented in being chiefly African unions, yet party to industrial councils.

The union tried to fight back. It refused to get rid of African members, who formed the vast majority of the union. Passive resistance and legal battles were not enough since the state was determined. In 1950 the Industrial Council was deregistered.

The next twenty years were bad for the stevedores. The union catered solely for 'coloured' workers and for nine years there was no formal wage regulation. Stevedores of the 1950's described the work as being very hard: Work started at 7:30 in the morning and ended at 9 at night. If the docks were empty they were unable to work and got no pay. They had to go to the docks each day to find out if there was work.

Stevedoring is strenuous and dangerous work. No matter what kind of cargo there was, they had to move it. Workers loading and unloading in the freezing chambers of the ships were not given any protective clothing.

In 1959 a wage determination under the Wage Act was introduced. Bosses and workers were given the opportunity to present their case to the state's Wage Board at its four yearly sittings. The board then decided a 'fair wage', always taking into

consideration profit margins. Union officials attended the sittings but had no strength to back up their demands.

In the 1970's things began to change. When the Wage Board had its sitting in 1972, workers and members of the universities' Wages Commissions attended in both Durban and Cape Town to state the workers' case. The Board took a long time in announcing its decision.

There was dissatisfaction among workers about a new system of work organisation. Complaints about wages and working conditions led to a go-slow, which only ended when the new Wage Determination was published, incorporating small, but significant increases.

The following year Cape Town management started a liaison committee in an attempt to set up an organisation with which it could talk, and tried to rejuvenate the union. However, the majority of the workers showed little interest in these bodies, being suspicious of management moves.

In 1974 the full Cape Town workforce staged a second go-slow — a work-to-rule — during which

they never actually struck, but all refused to do any overtime until overtime hours and pay were changed to their satisfaction.

After a month a new Determination was published, and the workers secured substantial improvements. The go-slow took place at a time when the docks were particularly busy and overtime was badly needed.

In the following years further significant changes were made to the whole system of stevedore organisation in Cape Town. Many more workers were given regular jobs, with guaranteed weekly minimum wages, rather than suffering the uncertainty of daily casual work, and a new shift system involving much shorter hours was introduced.

But after the 1973 strikes a new wage regulatory measure was introduced which went even further than the Wage Determination in taking power out of the workers' hands. The Bantu Labour Officer was given full power to decide on wages for any industry, either when he decided, or when asked to do so by the bosses. There was no provision for any consultation with, or recommendation by workers.

In 1973 the first order for the stevedoring trade set down wages for the industry, and amendments were made in the following two years.

By this time worker organisation had become firm in all the main centres of the country and the growing union movement was making its voice heard.

In response to the Wiehahn recommendations the GWU took a pragmatic approach. In the early days of organisation it had used the law in establishing works committees in the factories which it organised, gaining what protection it could from the registration of these committees.

In the late 1970's, however, the union came out strongly against registration under the Industrial Conciliation Act, which it saw as forcing control over the unions as well as undemocratic practices with only limited protection. GWU preferred to find protection in the organised strength of the workforce, rather than government promises and legislation.

In 1979 GWU began to organise Cape Town stevedores in earnest. A full-scale campaign started with regular grassroots meetings.

Within months the union had won the confidence and support of a majority of stevedores from all three companies. A representative committee was elected and formal application made to management for recognition.

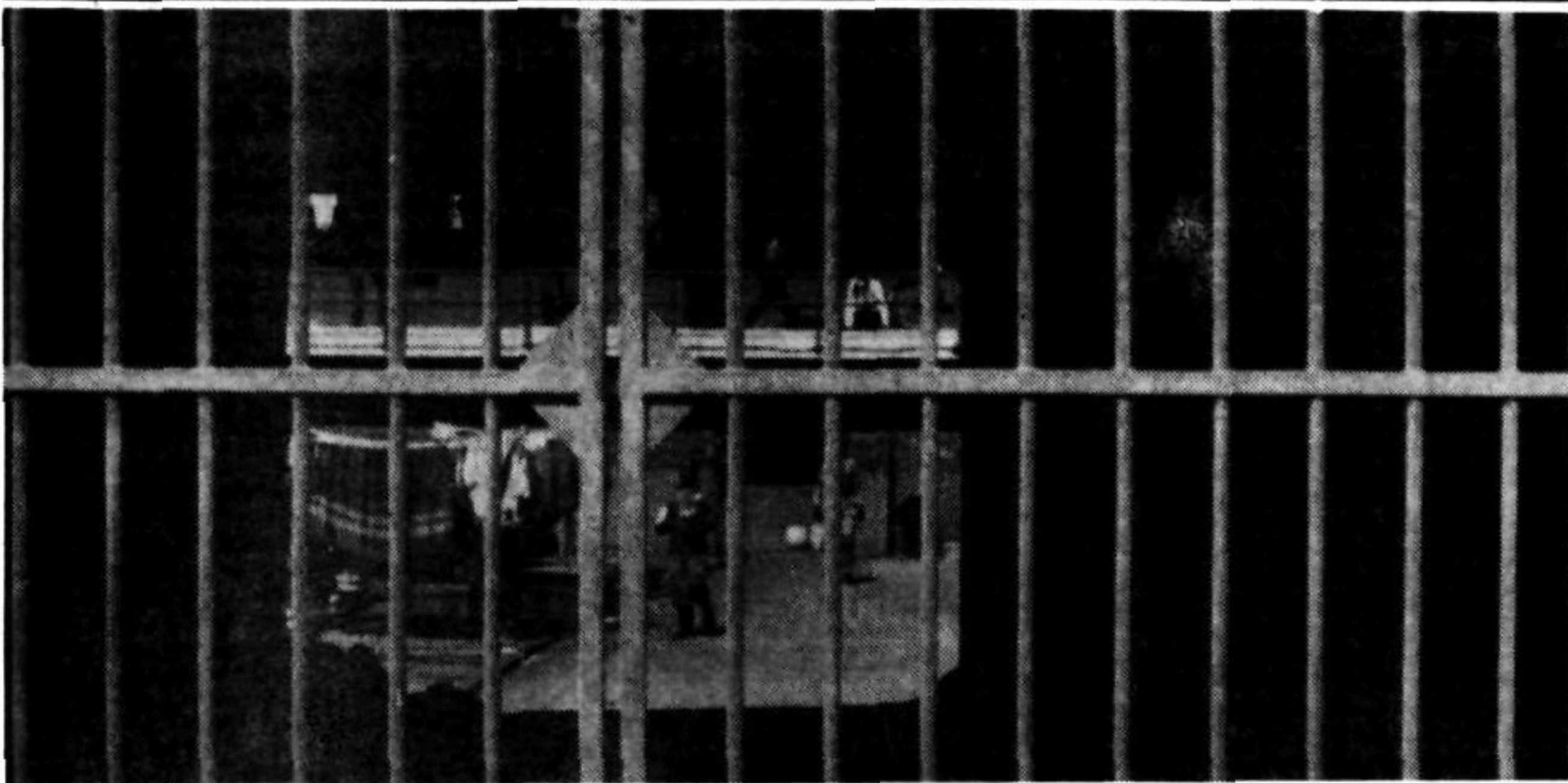
The workers waited patiently for formal recognition for seven months, and continued to establish their organisation.

Finally they staged a one-day strike with immediate results. Management met nationally among themselves, and within a few days they reported to the workers that the committee would be recognised, as would GWU as the representative union.

Over the next few months there were further negotiations, and the bosses agreed to formally negotiate. Until this time GWU had confined itself to organising stevedores in Cape Town. But organisers and workers were aware of the problems posed by unorganised stevedores elsewhere where there were only four major ports, in which the same three companies operated. Whereas in 1972 there were seven companies in Cape Town, by 1979 there were only three. Last year a final consolidation established a total monopoly by one



DOCKWORKERS



company.

The majority of stevedores are employed in Durban — 2 500 as opposed to the 600 in Cape Town. This is because the Durban port is closest to the industrial heartland of the country. There is a mass of labour in the nearby homelands which means that labour, the chief cost of stevedoring companies could be kept cheap.

Cape Town workers knew that low wages in Durban lessened their bargaining power, and bosses rerouted some of the Cape Town work to the 'cheaper' ports.

The union first expanded to the smaller and nearer ports of Port Elizabeth and East London. In a short time they had won over the majority of the workforce and were granted recognition. Spurred on by this success, organisers were sent up to Durban in May 1981, in an attempt to establish national worker unity to counteract the growing employer unity.

Durban stevedores themselves had a proud history of struggle. They too had been members of the ICU. In the mid-century, when Cape Town organisation was relatively weak, the Durban dockers, led by Zulu Phungula, were engaged in large-scale and militant action — so much so that Durban stevedoring was declared a controlled trade during the Second World War. In 1972 they were among the first to show signs of the rebirth of worker militancy, pre-empting the mass strikes in 1973.

GWU did not find organising Durban workers easy. Three other unions were, to some extent, attempting to organise in the docks. One union immediately gave its stevedore members to GWU, but the other two continued to organise. The presence of three competing unions confused and divided the workers, and made them wary and suspicious of any union organisation.

Another difficulty was that the amalgamation of the two companies operating at Durban had only

Stevedoring is a key trade on which the economy depends.



recently taken place. Workers in the two companies worked separately, often subject to different conditions. The different unions had concentrated their activities among either of the companies, further aggravating splits, suspicion and disunity.

GWU continued to organise, despite the unexpected problems. By late 1982, although the other unions were still active, GWU had become the chief representative union for workers in all four major ports. Since the beginning of 1983 it has been negotiating with the bosses on a national level, the agreements enforced by union strength rather than law.

Bargaining covers wages, hostel accommodation,

safety conditions and clothing, leave, long service and pension benefits, foremen, and questions related to control of the labour process itself. Several reasons have been given why the stevedores have achieved this breakthrough, besides the obvious organisational one. Firstly, there is the central role of stevedoring in the economy. Transport of goods is a key strategic trade on which the economy depends. It is no use producing goods if they cannot be transported to those who will consume them.

Secondly, mechanisation has enabled management to make concessions. Mechanisation in the docks takes the form of containerisation, which reduces the amount of work done in the docks, and reduces the number of people and time needed to move goods. One worker explained that what used to take a week to do can now be done in the space of one shift.

The ability to reduce numbers has meant that the average size of the regularly employed workforce in Cape Town dropped from 2 000 in the early 70's to 600 today, and prompted management's preference to have a more settled, permanent and better paid workforce.

On the other hand, mechanisation obviously causes problems for worker organisation - especially in times of recession - because it allows management to retrench so many more workers.

GWU is well aware of these problems, which are aggravated by the current recession. It is this which has forced them to focus on such questions as lay-offs, pensions, workloads and gang size, the problems being openly discussed with workers at all times.

The stevedores are now well-organised under GWU, and are well-placed to make their demands and aspirations felt. Perhaps more than in any other industry, the stevedores will be able to resist state attempts to undermine their strength, and the economy's effects in undercutting this position.

Freedom call at UN conference

The political reporter of the Windhoek Observer, Gwen Lister, was invited by the United Nations to attend their recent conference on Namibia held in Paris. The following is an edited version of a report-back she gave to the Namibia Educational Forum on her experiences.

THE PARIS Conference is a controversial subject and one which has aroused criticism, sometimes inexplicably to the point of hysteria, both here and in South Africa.

Dubbed purely and simply a Swapo conference by both the South African government and certain internal parties in Namibia, its critics have gone so far as to claim it will 'destroy whatever prospects may have been opened up for a settlement in the near future'. This was said in an SABC editorial on the eve of the Paris Conference.

However delegates gave the reason for holding the conference at least once a year, to bring Namibia into the international spotlight, and to renew or provoke interest in Namibian independence.

The objectives of the Conference were:

- To demonstrate solidarity with and extend assistance to the frontline states with a view to enable them to sustain support for the Namibian cause.

- To adopt measures to secure the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and to adopt a document containing recommendations to be placed before the General Assembly of the UN at its 1983 session.

So, while critics dub the Conference a Swapo propaganda stunt, I feel its primary aim was concern for the *future and independence of Namibia* as formalised in Resolution 435 of the Security Council.

It must also be borne in mind that both the Western Contact Group and South Africa were invited to the conference, but only France agreed to actively participate.

Representing West Germany, Britain, Canada and the US were minor embassy officials who were mere observers and this led most conference participants to conclude these four countries were showing their 'pro-South African colours'.

South Africa, on the other hand, refused to participate in the conference unless a number of demands

were agreed to.

These included that internal parties be given equal status with Swapo, the word 'struggle' be removed from all conference documents, references to Swapo as the 'sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia' be removed and the scrapping of the fiery torch symbol (of Swapo) on conference documents.

The major concern of conference participants was to find ways and means to ensure the implementation of UN Resolution 435 (the blueprint for a transition to independence) rather than promoting the Swapo movement itself.

And Resolution 435, I think, most of us agree, is something which would benefit Namibians as a whole.

On the part of many anti-apartheid and Namibia support groups present at the conference, I found a genuine desire for a settlement in the territory, rather than the striving to promote the armed struggle with Swapo as a vehicle.

They support Swapo, this is true, but mainly because it is the only movement which epitomises the liberation struggle.

Pessimism about the possible im-

plementation in the near future of Resolution 435 was prevalent at the conference. It was evident from decisions taken at the recent Swapo Central Committee meeting in Luanda and their adoption of a five year plan, that Swapo does not envisage a settlement for the next five years.

And the reason for the failure to implement 435?

Here, too, there was virtual unanimity among delegates — South African intransigence enhanced by the American insistence on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola to a settlement in Namibia.

And it transpired from talks I had with people who visited Angola recently, that not only did the Angolan government not want to dispense with the Cuban presence there, but they could also not afford to. The Cuban presence, I was told, had in addition to the military presence, a stable, hard-working, civilian corps, which if withdrawn, would almost certainly result in economic collapse of Angola overnight.

The Cubans are generally very highly thought of. Also personnel of the UN had great praise for their

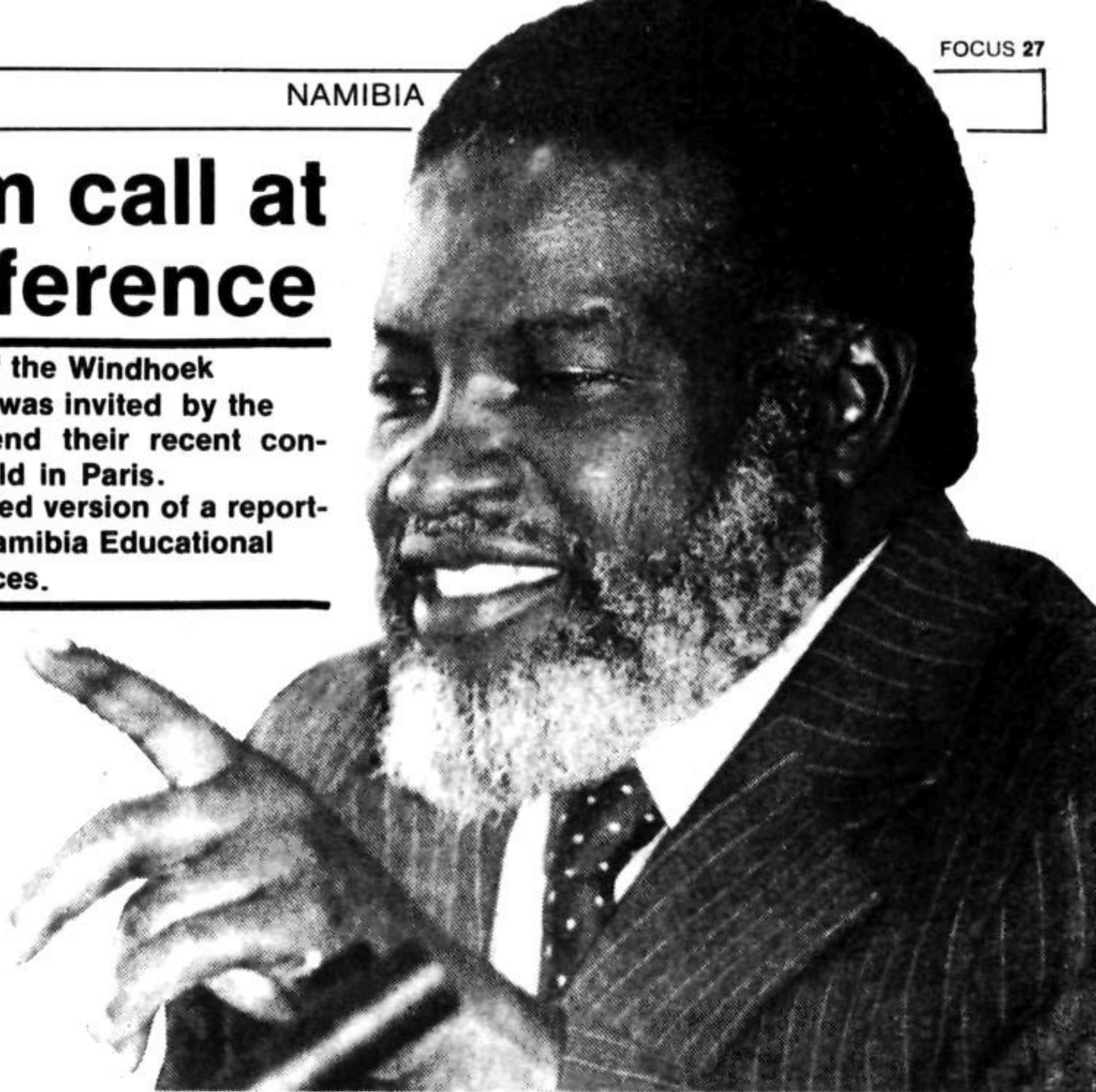
organisational skills and general preparedness when it came to meetings.

Much attention was also given to the question of the destabilization of neighbouring states by South Africa — Angola in particular — which it was agreed was made possible by the superior air power of the South Africans. And I found this destabilization, which contrary to what General Magnus Malan describes as 'Communist inspired propaganda' is very real, particularly in the Frontline states.

And now onto a question which has received much publicity recently.

There have been many accusations, particularly in the South African press, that Sam Nujoma made a bad impression in Paris, and generally did not come across well. I must disagree. He was always very approachable and as for being on his way out as far as his leadership of Swapo is concerned, I found no basis for this claim, which is largely wishful thinking on the part of certain people.

Very much a father figure in Swapo, he is a benevolent sort of person, who is not at all as bombastic as he may appear outwardly.



Swapo leader Sam Nujoma addressing Namibia conference

Big business sets the Pace

Captains of industry pump cash into elite school to churn out future 'lieutenants'.

SIX AND a half million Rand has been donated by American multi-national corporations through the American Chamber of Commerce to set up Pace Commercial College in Jabulani, Soweto.

Pace, according to its principal, aims to get black children to compete in business, to become community leaders, and to uplift community life.

It is guaranteed that the school gives a good return on the money invested by industry. 'By giving them a good commercial education we're trying to get them to the point where they can compete on even terms in the business world which has a great need for managerial and entrepreneurial ability', said the principal.

The school, opened in July 1981, now has 385 pupils from standard six to eight. They were carefully sifted and chosen by an entrance exam, their primary school records and headmasters' comments.

The students will write a commercial matric which gears them up to write commercial degrees at university, after which they would be fully qualified to take their place as captains, or at least lieutenants, of industry.

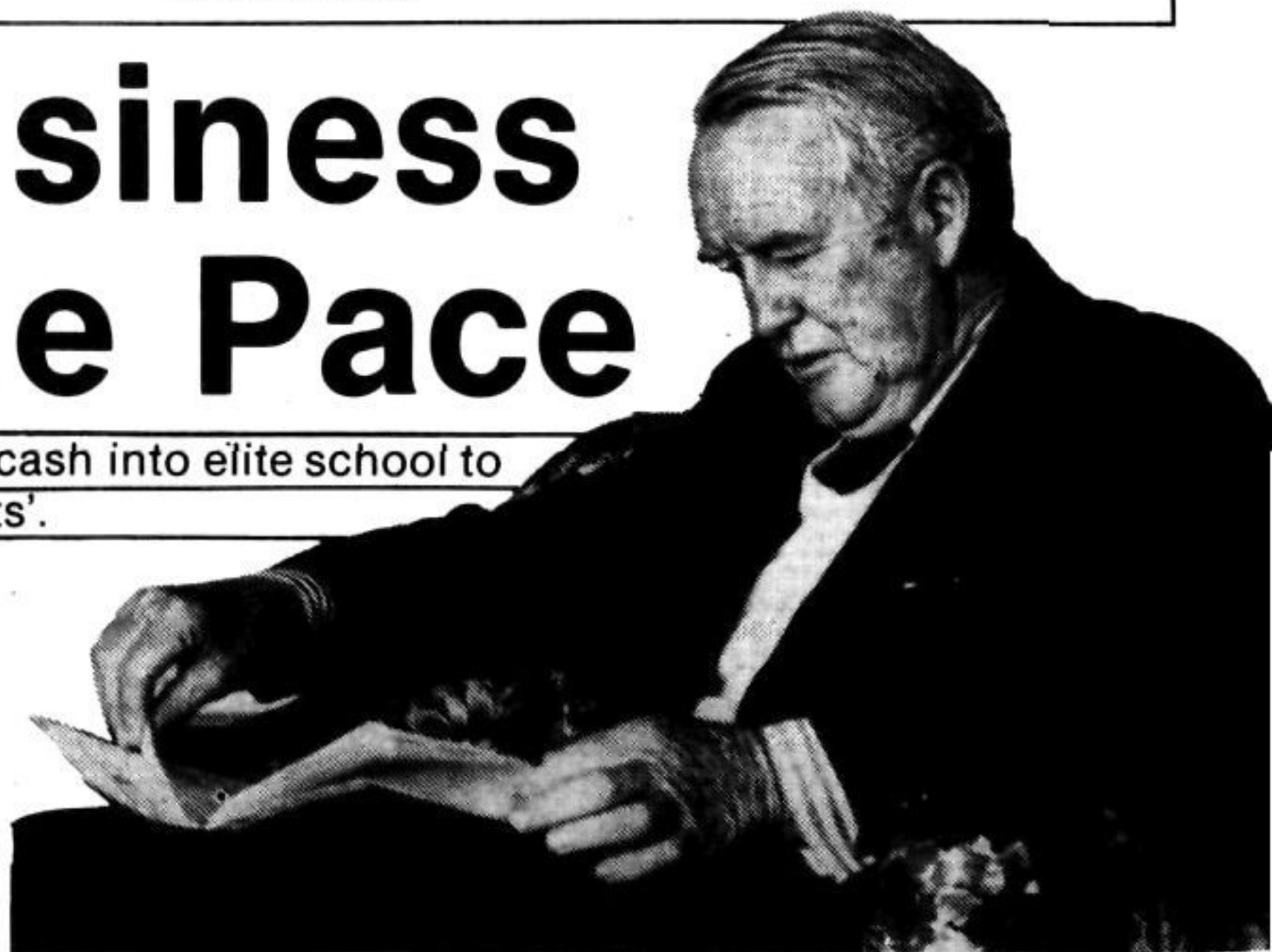
In a community where less than three percent of black pupils get to finish matric, according to Pace thirty to forty percent of its pupils will enter university, a percentage which would make the average white school hide in shame.

The business angle of the school penetrates all levels, from the curriculum to the students themselves. The students are seen in no uncertain terms as goods to be consumed by industry. 'Our products', says the principal, 'will go the whole way'.

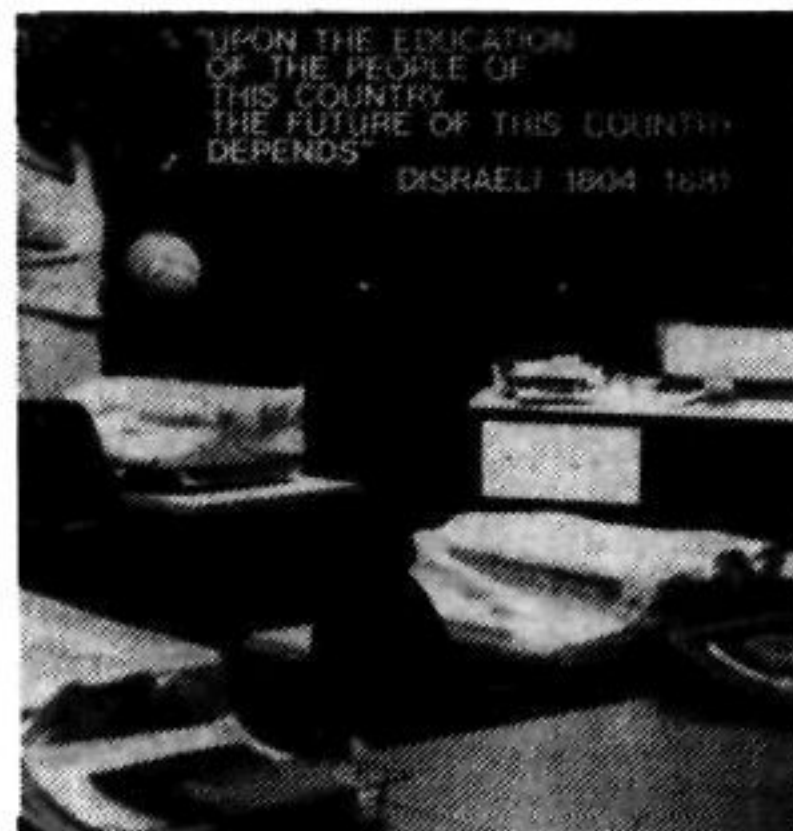
To make sure the 'products' turn out right, the sponsors have carefully worked out the correct ingredients to be put into the education process. The principal, Mr Pennington, has had years of experience in training an elite group of students as the headmaster of Michaelhouse, an elite white private school in Natal.

The school's board of governors reads like a who's who of liberal capitalists: the chairperson is John McGill of I.B.M. and its members include Mike Rosholt (Barlow Rand), Justice Steyn (Urban Foundation), Zac de Beer (Anglo American), Mr Mpane (South African Breweries), and Mrs Maponya, who was named the 1982 Business Woman of the Year.

The Department of Education and Training also has a finger in the expensive pie in the person of Dr Maseka, who represents their interests on the board. Not surprisingly, Pennington was pleased to report 'we've had splendid support from the authorities. There's been no suggestion of making



Pace principal Pennington — 'Some felt the school was merely trying to bolster capitalism'.



High technology and confidence training produce the Maponya's of tomorrow.

life difficult for us at all.'

The syllabus and activities fed to the students are tailor-made for producing budding Richard Maponya's aiming to be co-opted into the profitable world of big business.

In addition to their regular commercial syllabus and extensive extra-mural activities — including Kissinger-style trips around the country — the pupils are also provided with input from other sources.

Last term the Youth Leadership Forum gave 12 lectures on qualities of leadership, the free enterprise system and entrepreneurship, guaranteed to produce the hard-driving, ambitious (but, at the same time of course, community-conscious) businessman seen on our movie screens.

To round off the development of a true business spirit the school has imported something special from America. Next term the standard sevens will go through the Dale Carnegie Confidence

Development Course, which teaches people how to push without offending.

Finally, to give the students a taste of what lies in wait for them on the other side of exams, business leaders will address them on career opportunities.

The American Chamber of Commerce claims to have consulted a wide cross-section of community leaders in setting up Pace. Pace believes it has 'a high degree of community credibility'.

Pennington acknowledged that some parents felt the school was merely trying to bolster capitalism, but argued that 'you've either got to go for the highest common factor or the lowest common denominator'. True to the elitist spirit the school opted for the former, and Pennington arrogantly said: 'A community has got to have its leaders and we're producing them'.

'I was quite concerned that over R6 million was being spent at one school when I was first appointed', he said. 'But I've changed my mind about that. I think it's very good for the black community to feel and to be able to say that they've been given the best.'

If the most expensive is seen as 'the best' then Pace is that. The fees are R1 750 per year, but most students receive bursaries from the sponsoring companies. While the government spends R176 a year on each black student, 35 times that amount is spent on each child at Pace.

While Pace has one fully qualified teacher for every 15 pupils, for every 48 black students in government schools there is only one teacher, 85 percent of whom are not qualified to do the job.

It is not surprising that most students view the motivations of the sponsors with some scepticism. In the time when the government and industry is talking of building a black middle class it is industry that has once again taken the lead. The only difference this time is that the campaign is aimed at the young, people who are often not in a position to realise what the divisive effects of this education might be.

Pace wants to water down militancy

Why do you think projects like Pace are beginning to emerge in black education?

The people involved in Pace, like the multinationals, want us to believe they have the interests of black education at heart. But these are not their motives. Firstly, they want Pace to act as a stabilising factor amongst black students. They want to water down student militancy. Secondly, they want to increase their chances of boosting their profits. The students will act as future pools of skilled labour for them. Thirdly, the Pace project is in line with the government's strategy of creating a black middle class. It is important for the government that students are co-opted into having a stake in the system. Projects such as Pace are not out of line with the government's broad educational strategy and the implications are far reaching.

Has there been any significant response from the black communities to Pace?

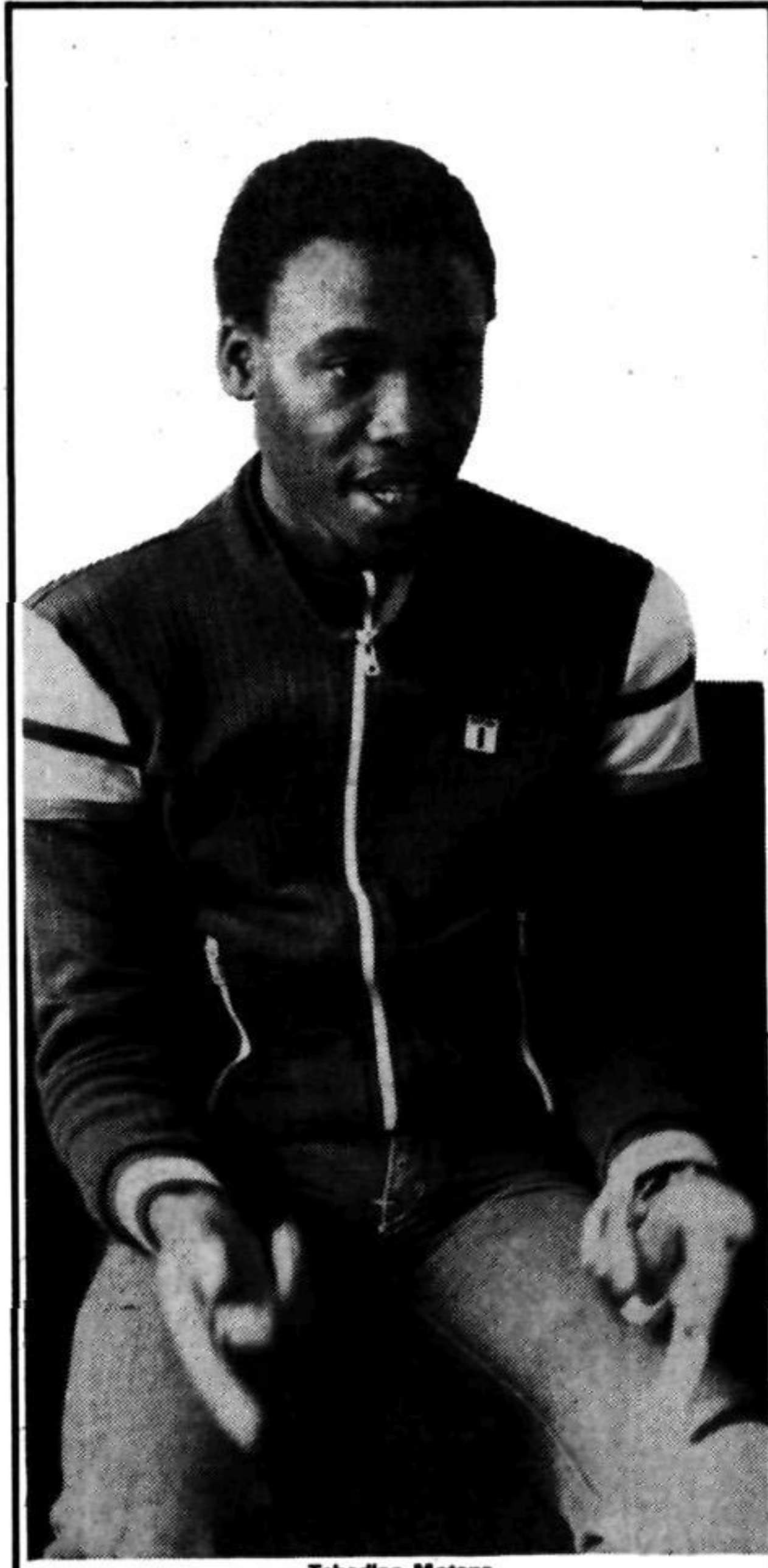
Many people in the black community reject the role of Pace. One reason for this is that most students can't afford to go there. Pace claims that the criterion for entrance is merit or intelligence which is measured through an entrance exam. But the students who are privileged enough to go to Pace are not necessarily more intelligent than anyone else. Students' ability to do well in these exams, is very much dependent on their socio-economic situation. People from poor families usually don't have the opportunities to succeed in school.

The irony of Pace is that it is in the heart of social deprivation and poverty in the community. A few blocks away are matchbox houses and poor conditions. Pace should not pretend it is unaware of that. It certainly does not go unnoticed by the people who live under these conditions.

What effect does attending schools like Pace have on students' attitudes?

The education that students receive encourages them to develop competitive values. It is based on principles which complement those of the Bantu Education schools and should be rejected. Students are taught mainly commercial subjects which often deprive them of the ability to look

Saspu Focus asks Cosas national organiser Tshediso Motana about Soweto's new college.



Tshediso Motana.

critically at society and analyse it, while their privileged position tends to alienate them from the problems other students face. Although their parents pay high fees, neither the students nor their parents have a say in what they are taught. The students are not encouraged to confront their process of education in any way.

What implications does this have for their potential for challenging the education system? Do students at schools like Pace show any interest in Cosas?

We do have students from Pace College who are prepared to join Cosas. Apart from the buildings and other facilities, in many ways places like Pace are not that different from other schools. Some of the issues Cosas is challenging, they are also facing. For example, the unequal teacher-student relationship, the lack of democratic structures and so on.

Their privileges present potential obstacles to Cosas' aims, but these in themselves do not necessarily exclude the students from involvement in the struggle. A danger with Pace is that it encourages divisions between students. Pace is an extension of the same evil education system that we are fighting against. What we try to show Pace students is that they too have a role to play in changing the whole education system. We therefore feel it is important that they join Cosas.

How do Cosas' aims differ from those of Pace?

We are critical of Pace because in theory it could be changed and opened to everyone. It could be an instrument for changing the conditions of our community, rather than an instrument for profits.

Education does not exist in a vacuum. It is a product of our experiences and our lives and can either serve the interests of the oppressed or of the oppressors. It should not be seen as neutral.

We believe education should not be a commodity that people have to pay dearly for. It should be freely available to everyone and should not be a luxury. Education should serve the interests of the community rather than of international companies. Its role should be the advancement of the whole community and it should be planned by those who receive it.

Slum townships blamed for E. Cape measles crisis

Child-killing epidemic hits Port Elizabeth.

THE PORT Elizabeth African and coloured townships have been hit by a measles epidemic which this year has already killed 166 children.

In the first five months of this year there have been 1,452 cases reported to the City Health Department — more than four times the number of cases reported for the whole of last year.

One of the reasons for this epidemic was the failure to immunise thousands of children. Measles is a preventable disease and can be controlled by immunisation.

Of the 166 children who have died this year from measles, or its complications, 153 were African and 13 were coloured. Of the 1,452 notifications, 1,304 were African, 143 were coloured and five were white.

The severity with which Africans and coloureds in Port Elizabeth have been hit by the epidemic is related to the slum conditions in the townships and the inadequate health services in the area.

The Medical Officer of Health for Port Elizabeth, Dr JN Sher, has said that measles flourishes in a background of socio-economic deprivation. He said the lack of education, malnutrition and overcrowded, unhygienic slum areas tended to facilitate the spread of the disease.

Research conducted by Dr S Fisher, of the Department of Community Health at the University of Cape Town, has shown that 37 percent of the children who have died from measles in Port Elizabeth this year were malnourished.

The three townships which have been hardest hit by the epidemic are Soweto, Zwide and Site and Service and figures released by the East Cape Administration Board show that they are the most overcrowded of all the townships.

There are between 80 to 90,000 people in the shantytown of Soweto living in 8,471 shacks — approximately 10 people per shack. In Zwide there are 79,800 people living in 7,063 units — about 11 people per unit and in Site and Service there are 100,028 people in 11,652 units — about eight people per unit.

There is a lack of sanitation and facilities which leaves undernourished children open to infection.



Poster urges mothers to vaccinate their children.



Long queues at mobile clinics.

They are a high risk group and should be vaccinated twice — first at six months and then again at 15 months. However children from higher socio-economic groups only need to be inoculated once.

The failure of the City Health Department to prevent a measles epidemic is related to a number of factors, according to Dr J Rawlinson, from the State Health Department:

- The influx of people from rural areas and the Ciskei to escape drought and unemployment has outstripped the existing health facilities and the immunisation programme of the Health Department.

- There are too few health clinics in the townships to cater for the health needs of the population. There are three clinics to serve an estimated 330,000 people.

Despite an intensive immunisation campaign there are still an estimated 20,000 children in the townships who have not been immunised. In an attempt to cover these children posters and pamphlets have been distributed in the townships urging mothers to bring their children for immunisation. Mobile clinics are going into the townships at the weekend in an attempt to reach the children of those mothers who work during the week.

According to Dr Rawlinson, this immunisation campaign is a short-term rescue operation and the long-term solution lies in an improved health infra-structure.

Measles has also been on the increase in other areas of the Eastern Cape. This year there have been 26 deaths in Queenstown, 12 in Grahamstown, seven in the Dias Divisional Council and four in East London.

According to the Regional Director of Health, Dr J Krynauw, there could be far more people getting measles or dying from it than the authorities know of. Some local authorities in the Eastern Cape were not reporting measles' deaths and cases.

Most measles' deaths result from the complications of measles such as broncho-pneumonia, gastro-enteritis, disseminated herpes and others.

KIPPIE MOEKETSI

Pioneer Kippie: a jazz giant's final chord

Laid to rest by the sound he created.

KIPPIE MOEKETSI is dead. Probably the most gifted sax and clarinet jazzman South Africa has produced, died a lonely death of 'chest problems' at 10 pm on Wednesday, April 27 1983, in a Baragwanath hospital bed.

His life reflects the tragic history of so many local black musicians: he was bursting with talent, crafted through years of performing to tough, critical, live audiences, but died a pauper. At the end he had no home, drifting from one place to another, broken in health. At 59, Kippie died a victim of poverty, hastened by his fondness for the weed and the bottle, and years of irregular and poor eating habits.

Morolong, as he was fondly known, was born in Smal Street, and grew up in George Goch — the now demolished Eastern Native Township. He took to music early, and was a contemporary of such greats as Zakes Nkosi, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa and Skip Phahlane.

In the mid-fifties he was at the height of his powers. He was the equal of any local musician and formed, together with Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim), Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa and Johnny Geertz, perhaps the best jazz band assembled here, the Jazz Epistles. He played overseas with the famous musical King Kong.

Many of his contemporaries left for overseas and fame, while his equally prodigious talent found fewer outlets at home. He, like many others who stayed, was truly a victim of the system.

The iron grip of apartheid slowly crushed the townships — Kofifi, Western Native, Vrededorp, Clipper Island (George Goch) which were the fertile breeding ground of popular culture and resistance, the fuel for Kippie's creativity and energy. The communities where he felt so at home were destroyed, and dispersed into the



Broken by poverty, Kippie died a lonely death



Music follows Kippie to the grave.

alienating sprawl of Soweto.

White musicians, who should have been natural allies, closed ranks and demanded that only whites should play at 'white' venues, helping destroy the main source of income for black performers, who were largely ignored by the recording industry, or were ripped off if they did record.

But Kippie's influence was massive. He was one of those who changed the direction of popular music in the ghettos. As the big bands like the Jazz Maniacs and Merry Blackbirds were beginning to falter, Kippie began to

play Be-Bop — difficult, rebellious, rhythmical, foreign to white ears, and closer to the working class roots of the ghettos. He was the local Charlie Parker, king of Be-Bop and was nicknamed 'the bird' after Parker.

His funeral was like a metaphor of his life. A jazzman's funeral has no sorrow, no tears; it is a celebration. Musicians arrive and jam together on stage (at the Eyeltin cinema). Four hours of speeches (mercifully short), hymns (mercifully few) and hot jazz in large doses.

The highlights were Don Mattera's

moving speech in Kofifi fly taal, and Morolong's contemporaries, the Jazz Pioneers, the last band he played with. Dolly Rathebe, a great fifties singer, and Thandi Claasen whose 'Every Day I have the Blues' gave rise to sheer ecstasy, were poignant reminders of the heritage Kippie shared, and his two inheritors of that tradition, Barney Rachabane and Mike Makalamele, played a beautiful duet.

The low points were some poets and opportunists who came to bask in the reflected glory; a representative of TV2 and actors and playwrights with empty rhetoric.

Perhaps the most fitting epitaph came from the sheer number — 2000 — ordinary people who came to send the frail body with its battered face on its way. And Queeneth Ndaba and her funeral committee, who are organising performances for the Jazz Pioneers and the old muses, so that none of them need die as destitute as he did. Without their efforts, the late, great Kippie Morolong Moeketsi would have had a pauper's burial. He was sent off like a king.

