

DESK. 22

RUOLG NR ②

ASSESSOR

THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN OUR STRUGGLE

Comrades, I greet you all in the name of the Progressive Movement and its banished, banned, exiled and imprisoned leadership.

Amandla!

Our task here, is to look at the role the youth should play in our struggle for liberation. You will immediately realise from the topic, how much involved and broad the paper is going to be. In fact, it is an honour to be given the task to write a paper of this magnitude, to stand in front of the cream and pride of our country and read it before this youthful and respectable audience.

I sincerely believe that from this important gathering of youth from all corners of South Africa, we are all going to benefit from the resourceful experience of comrades from different places. It is true that we young people are ever thirsty and yearning to learn. Our progressive pool of knowledge is perpetually overflowing, and as long as it remains full the cadres shall - quench their thirst.

Our paper is not a lecture on the role of the youth in our struggle, it merely serves to introduce the topic for discussion by all comrades.

In order to understand our role in the struggle, we shall first have to understand the society we live in. Our society shall be dealt with at two levels :

- a) Firstly, society in its universal sense i.e. generally.
- b) and secondly, with regard to our particular situation in South Africa.

Society is a group of people with certain cultural and social practices engaged in the most important activity of production. We are saying that the most important activity that society is involved in, is the activity of production. Two questions immediately arise:

- a) What is production?
- b) Why is this production the most important activity in society?

Our response to the first question is that production is the process or activity of labour or work through which people acquire their basic needs. By basic needs we mean food, clothing and shelter.

This process

This process of labour takes place in the factory, big farms, mines, giant industries and so on. Not all members of the society are involved in the direct process of work, but however, the majority of the working people is. Only a minute section is totally uninvolved and does not participate in order to create the needs of society. Therefore this activity of work which is meant to create food to eat, clothes to put on and shelter or houses to live in is referred to as Production.

In response to our second question, we already see how important this process of labour is to society. In fact society cannot exist without this process of making its own means of subsistence. Production is compatible with society and indispensable if society is to maintain itself and further develop. There is no machine that can operate without energy, a car needs petrol as a source of energy to move and big machines in industry need electricity which is converted to utilisable forms of energy in order to perform their task. Similarly, for society to be sustained and maintained, production of the essentials of life is indispensable. That is why this activity is the most important in our lives.

Our society is not formed of individuals who merely interact with each other. It is a society of people who form certain mutual relationships with each other, and this relationship is referred to as social relations or relations of production. These relations are just not simple relations between people and objects, but they are relations between people themselves in their productive activity. Certain definite associations are formed among those who work, that is those who participate directly in the productive activity. As working people, they form working relations, and it is these relations that classify them as a group of its own, a force in itself. This group is in the majority and is referred to as the working class.

These are not ~~the~~ the only relations which are formed around production. Other relations are formed with a minute section of our society. These are the relations between people who work i.e. those previously referred to as the working class and those who do not participate in production. This minority of individuals which does not engage itself in the process of labour, is referred to as the Capitalist class or Bourgeoisie. Their only role is to own the factories, big industries, the mines, big farms and so on. They decide by themselves how production which has been created by the labour of the working class should be controlled and distributed.

At this stage, we realise that the major disease of this social patient is the division into two main classes, those who HAVE and the HAVE-NOTS, i.e. the Capitalist and the Workers respectively.

These relations ...

These relations of production bring us to another step, that together with the forces of production (which are represented by the working class) form a particular mode of production. By this mode of production we refer to the social system or social order. In this case our operative social system is Capitalism. Capitalism provides for the exploitation of the massive and numerous labour force of workers which is in the service of the bourgeoisie. It is a system whereby man exploits man - in this way few people become richer and richer while the majority of the people in ~~xxx~~ society are subjected to poverty, disease and suffering.

This is the first level of our understanding of society and it is important for all of us to learn and understand it so as to be able to address ourselves to the second level of our particular situation in South Africa. Now the question to ask is how do we see ourselves as responding to this social disease, i.e. the ~~xxx~~ division of society into two conflicting classes?

Secondly, what role can we as the youth play in order to cure society of this serious disease?

We have got to consistently ~~xxx~~ develop the political understanding, the level of our cadres so that our position as a class, should be identified and our role in this society should be clear. Practically we should have to work with our own grass - roots organisations like the Civic Associations, Trade Union Movement, Student Organisations and so on. The advantage of this practical involvement is that it enhances and heightens our own political consciousness, There is definitely going to be danger if our theory ~~xxx~~ is not going to be put into practice - for theory without practice is sterile and practice without theory is blind.

Coming to our own South African situation we find the same contradiction prevalent i.e. that conflict between the warring classes, Capitalist and Workers, However the only peculiarity with the South African situation is that the fundamental contradictions in our country are clouded by the Apartheid system. Capitalism manifests itself in the form of race. It provides for the division of the working class along racial barriers, the white working class on the one hand and the black working class on the other. This imperialist strategy of co-optation of a section of the working class is not a new phenomenon, in Northern Ireland the workers are divided along religious lines, the Roman Catholics on the one hand and the Protestants who enjoy all political, economic, social, cultural privileges and so on, while the indigenous people of Catholic religion are made pariahs in the country of their birth.

With our situation in South Africa the White working class enjoy political and other benefits from the Apartheid System. The job reservation Act preserves their right to work, the Black-White wage gap ensures a higher standard of living among the white workers.

These privileges make the bulk of the working force fully identify with the exploiters and oppressors of the majority. This should not however overlook the fact that in having been bought over the white workers are up against their own long term interests.

So Capitalism in South Africa, thrives on the backs of the cheap and massive Black labour force where super exploitation takes place. Some schools of thought cannot however see beyond the bounds of race, to them race is the class determining factor". This is another factor which we as youth must address ourselves to. If racial capitalism can cloud and blind our analysis of our society we live in, then shall fail in our attempt to understand the main conflict that goes on in our society.

However, the fact that "there are Indians, Africans, Coloureds and Whites in our country is a self evident and undeniable reality. It is a reality precisely because each of these national groups has its own roots and heritage and are maintained in differing conditions of reality by the oppressive and exploitative system. Although Africans, Indians and Coloured are all victims of the oppression and exploitation the different conditions applicable to each group cannot be ignored. Our task is to heighten the positive features of each national group and to weld these together so that there arises out of this process of this organisation single national consciousness."

The state through its system of Apartheid makes it difficult for a common national consciousness to be achieved. The Group Areas act forces the different national groups apart, given this situation :

- a. How do we as youth contribute in the achievement of a single national consciousness in our country?
- b. How do we see joint campaigns, joint workshops, joint cultural and social activities assisting towards the achievement of this objective?
- c. Have we as the progressive youth movement thought seriously of strengthening the non-racial sports groups in the country, are we in fact able to identify them?
- d. Have we ever given serious thought to concrete tactics which may be employed to destroy ~~various~~ barriers created by the system in furtherance of its policy of divide and rule?

At this Stage ...

At this stage I would like us to focus at the youth. To try to understand what we understand by the word youth. When we look at nature and study it closely we observe that a raw fruit before it matures has a given colour, and that a calyx the outside circle of the flower is green, this is the phase before the flower blossoms.

The lesson we draw from nature through the colour green is that it represents the stage of immaturity and unripeness. We as youth too cannot claim at this stage of our political development that we have reached the peak of political understanding. Our task with regard to this is acquiring political direction and work towards developing our political understanding, by working within the progressive movement.

Furthermore when we refer to youth, do we mean a broad spectrum of youth in the country or a particular section? By youth we are actually referring to all young people irrespective of the fact that they may be students, workers, unemployed young people, and so on - all these form a broad spectrum of our youth.

Problems faced by our youth.

- a. Separate amenities act - Budget does not ensure the harmonious social and cultural development of the entire youth in S.A., so as to enable the youth to take its rightful place alongside the other youth internationally.
- b. The education system, irrespective of which department it belongs to it serves to promote big business and to promote individual interest as well.

"In a recent speech Samora Machel stressed the role of education as a vital part of the continuing revolution in Mozambique in which the school was to be viewed as a base from which the people will cease power and from where the last remnants of colonialism and capitalism are to be extirpated and from where the new man, the *homen-novo*, is to emerge."

In his address to students Machel said "Your first duty is to study in order to better serve the people and not to use your knowledge for your personal benefit and against the peoples interests. You are in school to accomplish a task that the people have entrusted you with, and their sacrifices have not been made in order to allow you to fulfil your individual desires."

In addressing ourselves to the aspect of organising the youth we have to focus both the individual youth and existing youth structures. What do we observe as the objective reality on the individual youth front?

We observe that :

- a. The youth has diverse interests militating against ~~their~~ its long term interests, and harmful to them.

1. Imperialist strategy - Hippie, American, Lumpen, Yanks.
Divisive culture - ^{frustrate} clothes, songs, etc.
2. National Professional Soccer League - Discos.
 - b. Fear of involvement and lack of political awareness (lack inspiration - needs to be inspired)
 - c. Failure to study the conditions, application of wrong tactics (Dogmatism and Tradition) Darwin.

Furthermore, we have to address ourselves to organised group structures like eg.:

- a. The religious youth groups.
- b. Cultural youth clubs.
- c. and find out what stance we are going to adopt with ~~it~~ regard to the notorious Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Our priority as the Progressive Youth Movement should be to strengthen our own local youth organisation. In previous discussions with other youth groups it became clear that there is still work to be done on this.



THE FREEDOM CHARTER

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

**THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR,
SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES
UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.**

"AFC 35"

T. A. M. M. M.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

PREAMBLE

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:—

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

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

17/2/85

(44)

UDF EASTERN CAPE GENERAL COUNCIL.

1. BSM application unanimously accepted.

"AAC36"

T. Butaung
[Signature]

Work in Progress

side of the more dominant political and economic struggle in capitalist South Africa. Progressive movements and organisations are going to have to confront the issues posed by the relationship between madness and labour

in the creation of a more just and free society. It is hoped that the issues raised in this article have gone some way to addressing the relation between labour and madness.

SOUTH AFRICA

DESTABILISED....

'Under no circumstances would the Government allow South Africa to be destabilised by hostile elements in the sub-continent, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan said last night.

General Malan said certain states in Southern Africa were intent on destabilising the region - and wanted to drag South Africa into the same mess in which they now

found themselves.
(Rand Daily Mail, 11.08.82).

Mr Malan denied that South Africa was pursuing a policy of destabilisation of its neighbours and said that, on the contrary, it was countries like Mozambique... that were bent on destabilising the Republic through acts of terror.
(Rand Daily Mail, 16.08.82).

Machel responds

Mozambican President SAMORA MACHEL responded to Malan's allegations in an August 1982 speech. He suggested that the only threat Mozambique poses to South Africa is as an example of an alternative form of society.

A few days ago, the South African regime alleged that Mozambique is threatening it by concentrating sophisticated weapons on its border. What are these sophisticated weapons that the regime is referring to?

We do not represent a threat to anyone, neither militarily nor economically. No sensible person could think that an underdeveloped and poor country like ours, with so many wounds of war still bleeding, could threaten the sovereignty, territorial integrity or stability of any state, especially a power like South Africa.

In fact the only thing the regime has to fear is our example. This, yes. What is the sophisticated weapon

that the regime refers to? The answer is the work we are doing. What is this work?

Giving worth to women, as mothers, as wives, as educators, as companions and comrades, the example of protecting them and loving them as symbols of affection and peace, as the guarantors of future generations. This is what South Africa fears.

The sophisticated weapon is making the home the centre of fulfilment and not, as in South Africa, a prison and a guarded residence.

The sophisticated weapon is having children as the only privileged sector of our society, keeping the best for them, keeping the most beautiful for them. It is surrounding children with love and affection, innocence and happiness, and not, as in Soweto, making them targets for police brutality and murderous weapons.

The sophisticated weapon is guaranteeing all citizens the right to study, culture, health, justice, progress, to the benefits of society. The sophisticated weapon is putting our resources into carrying all this

out and not into the manufacture of weapons, the production of death.

The sophisticated weapon is the people's right to create their own history, by directing their own destiny, by exercising their sovereign power.

In short, the sophisticated weapon that really threatens apartheid is the alternative of civilisation that our society now represents.

For this reason, the survivors of the Soweto massacres feel at home in Mozambique. For this reason, the intellectuals, the artists, the scientists, victims of South African racism and fascism, feel fulfilled working amongst us.

The sophisticated weapons are the UNESCO conference, the Dollar Brand and Myriam Makeba concerts.* The sophisticated weapon is a woman, a scientist like Ruth First. They are men and women of all races who do not see colours, regions or tribes, and who identify with the same ideals of equality, fraternity, harmony and progress.

Because it is socialist, Mozambican society defines people and their fulfilment as its strength and reason for existence. On the African continent, and especially in southern Africa where the scars and wounds of slavery and colonialism, historically predominantly European and white, are still felt and present, we have built a Party, a nation, a way of life in which colour does not matter, race does not matter, region or tribe does not matter.

Everything that causes unnecessary division has begun to fade from people's consciousness. This is the sophisticated weapon that threatens apartheid.

Ours is not a society in which races and colours, tribes and regions coexist and live harmoniously side by side. We went beyond these ideas during a struggle in which we sometimes had to force people's consciousness in order for them to free themselves from complexes and prejudices so as

* Translator's note: UNESCO-sponsored conference on social science held in Maputo in August 1982. Exiled South African musicians Dollar Brand and Myriam Makeba have both given concerts in Mozambique.

to become simply, we repeat, simply people.

For this reason, in the war against the colonial system we were able to distinguish between the Portuguese people and Portuguese colonialism. In the war against Rhodesia we were able to distinguish between what was the white community and the minority rebel racist regime.

We say in all sincerity that the white South Africans, the boers, are not our enemy. They are not foreigners in their country nor in our continent. They are African people, like us

It was racism and fascism that deformed the mentality of South African whites, that led them to cast themselves in the role of 'the chosen people'.

It was racism that made them unable to regard themselves as normal South African citizens, equal to all other South Africans, equal to everyone else in the world.

For this reason, it is the South African whites themselves who are the victims of their complexes and prejudices. They are the very ones who cut themselves off from the community of all South Africans and set themselves apart as a privileged minority, as a superior race to be preserved.

This logic is what has led to the obsession of systematically dividing South African society up into races, colours, tribes and bantustans, into special and non-special foreigners, even to the ridiculous extent of having 'honorary whites'.

Within this logic, in order to define themselves as South Africans, they must defy the nationality and identity of all other South African people.

It is they who alienated themselves from their identity as African people.

Our enemy is apartheid. Our enemy is fascism. Our enemy is a small handful of interests hiding behind a barbaric ideology and philosophy in order to safeguard their privileges.

The destruction of the stronghold of apartheid will come from inside South African society. The destruction is spurred on by the blood of white martyrs like Neil Aggett and Ruth First.

We repeat what we have already said: apartheid will fall when children from the white suburbs join hands with black children from the bantustans and the Soweto

Work in Progress

ghetto, with Indian and coloured children, and all of them describe themselves simply as South African children in a country that is theirs equally.

Our nation is historically new. The awareness of being Mozambicans arose with the common repression suffered by all of us under colonialism from the Ruvuma to the Maputo.

FRELIMO, in its 20 years of existence and in this path of struggle, turned us progressively into Mozambicans, no longer Makonde and Shangaan, Nyanja and Ronga, Nyungwe and Bitonga, Chuabo and Ndau, Macua and Xitsua.

FRELIMO turned us into equal sons of the Mozambican nation, whether our skin was black, brown or white.

Our nation was not moulded and forged by feudal or bourgeois gentlemen. It arose from our armed struggle. It was carved out by our hard-working, calloused hands.

Thus during the national liberation war, the ideas of country and freedom were closely associated with victory of the working people. We fought to free the land and the people. This is the reason that those, who at the time wanted the land and the people in order to exploit them, left us to go and fight in the ranks of colonialism, their partner.

The unity of the Mozambican nation and Mozambican patriotism is found in the essential components of, and we emphasise, anti-racism, socialism, freedom and unity.

FORTHCOMING FROM SARS

SOUTH AFRICAN REVIEW 1

In early February 1983 over 40 social analysts met in Johannesburg. Out of their weekend meeting, convened by SARS, a new book emerged - the South African Review.

Written around the theme of crisis and restructuring, the first edition of the Review covers six areas in which the restructuring of South African society is evident:

THE ECONOMY

POLITICS

WOMEN

LABOUR

REPRODUCTION (health, education, housing)

SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONSHIP TO

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Concentrating on the state's response to a generalised crisis in society, each section contains a number of articles analytically reviewing trends of 1982.

The SOUTH AFRICAN REVIEW is published jointly by SARS and Ravan Press.

Expected publication date is May 1983.

Enquire at your local bookshops, or contact SARS directly.



'AAC 38'

MOZAMBIQUE

T. Munskow

Articles in Periodicals

Regional Relations and Foreign Policy

- 'In Pursuit of Nonalignment' A & B Isaacman Africa Report (May/June 1983)
- 'Joaquim Chissano Interviewed' Africa Report (Jan/Feb 1983)
- 'The State Department Perspective' DO
- 'Mozambique' Articles by Clough, Washington & Isaacman Africa Report
Nov/Dec 1982
- 'S.A.: expulsion of illegal immigrants' The Economist 12 Feb 1980
- 'S.A. aggression against internal enemies' The Economist 26 March 1980
- 'S.A. and support for MRM' The Economist 12 June 1982
- 'Botha's Terrorist Raid' Africa March 1981 .
- 'Mozambique/S.A.: Change of Heart or Tactics' Africa April 1984
- 'Mozambique/S.A.: Diplomacy and Destabilization' Africa March 1984

Frelimo

- 'Purge of Security Forces' Africa December 1981

Economic Development

- Review article on Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique G. Kitching
Journal of Southern African Studies 9 Feb 1983

Ideology

- 'Tanzania/Mozambique: Two Roads to Socialism' J. Dimsdale Africa Report
Sept./Oct 1982
- 'Marxism and Mozambique' T. Henriksen African Affairs Oct. 1978
- 'Cognitive Inconsistency among Mozambique Revolutionaries' W.C. Opello
Journal of Social Psychology June 1977
- Rethinking the Revolution in Mozambique: B Munskow & P O'Keefe in Race & Class
Economic Development Vol. XXVI No.2 1984
- 'Who uns what?' Africa September 1981
- Fishing Co-operative Review of African Political Economy May/Aug 1982
- Agricultural Policy, Agricultural Co-ops and Development Policy in Mozambique
Journal of Peasant Studies L. Harris April 1980

Decolonization

- Journal of Modern African Studies Article by Henriksen 1976 p. 377-99

AAC 39

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Newsletter of Rhodes Local Comm

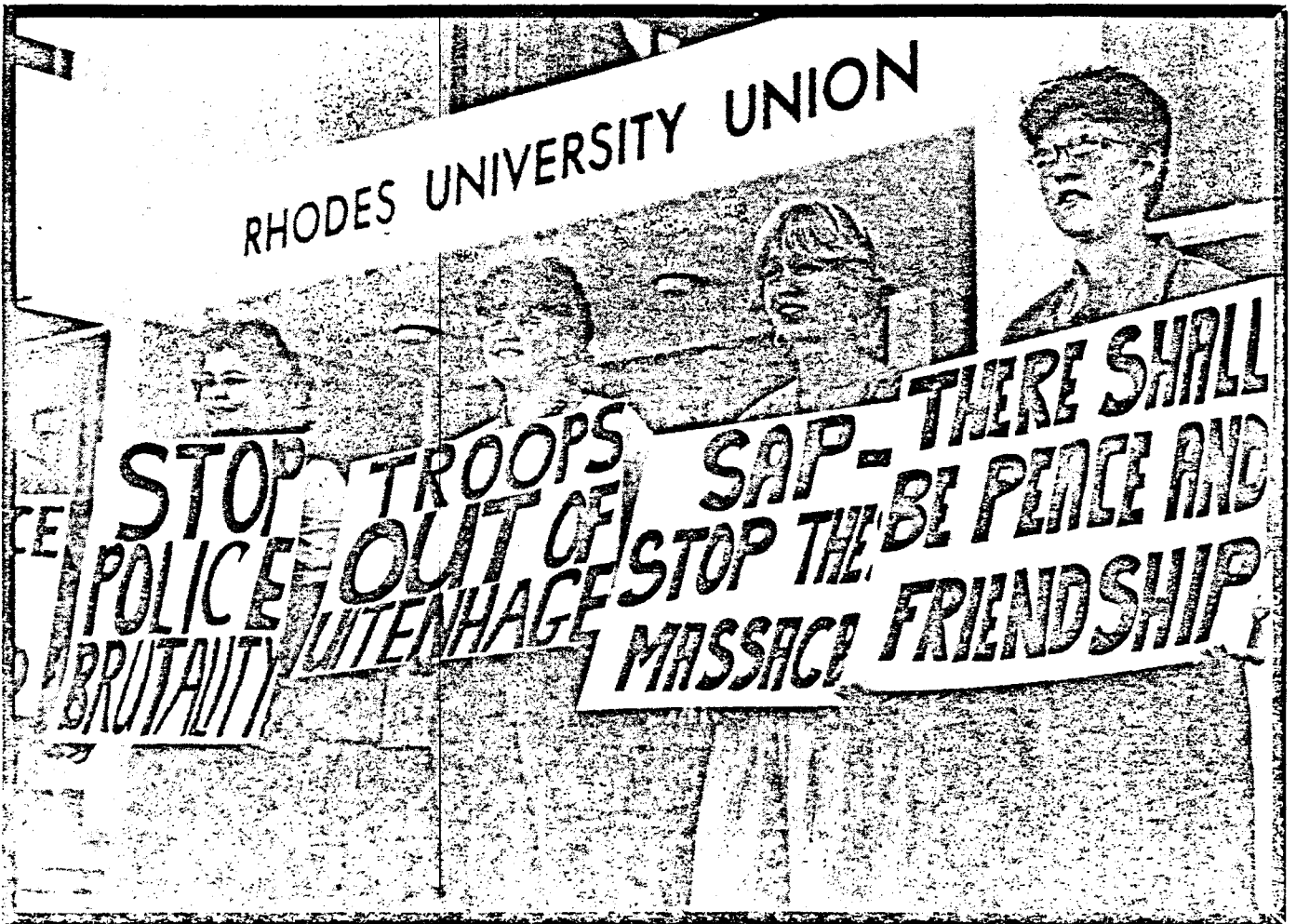
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T. Pretorius

NEWSLETTER

April 85 No1



Student Action for Peace

Topics.

1. National Questions and the Freedom Charter by Raymond Luttrell
2. Working Class Leadership (SACTU University) by Tsvetko Ndlovu.
3. Organizing (General Principles, on strategies and tactics by a non N.E.C. comrade to be chosen by the Natal reg)
4. Panel discussion on the 5 years of AZASO by members from each and every N.E.C. we have had
5. Culture and Sport by Peter Mokaba from Turfloop.

- * Congress starts on the 30th of June until the 4th of July (4th July inclusive)
- * The most possible venue is Turfloop, Natal. elsewhere in Zul.
- * Branches and regions are free to make any recommendations, alterations, and addition of speakers or any other matter pertaining to the Congress before the 30th of May.
- * Branch and regional reports must be submitted with the N.E.C. before the 30th of May. Reports should include financial reports. Further note that the reports should clearly state project, ^{goals} issues, and objectives set by each branch or region, then specify whether such objectives were achieved. If achieved, to what extent? If not, why, and what has been done thereof?

Organisation keeps rolling forward the wheels of history

ORGANISE THE unorganised, politicise the un-politicised. These words have been answered by many of South Africa's brave sons and daughters. With little or no thought for their own safety and comfort they have dedicated their lives to the task of mobilising, organising and educating people for one noble and responsible purpose — to build a just and democratic society.

This is not utopian. People can achieve it provided that they can organise themselves effectively enough to challenge the powerful networks of control that keep the ruling class in their privileged position.

To change society people need to be organised and united. They must be able to take part in the struggle to change society. And they must have a clear idea of what needs to be changed and how to go about it. None of this happens without organisation. Individuals alone will not get very far, and nor will large groups if their action is unplanned and unstrategic.

Clearly defined structures and programmes of action are essential to the effective operation of trade unions, student, women's and community organisations. These targets and programmes are even more important at the national political level where the individual struggles of these groups have to be fused together and extended.

In every case, our progress and our victories are likely to be accidental rather than planned, random rather than strategic, if we do not have organisation and programmes. And we are unlikely to have either if we do not have members and supporters who participate directly and indirectly in that organisation and programme.

Democratic organisation threatens the ruling class. They desperately want to stomp oppressed people coming together, discussing the conditions under which they live and work, analysing and understanding domination and exploitation and organising for change. The ruling class knows only too well what the conscious and united action of the majority of South Africans can achieve.

The ebb and flow of resistance and repression draws these points out clearly.

A decade of organisation and programmatic activity under the leadership of the Congress Alliance put great pressure on the ruling class government. It was only after a four-year war that democratic opposition was crushed.

At first it seemed that the government had scored a permanent victory. By 1961 it had succeeded in banning or forcing underground the leading organisations and activists, detaining and jailing thousands and forcing many into exile. For the next four or five years a political calm settled over South Africa. Profits soared as never before. Strikes and boycotts and campaigns were rare. It seemed almost as if the flame of resistance had been extinguished.

Almost. By 1969 black students had taken the decision to form their own organisation. Black workers were beginning to stir and there were major strikes in '72, '73 and '74. Nineteen or twenty trade unions were formed to fight for workers' rights. High school students started to organise.

The anger and impatience that was bursting out in the factories was also building up in the schools and the townships. By 1976 it had reached ignition point and the events of June 16 1976 were the spark that set the country alight like wildfire.



Consolidating mobilisation into organisation and then sustaining it through ongoing programmes is the main challenge progressives face. This is the task history sets, but it also points the way . . .

Students, workers, the unemployed — in the small towns and major cities, people took to the streets in protest against the 2nd-class citizenship to which they were condemned and the deadly manner in which the powers that be turned a deaf ear to their demands. All they got in response was the sound of gunfire, the snarling of dogs and the stinging stench of teargas.

As the government struck back, organisations and activists were forced to take evasive action. Meetings were impossible. The liberty and lives of activists were in danger. And in any event the conflict had snowballed way beyond the scale and scope of any of the existing organisations.

To organise under these circumstances demanded special and particular skills. Black townships had become war zones where skirmishes could break out at any moment. Lines of command and communication were almost impossible to maintain.

To involve everybody in structured, planned activity would have been impractical, if not impossible under the

circumstances. The student organisations that were in the forefront of the struggles of '76 and '77, Saso, Sasm, and the SSRC did not have the infrastructure or the resources to cope. Nor were they originally designed to cater for such conflicts.

Their terrain was the field of education. Their unit of organisation was the school or university. Their members were pupils and students. A nation-wide, violent clash between thousands of residents of townships all over the country and the full repressive might of the Nationalist government went way beyond their original objectives and the state of their organisation at the time.

The results were depressing and tragic. As in the early sixties, organisations and activists were banned, and democratic opposition by the oppressed was obstructed.

But the ruling class's investment in repression did not have the same profitable pay-off as in the sixties. Instead of five years of peace

and profits, they found themselves locked into a downward spiral of economic recession and political conflict. Every move they made seemed to complicate matters further and they often ended up worse off than before.

While the ruling class was busy marshalling its resources to contain the sources of grievances and conflict, progressive activists were doing the same, but from a radically different perspective. Having learnt their lessons of the 1970's, organisers were concentrating on involving people at the grassroots level in activities which took up local issues. They focussed on issues which people themselves saw as important and pressing.

Together with this emphasis on participation in structures and programmes went a new appreciation of the working class character of the oppressed majority and the problems that they face as dominated and exploited class. This meant that issues taken up in a local community, school or factory were not seen as problems which arose out of

apartheid alone, but which had as much, if not more to do with the need to exploit cheap black labour. And while it was clearly understood that not every problem faced by black people could be directly (or even indirectly) related to the ins and outs of exploitation) the knowledge that such links existed lay in the back of every activists' mind. As such, that link between apartheid and exploitation, between race and class, could be drawn out in the course of some struggles — could be demonstrated to people in action, not just in theory.

Some activists were too keen to explore the underlying class logic in some apartheid issues. They superficially brushed away the problem of apartheid and national domination and crudely pointed to the dynamics of exploitation at work beneath the surface.

Their sincerity and concern however, in exposing the link, was not rewarded. Instead of galvanising support and organising opposition amongst their constituents for the struggle against capitalist exploitation, they found themselves talking a language that no one else understood.

The links are not obvious. Everybody knows about apartheid. It dominates our lives. So does exploitation. Every factory and farm worker, every domestic servant and unemployed person resents the long and hard hours that people must work for poverty wages. It is only the link between apartheid and exploitation that is unclear.

Pw Botha and the heads of commerce and industry have been making the link clear however. They state clearly that they are no longer blindly defending apartheid but rather the so-called free-enterprise system. The private sector has stepped in to try and help the government solve the problems created by the apartheid housing and education systems.

Since 1979, democratic opposition has gained pace rapidly. Organisations sprang up, took root and grew. Even the arid Free State and Northern Cape have seen flowering of organisations. With the growth of organisation, and partly as a result of it, came an increase in action. 1980-81 saw an increasing number of campaigns, demonstrations, boycotts and strikes.

Mobilisation was at a high pitch, and it was difficult for the new grassroots groups to consolidate into organisations. The thousands of people who supported particular struggles tended to disappear as soon as the pressure was off, and activity tended to flare up and then die down rather than grow consistently.

Consolidating mobilisation into organisation and then sustaining it through on-going programmes has become the main task facing progressive activists in the eighties — one that constitutes the cornerstone of any democratic mass movement. Without that stone in place, we cannot start to build on the struggles we are currently waging and the victories we have won.

Consolidation means organisation. It means the building of structures and defining a division of labour within and between them. Organisation means devising a programme to suit a constituency, recruitment of members and the training of activists.

It means regular meetings and educational seminars. There is publicity, contact with other groups, fundraising and a whole lot more.

This is the task of organisation. It is organisation that will make our resistance strong.



THE PROHIBITION as to the possession is therefore not confirmed.

That short legal phrase by the Publications Appeal Board (PAB) put the lid on years of controversy about whether one could lawfully print in South Africa a document that many regard as the country's 'unofficial constitution'.

In an historic decision earlier this year, the PAB overruled a decision of the Publications Committee that the Freedom Charter be prohibited for possession.

Despite the decision lawyers remain divided about the extent to which the Freedom Charter may be promoted publicly. But there is no argument about its political significance.

Drawn up in 1955, the Charter remains South Africa's most politically important document and the fact that it still enjoys the attention of the courts 29 years later shows how these words have stood the test of time.

The Board, almost as if to avoid the politics associated with the Charter, was precise and technical. It rejected as irrelevant the fact that the ANC has adopted the Charter. It did accept the argument of Advocate Gilbert Marcus of the Centre of Applied Legal Studies that the Charter itself contained no reference to violence as the means to attain its objectives. 'irresponsible use of the Freedom Charter could lead to a prosecution under the Internal Security Act.'

What does the PAB decision mean? In the words of a leader of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco): 'No organisation upholding the Charter has ever been affected by its banning.'

The South African Allied Workers Union (Sawu) general secretary said: 'The earlier banning of the Charter had been futile. Even if the people could not see it, they still acted according to its ideals.'

Charter pamphlets in the townships and speakers who quoted from it at public meetings were guaranteed applause just mentioning the words.

One academic has noted that the Charter is 'far more than a series of noble sounding phrases. It has acquired a quality and symbolism that go far beyond its prose.'

He added: 'Reading between the lines of the Charter, one reads the history of the last three decades of the liberation struggle in South Africa.'

The idea for the Charter was first suggested by Z K Mathews, Cape president of the ANC, at a provincial conference of the organisation in 1953.

Early the following year, members of the ANC met three other organisations — the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation to plan a national convention.

They decided upon a three-phase plan that would end with adoption of the Freedom Charter.

The first phase would be the formation of councils in each

Democrats still strive for Charter's freedoms

'... until we have won our liberty'

province. The next would be the recruitment of thousands of 'Freedom Volunteers' who would go out and collect the demands of the people, to be incorporated into the Charter.

Later that year, ANC President, Albert Luthuli called for 50 000 volunteers to help with the campaign.

Finally delegates would be sent from each area and would then meet to decide which demands would be incorporated into the Charter.

The 'marathon' Freedom Volunteers, travelling country-wide, even to obscure rural areas, they went to people and asked: 'What is your idea of being free?'

They received many replies, of course, including one from a man who said his idea of being free was to have ten wives.

The Natal committee reported being overwhelmed by the response, with demands coming in on scraps of note book paper, or scribbled on the back of Congress pamphlets.

Once the demands had been received from all over, various sub-committees sorted them out and categorised them, after which a drafting committee prepared a document for the Congress of the People.

On June 26 1955, 3000 delegates met on an athletics field in Kliptown, a township outside Johannesburg.

For three days delegates discussed the Charter with each clause read aloud, and its approval established after applause from the delegates.

Watching the proceedings was a large group of policemen who, eventually, unable to resist the temptation to put their mark on such an historical gathering, moved in on the meeting and confiscated documents and took down the names of all

those present.

The police eventually withdrew and the Congress continued undaunted to adopt the remaining clauses of the Charter.

Rev M Xundu, many years later described how he, as an ANC Youth League delegate, felt at the time:

'After discussions were held and the Charter drawn up, it was read out to everybody. The joy there was as if a baby had been born.'

The Charter was not forgotten by the authorities. The raid on the Congress of the People was a prelude to the marathon Treason Trial of the 50's which saw the eventual release of all the accused.

The Charter became a central issue in the trial with the prosecution arguing that the aims of the Charter could not be realised without violence.

This argument proved unsuccessful in the court room, but what was clear at the time, was that the aims of the Charter could not be achieved in the existing South African order, and profound changes would have to occur before they were realised.

A year later, in 1956, the ANC adopted the Freedom Charter as its official policy.

After the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960 and the intense state repression in the 60's, the Charter moved out of the public limelight inside South Africa.

In the late 70's, interest in the Charter was reborn with the rebirth of a nationwide democratic movement.

The re-emergence of the Natal Indian Congress as a political force was especially symbolic from the point of view of the

The Freedom

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

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

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South

Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws:

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country; The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex; All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and

races:

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK

IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redistributed amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger; The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and to assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an



Charter as the NIC had been associated with it since the 50's, and it once again placed the Charter on the agenda of popular political debate.

Newly emerging organisations like Cosas, Azaso and the Release Mandela Committees began publicly to articulate Charter demands. This returned the Charter to the significance it had had in the 50's. So much so, that the Charter almost became a kind of test for identifying opposition groupings. Ideological differences began to be distinguished between those who supported and those who were against the Charter.

Today, those organisations that adhere to the Charter are commonly called Charterists.

NIC leader George Sempersadh said the Charter was like a compass: 'The Charter is still as relevant to us today as it was in 1955 — it tells us where we still have to go.'

What makes the Charter still relevant today is that all its demands have yet to be met. In fact, the present situation is possibly worse than at the time it was drawn up.

Whereas in 1955, 14 of the worst apartheid laws were singled out for attention at the Congress of the People, 29 years later almost all these laws remain and many others have been added.

The 14 laws which the Congress of the People opposed when they drew up the Charter were:

- The Population Registration Act (1950) which classifies people according to race.
- The Group Areas Act (1950) which creates racial segregation and restricts ownership of property on the grounds of race.
- The Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidated Act (1945) — the cornerstone of the influx control system.
- The Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act (1952) is still the basic pass law prescribing that every Black person over the age of 16 must carry a reference document to be produced on demand.
- The Native Laws Amendment Act (1952), later the Native Administration Act, authorising the Governor-General to order a tribe or group of people to withdraw from a place and not to return there without permission.
- The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) enabling the Minister of Justice to ban, banish and outlaw people and organisations deemed to be furthering the aims and objectives of communism.
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) provided that separate amenities need not be the same as those set aside for 'the other race'.
- The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) was a Government response to the contraventions of any law when they occurred by way of protest.
- The Bantu Education Act (1953) required all schools to be registered. Registration could be refused at the discretion of the Minister of Native Affairs. It marked the enforcement of inferior education for Blacks.
- The Separate Representation of Voters Act (1951) was the first step in the removal of Coloureds from the Voters Roll.

'The Charter is the written embodiment of the people's aspirations. Whether it has been banned or not is irrelevant because what the Charter says will remain until we win our liberty' — delegate to the Congress of the People

- The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) prohibited all marriages between 'Europeans and non-Europeans'.
- The Immorality Amendment Act (1950) prohibited sex between 'Europeans and non-Europeans'.
- The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act (1953) absolutely prohibited all strikes.
- The Native Land Act (1913) together with The Native Trust and Land Act (1936) which set aside 13% of the land for Africans.

The demands of the Charter have cropped up wherever popular struggles have taken place.

A community organiser said recently: 'There isn't a rents struggle that takes place these days without a banner in front of the hall demanding that there shall be housing, security and comfort for all.'

What the law decided or is still to decide about the Charter is of less importance than what it means to those who stand by it.

In the words of one delegate to the Congress of the People: 'The Charter is the written embodiment of the people's aspirations. Whether at one time or another in our history the document has been allowed or disallowed is ultimately irrelevant because the fact that the people's aspirations as articulated by the Charter will remain until we win our liberty.'

Charter says

equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for

equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens; The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country say, as we say here: 'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty.'

TOIVO



Toivo ja Toivo speaks to Nicco Bessinger (left) and Hendrik Witbooi (right), both Swapo members in Namibia.



In his own words . . .

Q: How do you feel about your release from prison?

A: I am feeling very strong, and my incarceration has just cemented my faith to work harder for the liberation of Namibia so that one day we will be in a free Namibia.

Q: Do you fear re-arrest?

A: Not at all. If they are thinking of re-arresting me, that is no problem.

Q: How did you feel when you were told you were to be released?

A: I was not happy. I told them I did not want to be released because I still have four years to go. Besides that I have people to lead. They are following me and I'm not happy to leave them behind. It would be better for me to stay in prison and let my comrades go. They said they couldn't do anything because my release had been signed. My mother and sister were there and they agreed with me. My mother said I must stay in, not leave my comrades behind. But they

Unbowed by 16 years on Robben Island, the Namibian leader gives his views on the future of his country, the war in Angola and the Matanzima bid to free Mandela

could do nothing — the Administrator-General had signed my release.

Q: What do you think the South African government is hoping to achieve with your release? Do you think they are hoping you will change political colour?

A: That is my suspicion. I think it was motivated by this Multiparty Conference. And I think the Americans are behind all these movements, like the disengagement in Angola, because of the elections in November. Their foreign policy has failed in Lebanon, in the Middle East, in South America and in Central America. I think they are now trying to do something here so they can get the credit for that, which can be used as a winning card for Reagan.

Q: The US is desperately trying to get some sort of settlement going in Namibia. How is their presence affecting Namibian politics?

A: The role the USA has played with their so-called constructive engagement has messed up everything. The Reagan Administration is only concerned with their own interests. They are not concerned about the interests of the oppressed people in South Africa and Namibia.

Q: Why do you think France withdrew from the Western Contact Group?

A: If you were in their position, what would you do? Things have been going on for years and years, and all the time objections crop up. They had no choice but to pull out.

Q: Given the US position on an internal settlement, do you think that Namibia is any closer to independence now?

A: We were closer in 1977 (when Resolution 435 was passed) than we are now. The US has been supporting South Africa at the same time as being a member of the contact group. They cannot play a mediator's role when they are siding with our enemies. If they drop the demand for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops then the contact group could start playing its mediator role.

Q: What is your view of the Cuban troop issue?

A: The Cubans were called in by the Angolan government because the MPLA was being attacked by South Africa and the Unita bandits which

are surrogates of South Africa. South Africa is a big power in Southern Africa. Angola had the right to call in the Cubans to help defend them.

Q: How do you think Swapo will react to an agreement between Angola and South Africa?

A: The agreement has nothing to do with Swapo. It is an agreement between Angola and South Africa. The ceasefire is between those two countries. Swapo will keep on fighting. It is fighting in Namibia, not Angola, and the agreement doesn't cover this.

Q: Does this mean that Swapo will not recognise an agreement?

A: With guerrilla struggle we can still have a meeting. If the negotiations fail, we can go on fighting. The

The years of pain: A brief history of S

WITH JUST four years of his 20 year prison sentence to go, Swapo founder Herman Toivo ja Toivo was released from Robben Island early this month.

But Toivo, one of 30 Swapo members convicted in January 1968 under the specially introduced Terrorism Act, did not want to leave the island without his comrades.

'I was not happy. I told them I did not want to be released because I still have four years to go. It would be better for me to stay in prison and let my comrades go,' he said in an interview with Saspu National recently.

Swapo was originally founded as

the Ovambo Peoples Organisation (OPO) in 1958 when Toivo, who had worked as a clerk on the Reef Gold Mines, as a South African policeman and in a Cape Town grocery store, united with other Namibian migrant workers and students in an effort to destroy the contract labour system.

Eight years after Swapo's formation Toivo was convicted by a Pretoria judge for participating in a plot to overthrow the government of Namibia (SWA) and replace it with a Swapo government.

Previously he spent 10 years under house arrest in his birthplace of Ovamboland after smuggling a taped message inside a copy of 'Gullivers Travels' to the United Nations in 1958. The message contained details of alleged South African repression in Namibia.

By that time, OPO had wide support in Namibia. Sam Nujoma became its leader in 1959 and within a year the movement became a massive organisation supported by contract workers' compounds in the

mines and cities.

In December 1959, OPO, the Herero Council and the South West Africa National Union (Swanu) organised a massive campaign against the forced removal of 30 000 Windhoek people to Katatura. OPO then became Swapo and the organisation became a national rather than regional party. That year Nujoma left the country after being sent back to Ovamboland under police guard.

At its first National Congress in

1961 Swapo decided to prepare for armed struggle after its unsuccessful diplomatic efforts at the United Nations. The first 200 volunteers went to Egypt for military training in 1962.

The following year South West African authorities banned Swapo from publicly campaigning — but it continued to do so in underground cells.

So the first guerrilla operation began in 1966. Soon afterwards, the South Africans arrested 27 guerrillas and 10

The people of Namibia must stand together. We must not be

SPEAKS



Toivo ja Toivo with UDF publicly secretary Patrick Lekota and Transvaal secretary Valli Mohammed at Jan Smuts Airport.

... on Swapo, Angola, Mandela

The face of a leader: 16 years in a South African jail has not changed Toivo's resolve to fight for the liberation of Namibia

... people are bitter towards the African government. We have been long free, but of the delaying tactics of Africa, we are still not free, and for Cuban withdrawal in these tactics. If this one fails, the Cubans are withdrawn, and another tactic. They are because they don't want to win Namibia. They know they will win, and they don't want to be in power in Namibia.

... at are your views on the 1982 Conference?

... is just an attempt to have a white-type government.

... it will your attitude be to delegation from the MPC?

... ore I was released Andreas

Swapo

... ne of whom was Toivo, though the prosecution did not at he was involved in fighting guerrillas. Toivo was to 20 years on Robben

... was then forced to operate national liberation movement in which it continued to operate political party in Namibia. Forward to meeting my comrades those who I have never those I haven't seen for a Toivo said recently.

Shipanga of Swapo Democrats came to see me. He stood up, and came towards me, and I turned my back. It was not only because of his association with the MPC that made me do that. He was with us, and he left us. If he is an enemy of Swapo, he can't be a friend of mine. They asked me if I wanted to see Moses Katjonga. I said no.

Q: What other visitors did you have in Windhoek Central?

A: Colonel Sarel Strydom, head of the Security Police, came to see me. He asked me whether I wanted to stay in Windhoek. I said, when you open the gates and say go, I will find my way. I will go and stay anywhere in Namibia. It is not any of this gentleman's business where I am going to stay.

Q: How were you treated on Robben Island?

A: Badly, very badly. It improved a bit after 1972 when the International Red Cross were allowed to see us, but it was still bad. I was beaten up by warders twice. Doctors there are just the same as prison warders. It is unethical.

Q: How did you pass the time over 16 years?

A: We lived from day to day, not further. I refused to accept classification so I remained a D-Group prisoner with very few privileges at all. The groups, to my mind, are designed to use the common-law prisoners against the others

Q: You were in a section until the end of 1982 with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada. Can you say anything about them?



Toivo address a press conference the day after his release. On the left, a bouquet sent to him by the United Democratic Front.

A: They are still very strong and they are determined in the struggle to liberate South Africa. I endorse the call for the unconditional release of Mandela. I call for his release provided he can go and live where he likes.

On Friday 24 February the jailer called Dr Mbeki and told him that Matanzima wanted to visit him, and wanted to know from Dr Mbeki whether he was prepared to accept the visit. He refused, and went back to his section. Subsequently he was called again and told that he should put this in writing, which he did. After that we heard that Matanzima was demanding Mandela's release. In my personal view I think this is another South African trick. They don't want to do this on their own.

They know that once they tell Mandela that they are going to release him and that he must go to Transkei, Mandela is going to refuse. So to get out of the jam the South African government is using Matanzima. If Mandela rejects this, they can wash their hands of him and say, well, the man has been offered sanctuary by Transkei, what can we do? There were no conditions attached to my release: no parole, nothing.

Q: When you were on the Island and a major policy decision had to be taken, like whether to accept a visit from internal Namibian politicians, did you manage to discuss it democratically with your Namibian comrades?

A: Although we were not in the

same section, and communication is not easy, still, that is how we did it.

Q: There is speculation that you will make a bid for the leadership of Swapo, and people are saying that your release could split Swapo. Can you comment?

A: It is their right to say so, but I can tell you it will remain one Swapo. As far as I am concerned, we in Swapo have no problems. We are a big family, it does not matter who is leading us, positions are not important. So long as we think that this is the man who should lead us, that is fine, and that is the case with the leadership now.

I am very happy to be meeting Sam Nujoma. It will be the first time I will have met him. I look forward to meeting my comrades, both those who I've never met and those who I haven't seen for a long time.

Q: After 16 years on the Island, do you have a message for the people of Namibia?

A: My message is this. The people of Namibia must stand together, we must not be shifted by anybody, not by the Multi-Party Conference, not by South Africa, not by Reagan, nobody. We must know that it is only (United Nations) Resolution 435 that can lead this country to true independence.

Q: And what is your immediate aim?

A: As far as I am concerned, my mission is to help liberate Namibia, but even if Namibia is free, free from the oppressive South African government, free from Apartheid, we cannot be free as long as our brothers and sisters in South Africa are living under the oppression of the Apartheid regime. It will also be our duty to help where we can to help our brothers and sisters in South Africa to become free.

by anybody — not by South Africa, not by Reagan, by nobody.



The SADF in Angola — the facts heard in South Africa are being questioned.

WHEN PRIME Minister P W Botha told the world that South Africa was 'disengaging' its forces in southern Angola, US President Ronald Reagan hailed the move as a 'major breakthrough'. But South Africa has always denied having any troops in Angola. They were now going to pull back armies which had obviously been permanently in Angola since at least 1981.

For the people of Angola 'disengagement' does not necessarily mean the South African troops will leave — only that the fighting will stop for a while. Meanwhile Unita, backed by South Africa, continues its activities.

In the past few weeks, Mozambique has been forced into a 'non-aggression' pact which seems to favour South Africa heavily; Herman Toivo Ja Toivo has been released, and SWAPO, only one month after the SADF Operation Askari (which the SADF claim 'wiped out' Swapo bases), has infiltrated almost 1000 guerrillas into Namibia. At the same time, reports are filtering through of massive Angolan popular resistance to Unita and decisive Unita losses.

In October last year the MPLA government released a White Paper on South African aggression on Angolan soil.

The paper alleged that 'since March 1976 there had been continuous aggression against Angola. This took the form of air space violations, bombing raids, incursions of heliborne troops, acts of provocation, infantry troops supported by armoured units, artillery shelling, mine laying in fields, on bridges and highways, and the looting and destruction of varied materials and means of production.'

In July 1981, the South African army launched an invasion, Operation Protea, into the Southern Angolan province of Cunene. Towns and villages fell and the invaders set up a command post at Muiemba. The Angolan defence ministry estimated that 11 000 South African soldiers were involved. The equipment used included Mirage and Impala aircraft, M-41 and Centurion tanks, and AML-90, Ferret, Saracen and Ratel armoured cars. South African reconnaissance planes often penetrated as deep as 300 km into Angolan airspace.

The South African ground forces were eventually halted by Angolan forces (FAPLA) at Cahama. The front line stabilised a few kilometres south of the town. But the South African invasion had prepared the ground for Unita — as soon as the SADF pulled back, Unita units moved in.

Unita groups set out from two areas — the Chitudo/Cuvelai/Namacunde triangle in Cunene (reported still to be occupied by the South African army), and from parts of the vast south-eastern province of Kuando Kubango which borders on Namibia and Zambia. In early 1982, these large Unita detachments were instructed to strengthen the dispersed bands operating in the provinces north of Cunene and Kuando Kubango and create Unita 'bases'.

On November 30, 1981, a South African commando unit allegedly attempted to blow up the Luanda oil refinery. At the same time regular South

Angola



Perez de Cuellar, UN General Secretary; Hendrik Witbooi; Swapo official

African forces attacked Menongue, the capital of Kuando Kubango.

The South African attack on Monongue failed, but the Angolan authorities believe that these two raids, and the large scale movement of Unita groups northwards, signalled the start of a new campaign. Together with large scale support for Unita's military actions, South Africa and the United States started a massive pro-Unita propaganda offensive. Unita, according to this propaganda, was a powerful, popular military force which would soon bring the Angolan government to its knees.

Whatever activity Unita was able to indulge in was exaggerated and 'accidents' were claimed to be the work of Unita activists.

On November 8, 1983, a Boeing 737 of the Angolan national airline, TAAO, crashed on take off in the southern city of Lubango, killing 125 people. Inquiries showed the disaster to have been caused by pilot error. But Unita claimed that the Boeing had been brought down by a missile fired by a Unita group which penetrated to within 2 km of the Lubango airport runway.

A few weeks later an apartment block in Luanda burnt down when chemical products stored on the ground floor caught fire. The Luanda fire brigade was unable to bring the blaze under control. The building was on the corner of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin Avenues and for Unita, this symbolism was too good to ignore. They claimed that they had placed an incendiary device in the building.

At the same time, Unita's modest successes in the diamond rich provinces of Luanda-Norta, and the pressure which they were able to place on Huambo, Angola's second largest city — have been reported in the Western media as a major success story. Unita was reported to be driving northwards to join up with Holden Roberto's FNLA, based in western Zaire.

However, reliable reports from Angola say that Angolan government forces began a major counter-offensive in December 1982 and inflicted, by Unita's admission, serious casualties on the insurgents. Unita's 'strongholds' — often no more than some villages held captive by 50-60 soldiers — were rapidly eliminated and Unita resorted to the tactics which it has been using since 1975 — 'scorched earth' retreats (burning everything behind them) and then splitting up into small groups.

The counter-offensive gained strength in mid-1983 in Malange province. Malange is Angola's richest agricultural area. Unita was clearly attempting to disrupt food production and add to the already difficult conditions caused by the drought. Malange is

Obs UDF condemns Angolan invasion

A RECENT meeting in Cape Town called on South Africa to withdraw from Angola and Namibia, release the founder of Swapo Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, end conscription and in the words of one speaker, 'wage peace'.

Three hundred people attended a meeting called by a local committee of the United Democratic Front to protest against the SADF's 'Operation Askari' invasion of Angola.

Statements condemning the SADF's actions were made by the Black Sash, the Conscientious Objectors Support Group, the United Women's Organisation, and the Cape Youth Congress. The statements condemned not only the 'illegal and abhorrent occupation of Angola' but also the 'violence perpetrated against millions of South Africans within our



Mike Evans: 'Dissatisfaction with SADF action in Angola on the increase' borders.'

The main speakers were Prof Mike Savage of the UCT Sociology Department and Mike Evans, from the Observatory Area Committee.

Savage focussed on the militarisation of South African society and on South Africa's attempts to destabilise its neighbours.

He said: 'The curtilian death toll in these neighbouring states as a result of South African actions, or South African sponsored actions, far exceeds the total deaths attributed to any actions by the military wing of the ANC, and it is patent nonsense for the South African state to issue claims that it is not following a

systematic destabilisation programme.

'It is purveying death and destruction on a wide scale in Southern Africa and engaging in the very terrorism it so vocally decries.'

Evans focussed on Operation Askari, the reasons for the invasion, and on the SADF's attempts to conceal the truth. He said Askari indicates several trends: the increasing use of conventional military tactics, the decision to engage Angolan and Cuban forces rather than just Swapo and the increasing public dissatisfaction with the SADF's action in Angola, as reflected in both the English and Afrikaans media.

Cayco joins campaign to fight conscription

THE CAPE Youth Congress (Cayco) has declared that its members will not allow themselves to be called up to serve in the South African Defence Force, and has formed a committee to participate in the campaign against conscription.

This follows announcements made last year by the government and the coloured Labour Party that the call up will soon be extended to so-called coloureds and Indians.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) has condemned this move and has said it would take up the issue as one of its campaigns this year.

Cayco held a focus on conscription in December, where approximately 300 representatives from Cayco branches discussed the role of the SADF in upholding the apartheid system.

They agreed that the SADF was fighting a civil war against the youth

who left South Africa in the wake of the 1976 uprising.

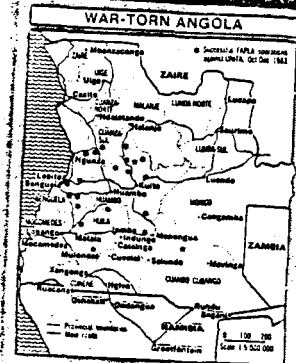
Speakers at the focus spoke of the destruction which the SADF was spreading throughout Southern Africa. 'Countries such as Angola, which South Africa sees as a threat, are attacked by the SADF, the rationale being that they provide military support for guerrillas,' said one speaker.

Another speaker said the SADF attempted to conscript people in Namibia in 1981 resulting in a massive exodus of the youth. 'As a result they were forced to halt their conscription plans,' he said.

Cayco has more recently held a workshop on conscription for all its branches. The workshop made short-term plans to educate people about the conscription issue. It also formulated guidelines for taking up the anti-conscription campaign and involving all organisations in this.

keeps aggressors at bay

Alloyed ever wanted to know about Angola but the South African government was too afraid to tell: Angolan popular resistance to Unita and SADE



described by an Angolan official as being of 'unbelievable' size, 'clearly of Western origin'. Unita prisoners taken at Mussende said many groups did not worry about taking their weaponry with them when forced to retreat, since they knew where to find more.

In the last three months of 1983, the FAPLA counter-offensive notched up successes throughout the centre of the country. Unita was driven from its position at Andulo in Bie. Large areas of Benguela province were cleared in early December, with Unita suffering heavy losses.

The South African and Western media have played down these setbacks. The Angolan government's attitude has always been, as one official put it, 'What happens on the ground is more important than what appears in the press.'

While Unita is not a military threat to the MPLA government, it is threatening to undermine the MPLA's education, health and agricultural projects. As an Angolan official pointed out in 1976, when national reconstruction was just beginning, 'during the war (against the Portuguese) we learnt that you cannot mobilize the masses without a concrete response to their immediate needs.'

By 1980, 84 000 worker-assembled trade unions had been set up involving up to 40 percent of the country's workforce. MPLA called on the students and workers to contribute free time to 'Red Sundays', days of mass voluntary work on collective farms and public works. By 1980 more than 65 000 000 hours of work had been performed in this way.

In the education field, more than 200 000 adults each year have become literate. Schools have been set up in thousands of areas and these have become Unita's favourite targets.

To counter Unita, people's militias were formed (arising out of the MPLA pre-1975 guerrilla structures). The people's militia is made up of voluntary cadres, who devote a few hours a week to maintaining ad hoc 'home guards'. Political and military education are high priorities and militias are situated in the context of the communities they serve. The Regional Military Councils, made up from people's militias, are for defence only.

More than 1 000 000 Angolans have volunteered for service in the peoples' militias, many of which mobilize as much as 30 000 Cuban 'troops' operate in Angola. According to South Africa and the U.S. these troops are the biggest single threat to peace.

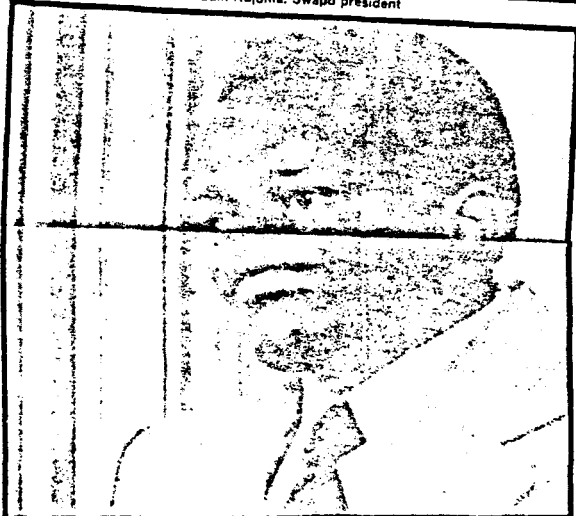
But in 1975, all but 10 percent of the 350 000 white colonialists fled the country, taking with them what they could: two-thirds of the nation's trucks were destroyed, all plans for public works (power stations and water works) were deliberately shredded and teachers even went off with school records. This destruction, added to that caused by a 15-year liberation war, put a severe strain on the MPLA government: many of the Cuban 'troops' are in fact teachers, administrators, doctors, dentists, agricultural experts, veterinary surgeons and engineers. Even those in Angola in a military capacity are mostly instructors and strategists.

Angola's popular militias and FAPLA need training

• To page 18



Sam Nujoma: Swapo president



Eduardo dos Santos: President of Angola

one of Angola's most successful examples of co-operative farming — thousands of Angolans work on major agro-industrial projects. Foreign journalists described morale and enthusiasm on the co-operatives as high and pointed to the success that the co-operatives were experiencing in making Angola self-sufficient. MPLA support has been strong in this province since the 60s.

The counter-offensive in Malange was organised by one of the Regional Political Commissions (CMRs). These are small units consisting of a Regional Political Commissar, and one other and are directly responsible to the Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos (who is also FAPLA's commander-in-chief). The ninth CMR covers Malange and Kwanza-Norte provinces. The speed of its operations surprised even some members of the Angolan government. The FAPLA units under its control were soon engaging Unita, and forced them into a widespread retreat.

In October, the Ninth CMR concentrated its operations in Kwanza-Sul, liberating Mussende from Unita occupation. Once Unita had been flushed out, people who had taken refuge in the bush during the occupation returned to Mussende. The scene, witnessed by Angolan and foreign journalists, was desolate. Unita had burnt hundreds of tons of cotton, and had destroyed all the shops.

An arms cache uncovered in Mussende was

IN SEPTEMBER last year an unlikely coalition of internal Namibian political parties calling themselves the Multi Party Conference (MPC) began meeting in Windhoek.

Nobody paid much attention to them.

But by early 1984, it had become clear that great things were planned for the MPC by the Botha government.

On January 13, P.W. Botha spoke of them in glowing terms in parliament.

This was soon after leaders of the six parties had flown to Cape Town for discussions with the two Bothas, P.W. and P.M., and U.S. undersecretary of state for Africa, Chester Crocker.

The MPC, P.W. announced, during the no-confidence debate, had accepted the challenge of working towards a political and constitutional dispensation acceptable to the Namibian people.

Roughly translated, the MPC had agreed to form an anti-Swapo front and actively work with South Africa in fighting off Swapo.

The statements sounded rather like a pipedream. As any observer of Namibia will point out, challenging Swapo in an election would be risky.

Prime movers behind the MPC

Another pipedream

SA dreams up another coalition to keep Swapo at bay



DTA head Dirk Mudge: back into SA's favour



Namibia Christian Democrat Hans Röhr



Prime mover behind MPC Andreas Shipanga



SWA National Party's Kosie Pretorius

were Moses Katjuongua and Andreas Shipanga. Katjuongua is a former Maoist who has turned into a moderate social democrat, and whose party, the South West Africa National Union, has been split by radical opposition to his watered down programmes of action.

Shipanga was a founding member of Swapo, imprisoned in Zambia by Swapo in 1978 for revisionism, and later expelled from the party. Having fended off several attempts by South Africa to buy his allegiance, it is now an open secret that all his funds have

dried up and he needs money — fast. Then there is the 11-party alliance of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, led by Dirk Mudge. The DIA has been in the forefront of every bandwagon ever got on the road by South Africa in an attempt to form an anti-Swapo alliance.

Although he fell from favour with South Africa at the end of 1982, Mudge and the DIA seem to be creeping back into favour.

His funds come mainly from conservative West German foundations and from Franz Joseph Strauss'

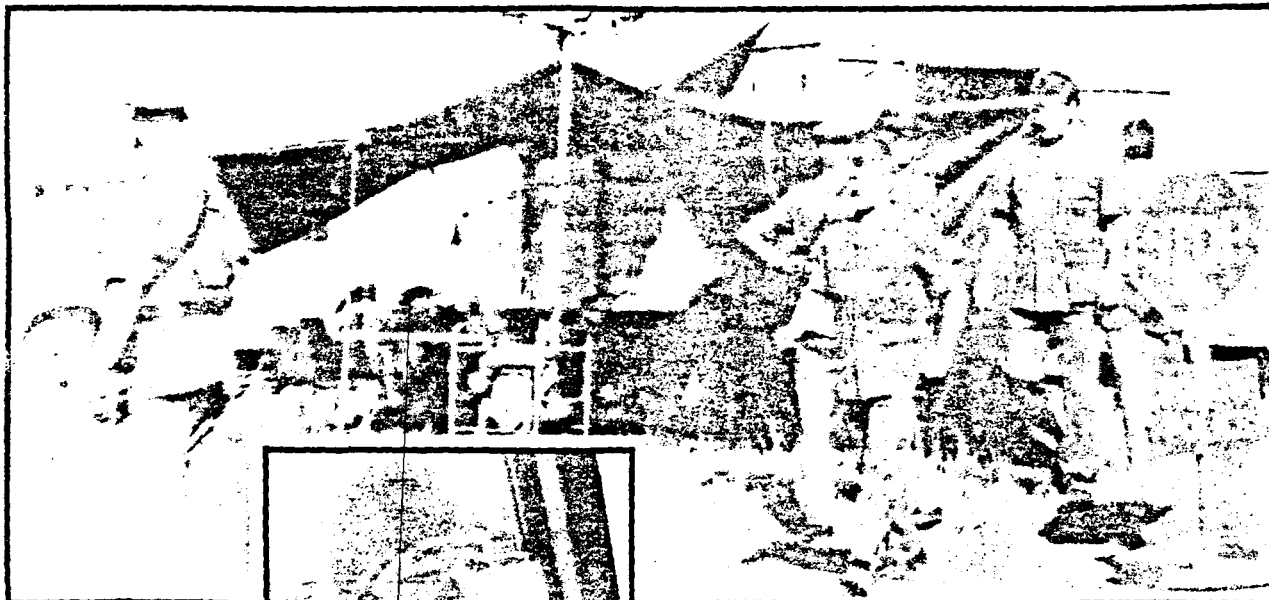
powerful white party in Namibia, with plenty of funds, were ordered into the MPC by South Africa to keep an eye on the more radical black parties.

Completing the line-up, and the most puzzling participant of the lot, is the Damaraland Kaard of Justus Garoeb. Garoeb is a longtime ally of Swapo, but whose policies increasingly deviated from those of Swapo. His choice to fight internal ethnic elections as a means of attaining a power base discredited him in the eyes of many Swapo supporters. Still he manages to maintain a measure of credibility through his outspoken statements on a variety of issues, particularly on repression and torture.

Swapo sources in Windhoek speculate that Garoeb was blackmailed into co-operating with the MPC after a commission of inquiry found that he and members of the party were guilty of misappropriating official funds for party use.

This, then, is the line-up — unlikely a combination as it is — which South Africa sees as its alternative to Swapo, and which will probably decide the short term future of Namibia.

Exiled in land of their birth



NINETY POLICEMEN, a fleet of at least 30 trucks and Department of Co-operation workers, took just three days to destroy the 70-year old settlement of Magopa in the Western Transvaal last month.

But this show of force could not keep the uprooted villagers of Magopa at Pachsdraai — the arid camp near the Bophuthatswana Border to which they were removed — from continuing their struggle against the removals.

Some 100 families who were ducanen in Pachsdraai by the government at Bethanie, the ancestral land of the Bakwena baMagopa tribe near Brits. Thousands of rand to help apartheid's internal refugees' came from many quarters after a public appeal by Johannesburg church leaders.

The mass exodus was but one indication that the people did not move willingly to Pachsdraai. No-one expected a willing departure from people who had refused to move when half their village was bulldozed eight months ago, their schools broken and their water pumps shut down.

The people had taken Supreme Court action in an attempt to stop the State President's order for summary removal and had at their cost, and by their own sweat, rebuilt one of the schools demolished by the government removal squad in July.

But police and government officials insisted the move was both voluntary and 'without incident'. They nevertheless insured it was done in secrecy, sealing off Magopa entirely for the first day's operation and at one stage declaring an 'operational area'.

They later allowed a few black journalists to enter under police escort.

The relocation area of Pachsdraai was also sealed by police but not before some families had been interviewed. Interviews with shaken victims, families on their way to Pachsdraai and information collected by Magopa leaders reveal allegations that force was used during the removals.

The SAP have denied the allegations. Villagers allege that some were beaten with batons when they ignored orders to stay inside their homes as the removal started in the early hours of St Valentine's Day. Owners who were away from their homes when the removal squad descended say their doors were broken down and household goods



Woman and grandchild on journey to Pachsdraai

taken off to Pachsdraai. Community leaders and their families were the first to be moved.

Other allegations include:

- The daughter of a prominent man said she was surrounded by police who pointed shotguns at her.

- A woman claims she was carried bodily from her house to a bus.

- Deputy chief Mr Isaac More says 'too many police to count' occupied his house.

- Chief Shadrack More was forced onto a bus when he arrived from Johannesburg on the second day of the removal, his committee says. His daughter and household goods had already been dumped in Pachsdraai.

- Some families had time to organise private transport directly from Magopa to Bethanie at an average cost of R300 a load. They settled in the yard of the tribal authority, erecting shanties which would serve until they were allocated stands.

Within a week of removal, arrangements were made for the mass evacuation of all who wished to leave Pachsdraai for Bethanie. Within a fortnight about 100 families had left their tin huts and tents in the bushveld. Chief James Mamogale

Police set up road-blocks, sealed off the area, and moved Magopa behind barbed-wire.



Years after Magopa was demolished



Community meeting against move to Pachsdraai

Koornhof says: Out damn spot

THE PEOPLE of Magopa were moved because they constituted an unsightly 'black spot' on 'white' territory for the state.

The 250 families — probably representing between 1 500 and 2 000 people — add to the 600 000 people affected by 'black spot' removals and bantustan consolidation between 1960 and 1982. Almost 1.2 million are scheduled for similar removal.

A section of the Magopa community was moved in mid-1983 with the approval of discredited headman Jacob More. All the schools and churches were broken down including many houses.

Some appear to have moved voluntarily. Others maintained in papers before the Supreme Court that their houses had been smashed and their families taken away without consent of the household head.

The forcible eviction of the Magopa people who resisted the initial removals was carried out eight months later in terms of a State President's order under the Black Administration Act.

The only proviso is that the move be approved by parliament if, as in Magopa's case, it involves scheduled or released land and the tribe refuses to move.

Mr Justice van Dyk ruled in the Pretoria Supreme Court that such parliamentary approval might be

given in anticipation of the specific order.

So when the State President issued an order on November 18 for Magopa's residents to quit and move to Pachsdraai by November 29, parliamentary approval given in 1975 for the clearance of scores of black owned areas (including Magopa) was sufficient to make the order valid.

On the eve of November 29, church leaders, including World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak, gathered for a nightlong vigil at Magopa and with foreign press coverage the obscure community, on the brink of destruction, became an international cause.

The removal squad stayed away as even the United States State Department expressed its official disapproval of the Magopa removal.

Urgent negotiations with the Department of Co-operation and Development officials and with Minister Piet Koornhof followed.

The people of Magopa were adamant they would not go to Pachsdraai. Leaders maintained the community had never been consulted on their destination and that it was totally unsuited to their needs as migrant workers and subsistence farmers.

Dr Koornhof's parliamentary promise: 'There will be no more forced removals ... as far as possible.'

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In Alpha leer

would rapidly disappear. So if that is what is meant by unity we have to imply certain possible motives of its proponents:

- inexperience and lack of thought on the matter;
- political expediency whereby this unity is for specific limited ends of embarrassing certain organisations;
- a preoccupation with popular politics and a lack of commitment to the building of a working class political position.

However, if we in FOSATU are to take our objective seriously and that objective is the building of a working class movement then we have to take unity very seriously. Clearly by unity we should strive for "disciplined unity" since it is only such unity that can possibly meet our objective.

We must ourselves work out a programme for unity and on the basis of that programme we should not hesitate to attack those who are impeding the development of a working class movement.

Conclusion

The issues that have been covered in this paper are important and complicated - they are the basis for an understanding of the true nature of the workers struggle in South Africa and the political role our organisation must play in that struggle.

We believe that in FOSATU we have a firm base on which to build organisationally. Our task in the three years to come is to firmly commit ourselves to a working class political position. With this greater political understanding we must:

- consolidate our organisational structures;
- give guidance and leadership in the building of a ~~larger~~ working class movement in South Africa;
- seek out comrades and allies who will join us in this struggle;
- and in this way make our fundamental contribution to the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

In doing this we must all be clear that we shall never be so petty as to insist on our organisation's name as the only one in the trade union movement which can carry out this task. It is what the organisation does that is important - not what it is called. Yet equally, we shall never be so politically foolish as to abandon the worker struggle.

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T. Robinson

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not yet a national or an industrial presence. Their strengths lie in isolated factories, and very few have any real geographic concentration. As a result, both the leadership of these unions and their membership have no clear conception of the organised power of capital nor for that matter of its weakness. There is no real experience of the difficulties of large scale worker organisation nor of the difficulties in building democratic worker structures. The bulk of the present leadership has no clear conception of the needs of worker struggle or of a worker dominated society. There is all too often a contradiction between the political position and organisational practice. Radical political positions are adopted but the organisational practice makes little headway into the power of capital nor is it effectively democratic. A number of factors result from this - often capital is attacked in the 'abstract' by making it all powerful and accordingly seeing an attack on the State as the only answer, or political energies are spent in widespread campaigns. Actual worker organisation and advance is left weak and based on sporadic upsurges rather than on organisational strength.

As a consequence of these factors it is not possible for people to draw any distinction between worker struggle and popular struggle let alone understand the relation between the two in South Africa. The unity talks are therefore conceived of as being within the wider popular struggle and as another area where anti-State unity can be achieved. A formal unity rather than a working unity against capital is therefore seen as the prime object.

There are broadly speaking three forms of unity to the union movement at present and we should look at each fairly carefully:

"Ad hoc unity": this is what has occurred at present where unity is issue-located and there are attempts to take a common stand. At present this ~~unity is significant in that it creates unity out of apparent disunity.~~ However, its significance will rapidly decline. Such ad hoc unity can only achieve anything on specific issues and it is inevitably forced to take more and more concerted and concrete actions unless it merely wants to be the source of endless press statements. Such further actions require a more permanent organisational link.

"United front unity": here the organisations remain autonomous but they set up a permanent platform of contact. Some people seem to see the solidarity committees as such as platform. However, although this provides a more definite organisational link considerable new problems are posed. Again the movement is towards more and more significant gestures of protest and the

problem now posed is how are decisions to be taken and on what mandate. Does each organisation have an equal vote or is voting by size? If decisions are on a consensus basis - then on what mandate? Should each organisation get a formal mandate on each issue and if they don't, how representative of rank and file membership is each decision? Is there not a greater than usual danger of decisions being taken by a few officials who have easy access to the meetings?

A permanent organisational link requires a process for making decisions that is democratic and equitable. Furthermore, if solidarity actions are to be successful they require organisational co-ordination - this in turn requires the power to sanction. How can this be done if participants are entirely autonomous?

A further step in this type of unity can be a "loose federation" such as TUCSA, where the unions are now all in the same federal organisation and the symbolism of unity is far greater. However, such a federal body - not being based on any clear principles - is unlikely to generate working unity as it would contend with numerous problems of jurisdiction between unions and it is unlikely that organisational rationalisation could take place without firm policies and particular structures.

In fact "United front unity", with or without a loose federation, can destroy the hope of greater unity by creating unresolved differences and no acceptable way of resolving these.

"Disciplined unity": this requires common political purpose, binding policy on affiliates and close working links based on specific organisational structures.

If such a federation is based on industrial unions then FOSATU is the closest to ~~being an example of such "disciplined unity" in the present circumstances.~~

If the federation were not based on an industrial structure but in a regional one, then it is more difficult to set out its working structures since there is no clear experience of how this would work. However, there is no doubt that some allowance would have to be made for industrial considerations and the industrial organisation of capital. In FOSATU we have argued that industrial unions in a "tight federation" allow for maximum flexibility and efficacy.

It is clear from this that unity means little unless these factors are taken into account. To talk lightly of unity is to keep it within the framework of ad hoc or united front unity. The effectiveness of such unity

of education, information and time that workers are struggling against will be the very factors which will force workers to surrender leadership of the community to other stratas in society.

Our aim is to use the strength of factory-based organisation to allow workers to play an effective role in the community. Worker leadership will have:

- gained invaluable political experience from their factory struggles;
- organisation and resources behind them;
- organisational structures and location that will give them localised strength;
- the ability to speak with a clear and democratically established worker mandate.

The points made here should be our guide for action and we have a long way to go in building a larger leadership structure that has the political qualities of clarity, determination, discipline and the ability to be self-critical.

Working Class Identity:

The task of organisation outlined above and more important the quality of that organisation will absorb most of our energies in the next three years, and is, therefore, our major priority. Yet to give leadership in the building of a working class movement we must start to build a greater identity for worker organisation.

In a very important way the building of effective trade unions does create a worker identity. However, there is the danger that the unions become preoccupied with their members and ignore workers generally. By establishing a clear political direction we can avoid this.

One answer that is often proposed is to be involved in community activities. That FOSATU should be involved in community activities is correct since our members form the major part of those communities. However, as we have argued above we must do so from an organisational base if we are truly to be an effective worker presence.

Without this base, it is more likely that we will destroy a clear worker identity since workers will be entirely swamped by the powerful tradition of popular politics that we examined earlier.

It is also the case that there has emerged into our political debate an

empty and misleading political category called 'the community'. All communities are composed of different interest groups and for a worker organisation to ally itself with every community group or action would be a recipe for worker organisation. Under the surface of unity community politics are partisan and divided. FOSATU cannot possibly ally itself to all the political groups that are contesting this arena. Neither can it ally itself with particular groups. Both paths will destroy the unity of its own worker organisation.

This simple political fact is the reason for one of our founding solutions. It has nothing to do with not wanting to be involved in politics. Our whole existence is political and we welcome that. Our concern is with the very essence of politics and that is the relation between the major classes in South Africa being capital and labour.

We need to state this more clearly and understand it ourselves more clearly. There is also no doubt that we must take our own newspaper very much more seriously as it can be a major instrument in building a worker identity.

At the level of organisation we have a sound base on which to work. Probably our main problem has been that we did not clearly state why we had chosen certain structures and what could be achieved by them.

As our political clarity and confidence grows, so we must state our position more clearly in our meetings, among our members and through our own newspaper.

Unity in the Labour Movement

Our first step must be to address ourselves to unity in the labour movement. If we are to create a working class movement then trade union unity has to be dealt with very early on in our struggle. Because we take working class politics seriously we must take trade union unity seriously.

At present there is a very great momentum to unity in the labour movement and we have to carefully consider and analyse what is happening.

The first point to understand is that all the unions involved in the talks are relatively weak in relation to their potential - some appallingly so. Many are too easily fooled by their own propaganda and the great interest shown by everyone into believing that they are now a strong force.

Furthermore, with a few exceptions (mostly in FOSATU), these unions are

of members into a flexible and effective quality. Capital's hostility to factory organisation forces members and Shop Stewards to struggle continuously or else to have their organisation crushed.

At the union level FOSATU has attempted to build broad industrial unions on a national basis. We, in effect, have a position of one affiliate per industry. We have chosen industrial unions because of the organisational advantages we gain in our struggle against capital. However, FOSATU's role is to link these industrial unions into a tight federation that is based on common policy and a sharing of resources. Our aim is to keep a unity of purpose among affiliates at all levels of their organisation.

Our task in the three years to come must be to consolidate and develop factory organisation, a national presence for our unions and to reassert unity of purpose among affiliates.

The structures we are developing are an essential basis for effective and democratic organisation and are the basis for greater worker participation in and control over production.

Location:

The question of location is closely related to structure. Without correct structures then the location of one's organisational strength is not as important.

We must accept that it will take many years to organise all workers and at present that should not be our aim. Our present aim must be to locate our organisation strategically. We need to look at the location of our organisational strength in relation to the industry, geographic area and the points at which we can most effectively carry out collective bargaining.

~~Our major~~ affiliates should be located in the major industries. Within those industries we must become a substantial presence by carefully building our organisation in major factories, companies and areas.

Geographically we must clearly aim to be a national presence both as FOSATU and as the affiliates. Our organisation should be able to dominate major industrial areas. By doing this we create the major means whereby worker organisation can play a significant if not dominant role in the communities that surround these industrial areas.

Successful collective bargaining requires that the organisation is capable of mobilising its members behind demands. Thus far our unions have

only really been able to mobilise at the plant level. However, the experience of NAAWU which is exceptional in FOSATU has shown what can be gained by mobilising across companies. We have flexible structures and we must use them if we are to serve our members. We must be able to mobilise across factories and in local areas across industries. We must see industry bargaining or regional bargaining not as something to be feared but as the logical extension of our present structures and practices.

Worker Leadership:

Here we must be immediately clear that we are not talking about leadership in the sense that it is usually discussed - which is in terms of individuals and "great men". This view of leadership is not what is important for a worker organisation. What we are interested in is the elected representatives of workers and the officials they appoint to work within the organisation.

We are interested in how the leadership is elected or appointed; who it is answerable to and how this accountability is achieved; how experienced leadership is and how it gains this experience and how they develop means of training and educating leadership so that it remains self-critical and politically active.

The challenges facing worker leadership are undoubtedly different to other leadership groups. For worker leadership in a capitalist society, your everyday struggle is related to your job and therefore your wage and therefore your very ability to survive. ~~The most appropriate comparison is with that of the guerrilla fighter who has to develop the strength to resist~~ daily, the knowledge of his terrain that will give him every tactical advantage and the support of those for whom he is struggling. Probably most important because both the worker leader and the guerrilla are fighting a powerful enemy, is the development of a sense of when to advance and when to retreat.

These skills are not easily learnt and not easily replaced. So worker leadership cannot be wasted by opportunistic and overly adventurous actions.

We are also concerned with worker leadership in a wider arena than only that of the union struggle. Giving leadership to the working class requires an organisational base. Without this base, then the poverty and the

There has not been and is not a working class movement in South Africa.

3. The dominant political tradition in South Africa is that of the popular struggle against an oppressive, racist minority regime.
4. That this tradition is reasserting itself in the present upsurge of political activity.
5. However, the nature of economic development in South Africa has brutally and rapidly created a large industrial proletariat.
6. That the size and development of this working class is only matched by its mirror image which is the dramatic growth and transformation of industrial capital.
7. That before it is too late workers must strive to form their own powerful and effective organisation within the wider popular struggle.

FOSATU's Objective

From what has been said we believe that FOSATU must set itself the task of giving leadership and direction to the building of a working class movement. Our efforts so far have equipped us to do this. Our organisation is nationally based, located in the major industries and the militancy of our members has generally developed a politically aware and self-critical leadership.

FOSATU as a trade union federation will clearly not constitute the working class movement nor would this place FOSATU in opposition to the wider political struggle or its major liberation movement.

FOSATU's task will be to build the effective organisational base for workers to play a major political role as workers. Our task will be to create an identity, confidence and political presence for worker organisation. The conditions are favourable for this task and its necessity is absolute.

We need have no fear of critics - our task will contribute to the wider liberation struggle and will also ensure that the worker majority is able to protect and further its interests. Ours is a fundamental political task and those who ask of workers their political support without allowing them the right to build their own organisation must answer for their real motives.

As was said above, capital has transformed itself and has a greater capacity to tolerate worker organisation because it is now more powerful and better able to deal with a worker challenge. Also because of its absolutely central position it will have the full support of the State in its actions and

in the bitter struggles that are to come.

This requires a very much greater effort to establish worker organisation and requires thorough organisational work and ceaseless mobilisation of our members. The growth and transformation of capital has created the very preconditions for large scale worker organisation.

Our Concrete Tasks and Challenges

If we set the above as our general direction then we must deal with concrete tasks and challenges.

Organisation:

What is crucial in organisation is the quality of that organisation - the quality that gives it its overall political direction and capability. As is clear from the experience of the advanced industrial countries that we looked at earlier, organisational size alone is not enough, yet without size there can be no effective counter to capital.

Broadly one can distinguish three factors that affect the quality of worker organisation - the structure of organisational strength and decision making; the location of organisational strength and the political qualities of its leadership structures.

Structure:

The structure of an organisation should be such that it correctly locates worker strength and makes best use of that strength.

FOSATU's experience in this has been very important. Our organisation is built up from the factory floor. As a result, the base of the organisation is located where workers have most power and authority and that is where production takes place. This also has the effect of democratising our structures since worker representatives always participate from a position of strength and authority in the organisation. By stressing factory bargaining we involve our Shop Stewards in central activities and through this they gain experience as worker leadership. It should be said that they do battle every day.

These factory-based structures are the key to transforming pure quantity

However, this international presence of the ANC which is essential to a popular challenge to the present regime places certain strategic limitations on the ANC, namely:

- to reinforce its international position it has to claim credit for all forms of internal resistance, no matter what the political nature of such resistance. There is, therefore, a tendency to encourage undirected opportunistic political activity;
- it has to locate itself between the major international interests. To the major Western powers it has to appear as anti-racism but not as anti-capitalist. For the socialist East it has to be at least neutral in the super power struggle and certainly it could not appear to offer a serious socialist alternative to that of those countries as the response to Solidarity illustrates. These factors must seriously affect its relationship to workers;
- accordingly, the ANC retains its tradition of the 1950's and 1960's when because there was no serious alternative political path it rose to be a great populist liberation movement. To retain its very important international position it has to retain its political position as a popular mass movement. This clearly has implications for its important military activities.

Internally we also have to carefully examine what is happening politically. As a result of the State's complete inability to effect reform and the collapse of their Bantustan policy, they are again resorting to open repression. Since 1976 in particular this has given new life to popular resistance and once again the drive for unity against a repressive State has reaffirmed the political tradition of populism in South Africa. Various political and economic interests gather together in the popular front in the tradition of the ANC and the Congress Alliance.

In the present context all political activity, provided it is anti-State, is of equal status. In the overall resistance to this regime, this is not necessarily incorrect. In fact without such unity and widespread resistance it would not be possible by means of popular mass movements to seriously challenge the legitimacy of the present regime.

However, the really essential question is how worker organisation relates to this wider political struggle. I have argued above that the objective political and economic conditions facing workers is now markedly different to that of twenty years ago.

However, this international presence of the ANC which is essential to a popular challenge to the present regime places certain strategic limitations on the ANC, namely:

- to reinforce its international position it has to claim credit for all forms of internal resistance, no matter what the political nature of such resistance. There is, therefore, a tendency to encourage undirected opportunistic political activity;
- it has to locate itself between the major international interests. To the major Western powers it has to appear as anti-racism but not as anti-capitalist. For the socialist East it has to be at least neutral in the super power struggle and certainly it could not appear to offer a serious socialist alternative to that of those countries as the response to Solidarity illustrates. These factors must seriously affect its relationship to workers;
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However, the really essential question is how worker organisation relates to this wider political struggle. I have argued above that the objective political and economic conditions facing workers is now markedly different to that of twenty years ago.

Yet there does not seem to be clarity on this within the present union movement. There are good reasons for this lack of clarity.

As a result of repression most worker leadership is relatively inexperienced and this is made worse by the fact that their unions are weak and unstable organisationally. The union struggles fought against capital have mostly been against isolated companies so that the wider struggles against capital at an industry or national level have not been experienced. This also means that workers and their leadership have not experienced the strength of large scale worker organisation nor the amount of effort required to build and democratise such large scale organisation. Again State repression and the wider political activity reinforce previous experiences where the major function of workers was to reinforce and contribute to a popular struggle.

Politically, therefore, most unions and their leadership lack confidence as a worker leadership, they see their role as part of wider struggle but are unclear on what is required for the worker struggle. Generally, the question of building an effective worker organisation is not dealt with and political energy is spent in establishing unity across a wide front.

However, such a position is clearly a great strategic error that will weaken if not destroy worker organisation both now and in the future. All the great and successful popular movements have had as their aim the overthrow of oppressive - most often colonial - regimes. But these movements cannot and have not in themselves been able to deal with the particular and fundamental problem of workers. Their task is to remove regimes that are regarded as illegitimate and unacceptable by the majority.

It is, therefore, essential that workers must strive to build their own powerful and effective organisation even whilst they are part of the wider popular struggle. This organisation is necessary to protect and further worker interests and to ensure that the popular movement is not hijacked by elements who will end have no option but no turn against their worker supporters.

Broad and complicated matters have been covered and it is difficult to summarise them even further. However, I shall attempt to do so in order for us to try and examine the role that FOSATU can play in this struggle.

1. That worker resistance such as strike action helps build worker organisation but by itself it does not mean that there is a working class movement.

change in production processes. As this happened the skilled workers who had usually given leadership to the craft unions found themselves in a very difficult position. As a result leadership problems in the organisation of trade unions and the political environment, developed in a complex and relatively slow way.

In South Africa this has been condensed into 60-70 years and from the outset large scale capitalist enterprises dominated. The birth of capitalism here was brutal and quick. The industrial proletariat was ripped from its land in the space of a few decades. At present capitalist production massively dominates all other production. There are no great land lords on their agricultural estates and there is no significant peasantry or collective agriculture. Virtually everyone depends for all or part of their income on industry or capitalist agriculture.

The working class have experienced a birth of fire in South Africa and they constitute the major objective political force opposed to the State and capital. There is no significant petty bourgeoisie or landed class with an economic base in our society.

In the economy capital and labour are the major forces yet politically the struggle is being fought elsewhere.

The existence of this industrial proletariat and the rapid transformation of capital are very powerful reasons why a working class movement could rapidly develop in South Africa. There are a number of factors that will assist in the organisation of workers:

- the great concentration of capital has also meant a greater concentration of workers. These workers generally have a higher level of basic education and skills than before and their links with the past are all but broken so that more and more a worker identity is emerging;
- this is reinforced by the sophisticated strategies that are designed to "de-racialise" industry and some other areas of society. The effect of this is to divide off certain privileged members of Black society leaving workers at the bottom of the privilege pile;
- the concentration of workers in industry has also concentrated them in the great urban townships;
- the particular structure of the South African economy with its high degree of State involvement, price controls and heavy dependence on international markets has made it a very sensitive economy. As a

consequence attempts to "buy off" the major part of the working class will fail. It is more likely that as some readjustments of privilege are attempted that it will have to be workers that suffer through inflation and lack of basic commodities;

- the above factors and South Africa's international economic importance are likely to force capital into the political open and as a consequence develop a worker response;
- although capital can at present hide behind apartheid it is also the case that if workers organise widely enough they can get great support from the international labour movement. Also international public opinion has to be very carefully watched by capital because both international and South African capital are dependent on their links with the rest of the world.

These then are some of the important factors that are favourable to the development of a working class movement in South Africa. However, this does not mean that this will automatically happen. To understand this, we need to look at the present political environment more carefully to see both the present political tendencies and to establish why some active leadership role should be played by the unions and FOSATU in particular.

Workers need their own organisation to counter the growing power of capital and to further protect their own interests in the wider society. However, it is only workers who can build this organisation and in doing this they have to be clear on what they are doing.

As the numbers and importance of workers grows then all political movements have to try and win the loyalty of workers because they are such an important part of society. However, in relation to the particular requirements of worker organisation, mass parties and popular political organisations have definite limitations which have to be clearly understood by us.

We should distinguish between the international position and internal political activity. Internationally, it is clear that the ANC is the major force with sufficient presence and stature to be a serious challenge to the South African State and to secure the international condemnation of the present regime. To carry out this struggle is a difficult task because South Africa has many friends who are anxious to ensure that they can continue to benefit from her wealth. The fact that the ANC is also widely accepted internally also strengthens its credibility internationally.

Furthermore, at all times there were occasions when workers resorted to strike action, protest and organisation. Yet this by itself cannot constitute a working class movement. Whilst the unions were often prominent they were always small and weakly organised both nationally and in the factories. They could not provide an organisational base for a working class movement as we have defined it above.

Progressive and militant unions were continually the subject of State harassment, but, never managed to seriously challenge capital nationally or on a sustained basis. As a result the effective political role of progressive unions and of worker activity was to provide a crucial part of any popular movement and that was to give it its "Worker Voice". No mass popular movement can be effective or be seen to be effective if it does not have some form of movement or representation. By the 1940's with the growth of South Africa's industry and the size of the working class, the need to include workers became essential and as a result SAIP became an important element of the National Alliance.

In these circumstances the progressive trade unions became part of the popular struggle against apartheid. They did not and probably could not really provide the base for working class organisation. There is of course no doubt that more activities have been very, very important in creating the conditions that led to the emergence in the last ten to fifteen years of the present progressive trade unions. However, these unions are operating in a different environment.

Workers and their struggle became very much part of the wider popular struggle. An important effect of this development was that capital could hide behind the virtues of apartheid and racism. The political energies of the oppressed masses and of international critics were focused on the apartheid regime and its abhorrent racism. The government and Afrikanerdom became the focus of attack. In fact the position was such that learned liberal and socialists in capital had the great hope for change despite the fact that capital and its lackeys were undoubtedly the major beneficiaries of apartheid.

Capital did its very best to keep in the political background and as a result this helped prevent the creation of capital's logical political opposite which is a working class political movement. However, of crucial significance was that capital was growing rapidly and changing its very nature into a more monopolistic, technologically advanced and concentrated form. Its links

internationally were also growing as was its importance for international capital.

We find, therefore, that behind the scenes of the great battle between the apartheid regime and its popular opponents that the capitalist economy has flourished and capital emerges now as a powerful and different force. It:

- is highly concentrated in truly gigantic corporations;
- has access to international information on how to deal with working class challenges;
- has access to the State's security information;
- is able to rapidly share and assess information;
- is able to use the objective circumstances in its favour such as unemployment and influx control to weaken worker organisations;
- is now an important part of international capital and cannot, therefore, be lightly discarded by international capital;
- is able to hide behind politics and as a result can hide its sophisticated attacks on labour because no-one is paying any attention.

Yet as the upsurge of popular political activity emerged again in the 1970's some of its new forms such as Black Consciousness also place little emphasis on capital. So there is a growing gap between popular politics and the power of capital and as a result the potential power of workers. It is in this context we should look at the likelihood of a working class politics emerging.

Need for a Working Class Movement

The growing size of the economy and the dramatic changes taking place in capital have created important new conditions in the economy. We also have to take into account the speed and manner in which the economy has developed. In discussing the working class movements in the advanced industrial economies, we have to bear in mind that in most cases they took about 100 years or more to fully develop. Industry started first by building larger and larger factories and bringing people together in these factories.

The new capitalists had to struggle politically with the older ruling classes over labour, land, taxation policy, tariff protection, political rights and political power.

Then mechanisation became more important and there was a definite

...clear direction so as to gather together the working class movement into a force that will more definitely put workers in control of their own destiny.

In the Socialist countries similar battles are being fought. Whilst social, political and economic relations in these countries have been greatly altered and there have been great achievements to the benefit of workers, there is still the need for workers themselves to control their own destiny. So Solidarity was not struggling to restore capitalism in Poland, its struggle was to establish more democratic worker control over their socialist society.

Now my purpose in briefly looking at the working class movement in the advanced industrial countries was twofold:

Firstly, so that we can be clear that worker activities such as strikes and protests do not in themselves mean that a working class movement or working class politics exist. These later are more than that - they are large scale organisations with a clear social and political identity as the working class.

Secondly, I wished to show that the pure size of working class organisation is itself no guarantee that workers will control their own destiny. In fact as the struggle of Solidarity shows, even the fact that a country is said to be socialist does not guarantee that workers control their own destiny.

In short it could be said that workers must build a powerful and effective movement if they are to succeed in advancing their interests against some very hostile forces, but they must also ensure that this movement is able to take a clear political direction.

The experience of the great working class movements in the advanced industrial countries is a very important guide and lesson to us. However, it cannot provide all our answers. Firstly, in South Africa we cannot talk of a working class movement as we have defined it above. Secondly, whilst there is undoubtedly a large and growing working class its power is only a potential power since as yet it has no definite social identity of itself as working class.

The questions we should, therefore, address ourselves to, are:

- Why has no working class movement emerged?
- What are the prospects for such a movement emerging?
- What role can FOSATU play in such a process?

Political History and Workers

It is not possible in a paper such as this to deal fully with all the developments in South Africa's history that have led to the non-existence of a workers' movement in South Africa.

South Africa's history has been characterised by great repression and the major political and ideological instrument for this repression has been racism. Yet the major effect of this repression has been to very rapidly establish a large capitalist economy.

Racism and the violence and injustices associated with it is a very stark and clear form of repression. Along side this only about 5 - 10% of the population has ever had the franchise. Clearly, therefore, there is a very identifiable oppressive force and the major political task of the oppressed peoples has always been to attack that oppressive and racist regime.

So what has developed in South Africa is a very powerful tradition of popular or populist politics. The role of the great political movements such as the ANC and the Congress Alliance has been to mobilise the masses against the repressive minority regime. In such a situation mass mobilisation is essential so as to challenge the legitimacy of the State both internally and internationally.

Where virtually all the population is voteless and oppressed by a racial minority then a great alliance of all classes is both necessary and a clear political strategy. Furthermore, building such an alliance was a great task.

The ANC had to overcome racial division so as to rise above the divisive racism of the oppressors. They had to deal with opportunistic tribal leadership, to organise thousands upon thousands of people and they had to do all this in the face of harsh repression by the State. In achieving this there is little wonder that the ANC rose to be one of the great liberation movements in Africa.

In this context it is also easier to see and understand why the trade union movement acted in a particular way. The racial divisions in the working class, linked as they were to other objective factors, made it possible for capital to quite quickly suppress any serious challenge to their supremacy. It was possible to create the conditions that led to a politically lame union movement and thereby forced more militant and progressive unions to bear the brunt of State action, which in turn affected the politics of these unions.

an Assessment

In the three years that FOSATU has existed there is little doubt that we have achieved a lot in terms of growth and gains made for our members. However, I believe that our greatest achievement is the fact that at this Congress we are determined to re-evaluate our policies. We are determined to respond to new challenges and set new directions if this is necessary. We could have made this Congress a great occasion open to all to parade our successes and hide our failures, however, we have chosen otherwise.

We have chosen to keep it closed and to once again self-critically examine our position. I believe that this shows our determination to take the great militancy of our members and use this to build a just and fair society controlled by workers.

We have no intention of becoming self-satisfied trade unionists incapable of giving political direction to the workers struggle.

Yet we would only be dreaming of change if we do not strengthen and build our unions into large and effective organisations.

At our Inaugural Congress we stressed certain policies and set ourselves the task of establishing a tight federation of non-racial, national, industrial unions, based on shop floor strength. We set ourselves the task of sharing resources between affiliates and of building up an educational programme. We further stressed our independence in regard to party political organisations and from international trade union organisations.

Now it is not my task to assess every success and failure of FOSATU. There are reports tabled that will allow delegates to draw their own conclusions. However, it is important to make certain assessments in order to go further and identify why we need to clarify our position and set and new clearer directions.

I believe that we have to ask ourselves two crucial questions:

- have we established an effective organisation based on shop floor strength and national non-racial industrial unions?
- has our organisational activity developed worker leadership that can give guidance and direction to all workers?

In answer to both questions it would be wrong to expect a positive answer after only three years. However, we should be able to assess if we are going in the right direction.

Clearly in regard to the first question we made progress - it could even

be said to be considerable progress - with NAAWU, NUTW, and MAWU beginning to be a significant presence in what are major industries. However, there is a long way to go both in these cases and more so in those of the other affiliates.

It is, however, the second question that poses more problems. As the unions grow and are faced with new challenges it becomes crucial that the leadership knows what direction it is going in. What are the organisational strategies that are necessary as the unions become larger and more effective? What dangers to worker militancy lie in recognition and stability?

As these unions grow then the question is what role do they play in the wider political arena. There has been a great upsurge in political activity over the last few years and many different political groups are looking to the union movement to state its position. We must be sure our organisation and our leadership can confidently state its position and continue to organise in the way that will strengthen and not weaken that position.

The purpose of this paper is to set out the issues we should debate if we are to meet the challenges.

Working Class Movement

As a trade union federation we are clearly concerned with workers and their aspirations. If we were to think in terms of our members only, we would have a very limited political role. If, however, we are thinking more widely of the working class then we have to examine very much more carefully what our political role is. In particular we need to look at this role in the South African context.

If we look at the advanced industrial countries then we see what can be called ~~working class movements~~. ~~There are a number of different organisations~~ - trade unions, co-operatives, political parties and newspapers - that all see themselves as linked to the working class and furthering its interests. These working class movements are, therefore, powerful social forces in those societies.

In the capitalist economies these working class movements have power and organisation yet politically the working class is still subject to policies and practices that are clearly against their interests as the activities of Thatcher and Reagan show. This is increasingly leading to intense political and organisational activity to give the working class and the union movement

But that 'home' is an appealing prospect! The compounds are huge, single-sex complexes. Some of the newer hostels are more spacious and have 16 men per room (Hostel Ro.9 - W. Deep Level) but it is not uncommon to find 20 men crowded into tiny rooms (the case at strike-hit Venterspost). Rooms and sometimes whole sections of the compound are divided ethnally. One miner explained to me that in the old days, the division was into broad Bantu and Ndebele groups. Recently the division has become stricter as Pedi speakers are separated from Zulu and Sotho speakers etc. In brief, the miners live in the hostels without their families, and without privacy. Sport is encouraged & an outlet to frustration.

The context on the mines and the forms it took cannot, therefore, be divorced from the total working and living environment of black miners.

Conclusion

The pay strikes of July '82 were enormous in their magnitude. Clearly, the miners need a strong union to articulate their demands and discipline and coordinate their actions. But in an industry where 'cattle makers' are blackballed by the labour recruiting offices (those fired are unlikely to find a job in mining again), the establishment of a genuine union would be a daunting task. The recently formed Black Mine Workers Union (BMMU), advised by the IUKSA affiliated Boilermakers Society and with a constitution that may have been written by the Chamber of Mines, clearly does not fit the bill.

8 July 1982.

DOCUMENTS

JACB Oct 1982

The Workers' Struggle

Where Does FOSATU Stand ?

The following document is the full text of the keynote address, given by the FOSATU General Secretary, Joe Forster, at the FOSATU Congress in April this year.

Introduction

Three years ago - almost to the day - we met in this very same place to form FOSATU. Today we have set as our theme - the Workers' Struggle - a serious attempt to further clarify where we as worker representatives FOSATU stand in this great struggle.

That we are discussing this theme today and resolutions that relate to it is a justification of our original decision to form FOSATU and shows that seriously we take the new challenges that face us three years after our decision. Clearly any such discussion raises many very important issues and the purpose of this paper is to try and bring together these issues and to identify those that will help guide our discussions.

It is the task of this Congress to give a clear policy direction to our actions between now and the next Congress - we believe that the issues raised in this paper are crucial to a political understanding of our position and what we hope to achieve by them. We also believe that it is the task of this Congress to add and modify the views expressed through open and serious debate.

The BSM Women's Group was formed in September 1983, when we realized that black women on campus played a very secondary role in student organizations like BSM. Realizing that this was but a manifestation of our peculiar oppression as women, the BSM Women's Group was formed with the following broad aim:

- * To unite women students around issues which affect them
- * To encourage women to participate in broader struggles
- * To develop confidence and provide training skills for women
- * To fight sexist attitudes and practices on campus
- * To explore the sexist nature of our education system
- * To forge links with progressive women's groups and other organizations outside campus
- * To ensure the continuous participation of women in ongoing organizational work

Anyone interested in joining the Women's Group please contact Portia Maurice in oppies.

SHARPEVILLE

1960

T. R. R. R.

69 DEAD, 180 WOUNDED

SHARPEVILLE 1976 SHARPEVILLE 1980

SHARPEVILLE 1984/1985

SHARPEVILLE ...?

MASS MEETING

VENUE : METHODIST CHURCH OF AFRICA
J STREET -- TANTYI

TIME : 7.30pm

SPEAKERS: IVY GCINA -- PE WOMEN'S ORG.
BSM SPEAKER

Transport outside the Great Hall leaving at 7pm.

ISSUED BY BSM WOMEN'S GROUP

EXPIRY DATE: MARCH 22

SHARPEVILLE

On the 21 March 1960, thousands of people showed their rejection of passes in demonstrations throughout the country.

- * In Orlando thousands of people publically burnt their passes
- * At Langa 12 000 people marched to police stations -- 3 were shot
- * In many areas, including Nyanga, Evaton, Cato Manor, Pondoland and Zeerust similar demonstrations took place and many people were arrested. In some cases people were shot.

At Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, the State responded with particular callousness and brutality. Although the crowd of 20 000 remained peaceful, police shot at them and continued to shoot even as the demonstrators fled. Sixty-nine people were murdered and more than 180 wounded. The massacre at Sharpeville marked the culmination of years of protest against passes by organizations like the ANC, PAC and FSAW.

State violence of this kind is a recurring feature of our history. Similar reactions took place in 1976, 1980, 1984 and in 1995. The last few weeks have seen more than 30 people killed in the Eastern Cape alone! At Crossroads 18 were killed, hundreds were injured...

Passes have been used as one means of oppression, control and domination of blacks, especially workers. Our people have always resisted the carrying of passes. Their struggle against passes is a vital part of our struggle to end all forms of exploitation

Many people have been detained, tortured or killed after Sharpeville. The ANC and PAC were banned, thousands were sentenced to prison and many were exiled. In spite of this repression however, our struggle has and will continue. Events like Sharpeville will not deter us. Rather they reaffirm our dedication to fight for a democratic and just society.



SHARPEVILLE 1960.

WOMEN AND THE PASSES

The 1950s saw a decade of unprecedented involvement of black women in political organizations and in other more spontaneous forms of protest. Land shortages and land rehabilitation measures gave rise to increased migration of black women from rural to urban areas. State reaction was the extension of the pass laws to women who now had to have permits to live and work in the towns and had also to carry reference books. Demonstrations by the women forced the State to drop the offending clauses temporarily.

Women were more assertive socially and they came to play a more vital role politically. In 1952, many women participated in the DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN and demonstrated that women could play an active and central role in the liberatory struggle. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed and the women fought this issue. Their involvement culminated in the formulation of the Women's Charter and the launching of the Federation of South African Women in 1954. At the founding conference of FSAW, the most important issue was seen as the threat which the pass laws posed to women.

The next year intensification of pass raids on the Rand were the focal point of 2 000 angry women led by Bertha Mashaba and Helen Joseph to demonstrate their protest against the unjust laws outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria on the 27 October. The government announced its intention to issue reference books to women and in March 1956, 1 500 women were induced to carry reference books. The furious women burnt their books on the following day and this illegal action led to their arrest. The protests were effective in that for the next six months, no passes were issued to women.

Continued protests and organization resulted in the repetition of the 1955 Pretoria demonstration. On August 9, 1956, women led by Lillian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph marched to the Union Buildings bearing 20 000 petitions which they were to present to the Prime Minister. Finding an empty office on their arrival, they sang the anthem, "Strydom you have tampered with the women, you have struck a rock", and left peacefully. In 1957 FSAW leaders were arrested and charged with treason. Pass laws were enforced but met with continued resistance by the women. The last major protest against pass laws in 1958 was in the form of a demonstration outside the Johannesburg Pass offices where women courted arrest. Caution dictated the response of the seeming submission of the ANC which met the payments of bail and secured the eventual release of the women. It was largely pressure from the women that led to the ANC taking up the pass issue.

The protests of the women in the 1950s was important for the development of specifically women's organization in which the liberatory struggle took precedence, but it also reflected the growing consciousness of many women that the removal of racial and class discrimination would not remove all the disabilities which they as women experienced.

"AACLS"

ATTENTION

Fellow Students,

*Robert
T. Roberts*

All around us in the Eastern Cape, police are moving into townships and shooting, teargassing, baton-charging, sjambokking, and detaining residents.

In the past few days, in Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Cookhouse, Somerset East, Port Elizabeth, and Uitenhage, at least seven people have been killed by the police.

On Sunday night members of the Black Sash, while trying to trace missing schoolchildren in Uitenhage, stumbled across four of these children handcuffed to a table, one of them allegedly being beaten, in a room in the police station.

One of the witnesses, PFP MPC, Molly Blackburn, has been invited by NUSAS to tell students about the current situation in the Eastern Cape.

Because the SRC believes that we are not getting the full picture from the press, we urge you to attend this meeting at lunch-time tomorrow (Wednesday) in Arts Major.

We feel confident that you will respond to this urgent and serious issue.

YOUR SRC.

Issued by Rhodes SRC. Expires 21/3/85

SRC CONDEMNS POLICE BRUTALITY

This motion was passed unanimously by the SRC at an Extraordinary Meeting held at lunch-time today (Tuesday 19)

That this SRC

Noting:

1. The reported witnessing by members of the Black Sash of police assaults on youths at the Uitenhage police station;
2. That at least seven people have been killed by police in the Eastern Cape townships in the last few days;
3. The numerous incidents of police brutality in the form of sjambokking, teargas attacks and shooting of township residents;

And further noting:

- 1, That PFP MPC Molly Blackburn, one of the Black Sash eye witnesses - has been invited by NUSAS to speak at Rhodes;

Believing:

1. In the integrity of the Black Sash eyewitnesses in recounting the alleged assaults;
2. That such killings have long been associated with the role of the police and armed forces in South Africa;
3. That such repressive actions fly in the face of the government's stated reform intentions;

And further Believing:

1. That the current violence is not adequately explained by the press and SABC, and
2. That the SRC has a responsibility to provide students with the opportunity to obtain further information on the situation;

Hereby resolves:

1. To condemn any such assaults as allegedly witnessed by the Black Sash;
2. To condemn in the strongest terms the killings, sjambokkings and teargassing of residents in the Eastern Cape townships by the police and armed forces;
3. To continue to monitor and expose the role of the police and the armed forces in South Africa;

And further resolves:

1. To provide students with as much additional information on the situation as possible; and
2. To urge students to attend the meeting at which Molly Blackburn will be speaking.

BEW "ANC 47"
P. K. R. S.
I. R. S. (59)

The demand for democracy is sounding through South Africa as 250,000 sign against apartheid in the UDF's Million Signature Campaign.

UDF takes on apartheid



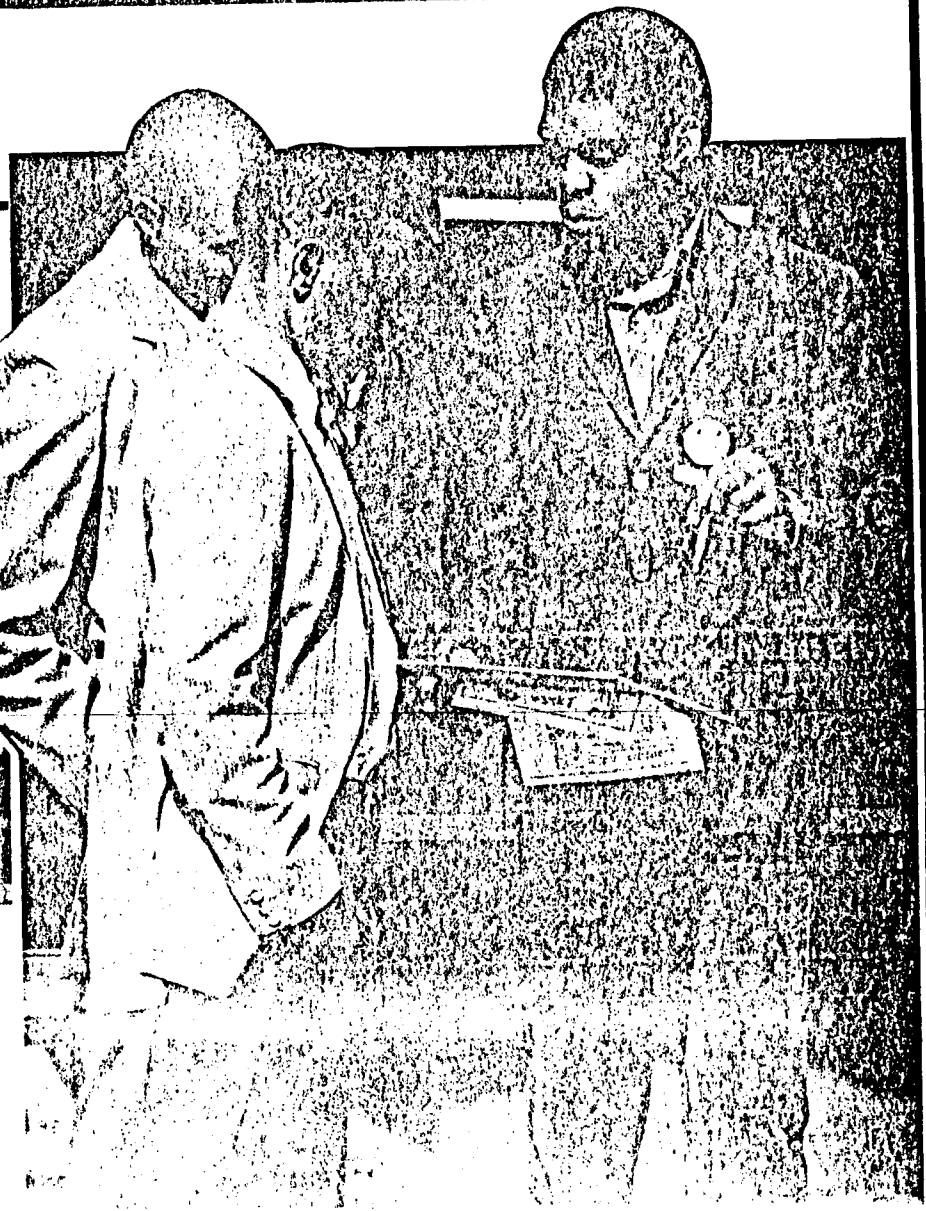
Jubilant UDF supporters — the United Democratic Front aims to build this spirit of opposition into a united force

A million voices to stop the constitution

THE UNITED Democratic Front's Million Signature Campaign (MSC) is in full swing across the country. Over 250 000 have been collected so far, representing opposition to the constitution and a demand for a democratic government based on the principle of non-racism.

new laws and the new constitution, but it is concentrating on the forthcoming coloured and Indian elections. The August elections have been set up by the government to complete the implementation of its tricameral parliament scheme. Under this plan coloureds and Indians will be given their

When the government refused, the UDF called for a boycott of the coloured and Indian elections in August. Through door-to-door work and the MSC, UDF activists are reaching thousands of people, explaining what is at stake under the new constitution.



initiatives.

In nine months the government was forced to withdraw the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill — one of the notorious Kooenhof Bills the UDF was formed to oppose.

The government still plans to implement Orderly Movement, but as two new pieces of legislation, the Aliens Act and the Urbanisation Act.

Both of these Acts are aimed at controlling the movement of Africans between towns and rural areas and their access to jobs and places to live. Control of African workers will be almost total if the Kooenhof Bills are implemented.

The UDF will continue its battle against these

coloureds two, Indians one and Africans none, thereby maintaining the power of the present government.

The UDF opposes this scheme on the basis that:

● The constitution was imposed on South Africa without any consultation;

● It is undemocratic because it does not work to the principle of one person, one vote;

● It excludes the majority of the population from access to political power and,

● It maintains apartheid.

The UDF called on the government to hold a non-racial referendum before implementing its constitution or holding racial elections.

explain the new constitution means:

● The continuation of poor living conditions;

● maintenance of low wages and control over workers, and

● keeping the majority powerless in parliament and other structures of government.

The UDF points out that once the elections are over, the government's reform plans will be complete. There is no 'next step' to the constitution.

The power structures which some hope will be extended to Africans, will be based on separate representation. Whites will still dominate parliament while Africans will be confined to the bantustans with no say in central government.

The alternative to voting puppet leaders like Hendrickse and Rajbansi onto puppet parliaments, is to organise and build the power of people to change the system as a whole.

The government aims at keeping the majority powerless and controlled through the new constitution, the Kooenhof Bills, detention and other 'security' laws, influx control, local authorities and many other laws and institutions.

The UDF aims at building the power of the majority to control their own lives and rule the country democratically. The UDF aims to build this strength through building the strength of its affiliates — community, women, trade union, youth and political organisations.

It is through these organisations that grievances can be taken up, their principles stressed and people can have democratic control.

The government has tried to counter the MSC with a massive media campaign. Adverts on television have urged Indians and coloureds to vote. Hendrickse, Rajbansi and others have appeared many times on news bulletins.

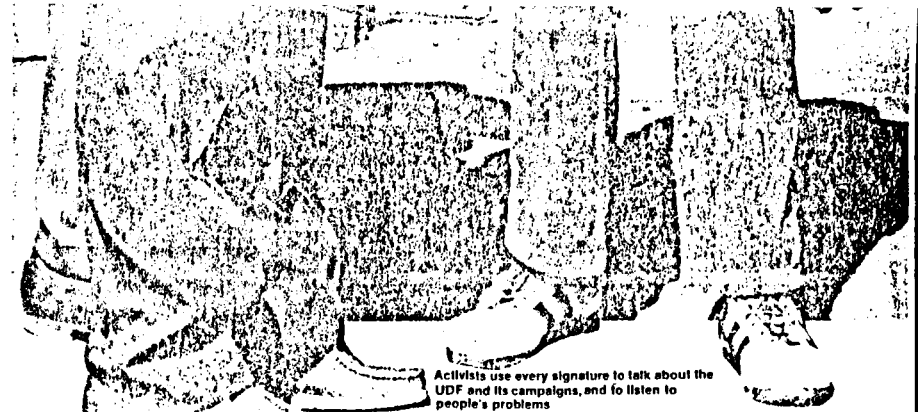
UDF volunteers have been harassed while collecting signatures and UDF meetings have been banned.

In the face of this, the UDF has emphasised the quality, as well as the quantity of signatures.

Signatures collected are supposed to educate — people are spoken to, the constitution explained and opposition through the UDF emphasised. Volunteers also listen — to find out what the problems of the majority are and which grievances are most pressing.

The effects of the MSC will be felt for a long time as each person who signs explains to others their reason for signing.

In this way the UDF, through the MSC, plans to lay the groundwork for ongoing organisation against the constitution and the Kooenhof Bills.



Activists use every signature to talk about the UDF and its campaigns, and to listen to people's problems

Youth, workers, civics sign in East Cape

THE PORT Elizabeth signature campaign collected about 2 000 signatures in an April blitz — bringing the total to over 7 000 collected in African areas.

A signature campaign committee was formed three weeks before the Million Signature Campaign (MSC) was launched on March 18.

A workshop was held where the campaign and its objectives were discussed.

The launch was attended by representatives from affiliate organisations and the regional United Democratic Front (UDF) executive. After the press conference a rally, hosted by the Zwide Rugby Union (Zwiru) took place.

Amos Nyondo, of Zwiru, spoke on non-racialism and the role of sport while Prince

Msutu, PE UDF publicity secretary, discussed the campaign.

Vice-president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), H Fazzie, spoke on civic issues, removals and housing. Another speaker, P F Youth Congress president, Mkuseli Jack, discussed the role of the youth.

UDF activists collected signatures at a General Workers Union of South Africa (Gwusa) meeting.

Over 100 people from different organisations went on a door-to-door campaign collecting signatures and collected more than 750. The next weekend more were collected.

Pamphlets were distributed in coloured areas and a blitz was held on April 17.

Border targets

THE BORDER region of the UDF is concentrating on two issues in its efforts to strengthen organisation and mobilise people.

● Forced removals, which threaten many people in the region, especially of Mgwali and Moolplaas.

● The Kooenhof Bills, and the Aliens Bill in particular.

Border UDF has prepared and distributed a booklet on these bills, and workshops and a regional seminar have been planned.

Organisers of the Million Signature Campaign say it has lost some momentum, but they are working at injecting new life and spirit into it.

Even so, 20 000 signatures have been collected, in spite of repression and intimidation by the Ciskei government.

Organisers say the Ciskei and South African governments are making a concerted effort to undermine and harass the UDF. Some completed signature forms have been seized.

House to house succeeds in Natal

THE MILLION signature campaign in Natal has spread to many areas and 21 000 signatures have been collected since February.

Organisations like the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the United Committee of Concern (UCC) have taken up the campaign enthusiastically.

Collecting signatures has been hard work. Activists spend at least 20 minutes at each home discussing why people should sign. But this has paid off and support for the campaign increases daily.

In addition to house-to-house campaigns, signature blitzes have been organised at churches, sports fields and shopping centres. A blitz in central Durban collected 8 000 signatures.

The NIC and the UCC have made the MSC part of their action against the constitution and the August elections.

Recent meetings to launch the MSC in Lamontville, Sobantu and Maritzburg have attracted large crowds.

Fieldworkers collecting signatures have faced problems. People lack detailed information about the constitution and its implications, are uninformed about the United Democratic Front (UDF) and are afraid of 'radicalism' and 'getting involved'. Many are however, willing to sign after these issues are discussed with them.

Priorities have been set including intensified education, at all levels, greater co-ordination within all sectors of UDF and maximum participation from all people.

Blitzes get going in Transvaal

THE SIGNATURE campaign in the Transvaal has moved into a new phase with its first street blitz held recently.

Over 70 United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters collected 4 000 signatures during the blitz in spite of a huge police presence that scared off some members of the public.

During the blitz two volunteers were assaulted and several signature forms were destroyed by unknown men in cars without number plates.

More blitzes are planned in areas around the Transvaal to reach out to the broad public. Campaign co-ordinator in the Transvaal, Murphy Morobe, says the campaign gives activists the chance to bring the UDF message to the masses.

That is the difference between just collecting signatures for a petition and the UDF campaign with its aims of strengthening affiliates and activists.

Door-to-door work around the signature campaign is being done by the Anti-Presidents Council Committee, which has already visited hundreds of houses. In the Vaal area, the Vaal Civic Association, Bophelong Youth Congress and Congress of South African Students (Cosas) have also collected signatures in door-to-door campaigns.

Signatures are also coming in from Leandra — a community threatened with removal. The Municipal and General Workers Union (Mgwusa) has taken up the campaign in the hostels, and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) collected signatures at the recent mass launch of its East Rand branch.

About 60 activists moved into Mamelodi, an area which is not well organised, and collected about 1 000 signatures.

Wits University campus groups held a week's

focus on the campaign. Nusas and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) worked together in presenting a mass meeting, educational workshops, a media blitz and signature collecting on campus. Azaso plans to take the campaign off campus.

A recent meeting of Catholics from the Reef decided to promote the campaign in churches. UDF national secretary Popo Molefe, UDF patron Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and a member of the Black Sash addressed the meeting.

Resolutions committed people to publicising a statement by Catholic bishops supporting the UDF, speaking to parish priests, and making premises available for meetings.



Another signature, another voice for democratic government

Total soars in Western Cape

THE UNITED Democratic Front (UDF) collected more than 10 000 signatures for its campaign in a three hour blitz in Elsie's River on April 8 — pushing up the number of signatures collected so far in the Western Cape to 42 000.

Three hundred UDF volunteers took part in the blitz in Elsie's River, an overcrowded township in Cape Town.

Earlier during the week, pamphlets and copies of the UDF News were distributed in the area, informing people of the planned blitz.

On the day of the blitz the volunteers were given an introduction to Elsie's River during a briefing session.

They spent the next three hours on the streets, visiting families at home, speaking to individuals in the streets and calling at churches.

A common complaint of residents was the recent announcement by the city council that many would have to buy their houses or face eviction.

The decision was clearly causing widespread resentment and anger as residents raised the issue repeatedly.

They also complained about increases in the cost of living, especially in the price of basic foodstuffs and train fares.

Almost all the Elsie's River residents expressed contempt for the Labour Party because it was seen as collaborating with the South African

government.

Very few residents said they had registered as voters or intended voting in the elections in August.

The blitz in Elsie's River — an area largely made up of two-room houses, semi-detached houses, flats and shacks — increased the number of signatures collected in the Western Cape by 10 500.

Signatures have been collected at mass meetings, railway stations and cinemas, but most have been gained through door-to-door campaigns.

The UDF has concentrated on door-to-door visits because they provide an opportunity to speak to as many people as possible, hear their demands and tell them about the campaign against the new constitution and the Kooenhof Bills.

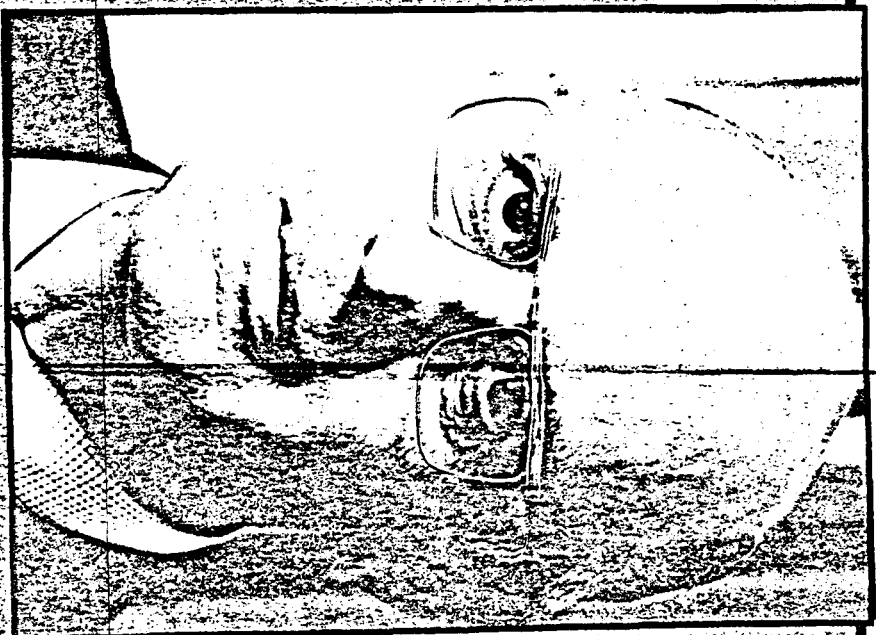
The campaign is also helping to draw more people into community organisations. In other areas covered in the campaign so far, many people have offered their names to be contacted for future work in youth or civic organisations.

In this way the UDF's signature campaign is not merely a collection of names — it is also a contribution to the building of a mass democratic movement.

**NEW
DEAL?**



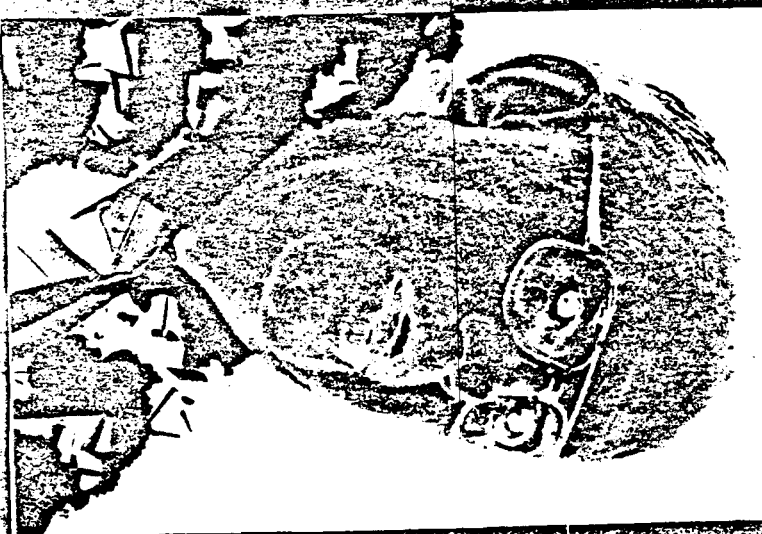
PW HENDRICKSE



PW BOTHA

**THESE ARE
THE MEN**

**BIG
DEAL!**



PW RAJBANSI

WHO WILL RUN OUR COUNTRY...



PW MATANZIMA



PW SEBE



PW MPHHEPHU



PW MANGOPE

IF WE LET PW HAVE HIS WAY



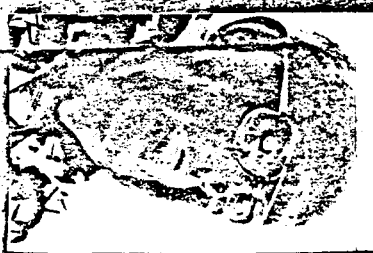
PW PHATUDI



PW BUTHELEZI



PW MOPEDI



PW SKOSANA



PW NTSANWISE



PW MABUZA

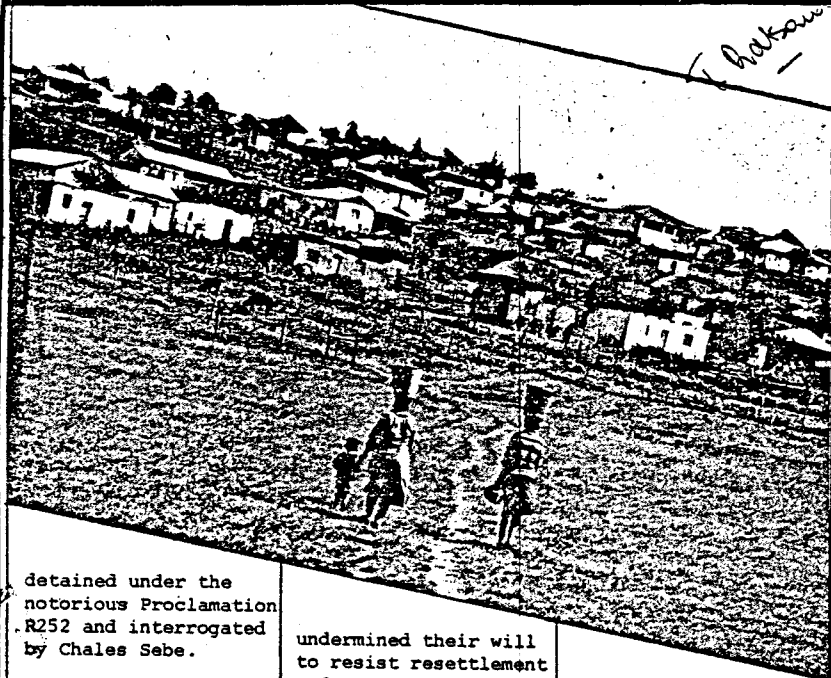
RAC 4
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BEW. 'AAC 44'

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RESETTLEMENT

MAGOPA: People in despair



detained under the notorious Proclamation R252 and interrogated by Chales Sebe.

A year later Fanti was also briefly detained. Drought relief has been withheld from those who have expressed resistance to the removal and rumours circulated of the possible withholding of pensions.

Yet the people of Mgwali can point to a jealously-guarded right to freehold land given to their forebears in the mid-nineteenth century. The land there is fertile, grazing is good and a perennial river provides a plentiful supply of water.

In contrast to this their new resettlement area in Frankfort will provide only small rented garden plots on bleak, thorn-scrub lands that white farmers never successfully cultivated.

It is therefore not surprising that the recent violation of the Mgwali people's rights has in no way

undermined their will to resist resettlement and to retain the land of their birth. The nine villagers who were detained are suing the Ciskeian government for a total of R45 000 on the grounds that their arrest and imprisonment were illegal.

The people also continued to challenge the Zibula Tribal Authority which serves the area as well as the villages' two headman, all in favour of the move.

At a recent meeting the head of the Tribal Authority, Acting Paramount Chieftainess Nolizwe Sandile was greeted with jeers, heckling and cries of "we are not Ciskeians" when she urged residents to pay their Development Tax and salute President Sebe.

The MRA has told a recent fact-finding delegation from the PFP they have the signed and committed

support of more than 4000 heads of households who represent the older, original residents and landlords opposed to the removals.

They have said they will hold elections anytime to show that the majority of the residents oppose being moved.

"I think these arrests are done purposely to make the people scared of what has happened on this day, so that people will not support the MRA. I don't think this purpose will succeed because they are harassing the MRA, it's now the MRA which is gaining popularity. The chairman and committee members - no-one wants to resign, because they know what they are demanding, what they are resisting now." Wilson Fanti, MRA chairman.

Despite determined efforts to resist, the last residents of Magopa - a well established black community in the Northern Transvaal - have been forcefully resettled by a government removal squad.

On February 14th, the remaining 250 families were moved to a relocation camp at Pachedraai, some 100km from the Ectswana border.

Although officials describe it as "a beautiful part of the bushveld", to the new inhabitants it is remote, dry and unsuitable for farming.

A mood of despair prevails. The people do not know how much compensation they will receive for their lost homes, nor when they will be paid.

At 4am on Tuesday 14 February the removal squad backed by a special police task force of 90 men sealed off the area declaring it an "operational zone".

ship of the community and their families were then forced into busses, while their belongings were loaded onto government trucks.

George Rampcu, a tribal committee member leader, who attempted to resist removal was surrounded by police, handcuffed and taken to Pachedraai.

Villagers who ventured out of their houses were allegedly beaten with batons. Some people who had decided to go to Bethanie - the ancestral land of the tribe - were forced into busses bound for Pachedraai.

The Minister of Co-operation and development, Piet Koornhof, has allegedly broken an undertaking not to remove the community until the legal process had run its full course.

Residents were not given leave to appeal against the removal order. Lawyers have initiated a petition

"If they don't move voluntarily we'll take them."

A voice over a loud-hailer warned people to stay inside their homes. The leader-

to the Appeal Court to hear an action questioning the validity of the removal order.

JAH WOBBLES IN SWAZILAND

Tosh comes home

SWAZILAND, weekend December 17th, and Peter Tosh is "coming home to Mama Afrika". Reggae and Rastafarianism hit the streets. Mothers, fathers, children and youths don their reggae T-shirts, false dreadlocks, rastafarian umbrellas, caps, scarves, badges and bracelets. la Roots, Rock Reggae.

Reggae music blares out of supermarkets and clothes shops. Newspaper Swazi Times' headlines scream "DAGGA SMOKERS ARE WARNED" amidst rumours that the mystic herb would be legalised for the weekend. And Peter Tosh, on his way to Mama Afrika, attends a Saturday morning press, arriv-

ing two hours late and going on to say that he didn't want any whites at his concert. Remember the song EQUAL RIGHTS?

The drive to the soccer stadium outside Mbabane - where the concert is being held - is steep and dangerous. A sign warns motorists "300 DEATHS ON THIS ROAD IN 5 YEARS". Convoys of cars containing reggae fans champing at the bit wend their way dubiously down death's edge. Below lies the field surging with red, green and yellow.

After a number of peripheral bands, Tosh comes onto the stage at about 4 o'clock, in a beige caftan, dreadlocks, and

politically incoherent philosophy it doesn't hold much hope).

But the masses at the concert are certainly enslaved by the music. The start of most of Tosh's songs are preceded by "...and this one is from my new album". No doubt the album will sell well. (Maybe Tosh can buy Africa and free everyone himself - unless he has shares in Babylon.) But the crowds are relaxed and no-one seems to mind that Tosh is pushing his new album. The old favourites still stir hearts and feet - GET UP, STAND UP; DOWN PRESSORMAN; MYSTIC MAN EQUAL RIGHTS, and of course LEGALISE IT - met with a special flurry from the

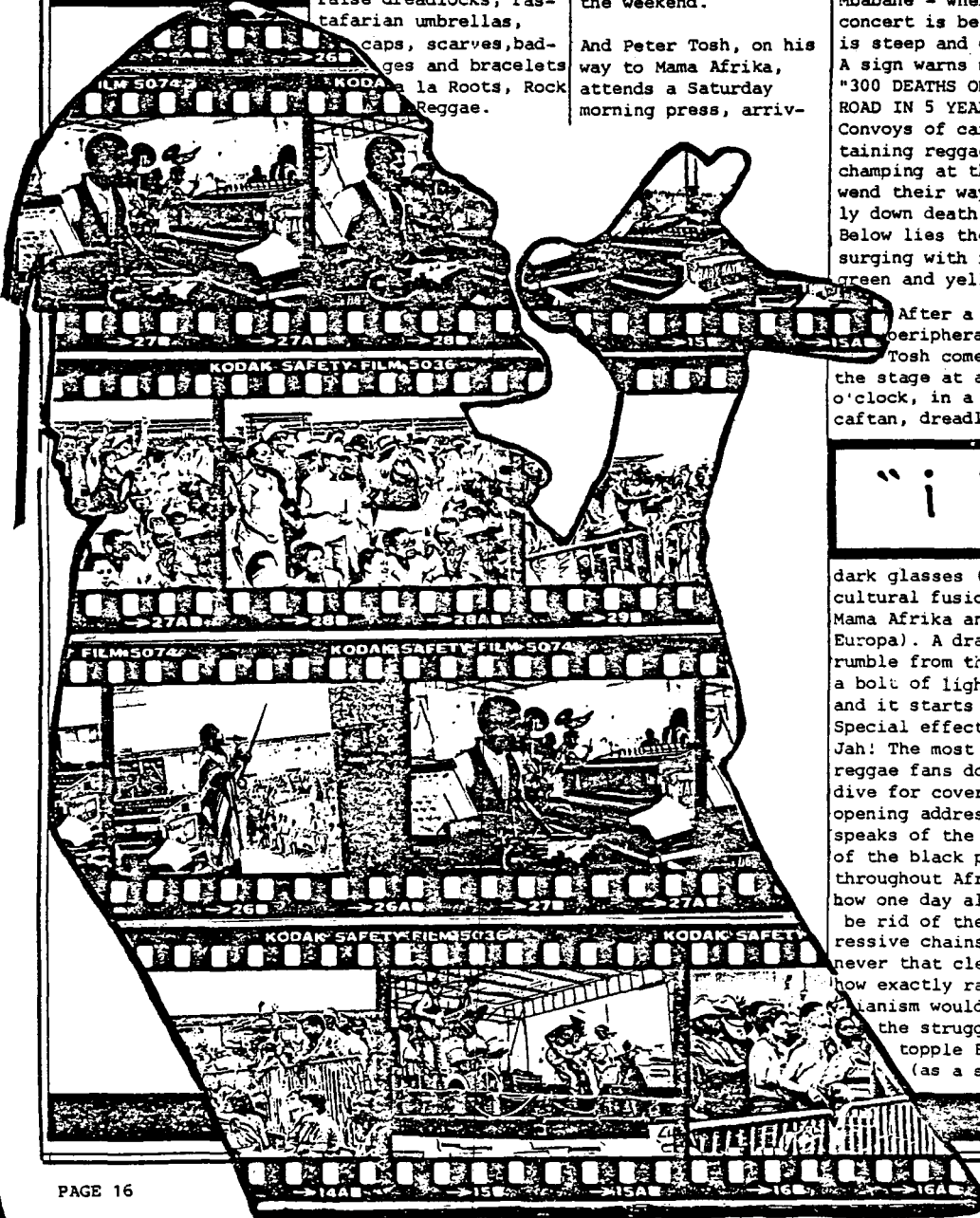
"i 'n i enjoy"

dark glasses (a nice cultural fusion of Mama Afrika and Father Europa). A dramatic rumble from the skies, a bolt of lightning and it starts to rain. Special effects from Jah! The most noble of reggae fans do not dive for cover. In his opening address, Tosh speaks of the slavery of the black people throughout Africa, and how one day all would be rid of their oppressive chains. He was never that clear as to how exactly rastafarianism would lead to the struggle to topple Babylon (as a sexist and

audience.

All in all the concert is great. Dreadlocks inducing rain and a peaceful atmosphere make up for the more contradictory elements of Peter Tosh and Rastafarianism.

There is still a groove and rhythm to reggae. Even if the herbal consequences being a rastafarian lobotomises a lot of people. And even hundreds get bust leaving Swaziland the end of the week. I and I enjoy.



PREVENTATIVE DETENTION

REVISED
J. R. R. R.

Tool of Repression



At the time of going to press in September 1984, there are preventive detention orders in effect against the following people:

Abel Dube	Matthew Goniwe
Mbulelo Goniwe	Fort Calata
Patrick Mosiuoa Lekota	Archie Gumede
Mewe Ramgobin	George Sewpersadh
M J Naidoo	Billy Nair
Essop Jassat	Aubrey Mokoene
Curtis Nkondo	R A M Saloojee
Peter Jones	Muntu Myeza
Haroon Patel	Sam Kikine
Kadir Hassim	Jerry Thlopane
Andries Mapetla	Moss Chikane
Saths Cooper	Madoda Jacob

For most of them this is not their first experience of detention.

Few people understand the iniquity of the Preventive Detention provisions of the Internal Security Act. This booklet seeks to explain what the law says about this and other aspects of repression, and the implications.

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PREVENTIVE DETENTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

During August 1984 government forces swooped on leaders of the U.D.F., on leaders of organisations affiliated to the U.D.F., and on leaders of Azapo, and took them all into Preventive Detention in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Section 28 is one of four sections in the Act which gives the authorities the power to arrest and detain a person without going through the Courts, and to by-pass the normal processes of law.

Preventive Detention can last for an indefinite period and has no other purpose but to remove a person from society, to prevent him from doing something which the Minister thinks he might be going to do.

No-one has any protection against being detained in this way.

- In March 1984, four Cradock community leaders were detained under Section 28.
- In August 1984, eighteen leaders of the protest against the elections for the tricameral parliament were detained under Section 28.
- Abel Dube has been in detention since 21 April 1982. Since 13 November 1982, his detention has been in terms of Section 28.
- By 11 September 1984, twenty six people had been acted against in terms of Section 28 under the much more severe conditions imposed by the 1982 "reformed" Internal Security Act.

Two of them, David Tobela, who was detained from 27 April 1982 to 10 August 1983, and Mordicae Tatsa, who was detained from 22 March 1982 to 10 August 1983, are no longer in detention. Mr Tobela was actually detained on 30 January 1981 but was put into preventive detention in April 1982.

Neither of them can be quoted. Mr Tatsa is also prohibited from attending any gatherings. He is a banned person.

As some day it may happen that a victim
must be found
we've got a little list, we've got a
little list
of society offenders who might well be
underground
and who never would be missed
who never would be missed.

The Mikado: Gilbert & Sullivan

THE LIST

- Anyone who has ever been detained in terms of Section 28 is automatically "listed" and may thus be effectively silenced for the rest of his life because he may never be quoted nor may anything he says be published or disseminated unless the Minister can be persuaded that his name should be removed from the list.
- Anyone who records or reproduces by mechanical or other means, or prints, publishes or disseminates any speech, utterance, writing or statement (or any extract) by a listed person can be sentenced to three years imprisonment without the option of a fine.

SECTION 28

SHORT DESCRIPTION:	'Detention of certain persons in a prison in order to prevent commission of certain offences or endangering security of state or of maintenance of law and order.'
DETAINING AUTHORITY:	Minister of Law and Order.
GROUND:	(a) If in the Minister's opinion 'there is reason to apprehend that the person will commit' a security offence.
	(b) 'If he is satisfied that the person engages in', promotes, or is likely to promote activities endangering State security of maintenance of law and order.
	(c) If he has reason to suspect that a person previously convicted of a security offence, engages or is likely to engage in activities as in (b).
POWERS OF DETENTION:	The Minister on any of the above grounds may direct that any person be detained in a prison .
DETENTION ORDER:	By means of a written notice , signed by the Minister, and addressed to the member of the Prisons Service who is in charge of the prison specified. A copy of this notice tendered by a police officer to the person concerned serves as a warrant for his arrest (although the officer can also act on a telegram from the Minister, or the knowledge that the notice exists). The notice delivered to the person concerned must also be accompanied by a written statement from the Minister 'setting forth the reasons for the detention ... and as much of the information which induced the Minister to issue the notice ... as can, in the opinion of the Minister, be disclosed without detriment to the public interest.'

On Friday 7 September, the Natal Supreme Court declared the detention orders served on detainees in Natal to be invalid because the Minister had not provided them with sufficient reasons for the action against them. The Natal seven were released.

New detention orders were issued immediately and were served on the detainees being held in prison in Johannesburg. Police sought the Natal seven in order to redetain them.

In the new order the Minister added on one sentence: "No other information can, in my opinion, be disclosed without detriment to the public interest and the maintenance of law and order."

On September 10, the Transvaal Supreme Court turned down an application for the release of the detainees.

The Judge found that the additional sentence rendered the detentions valid.

CONDITIONS OF DETENTION: 'in accordance with the provisions of regulations made by the Minister of Justice.'

PERIOD OF DETENTION: 'for the period during which the **notice** is in force', i.e. the detention period is stipulated on the Minister's notice.

In the case of the four Cradock community leaders detained in March 1984, the period stipulated was 12 months from 31/3/84 to 30/3/85. For the 18 recent detainees, a six month period was stipulated, ending on 28/2/85.

There is nothing to prevent a new notice being served at the end of the period as has happened in the case of ABEL DUBE. He was originally detained on 21/4/82, placed under Section 28 on 13/11/82 for the period of 12 months, which was then renewed for a further 12 months expiring on 31/10/84.

The Minister may also withdraw the detention notice at any time.

Thus the length of detention is totally at the whim of the Minister of Law and Order.

RIGHT OF APPEAL: The detainee may, within 14 days of receiving his detention notice, make 'representations in writing to the Minister, relating to his detention or release', and submit 'any other information relating to the circumstances of his case.'

ACCESS TO DETAINEE: **No person may have access to the detainee or to official information relating to the detainee, except the following:**
The Minister of Law and Order
The Director of Security Legislation

A judge of the Supreme Court
Chairman of a board of review
Any official in the service of the State

However other persons may have access to the detainee 'with the consent of and subject to such conditions as may be determined by the Minister or the Commissioner of Police.'

In addition, a **non-listed** lawyer may have access to the detainee within the first 14 days for the sole purpose of assisting him in making representations.

REVIEW BOARD

Review of the Minister's Action

A board of review constituted under the Internal Security Act is supposed to investigate and consider the action of the Minister in detaining a person under Section 28, in the following manner:

The Minister must submit to the board 'as soon as possible after the expiration of the period of fourteen days' the following documents:

A copy of the detention notice

A written statement giving the reasons and all information which induced him to issue the notice

Additional relevant information which came to his knowledge after issuing the notice

Copy of any written representation submitted by the detainee to the Minister

Any relevant additional information the Minister deems necessary

The board of review may then, in its discretion, hear oral evidence from any person including the detainee.

After consideration, the board must then furnish the Minister with a written report on its findings, stating whether it is of the opinion that the detention notice should stand or should be amended or withdrawn. The Minister must notify the detainee as soon as possible of the board's findings and recommendations, if any. **However, the Minister need not give effect to any recommendation.** If he refuses to do this, then within 14 days he must submit to the Chief Justice of South Africa copies of all documents previously submitted to the board of review, together with the board's report and any further report he may deem necessary. After consideration of these documents, the Chief Justice must then either endorse the Minister's actions, or he may set them aside if he is satisfied that the Minister 'exceeded his powers under the Act, acted in bad faith, or based his decision on considerations other than those contemplated in section 28.'

PERIODICAL REVIEW

Six months after the detainee was notified of the review board's ruling on his detention, he may request the Minister in writing to submit his case to the board of review specifying any changed circumstances or new facts considered as justification for the withdrawal of the detention notice. The procedure outlined above is then repeated, but with the appropriate documents.

The detainee may repeat his request at intervals of not less than six months.

The Minister may himself submit the case of any section 28 detainee to the board of review at any time.

CONSEQUENCES

Consolidated List:

The Director of Security Legislation is required to maintain a **consolidated** list on which he must enter the names of persons (amongst others) who **are** or **have been** detained under Section 28. He must also notify such persons **in writing** that their names have been so entered. The Act does not stipulate how soon the Director must do this. The Minister of Law and Order may '**on good cause shown**' instruct the Director to remove any name from the list. Such removals must each be published in the Government Gazette, but the consolidated list itself need only be published once every three years.

Restrictions on listed persons:

- The Minister may by written notice prohibit any listed person from becoming, or continuing to be a member or office-bearer of any organisation or public body specified in the notice, or from taking any part in its activities. Alternatively, the notice may impose certain restrictions in regard to such membership.
- The Minister may serve a banning order on any listed person; this may involve various prohibitions such as not absenting oneself from a specified area or from a specified place during specified hours, not entering specified places, not communicating with specified persons, not attending gatherings and not receiving specified visitors.
- A listed person is disqualified from standing for election in the House of Assembly or a provincial council.
- A listed person is disqualified from being admitted by the court of any division of the Supreme Court to practise as a lawyer. Any listed person already practising shall be struck off the roll, on application made by the Director-General: Justice.

Five of the seven people detained in Durban on 21 August are lawyers.

- A listed person who fails to notify the police of a change of residence or employment is liable to imprisonment for up to 10 years.
- Any person who quotes a listed person, regardless of where or when the statement, speech or utterance was made, is liable to imprisonment for up to three years.

The other three sections of the Internal Security Act which allow the authorities to detain people without going through the courts are:

Section 50 under which any police officer of the rank of warrant officer and up, can detain a person for 48 hours. This can be extended to 14 days on application to a magistrate. The purpose of this Section is described as 'action to combat state of unrest'.

Section 29 under which any police officer of the rank of lieutenant-colonel and up, can order the detention of a person for an indefinite period for the 'purposes of interrogation'.

Section 31 under which the Attorney-General can order the detention of a person to hold him or her as a potential state-witness in a trial. The period is until the trial ends, or for six months if the trial has not yet started.

As at 31 August, 572 people had been detained during the first 8 months of 1984.

119 people were known to have been detained during the month of August.

122 people were known to be still in detention at the end of the month.*

It is not known how many others may be in detention. There is no obligation on the security police to release such information and they have considerable powers to prevent publications of facts about detentions and detainees.

Section 50 has been used extensively against people who are active in opposition to the new Constitution. It enables low-key repression through detention to take place unhampered. By clever timing, the 48 hours can be extended over a weekend. If the 48 hours does not expire before 4 pm on Friday, the detainee can be held until Monday.

Section 29 is the notorious provision which allows the State to hold people for an indefinite period, isolated from all contact with the outside world and at the mercy of their interrogators.

Reports of torture through solitary confinement and brutal physical and mental assault have been extensively documented.

Some people held in terms of Section 31 and Section 29 have subsequently been imprisoned for refusing to give evidence against the accused in political trials.

Bans on meetings

In 1976 an emergency ban was placed on all **outdoor** gatherings throughout South Africa. This ban has been renewed regularly since then and has in fact been continuous.

A gathering is defined as "any gathering, concourse or procession of any number of persons" — that is, any gathering of more than one person.

In terms of Section 46 of the Internal Security Act, a magistrate may impose a ban on **indoor** gatherings in his district for specified periods of time.

Magistrates impose such bans very frequently.

The Minister may also impose a ban on indoor gatherings in the whole or part of the Republic.

At midnight on 11 September 1984 he imposed such a ban in 21 magisterial districts until 30 September.

* Figures include those in detention in the "independent" homelands.

The Minister classified the types of prohibited indoor meetings as follows:

“Any gathering held where any government or any policy principle, or any actions of the Government of any state, or the application or implementation of any Act is approved, defended, attacked, criticised or discussed, or which is in protest against or in support or in memoriam of anything.”

Only recognised political parties are exempt from these bans.

The penalty for convening or presiding over a prohibited meeting may be a fine of R2 000 or two years imprisonment.

The penalty for attending such a meeting may be a fine of R500 or six months imprisonment.

Other tools of repression

The State's repressive powers which can be used to suppress dissent, extra-parliamentary opposition, protest and effective non-violent organisation against apartheid do not end here.

It has taken to itself other powers to ban organisations, to cut them off from financial resources, to prevent the proper and free reporting of police and military actions, to censor free speech.

It has no hesitation in using these powers.

1984 in South Africa

Throughout 1984 in many different parts of the country, severe action has been taken against communities who are protesting rent increases, the establishment of Town and Village Councils, inadequate education, removals, homeland citizenship and the homelands policy, the new pass laws, and the new Constitution.

Much has gone unreported and the factual situation is not always easy to establish.

What is clear is that amidst the widespread chaos and confusion, anger and alienation, there is explicitly expressed, total opposition to the policies of the minority government now in power.

Banning meetings and publications, and detaining leaders is the surest way of causing confusion, rumours, violent outbreaks of arson and stone-throwing.

To remove leaders is the surest way of provoking unrest.

The South African government has used repressive measures against its opponents for 25 years. It has not succeeded in silencing dissent.

It will not succeed in the future.

The ban on outdoor meetings has not succeeded in preventing people from gathering in the streets.

The ban on indoor gatherings does not and will not prevent people from attacking, criticising, discussing, or protesting actions of government or the laws which oppress them.

Preventive detention of some leaders will not prevent others from taking their place.

Why is the South African government NOW mustering all the forces of repression at its disposal?

Because it is feeling threatened and insecure. There is no other explanation for its excessive and hysterical reaction to opposition to the new constitutional system.

The growth of the U.D.F. is a visible expression at national and regional levels of the determination of hundreds of local community organisations to resist their continued dispossession.

This **is** undoubtedly a threat to apartheid.

It is **not** a threat to South Africa.

It **is** one of the most hopeful signs on the political horizon for eventual resolution of the serious conflicts in our society.

To destroy the U.D.F. will **not** be to destroy the people's determination to be free.

To destroy the U.D.F. **will** be to destroy hope for relatively non-violent progress towards justice, democracy and peace.

The constitutional programme is in ruins.

The claim of "consensus" is denied by events.

The government is beginning to realise the essential weakness and vulnerability of the Apartheid system.

The governed are realising their strength.

The "outsiders" are inevitably moving in and there is no use in frantically trying to fortify the battlements against them.

**IT'S TIME TO START MOVING TOGETHER
TOWARDS A NEW SOUTH AFRICA**



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

TO: THE MEMBER OF THE PRISONS
SERVICE IN CHARGE OF THE
NEW JOHANNESBURG PRISON
JOHANNESBURG

NOTICE IN TERMS OF SECTION 28(1) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982 (ACT 74 OF 1982)

I hereby in terms of section 28(1) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 direct that the person mentioned hereunder be detained in the New Johannesburg
prison until 28 February 1985

Name of person:

Address:

Given under my hand at Pretoria this 8th
day of September 1984


MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

- Note:
- (1) The person to whom this notice relates (hereafter referred to as the detainee) shall be detained in accordance with the provisions of the regulations contained in the annexure hereto.
 - (2) The detainee may —
 - (i) within fourteen days as from the date on which a copy of this notice is delivered or tendered to him make representations in writing to the Minister regarding his detention or release and submit any other information relating to the circumstances of his case;
 - (ii) be assisted by a legal representative in the preparation of such documents;
 - (iii) in writing apply to the board of review to give oral evidence before the board;
 - (iv) after a period of six months as from the date on which he was notified of the outcome of an investigation by the board of review, request the Minister in writing to submit his case to the board of review for investigation and consideration and may in such request specify any change in the circumstances or of the facts pertaining to his case, which in his opinion may serve as justification for the amendment or withdrawal of the notice in force against him.
 - (3) The detainee may not receive any visitor except with the consent of and subject to such conditions as may be determined by the Minister or the Commissioner of the South African Police.



STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER IN TERMS OF SECTION 28(3)(b)
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982 (ACT 74 OF 1982)

- (a) REASONS FOR THE DETENTION OF _____ IN ACCORDANCE
WITH A NOTICE ISSUED IN TERMS OF SECTION 28(1) OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY ACT, 1982

I am satisfied that the said _____ engages in
activities which endanger the maintenance of law and order.

- (b) INFORMATION WHICH INDUCED ME TO ISSUE THE SAID NOTICE:

By acts and utterances the said _____ did himself and
in collaboration with other persons attempt to create a
revolutionary climate in the Republic of South Africa thereby
causing a situation endangering the maintenance of law and order.

No other information can, in my opinion, be disclosed without
detriment to the public interest.


L. LE GRANGE

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

AAC 51

In Alpha fées

ISSUED BY

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
(UDF NATIONAL)
P.O. Box 10366 Johannesburg



69



ISSUED BY Vaal Civic.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT



69

T. Ntseke



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
(UDF NATIONAL)



69



Wishing you well over
the Festive Season

from:

BUT REMEMBER..

- those detained
- those without jobs
- those being killed by soldiers and police
- those dying of hunger in the homelands

NEVER FORGET..

**An injury to one is
an injury to all!**

Wishing you well over
the Festive Season

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South Africa Outlook is an Independent Journal dealing with ecumenical and racial affairs which, uninterrupted since 1870, has sought to place its readers in possession of facts and opinion which bear upon the lives of all the people of the sub-continent. Without allegiance to any political party, but according to what it believes to be Christian standards, it seeks to give information and comment on measures suggested either for the regulation or the advancement of any section of the population, by whomsoever proposed. The editorial board welcomes articles, letters, and criticism. All correspondence, including orders for subscriptions, should be addressed to the Editor, South African Outlook, PO Box 245, Rondebosch 7700.

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Outlook on the Month

CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

In recent months there has been a tremendous upsurge in public debate across a wide front. Sparked off largely by the government's decision to introduce a new constitution for South Africa the debate has generated a level of political activity never seen in this country for a generation. In this issue we focus on the three developments which seem likely to be most significant for the future. First in time is the coming together of a large number of black organisations into a National Forum which produced the Manifesto of the Azanian People. Second is the emergence of the United Democratic Front which provides an umbrella for the large number of institutions opposed to the Constitution and the Koozhoof Bills relating to influx control. Thirdly there is the new constitution proposed by the National Party and passed by majority vote in the all-white parliament.

We hope, in future issues, to participate in the debate about the many important matters arising out of the thinking now being expressed in the Forum and in the UDF. But in this editorial we confine our comments to the immediate issue of the Constitution about which white South Africans must vote in the referendum on 2 November, 1983.

There are three main reasons why we find the Constitution unacceptable. First and foremost it excludes the large majority of South Africans and it goes a step further in denationalising all black South Africans. Their dispossession is entrenched by the new Constitution. Under the new plan the President will have the power to decree that most matters pertaining to black South Africans will not be publicly debated by any of the parliamentary chambers being established. Far from being a 'step in the right direction' we would argue that the proposed constitution is a leap backwards which will do untold damage to our country. It is far worse that the constitution hammered out in the Act of the Union more than two generations ago; it entrenches racism and dispossession far more clearly than did our previous constitution. By explicitly excluding blacks this constitution carries to its logical mad conclusion the Verwoerdian apartheid logic that blacks who live and work in the South African economy simply don't exist.

The second reason for our rejection of the Constitution is the lack of adequate safeguards against the autocratic use of presidential power. The Constitution contains no Bill of Rights protecting individuals against authoritarian action by the state. The President has far too much room to amass power which cannot be adequately controlled either by judges or by representatives of the people. At a time in our history when we should be moving decisively towards taming the power of the state as personified by rulers and bureaucrats in high places, we are being asked to accept a new constitution which actually moves in the opposite direction.

The third reason for our rejection is the very feature which many whites seem to see as a 'step in the right direction'; namely, the provision of representation for 'coloureds' and 'Indians', which will in fact serve to entrench group consciousness, racism and apartheid rather than to reduce it. For example, in the field of local government, or of welfare, in terms of the new Constitution, money will presumably be paid by the central governments to the different race chambers which will in turn decide how money should be allocated for their respective groups. This means in practice that the separation of institutions and of budgets will be entrenched along racial lines. There will thus presumably be white mental health budgets, coloured mental health budgets, Indian mental health budgets, and by the grace of the President, black mental health budgets; all with their own personnel. And responsible to different masters. How then will those concerned about working with the mentally handicapped in a particular geographic area manage to co-ordinate an effective, flexible and compassionate service to those most in need in a situation where there are nothing like adequate resources available? Allocating scarce resources along group lines, particularly if different sums are made available to different groups is highly likely to promote envy and conflict between those groups. Racism thus becomes constitutionally exacerbated.

We cannot see that the proposed Constitution has any chance of succeeding except by force. A constitution has to be acceptable to the majority of people who will live under it, yet this Constitution was unilaterally devised by the National Party to entrench National Party ideology. Not only was it not the result of consultation and co-operation across all sections of the population; it did not even receive a full debate in the parliament of the 'white' people.

The range of organisations opposed to the Constitution is vast. The Churches have declared themselves opposed to it: the Anglican, the Congregational, the Methodist, the Moravian churches; the N.G. Sendingkerk, the Roman Catholic Bishops, the South African Council of Churches. Popular movements such as the United Democratic Front reveal the extent of mass population opinion ranged against it. In addition, the vision of a future South Africa contained in the National Forum Manifesto reveals the irrelevance of the Constitution for those with a long term political perspective.

This Constitution must be thrown out by the 'white' community because in itself it is discriminatory, authoritarian and racist. It is also an inadequate response to the demands of South Africa and its people.

THE NATIONAL FORUM

Over 170 black consciousness organizations were represented at the National Forum, which was held at Hammanskraal on 11 and 12 June. Their vision of the future is contained in the Manifesto.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE FORUM

Michael King

Despite the fact of differences in ideology, strategy and tactics; despite separate organisations, priorities and personalities, the most remarkable thing about the recent upsurge in creative political thinking among so wide a section of South African society is the determination that it is not to be the Nationalist government that will alone make the decisions about what sort of future society shall obtain in South Africa. While the National Party attempts to restructure the political future (after having attempted the radical restructuring of the social and economic patterns in the design of apartheid), the attempts by this vast number of other groups and organisations to agree on the future disregards these constitutional changes in favour of a much longer term future.

The National Forum Committee, which consists of a number of leading black figures concerned with deteriorating relationships among black opposition groups, organised and conducted a two day gathering of about 800 people representing over 170 organisations at Hammanskraal on 11/12 June 1983. "We have set no political programme... we need... to map out the basis for a closer working relationship of all organisations notwithstanding their ideological orientation." The National Forum Committee did not see itself as setting up an organisation, but rather providing a forum to bring together in discussion a broad spectrum of groups and individuals opposed to the apartheid structures.

The background to some of the leading members of the NFC is firmly within the Black Consciousness movement. After the mass bannings of BPC organisations in 1977, the movement seemed to stagnate, but now it seems to be undergoing certain changes, especially the broadening of its analysis of the struggle, which has had the effect of revitalising the movement.

The fundamental pillar of Black consciousness is that 'in the South African context, there are two classes of people, the oppressor and the oppressed. The oppressed and exploited are the disenfranchised, and can therefore not join hands with whites - no matter how sincere those whites may be'. On the other hand, there are a number of groups who have declared that they accept the Freedom Charter, and they refer to themselves as 'progressive democrats', and advocate co-operation with those whites committed to dismantling apartheid. Attempts have been made to reconcile the two. At a meeting in Soweto two years ago, one speaker stressed that while ideology was important in shaping the policy of any liberation movement, differences in ideology should not be over-emphasised because this could direct attention from the real enemy, apartheid. While it is true that most of the progressive democrats are in the UDF, and most of the Black Consciousness organisations in the National Forum, it would be wrong to focus only on the differences. There is a certain amount of overlap between the two movements. Members of UDF at the Forum in their private capacity did not oppose the adoption of the resolutions which were consolidated in the Forum Manifesto. These included individuals from the South African Allied Workers Union, The General and Allied Workers Union, and the Congress of South African Students. Leading members of the Council of Unions of South Africa, the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, and the Soweto Civic Association, all part of the UDF are members of the National Forum Committee. NF spokesperson Ishaal Mkhabele said, "We fully support what the UDF is working for..." At the Forum, it appeared that differences in opinion as to the question of whites had narrowed with the will-

ingness of the Black consciousness organisations to concede that individual whites could be genuinely opposed to racism.

Keynote speakers included Bishop Tutu, Dr Neville Alexander, Dr Manas Buthelezi and Mr Lybon Mabasa. Bishop Tutu addressed himself to the unresolved differences between the two groupings. "What does it really matter whether you say you are an exponent of black consciousness and somebody else is an upholder of the Freedom Charter? The struggle itself is for our total liberation and the liberation of all the people of South Africa, black and white, to live in a South Africa where the rule of law obtains, where habeas corpus holds sway, where all have citizenship rights and obligations. Is that not what we are striving for?" He went on to say that total freedom was the only goal of the black people and they would not ask whites for it because it was their inalienable right. "We have been created free, for freedom's sake. That is why we are not asking the whites' permission to be free."

Dr Manas Buthelezi said it was in the interests of black people to limit, as far as possible, potential enemies within black ranks. "In South Africa, apartheid is a way of life based on fear of neighbours. As in all forms of human behaviour motivated by fear, distance becomes the measure of security in the instance of apartheid. But the security of distance does not solve the problem of deep-seated fear which racism tries to resolve.

Instead racism denies itself the opportunity of neutralising fear by transforming the imagined enemy into a friend. It is natural for a minority to fear a majority - but I know of no short-cut solution other than that the minority should make friends with the majority."

Dr Alexander's speech is presented in a

slightly shortened form as the next article, and it serves to point out some of the thoughts behind the concepts of nation and ethnic groups that were discussed. The delegates voted unanimously to

adopt the Manifesto of the Azanian People — a socialist document based on four main principles: anti-racism and anti-imperialism; non-collaboration with the oppressor and its political instruments; in-

dependent working class organisations; and opposition to all alliances with the ruling-class parties. We reprint the Manifesto and some of the key resolutions passed by the Forum.

NATION AND ETHNICITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Neville Alexander

The immediate goal of the national liberation struggle now being waged in South Africa is the destruction of the system of racial capitalism. Apartheid is simply a particular socio-political expression of this system. Our oppression to apartheid is therefore only a starting point for our struggle against the structures and interests which are the real basis of apartheid.

In South Africa, as in any other modern capitalist country, the ruling class consists of the owners of capital which is invested in mines, factories, land, wholesaling and distribution networks and banks. The different sections of the ruling class often disagree about the best methods of maintaining or developing the system of 'free enterprise', as they call the capitalist system. They are united, however, on the need to protect the system as a whole against all threats from inside and outside the country.

(There follows a brief resume of the historical process by which the capitalist class had to organise the peasantry in order to overthrow the feudal system in Europe. Out of this struggle came the nationalist democratic ideologies of Europe.)

In the twentieth century in the colonies of Europe, however, the situation has been and is entirely different. In these colonies, European or metropolitan capitalism (i.e. imperialism) had become the oppressor who brutally exploited the colonial peoples.

(A class of colonial satellite capitalists was set up, which was by its nature entirely parasitic on the metropolitan capitalists.) In South Africa, a peculiar development took place. Here, the national bourgeoisie had come to consist of a class of white capitalists. Because they could only farm and mine gold and diamonds profitably if they had an unlimited supply of cheap labour, they found it necessary to create a split labour market i.e. one for cheap black labour and one for skilled and semi-skilled (mainly white) labour. This was

made easier by the fact that in the pre-industrial colonial period white-black relationships had been essentially master-servant relations. Racialist attitudes were therefore prevalent in one degree or another throughout the country.

In order to secure their labour supply as required, the national bourgeoisie in South Africa had to institute and perpetuate the system whereby black people were denied political rights, were restricted in their freedom of movement, tied to the land in so-called 'native reserves', not allowed to own landed property anywhere in South Africa and their children given an education ... that 'prepared them for life in a subordinate society'. Unlike their European predecessors in the 18th and 19th centuries, the colonial national bourgeoisie in South Africa could not complete the bourgeois revolution ... They did not incorporate the entire population under the new state on the basis of legal equality, they could not unite the nation. On the contrary, ever since 1910, elaborate strategies have been evolved and implemented to divide the working people into ever smaller potentially antagonistic groups. Divide and Rule, the main policy of any imperial power has been the compass of every government of South Africa since 1910.

(To justify these policies, 'racist' ideologies were set up and elaborated, and since 1948, with socio-political theories based on race in disrepute because of Nazism, ethnicity replaced the concept of 'race'.)

It is to be noted that this theory of ethnicity continued to be based on the ideology of 'race' as far as South Africa was concerned. From the point of view of the ruling class, however, the theory of 'ethnic groups' was a superior instrument of policy because, as I have pointed out, it could explain and justify even greater fragmentation of the working people whose unity held within itself the message of doom for the capitalist apartheid system in this country. The fact of the matter is that the

Afrikaner National Party used ethnic theories in order to justify Bantustan strategy whereby it created bogus 'nations' and forced to accept an illusory 'independence' so that the working class would agitate for political rights in their own so-called 'homelands'. The idea, as we all know, was to create, revive and entrench antagonistic feelings of difference between language groups (Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho; Tswana, etc), religious groups (Muslim, Hindu, Christian etc), 'cultural groups' (Griqua, Malay, Coloured etc) and of course 'racial' groups (African, Coloured, Indian, White etc).

Multiracialism, Non-racialism and Anti-racism.

The word 'non-racial' can only be accepted by a racially oppressed people if it means that we reject the concept of 'race', that we deny the existence of 'races' and thus oppose all actions, practices, beliefs and policies based on the concept of 'race'. If in practice (and in theory) we continue to use the word 'non-racial' as though we believe that South Africa is inhabited by four so-called 'races', we are still trapped in multi-racialism and thus racialism. Non-racialism, meaning the denial of the existence of races, leads on to anti-racism which goes beyond it because the term not only involves the denial of 'race' but also opposition to the capitalist structures for the perpetuation of which the ideology and theory of 'race' exist.

Ethnic Groups, National Groups and Nations

It has been shown by a number of writers that the National Party's use of the terminology of ethnicity is contradictory and designed simply to justify the apartheid/Bantustan policies. Thus, for example, they claim, among other things, that:

- a) The 'African' people consist of between 8 and 10 different 'ethnic groups', all of whom want to attain 'national' i.e. Bantustan 'independence'.
- b) The 'Coloured' people consist of at least three different 'ethnic groups' (Malay, Cape Coloured, Griqua and

possibly 'other Coloured'). On the other hand, 'Coloureds' themselves are an ethnic group, but not a 'nation'.

- c) The 'Indian' people constitute an ethnic group as do people of Chinese origin, but these are not 'nations'.
- d) the 'White' people consist of Afrikaans, English and other ethnic groups but constitute a single nation i.e. the white nation of South Africa.

(The question of the different population registration groups has presented a major problem to the liberation movement. There are three broad categories of response.)

1. *(For some the population registration groups are 'national groups', or 'racial groups', or sometimes ethnic groups. They say that this is self-evident and a reality. The danger of this approach is that the 'national group' theory gives expression to, and thereby reinforces separatist and disruptive tendencies. The adherents of this theory believe paradoxically that their national groups can exist with the different cultures inside a unitary state.)*

Of course there are historically evolved differences of language, religion, customs, job specialisation etc among the different groups in this country. But we have to view these differences historically, not statically. They have been enhanced and artificially engendered by the deliberate ruling-class policy of keeping the population registration groups in separate compartments, making them lead their lives in group isolation except in the market place. This is a historical reality. It is not an unchanging situation that stands above or outside history. I shall show how this historical reality has to be reconciled through class struggle with the reality of a single nation. The danger inherent in this kind of talk is quite simply that it makes room both in theory and in practice for the preaching of ethnic separatism.

2. There is a diametrically opposite view within the liberation movement even if it is held by a very small minority of people. According to this view, our struggle is not a struggle for national liberation. It is a class struggle pure and simple, one in which the 'working class' will wrest power from the 'capitalist class'. For this reason, the workers should be organised regardless of what so called group they belong to. This tendency

seems to say (in theory) that the historically evolved differences are irrelevant or at best of secondary importance.

'And it difficult to take this position seriously. I suspect that in practice the activists who hold this view are compelled to make the most acrobatic compromises with the reality of racial prejudice among 'workers'.

3. *(The best description of the third view is that given by President Machel in August 1982. (See SA Outlook, May 1983 for the full text of this speech.) He said, among other things:*

Our nation was not moulded and forged by feudal or bourgeois gentlemen. It arose from our armed struggle. It was carved out by our hardworking calloused hands.

Thus during the national liberation war, the ideas of country and freedom were closely associated with victory of the working people. We fought to free the land and the people. The unity of the Mozambican nation and Mozambican patriotism is found in the essential components of, and we emphasise, anti-racism, socialism, freedom and unity.

(Even though Frelimo in earlier years had recognised differences, the development of the armed struggle had moulded the separate elements into one nation.)

Ours is not a society in which races and colours, tribes and regions co-exist and live harmoniously side by side. We went beyond these ideas during a struggle in which we sometimes had to force people's consciousness in order for them to free themselves from complexes and prejudices so as to become simply, we repeat, simply people.

Every situation is unique. The experience of Frelimo, while it may have many lessons for us, cannot be duplicated in South Africa. Certainly the population registration groups of South Africa are neither 'tribes' nor 'ethnic groups' nor 'national groups'. In sociological theory, they can be described as colour castes or more simply as colour groups ... What is important is to clarify the relationship between class, colour, culture and nation. The economic, material language, religious and other differences between colour groups are real ... However, these differences are neither

permanent nor necessarily divisive; they are restructured and redirected to purposes of national liberation and in order to build the nation. The class has used language, religious differences among working people in order to divide them and to distort them. Any organisation of the people does not set out to counteract divisive tendencies set up by the ruling class strategies merely ends up by reinforcing these strategies ...

The black working class can take the lead in completing the democratisation of the country on its shoulders. It alone can protect the oppressed and exploited classes, to become the leading class in the building of the nation. It has to redefine the nation and abolish the reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie and of the reactionary petty bourgeoisie. The nation to be structured by and in the interest of the black working class. But it can do so by changing the entire system of non-racial capitalism is impossible in South Africa. The class struggle against racial oppression become one step under the general command of the working class and its organisations. colour and nation converge in the national liberation movement

(He went on to list some principles in which this could be achieved.)

1. Political and economic organisations of the working people should be as broad as possible be open to all oppressed and exploited people regardless of colour.
2. All struggles (local, regional or national) should be linked up. No struggle should be fought by one group alone.
3. Cultural organisations that are locally or geographically limited should be linked up. No struggle should be open to all oppressed and exploited people.
4. The liberation movement should evolve and implement a democratic language policy not for tomorrow but for today.

These are sketchy ideas that have been filled in through democratic and discussion in all organisations are implemented as soon as we have established the necessary structures and means

The historic role of the black working class

The black working class is the leading force of the liberation struggle in South Africa. It has to ensure that the lead

of this struggle remains with it if our efforts are not to be deflected into channels of disaster. The black working class has to act as a magnet that draws all the other oppressed layers of our society, organises them for liberation struggle and infuses them with the consistent democratic

socialist ideas which alone spell death to the system of racial capitalism as we know it today. In this struggle the idea of a single nation is vital because it represents the real interest of the working class and therefore of the future socialist Azania...

I believe that if we view this question of the nation and ethnicity in this framework we will understand how vital it is that our slogans are heard throughout the length and breadth of our country. One People, One Azania! One Azanian One Nation!

MANIFESTO OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE

Our Struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class. The struggle against apartheid is no more than the point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism.

The black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle. They alone can end the system as it stands today because they alone have nothing at all to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic, anti-racist and socialist Azania. It is the historic task of the black working class and its organisations to mobilise the urban and the rural poor together with the radical sections of the middle classes in order to put an end to the system of oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class. The successful conduct of national liberation struggle depends on the firm basis of principle whereby we will ensure that the liberation struggle will not be turned against our people by treacherous and opportunistic "leaders". Of these principles, the most important:

- * Anti-racism and anti-imperialism.
- * Non-collaboration with the oppressor and its political instruments.
- * Independent working-class organisation.
- * Opposition to all alliances with ruling-class parties.

In accordance with these principles, the oppressed and exploited people of Azania demand immediately.

1. The right to work.
2. The right to form trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness.
3. The establishment of a democratic, anti-racist worker Republic in Azania where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

Resolution 2

That this National Forum noting:

- 1) The struggle waged by the toiling masses is nationalist in character and socialist in content;
- 2) The black working class is the vanguard of this struggle towards the total liberation from racist capitalism;

- 3) The future Azanian state will be an anti-racist, democratic one;
- 4) The international imperialism and racist capitalism systems promote the bantustans as counter-revolutionary elements to the revolutionary forces;

And further noting that

- 1) The usage of the land shall not be to the benefit of Azanians only but for the benefit of all Africa, the Third World, and the international community as a whole;

Therefore resolves that:

- 1) The land and all that belongs to it will be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people;
- 2) Each individual will be expected to contribute labour according to ability;
- 3) All the proceeds accruing from collective labour shall be distributed according to the needs of each and every individual in Azania;
- 4) The usage of the land and all that accrues from it shall be aimed at ending all forms of exploitation of man by man.

Resolution 3

Seeing that relevant and reliable communication between the oppressed masses is minimal and does not fully express their aspirations, because we have to contend with the white liberal press, state-controlled radio and television and literature expressing a ruling class perspective and also serving to propagate the apartheid ideology;

And seeing that the present means of communication only reaches literate people;

We resolve that;

Cultural organisations be fully supported and utilised to enhance communication amongst the people by forming units that would take relevant art and literature, especially drama as it uses the spoken word.

Resolution 4

That this house declares its non-recognition and rejection of any portion of the Azanian soil being alienated.

We also declare that the AZANIAN PEOPLES REPUBLIC will demand back such portion of land with all the power at its command.

And this house further supports the legitimate right of the Namibian people to the area called Walvis Bay as being their property and not belonging to the racist South African regime.

Other resolutions dealt with the execution of the ANC members in the week preceding the National Forum, and called for the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia.

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The popular front organization of the progressive democrats

THE EMERGENCE OF THE UDF

Clare Bloch

The context of the UDF is of a people who have begun to assert their right to determine every aspect of their daily lives. It is the context of a people who say "No!" to the misery of their existence under apartheid, "No!" to the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, the police who hound them in Mdatsane and KTC. It is the context of a people who, in Dr Boesak's words, are saying: "We want all our rights, we want them here, and we want them now!"

But the UDF is about more than the politics of refusal. For, in the organisations and committees that form the heart of the broad front, is to be found the vision and the practice of the alternative society. The goal — a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa — is being built already, on the ground, by the thousands who have rallied to declare their opposition to the constitutional and Koorhof bills. It is these struggles, of ordinary South Africans building and extending their organisation and strength, that hold out the real hope for change in our confused and increasingly violent country.

The UDF itself is the fruit of short but intense process of building popular organisations over the last few years. Where the black consciousness movement was limited by its distance from the masses, a new generation of activists, drawing on the bitter experience of 1976 began the difficult and painstaking task of building solid organisation linked to the day-to-day concerns of the ordinary worker and tenant. People realised that change depended on their own strength and that this had to be fruitfully channelled and organised.

It was these struggles — over wages, over safety conditions in factories, over the due date of electricity accounts, over overcrowded classrooms, and rising bus-fares — that gave to many a first opportunity to express their sense of grievance and dissatisfaction. For many it was the first concrete experience of challenging authority, of claiming their due in the country of their birth. The grassroots organisa-

tions, the trade unions, civic women's and student organisations, were the arenas in which people learned to challenge the situation in which they found themselves, to gain some measure of control over their lives and to assert their desires for a land free of oppression and exploitation. These small struggles over day-to-day issues consolidated a broad base of opposition to the effects of apartheid on every level of people's lives. Increasingly, since its emergence in the late seventies and early eighties, it is this broad democratic movement that has embodied the hopes and aspirations of ordinary South Africans. As they have linked together in joint campaigns such as the anti-Republic day and anti-SAIC campaigns in 1981, so they have placed a new question on the agenda of South African politics: the question of who governs in our society, of who makes decisions. The locus of opposition has shifted quite decisively outside of parliament, and into the hands of those who have no formal or official say in the political process. So too, the perspective of a democratic future that includes all South Africans, black and white, has been thrown to the fore.

It is this, above all, that has thrown the South African government into crisis. The political impact of the mass refusal to accept the controls of apartheid has combined with the deeper structural problems to make the present system untenable. Unemployment, skills' shortages, recession, the independence of the Southern African states, and a lack of political legitimacy in the face of the range of popular struggles, have forced the Nationalist government in recent years to confront the imperatives of change. The attempt has been seen as a process of 'passive revolution' being initiated, restructuring from above, in which changes are engineered above all to divide and weaken the fundamental demands that ordinary South Africans have put forward.

The threat of the new Constitution and

the Koorhof Bills is not just the pre-tion, and indeed the intensification of apartheid controls. Rather, in an attempt to seize the initiative, the government set in motion a political process, fashions in its own way the corridors of power like 'change', 'non-racialism', 'democracy'. It is a political challenge that has been thrown at popular organisations precisely to weaken and undermine real opposition they represent. The strength of these organisations in their grassroots concerns, a localised and regional depth. New constitutional and Koorhof called for a response that was more key and political, and that would be co-ordinated on a national level all the strength that could be mustered by themselves and given the immediate concerns, the relatively young democratic movement was in no position to face the threat and dangers of the package.

This was the context in which the threat of the UDF became an immediate and pressing task. For, if the new constitution would see the consolidation of an undemocratic process of government, the weakening of the impetus for the necessity was an immediate and pressing task. For, if the new constitution would see the consolidation of an undemocratic process of government, the weakening of the impetus for the necessity was an immediate and pressing task. For, if the new constitution would see the consolidation of an undemocratic process of government, the weakening of the impetus for the necessity was an immediate and pressing task. For, if the new constitution would see the consolidation of an undemocratic process of government, the weakening of the impetus for the necessity was an immediate and pressing task.

avoids the problem of compromising the specific grassroots work of organisations; indeed, it extends the possibilities of linking the range of struggles and of giving them a new content, providing political explanations for the source of people's oppression. The national structures that have been established provide, for the first time in decades, the possibility of co-ordination and planning on a wide scale. The priority then, in the first phase of the formation of UDF has been to build the legitimacy and short-term strength of this particular form of opposition. Now, within the front, a series of difficult tasks will have to be confronted; the development of a realistic programme of action.

Attention must be given to the strengthening of the constituent organisations that form the real basis of the front; and room must be found to give a fuller content to the political space and excitement that has been generated.

Awakened Hope

To thousands of South Africans, the UDF has meant more than the possibility of opposing and rejecting the government's plans. It has reawakened a hope and a determination to struggle for real change. In the short period of its existence, the UDF has already provided, in a real sense, a feeling that there is a way out.

The message of UDF in this context, has gone beyond the mere 'politics of refusal'. It has presented the alternative of a South African in which all its people, black and white, will have a say in the affairs of their lives. It has preserved 'the vision of a South Africa free from Group Areas removals, from hunger, homelessness and division in the land of plenty. The task of constructing this vision, of building and ensuring that future, has decisively begun. The emergence of UDF presents a promise, and a challenge. The choice is a stark one, and must surely be to ensure that we play our part in the realisation of the aspirations of all our people in this troubled land.

I understand the way these people feel. But it is not true that apartheid has the support of all white people. We must not allow our anger for apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people. Let us not build our struggle upon hatred and hope for simple revenge. The nature and the quality of our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin but rather by the quality of one's commitment to justice, peace and human liberation.

Liberation

The government has been pushing ahead with these proposals precisely because

they have been supported and accepted by some people from the black community who think that the short-term economic gains and the semblance of political power are more important than the total liberation of all South Africa's people.

So our struggle is not only against the white government and their plans, but against those in the black community who through their collaboration seek to give credibility to these plans.

South Africa belongs to all its people. It is not safe in the hands of people — black or white — who depend upon economic exploitation and human degradation to

build their empires, who need the of ethnic superiority to cover nakedness of their racialism, who their privileged positions by a repression of the weak, or who put faith simply in the madness of gr militarism.

So, for the sake of our country and children, whether you be white or resist these people whether they be or black.

We are doing what we are doing because we are white or black because it is right.

We want all of our rights, we war here and we want them now.

NO POSITIVE SIDE TO APARTHEID

Allan Boesak

Dr Allan Boesak, one of the patrons of the United Democratic Front, gave the main address at the UDF national launch rally at the weekend. Dr Boesak is also president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. This is an edited extract from his speech. People ask me "Why do you not see the positive side of apartheid?" For those of us who are black and who suffer under this system, there is no positive side. How can apartheid be positive when in the name of Christianity it spawns policies which cause little children to die of hunger and malnutrition, which break up black family life, and which spell out a continuous hopeless death for millions of black people?

How can apartheid be positive when it keeps part of South Africa's children manacled in the chains of unfreedom and the other part in the chains of fear? Even so, the time has come for white people to realize that their destiny is inextricably bound with our destiny. They shall never be free until we are free. People who think that their security and peace lie in the perpetuation of intimidation, dehumanization and violence are not free. They will never be free as long as they have to lie awake at night worrying whether a black government will one day do the same to them as they are doing to us when white power will have come to its inevitable end. What is positive about the government's constitutional proposals? Let me repeat the reasons why we reject these proposals.

- Racism, so embedded in South African society, is once again written into the constitution.
- All the basic laws which are the very pillars of apartheid remain untouched and unchanged.
- The homelands policy, which is surely the most immoral and objectionable aspect of the apartheid policies of the government, forms the basis of the wilful exclusion of 80 per cent of our nation from the new political deal.
- Clearly the oppression will continue, the brutal break-up of black family life will not end.

The apartheid line is not abolished, it is simply shifted to include those so-called coloureds and Indians who are willing to co-operate with the government. Not only is the system of apartheid given more elasticity, making fundamental change even harder than before, but in the new proposals the dream of democracy is still further eroded.

No rights

The proposals may mean something for those middle-class blacks who think the improvement of their own economic position is the highest good. They will not bring any significant changes to the lives of those who have no rights at all. It cannot be repeated often enough that all South Africans who love this country and who care for its future, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Christian and

Muslim, have no option but to reject these proposals.

The new proposals will make apartheid less blatant in some ways. It will be modernized and streamlined, and in its new multi-coloured cloak it will be less offensive to some. Nonetheless, it will still be there. Apartheid is a thoroughly evil system and cannot be modified, modernized or streamlined. It must be eradicated.

To those who ask why we are not satisfied and when we shall be satisfied, we must say in clear, patient terms: We shall not be satisfied as long as injustice reigns supreme on the throne of our land. We shall not be satisfied as long as those who rule us are not inspired by justice but dictated by fear, greed and racialism. We shall not be satisfied until South Africa is once again one undivided country, a democracy where there shall be meaningful participation in a democratic process of government for all our people. We shall not be satisfied until the wealth and riches of this country are shared by all.

We shall not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

The question of whites and blacks working together has been mentioned by some as the reason why they refuse to give us their co-operation. They are saying to us that while people cannot play a meaningful role in the struggle for justice in this country because they are always, by definition, the oppressors.

UDF: A NEW FORCE

Amandla alu Toli

I attended the UDF rally as a reporter. I was to write an article about it for the student newspaper of the University of Stellenbosch, *Die Witte*. Obviously, such a story would have to be very objective and carefully written, and, as it turned out, would have to concentrate more on what the UDF is and what it wants to do than on the rally itself. Most Stellenbosch students have never even heard of the UDF. Meanwhile, here I was at the rally. I felt that I could still write a story about it, that I could turn it into an essay about my own, subjective impressions of the rally. Perhaps something interesting could come out of that.

Rocklands, when my friend, Karel Mars, and I arrived there, was impressive. Thousands of people were flocking around the Civic Centre and streaming into the tent. People chanted slogans and sang old freedom songs. The crowd was bright with banners and Rastafarian caps. This, I felt, was history in the making. This was exactly what I imagined it would be like.

Our trip, I quickly realized, was journalistically speaking a total disaster. We had no chance of getting into the main building and taking pictures of the speakers. We could not even take notes of the speeches, due to the extremely embarrassing lack of an adequate ball-point pen. In the end we decided to make the best of things: to enjoy the rally as much as possible, and to pick up transcripts of the speeches at the press conference. At the church where the press conference

was to be held, we hung around and listened to the (real) journalists discussing the rally. I realised that the situation was not as simple as I had imagined. Beforehand I had thought of the UDF mostly in terms of its own rhetoric: the slogans, the banners, the "long march to freedom", and so on. A very obvious fact dawned on me: that those things were not, after all, inextricably bound up with what the UDF stood for. There was a gap between the slogans and banners on the one hand and the strategic position of the UDF, its organisational structure and its policies on the other.

After a while, an official arrived from the centre to say that the press conference had been cancelled, for the moment. The speakers could not get out of the main hall.

The Centre was packed with people, and it was impossible to get inside. Karel and I stood at the door and peeped over the heads of people, trying to hear what the speakers were saying. I noticed that the speeches, too, were not what I had expected. I had expected clear, sane statements of policy and calls for co-operation and reason. These speeches, however, were pure rhetoric. I was disappointed, and began to see the rally in a profoundly cynical light.

A young black man, about my own age, was standing next to me. He was tall and thin, with high cheekbones and intense eyes. He was totally absorbed in what the speakers were saying. Whenever the speaker said, "Amandhla" he responded

with his whole being, not shut response but mouthing it silently clenching his fist next to his side, raising it. He seemed almost totally conscious of the people around him. UDF's message, I felt, was intended for him. I was excluded. I did not even for him. Afrikaners could not have a place in this movement. I to go outside, and rest for a while. We sat with our backs against the tent, drinking tea and watching different people who had come to the rally: Rastafarians, UCT students, coloureds, blacks. It was extreme. There was a general air of excitement of occasion. There was no racism at all. You smiled at a Rastafarian back. A group of black girls took camera, and posed, giggling, photograph.

The speeches were still going on, they struck me differently. As I listened to the Imam, I felt I understood very much more. The slogan repeated shoutings of "Amandhla" provided a framework to which all different people could respond together. Rhetoric was not a mere extra-essential for mobilising people, making them identify with each other with the UDF. This meeting was a result of solidarity. It was held in solidarity. You had never heard Western Transvaal anti-PC, but you had seen their banner against the rally, you felt, in effect, that "brothers in the struggle".

I did not feel excluded by the rhetoric any longer. What mattered was what the UDF would do in the future, what its policies were going to be, how it would influence South African politics... what I thought of the UDF should be determined by political realities such as these. But then, all at once I felt that all my efforts at interpreting the rally, at producing some significant comment, were in-

significant. What my personal opinion was, and what truisms I could construct in my mind simply did not matter. I felt that I was watching part of the huge and slow mechanics of history, in which I was doomed to play a microscopic part, if at all. The UDF might be doomed to failure, or it might come to play an important role in politics — but politics, I felt, is essen-

tially things "happening to" millions of people, and I was going to be one of the people things happen to. I had nothing to say about the evening, not as myself and not as an African. Leave the business of forming incisive opinions to people who know what they are talking about. A new force had entered the political arena, and what the implications for us all were, I did not know.

UDF DECLARATION

WE THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA SAY WITH ONE VOICE TO THE WHOLE WORLD THAT WE

cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people, will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation.

We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country;

We stand for a single non-racial, unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas;

we say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end. In accordance with these noble ideals and on this 20th day of August 1983, at Rocklands Civic Center, Mitchell's Plain, we join hands as community, women's students, religious, sporting and other organisations and trade unions, to say no to apartheid.

We say NO to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill, a bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth.

We say NO to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright.

We say YES to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day.

WE KNOW THAT

the government is determined to break the unity of our people but our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities. That rents and basic charges will increase. And, that our living standards will fall;

working people will be divided urban from rural; freed from unemployed, men from women. Low wages, working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will

still continue to suffer under unequal education, create a reservoir of cheap labour. Ethnic control and racial facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms.

The physical and cultural life of our people will be harmed. The strict apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture, religions of our people;

The oppression and exploration of women will continue. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws.

Women will be divided from their children and families. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families; non-racial sport will suffer. There will be less money for the building of sports facilities. And, forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow.

WE KNOW THAT APARTHEID WILL CONTINUE

that white domination and exploitation will continue; that forced removals, the Group Areas Act and the Bantustans will remain.

We KNOW that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of the land, wealth and resources of the country. That the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.

We KNOW that the government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us. Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and death.

Mindful of the fact that the new Constitutional Proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination.

And in our march to a free and just South Africa, we commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, housing and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples, to fight for our freedom. We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to

WORK TOGETHER TO

organise and mobilise all community, worker, student, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front; consult our people regularly and honestly and bravely, and strive to represent their views and aspirations; build and strengthen all organisations of the people; educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity; unite in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

AND NOW THEREFORE WE PLEDGE TO COME TOGETHER IN THIS UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENTS CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND THE KOORNHOF BILLS.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONSTITUTION

André du Toit

Politicians are adept at making words mean different things to different people. The Government's constitutional plan is a case in point: all along it has been open to quite different interpretations. In a sense this is only appropriate. Ideally a new constitution would offer sufficient prospects for each of a variety of divergent groupings so as to ensure their support and participation. In practice things tend to be somewhat more complicated.

What does the Constitution Bill offer the major parties and groups, and what might they find to be its significance? For the majority of the people of South Africa the answer is brief and clear. The Bill confirms that Blacks are to be excluded from participation in this new constitutional dispensation. That is hardly news, but the Bill might have contained or been accompanied by a *statement of intent* holding out the prospect of some form of inclusion of Blacks at a future stage of constitutional development. Instead the Bill does not even mention Blacks (though by implication the administration of Black affairs, not being an exclusive group affair of either Whites, Coloureds or Asians, will be a "general matter" and thus a co-responsibility of these three groups).

For many others as well the exclusion of Blacks is reason enough to reject the proposed new constitution out of hand. But for liberal opposition parties like the PFP the position is more complicated. After all they have been functioning in a Whites only political framework already. To them the question must be whether the new constitution will enhance or diminish the prospects for effective parliamentary opposition and democratic competition. Despite assurances to the contrary there have been ominous signs that the new constitutional deal will amount to a virtual institutionalization of one party rule with opposition parties reduced to even greater impotence than at present.

The Labour Party has, of course, already taken the plunge and has committed itself to participate in the new constitutional framework. Mr David Curry and other Labour Party leaders have insisted that this does not entail support for the government's constitutional plan itself. Instead they have proclaimed their intention to use the new parliament simply as a more effective platform to pursue the fight against apartheid and for inclusion of the Blacks. In no uncertain terms they have declared that they were prepared, if needed, to use the same strategies of resistance which had exposed the inadequacies of the erstwhile Coloured Persons Representative Council, and which had eventually destroyed its credibility.

To judge by the provisions of the Constitution Bill the Government has taken the Labour Party at its word and it has already moved to prepare its defences. The Bill contains a whole array of provisions which amount to so many precautions ensuring that neither the Labour Party nor anyone else will be able to use the political tactics which wrecked the CPRC. Much thought has been given to ensure the orderly working of the very complex legislative machinery and all sorts of fall-back positions and fail-safe mechanisms have been prepared should anyone attempt to gain undesirable political leverage by threatening to withdraw his participation. Not only are there powers vested in the President and in the President's Council to override the contrary decisions of a particular House in common affairs, but these measures will then be deemed to have been approved by that recalcitrant House! On a more mundane level the stipulated quorums and time-limits for legislative deliberation have evidently been deliberately designed so as to minimise the scope for walkouts, filibustering or other obstructive tactics. If, say, the majority party of a House should stage a walkout as protest, the

President is empowered to lower the quorum for that House by proclamation and it could continue to function with a minority of representatives. / the worst comes to the worst and a House is altogether incapable of functioning (because of a general boycott), then the House will be deemed to consist of the remaining House(s) — and continue to function. In other words, if the Labour Party makes good its threat of using its power as a majority party in its own House to obstruct the workings of Parliament things will simply revert to the House of Assembly as constituting Parliament itself!

This must surely provide food for thought to the leadership of the Labour Party, not to them alone. The point is that the proposed relation between legislature and the executive will be weighted quite differently from which has been the case under our present parliamentary system (or in the CPRC). Messrs. Curry and Hendricks will surely appreciate the significance of the "technical" difference that the President's Council of Ministers of each House will be elected by their respective Houses but will be appointed by the President (who will also appoint the chairman). Had this been the case under the CPRC its history might well have quite differed.

The crucial question is: what happens if a House passes a motion of no confidence in its own Council of Ministers or one of its measures? In Parliament, we have known it so far, that must mean the executive is forced to resign. But will not be the case under the new constitution. On the contrary, in the circumstances the President, so far from resigning, may then dissolve that House — and continue to govern on behalf of the remaining Houses as constituted Parliament! The same is true if a House rejects a measure of the C.

or passes a motion of no confidence in that Cabinet. In short, vis-a-vis the President and the executive the powers of any particular House are distinctly limited. To be sure the Bill contains provisions for the possible impeachment of the President. In that sense his powers certainly do not go unchecked. However, the grounds for impeachment are defined quite narrowly (misconduct or inability to perform his duties), and require a complicated procedure involving the support of every House of Parliament. In ordinary political conflicts between the legislatures and the

executive the latter may also be forced to resign, but only if *each* House passes a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet or if *each* House rejects a budgetary appropriation. In principle it will thus always be possible for the executive to remain in office so long as it retains the support of at least one House. Nor need this be the (White) House of Assembly! At least in theory it will be possible for the executive president to continue to govern with the support of the other Houses of Parliament if it has lost the support of the majority party in the (White) House of Assembly.

At present this may strike one as quite as much a fanciful prospect as that of the theoretically possible Coloured or Indian president which apparently agitates right wing extremists. But the sober fact is that it indicates a very real shift in the balance of power between the legislature and the executive. Under the new constitution the parliamentary caucus of the majority party will no longer have direct control over the executive. It will be interesting to see whether the National party caucus will be prepared to go along with this.

It is early days yet, but already it is clear that the pattern of referendum politics differs significantly from the all too familiar norms of our electoral history. Left and right deep ethnic loyalties and traditional party affiliations are apparently being disregarded. About half of the PFP's constituency is not (yet?) following their party leadership's determined stand against the new constitution. Outside the Cape Afrikanerdom is split down the middle, and the big unknown factor is just how many erstwhile staunch NP members will prove amenable to the determined rightwing bid for a "NO" vote.

Even as far as exclusive group affairs are concerned the crucial processes of budgetary allocation (and bargaining?) will thus itself be a "general" matter. The present Bill gives little clue as to just where and how it will take place (in the cabinet? in a special common standing committee?) Apparently we will have to await further clarification from a further Bill dealing with these financial aspects. Only then will it be possible to assess the scope and significance of the domains so painstakingly delineated for the purposes of ethnic selfdetermination.

Nor is this the only part of the picture still lacking. Much of the matters identified in the Bill as exclusive group affairs are currently administered by the Provincial Councils or at a local government level. By implication the Bill envisages a wholesale restructuring of these levels of government in which the Provincial Councils will presumably disappear while the whole framework of local government must then be defined anew. On all these matters, however, the Bill is silent. Again we must await a further Bill pending the outcome of complex and "technical" inquiries.

The problems are bound to be more than "technical". It is common knowledge that it is in just this area where any attempt at constitutional change will have to contend with entrenched bureaucracies, substantial vested interests and complex problems of political patronage. The forces of resistance to any such restructuring of these levels of government should by no means be under-estimated. It remains to be seen just how they will be accommodated and to what extent the proposed transfer of functions and competencies from the provincial to the

parliamentary level may yet be realised. In short, we are still a long way from any sort of clarity on the constitutional arrangement required by the Government's dual principles of co-responsibility for "general affairs" and ethnic self-determination regarding "own affairs". The whole elaborate exercise on these lines in the current Constitution Bill may well turn out to have had greater significance as an expression of the National Party's ideological stance as of 1983 than as a practicable constitutional framework for South Africa in the years and decades to come.

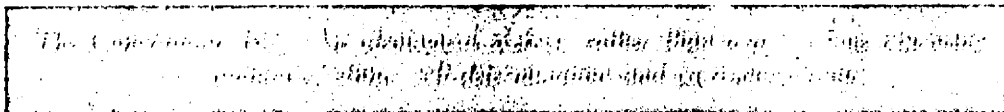
The result is a highly unusual situation in our political history, one where political arguments may actually be considered on merit and where strategically placed minority groups may well exercise an influential electoral voice. Of course, as we know, political choices are rarely decided purely on rational grounds. In the new political context, where old ethnic loyalties count far less, the party which appeals most successfully to whites' hopes and anxieties is going to call the shots. One of the key questions in this referendum is whether the NP will manage to do just that with "English" voters in general and the business community in particular, or whether this traditionally reformist opposition constituency, who find themselves in the rather unaccustomed position that their support may well prove to be decisive, will be able to drive a harder bargain and on their own terms. On the face of it the reform-minded Op-

The Constitution Bill itself is the clearest demonstration of the extent to which the NP right wing has succeeded in putting its own stamp on the proposed constitutional reform.

position voter would seem to be in a doubly favourable position. He has the opportunity to make an informed and rational choice on the actual merits of the new constitution. The question posed for the referendum is in fact quite straightforward:

approval or rejection of the constitution already passed by parliament. It is this specific constitution not some vague and ambiguous "consociational democracy" or "sus politics", that he must endorse or reject. And should he consider it inadequate or defective, then he is in a strategic position to withhold his needed support and perhaps even some influence on the thrust of constitutional change itself.

Curiously, this is not at all what is to be happening in many reformist Opposition circles. To judge arguments advanced by those academics and business leaders who already committed themselves to vote, they have been persuaded sorts of other considerations — but the merits of the proposed new constitution as such. Nor do they show much confidence in the potential of the reformist constituency to impose its own line on the constitutional debate at all. Trending to larger forces, swayed by arguments not of their own making, in effect, what has been happening the last six months is that the reformist constituency, who have had considerable success in council constitutional proposals in rhetoric, metaphors which spoke to the hopes and fears of many reform-minded Opposition voters. It would not go too far to say many have been prepared to suspend their judgement on this issue. Few were persuaded to go along with the metaphor that the constitution should be supported not so much for its own sake but as "a step in the right direction". When the dangers and defects of the current Constitution Bill became too clear, this metaphor was given a new meaning, even more persuasive than should vote "Yes" because a "NO" vote would mean a disaster in the wrong direction". Granted the defects and dangers of the new constitution, we are told that a majority vote would lead to the fall of the reformist NP leadership (i.e. P. W. Botha) and bring about a resurgence of the right wing, setting back the process for any kind of constitutional reform for many years, even for good. For reasons reformists who abhor the current constitution should be prepared to vote "Yes".



The great constitutional guessing game is not over yet. One had expected that the publication of the Constitution Bill and the debate in Parliament would resolve some of the central ambiguities and uncertainties. Ever since 1977 the Government's constitutional plan had been presented in more conservative as well as more enlightened guises.

The most striking feature of the Constitution Bill, and its most distinctive advance on earlier versions of the Government's constitutional plan, is the attempt to provide a systematic differentiation between the "own affairs" of the various groups, which will be the exclusive concern of the respective Houses of Parliament, and the "general affairs", which will be dealt with collectively. An official memorandum released as background to the Bill calls this "the cardinal point of departure of the proposed new constitutional dispensation". Indeed, one can see that some such division of labour must be crucial to the working of the proposed tricameral parliament. According to reports it was this aspect of the Bill which most concerned the cabinet, and rumours had it that there may even have been serious tensions on this score.

Certainly somebody has been giving careful thought to the elusive question as to just what might or might not constitute the exclusive "own affairs" of a group. A special *Schedule* to the Bill carefully details that even such matters as the training of cadets at schools, the appointment of marriage officers or the drilling of boreholes are to be entrenched as exclusive group affairs. What is the significance of this? At first sight it would appear that the whole elaborate scheme is specifically intended to cater for the rightwing concern with the ideology of "selfbestikking" or

ethnic selfdetermination. Thus, as the official memorandum makes clear, the various stipulations regarding education and recreation propose a familiar framework for sport: while all other sport may be a general affair, school sport will be entrenched as an exclusive group affair. This is evidently intended to reassure those on the right who are so much concerned with such bogeys as the prospect of multiracial Craven rugby weeks. But surely all this is not the vaunted constitutional "reform" we were led to expect? One had thought that "reform" must mean a movement away from discrimination and apartheid. If anything, this structure of entrenched "own affairs" amounts to a systematic attempt to build the status quo of our present apartheid society into the very constitutional framework for all future political processes. In particular, it would make it next to impossible to dismantle the existing structures of social apartheid through new legislation.

... this structure of entrenched "own affairs" amounts to a systematic attempt to build the status quo of our present apartheid society into the very constitutional framework ...

However, on closer consideration the actual significance and scope of these proposed entrenchments of group affairs appear much less clear. To begin with it may be true that a long list of items such as housing, health or education are

stipulated as exclusively "own affairs". But in most cases these are made subject to the over-riding determinations of the relevant general policies and laws — and these are deemed to be "common affairs" and are thus removed from exclusive group control. Next, the various Houses of Parliament will hardly be sovereign even in dealing with their respective "own affairs". The President will not only have extensive and final powers to decide on what matters will or will not be assigned to them as their own exclusive affairs, but he will also be able to veto any amendments introduced in these Houses in the course of the legislative process. Presumably this is intended to forestall any attempts by, say, the Labour Party to desegregate housing, schools or other facilities it may come to control as part of its "own affairs". But, at least in principle, the Presidential veto will apply equally to the decisions of the (White) House of Assembly: it too will be less than sovereign in dealing with its "own affairs". Moreover, all these determinations and entrenchments of exclusive group affairs apply primarily to legislation only. In practical politics the crucial matters of financing and budgetary processes are of even greater importance. It may perhaps be ideologically reassuring, to some people that certain aspects of education, sport or housing will be entrenched as exclusive group affairs. But in practice the question remains: What kind of funding, or resources will be made available for these purposes relative to other claims? On this the Bill only lays down that the various Houses will control the administration of finances for their own affairs. Significantly they will not have any independent powers to levy taxes or to raise loans for these purposes.

It would be a grave mistake to take this at face value as a rational argument, and not just a persuasive set of metaphors. Its plausibility does not derive from any certainty of a rightwing takeover consequent to a majority "NO" vote in the referendum. An equally plausible case might be made that this would simply leave us

where we are. Mr Botha himself has rightly stressed that the present NP government would continue in power following a possible "NO" vote. Of course, in that case Mr Botha's own leadership would be at serious risk, but it would be Mr de Klerk or Dr Viljoen, not Dr Treurnicht, who would replace him. Nor would that constitute a drastic rightward turn of the NP leadership. Rather it would merely confirm the rightward turn which has already taken place in the NP leadership since the general election of 1981 and the defection of the Treurnicht group last year. The present leadership's record over the last two years speaks for itself: the lack of response to the de Lange Commission, the Rabie Commission and the ensuing security legislation, the "Kooonhof bills", the Steyn Commission and the continuing threats to press freedom, the rejection of the Buthelezi Commission's proposals, the SVA/Namibian negotiations, the destabilisation of neighbouring states — this is the record, let there be no mistake, of a NP government where rightwing views are clearly in the ascendant. As for Mr de Klerk, his record on the vital issue of black affairs is not any more *verkramp* than that of Mr Botha, and his responses to the underlying pressures for reform to sustain economic growth, given the enduring constraints on manpower, is as likely to be basically technocratic in nature. In short, the supposed certainty of a rightward turn following a "No" vote is a myth.

Why, then, do so many people find it so persuasive? Its plausibility derives from the way in which it is calculated to appeal to some of the deepest hopes and fears of many reform-minded Whites.

Conditioned by a long history of political impotence in opposition, many reformists have come to accept that with the NP in power the right wing will always hold the political trump cards. Moreover, while reformist proposals used to be the prerogative of the Opposition, the *verligte* Nationalists have shown that they, too, can play this game, thus gaining a double psychological advantage. On the one hand the reformist rhetoric of the Botha government spoke to the urgent hopes of many well-intentioned Whites: reform, after all, might yet be a realistic option. On the other hand, this also neatly turned the tables on the liberal Opposition: from having been the party of reform the PFP could now be represented as negative "boycotters", unaccountably not willing to participate in the responsible task of constitutional change. The NP leadership thus proved adept in what the American political scientist Schattschneider in *The Semi-sovereign People* called "the supreme instrument of power: the definition of alternatives". And so the *verligte* promise of Mr Botha's leadership has become the repository of both the reformist's fears of the rightwing and of their desperate hopes for realistic reform. In the face of the most evident defects of the Constitution Bill they still want to be persuaded that there must be grounds for supporting the Government's constitutional plan.

The art of the political persuasion in democracies everywhere, like that of the confidence trickster, is most effective when it can rely on the subject to do most of the work himself. Even the much vaunted power of propaganda and manipulation of the media is limited when it goes directly against the grain of people's own interests and sincere beliefs. But if you work *with* their underlying wishes and fears it is amazing what otherwise quite rational people will bring themselves to believe despite the most obvious evidence to the contrary. The trick is to avoid that direct scrutiny of the actual proposal itself which would at once

expose its inherent flaws and defects. Rather, it should be presented in such a way that it allows full scope for the projection of one's own hopes and fears (which are, after all, irrefutable by any rational evidence). The current constitutional debate has indeed proved to be a sort of political Rorschach test. When confronted with what the Constitution Bill actually says, the response is simply to insist that it will somehow be the prelude to the realisation of one's own reformist hopes. And instead of utilising the bargaining strength which withholding support of inadequate reform might give, reformists are prepared to support a new constitution they know to be defective and dangerous for fear of some mythical Afrikaner rightwing takeover. The supreme irony, of course, is that the new constitution which reformists so much want to support is itself a definite move to the right. The Constitution Bill itself is the clearest demonstration of the extent to which the NP rightwing has succeeded in putting its own stamp on the proposed constitutional reform. As late as the end of 1981 there was still serious discussion within *verligte* NP circles of giving Coloureds representation along with Whites within a single house. The 1983 Constitution, as we have it now, is not only firmly structured on separate chambers and the ideological distinction of "own affairs" and "common affairs", but it entrenches such fundamental apartheid structures as the Group Areas Act and the Race Classification Act in the constitution itself, even apart from definitely excluding Blacks. It would be the final legitimisation of this rightwing takeover of the constitutional plan if opposition voters would persuade themselves to approve this as "reform" — for fear of a possible rightwing backlash should they vote "No". The rightward turn that reformists should fear is not some vague future bogeyman, it has already happened. Only a determined and reformist "No" may still do something to counter it.

Reprinted from the Cape Times

THE BOYCOTT OPTION

Michael King

There are three options before those who have been called upon to vote on the constitution. It is not simply a "Yes-No" situation. There is a third alternative, and that is the boycott option. The 'yes' vote will

not be considered here. The implications of the 'no' vote have been dealt with by Prof. André du Toit in the previous articles.

This essay will deal with the back-

ground to, and the arguments in favour of the boycott option in the 'testing' of the opinions of the so-called 'white', 'coloured', and Indian communities.

It is possible to view the issue of voting solely in a moral light. The basis for any moral action is that good must be upheld, and evil resisted. Taking as a starting point the belief that apartheid is both based on an evil (i.e. the notion that people are better off separated from each other than together), and is evil in its implementation (i.e. resettlement, migrant labour, disruption of families through influx control and so on), it is axiomatic that apartheid should be opposed. The question then becomes the nature of one's opposition. There could be two alternatives —

Non co-operation with evil is as much a moral imperative as is co-operation with good

voluntary participation in apartheid in order to ameliorate it, or else non-participation — on the grounds that non-co-operation with evil is as much a moral imperative as is co-operation with good. The difficulty with the first alternative is the compromises that one would be obliged to make. Non-co-operation then becomes the stronger moral course to follow.

However, any programme of action should take into account both principle and practical considerations. Do the same arguments apply equally to everybody having the option of voting? Are the considerations facing the 'whites' the same as those facing 'coloureds' and 'indians'? I shall argue that the considerations are different — that for the oppressed people, the boycott option is the logical course of action. For the 'whites', opposed to the constitution, boycott is an unrealistic option.

In order to attempt to answer those questions, we must look at the traditional and historical arguments on the issue of boycotts. The traditional argument starts with the analysis of South African society separated into two prime groups, the oppressors and the oppressed. Historically, the whites were the oppressors, taking control over the territory by a number of methods. These included military force, and the destruction of the socially cohesive bonds of African society by the introduction of western religion, patterns of the western economy of capitalist industrialisation, and western social patterns, including the impact of urbanisation. The two pillars of oppression were the tactics of 'divide and rule', and the incorporation of a section of the oppressed into the hierarchy of oppression, i.e. making an elite assume positions such that they

became instrumental in their own oppression. Historically this role was played first by the chiefs, who acted as agents of control for the oppressor, and following that, by an educated elite, linked with the white liberals who persuaded the oppressed to go along with the notion of development along their own lines. The 'grand design' of apartheid was little more than the extension of the lines of thought of 'divide and rule', and the incorporation of the elite: Using willing black 'leaders' to set up homeland states in order that the government of the black people of South Africa be fragmented, and be controlled by whites, but implemented by blacks themselves. That control is indirect, exercised politically, economically and strategically on the 'independent' homeland states.

The only peaceful response the oppressed can make to resist this is non-co-operation. This means non-collaboration as agents of their own oppression, and it involves a determination to act with unity, in defiance of the 'divide and rule' tactic. Non-collaboration is the principle, and boycott is an application of it. Boycott is just a weapon, a means to be used. It is not an end in itself. Boycott can be used either as a tactic, or as a strategy. As a tactic, boycott will have limited objectives, and a short term duration. It is not inconsistent with a participatory strategy. Boycott as a strategy though involves a consistent and wide-ranging application of the principle of non-participation.

The aim of those movements that have used boycotts have been the attainment of a non-racial, free and equal society. The principles of non-racialism, freedom and equality are non-negotiable. Using methods which involve compromise (i.e. willing participation) to achieve these principles undermines the principles themselves. This is the argument for non-co-operation, and boycott here is a strategy. The implementation of a boycott strategy depends on the organisation of the people in the struggle. Non-co-operation has to become more than just argument, or else it is idealist and elitist. In the operation of organisations, the principles can be fleshed out in action. Boycott can also be a tactic — when it is used to achieve a limited objective within a wider framework of goals. An example of this distinction can be seen in a short-term strike. Because of the interconnectedness of all aspects of the struggle, no one feature can be seen in isolation from the others. Hence a strike for specific short term objectives will include medium and long term demands. Boycott here is being used as a weapon, first to achieve the short term demands, and secondly as a means

for education and politicisation in medium and long term demands. Boycott has repeatedly been seen in the struggle of the oppressed in South Africa. The collapse of the Representative Council (1936-1948) and the collapse of the Coloured Representative Council (1956-1980), the success of the SAIC, the vivid testimony of the success of the strategy of boycott actions in industry, and school have also shown the effectiveness of a tactic — both in achieving short term goals and as educating long term objectives.

Applying this argument to the constitution voting, it is clear why co-operation is impossible. Above all else, the constitution aims at incorporating the 'coloureds' and 'indians' into the white hierarchy of oppression, and at the same time separating 'coloureds' and 'indians' from blacks, so that their concerns longer common concerns. To co-operate in the institutions set up by the constitution is clearly not acceptable participation in the voting for it which is clearly not to be seen as (unless it is positive) is to lend authority to the exercise which it must be allowed to claim. And it is not

Above all else, the Constitution aims at incorporating the 'coloureds' and 'indians' into the white hierarchy of oppression

if the incorporation of 'coloureds' and 'indians' would be complete. The 'coloureds' and 'indians' would still have to accept discriminations of, among other things, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, which would be integral features of the constitutional arrangements of government, and features of Nationalist policy fleshed out as law.

Boycotting the vote as a tactic should be adopted in the 'coloured' and 'indian' communities because of the success of the tradition of boycott. Also because of the organisation of the communities, it will be possible to achieve a decisive low poll. The same is true of the 'white' community though many of those 'whites' opposed to the constitution are committed already to a 'no' vote. Instead of a rejection of the constitution by a majority 'no' vote, the whole exercise is a point of a divided 'no' vote (divided into 'yes' and 'no' voting 'no', and not voting) won by a majority 'yes' vote spurious auth-

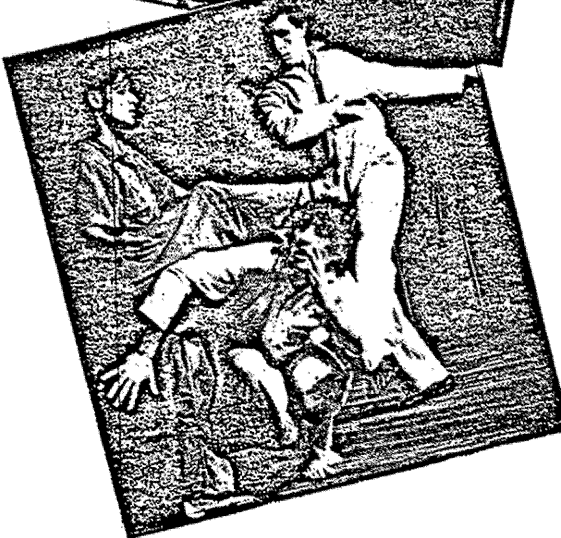
CULTURE AGAINST THE CALL-UP

CRAC's Culture Against Conscription Evening held recently in the Box, saw people on stage asking the audience questions about the nature of the war in South Africa through a wide range of cultural forms - dance, poetry, drama, music and film.

An obvious commitment to the evening's anti-conscription theme pulled these diverse approaches together into a generally vibrant production. Technical snags did not detract from the overall impact and colour - they did emphasise the production's lack of sophistication, but its sincerity as well.

Most items on the programme were original and specially created for the event. Dance choreographed by Perdita Norval, Cindy Dardagan and Shaun Naidoo's slide-music number, and songs from "Mr Softshoes" Andries Kay were examples of the juicy range of talent pooled.

Highlight of the evening was Donna Stevenson's "Somewhere on the Border"; also the only item which placed the theme of the evening in a direct political context - conscription into the SADF means defending apartheid, full stop.



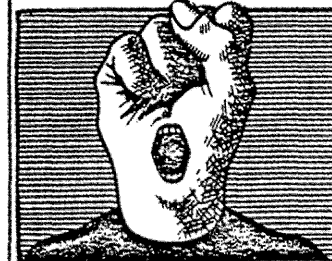
Mass meeting votes against conscription

More than 200 students showed an overwhelming rejection of conscription into the SADF at a lively debate between NRP Secretariat member Mr Claude van Wyk, and Mr Laurie Nathan, chair of the Western Cape End Conscription Committee.

Mr van Wyk argued that the SADF is a "shield behind which reform can take place", and said that compulsory call-up into the SADF was justifiable in the face of expanding Russian Imperialism.

Mr Nathan pointed to the destabilising role the SADF plays in Southern Africa, and the increasing use of the SADF to curb political activity and implement apartheid inside the country. He argued that compulsory conscription into the SADF was not justifiable because it meant defending apartheid and injustice.

The motion of whether "compulsory conscription into the SADF is justifiable" was rejected by almost all the audience with four abstentions and one against.



LOOK OUT!

MASS MEETING ON NAMIBIA
Monday 27 August 7.30 GLT.
Speaker will be ANTON LUBOWSKI, advocate and SWAPO member.

VIDEOS ON NAMIBIA AND ANGOLA - Monday 27 to Thursday 30 daily at 5 pm in the Journalism Lecture Theatre. Costs only 50 cents.

LAWSOC will be having a lecture on the law in Namibia on Monday 27, to be delivered by Anton Lubowski. Contact Steve Kirk-Cohen / Chris Leppan from LAWSOC for further details.

PARTY AGAINST CONSCRIPTION! CRAC will be having a party in the Oppie Common Room on Friday 31 August. Begins at 10 pm

... cont. from page one

But there is already opposition. Many people do not want to fight for a system which is unjust, or a constitution that was drawn up by a minority

government. These people reject the use of the SADF in quelling peaceful protests with guns and batons, with forced removals and with helping to maintain apartheid.

Many people also reject the SADF's occupation of Namibia. Mogamaat Isaacs speaks for these people when he says, "We will not fight our brothers and sisters. We will not fight for a system which has kept us in

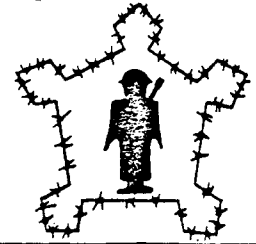
misery and poverty for so long. Because we love our country... we want peace and happiness for ALL our people. And this means we will never defend apartheid".

BEV AAC SA
Rothmans
Alief

CRAC NEWS

NEWSLETTER OF THE CONSCRIPTION REVIEW ACTION COMMITTEE

AUGUST 1984



SA troops out of Namibia now!

The need for peace in Namibia is urgent. More and more lives are lost as the South African war machine pours out R2 million daily to keep the Namibian war going.

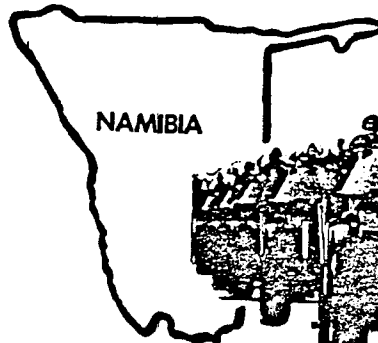
The South African government claims that it governs Namibia according to the wishes of the Namibian people, but its presence there has repeatedly been declared illegal by the United Nations and the International Court of Justice. Every country in the world recognises Namibia's right to independence - except South Africa.

Numerous allegations of brutality, rape and torture have been levelled at the SADF in Namibia, as well as at the South African police unit "Koevoet". Recently two Koevoet members were brought to court for spitroasting a Namibian man alive. The man lost his arm and the Koevoet members were fined R50 each. Since the start of the war in 1966, 1% of the Namibian population have died as a result of the war, and 10% have fled the country in fear.

When the SADF sends its troops to Namibia, we are told they are going to "the border" as if to defend our country against foreign aggressors. But it is clear that these "foreign aggressors" are no more than the Namibian people themselves.

Why then does South Africa continue to occupy Namibia? Firstly, South Africa reaps enormous profits from mining and other industries in Namibia, which they stand to lose if SWAPO comes to power. A SWAPO victory would also mean another neighbouring country directly opposed to South Africa's apartheid policies, and this would be a great boost to those people in South Africa engaged in a struggle against apartheid.

But there is widespread support for SWAPO in Namibia. There was a saying of some Namibian people which went "The SADF rules Namibia by day, but SWAPO rules Namibia by night". But this has changed to "SWAPO rules northern Namibia because the people support SWAPO". The South African Anglican Bishops found that most Namibians support SWAPO, and most political commentators would



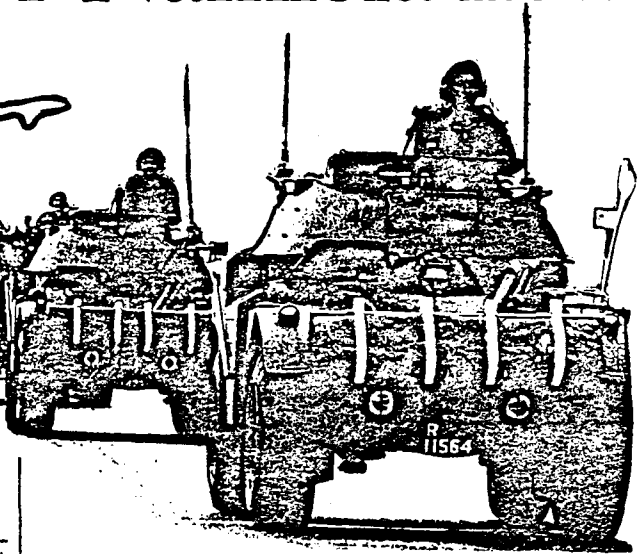
agree that a SWAPO victory is inevitable in the event of free and fair elections.

South Africa has tried to introduce conscription into the South West African Territorial Force in an attempt to counteract support for SWAPO, but within the first three months of conscription being introduced, 8 000 young Namibians left to join SWAPO.

The South African government has also tried to create "representative" bodies like the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the Multi-Party Conference, in an effort to justify its presence there. And South Africa also refuses to withdraw its forces and implement Resolution 435 (which calls for free and fair UN supervised elections).

An analogy can be drawn between South Africa's presence in Namibia and America and Vietnam. Like in America during the Vietnam war, the tide of public opinion is turning against South Africa's occupation of Namibia. Youth, churches, students and public figures are now beginning to question what the war in Namibia is all about, something which wasn't happening four years ago.

The Conscription Review Action Committee is going to be taking up the issue of the Namibian war, as a response to the nationwide call by End-Conscription Committees to end the war in Namibia. As students we must be aware of what the SADF is doing, and as potential conscripts we have a right to know what we are fighting for if we are called up to serve in Namibia.



Extended call-up ... price of a vote in the "new deal"

When PW Botha was asked last year whether the government would extend conscription to "coloureds" and "Indians", he replied:

"Up to now we did not bring this matter forward because we did not have the accommodation, we did not have to be satisfied with the voluntary service they have rendered. But when they have the vote, gradually we will extend their service too, naturally, as we did with the whites."

opposition

On 22 and 28 August "coloured" and "Indian" elections for the new tri-cameral parliament will take place. All around the country the call has gone out for a boycott of the elections. One important reason for the rejection of the "new deal" is the likely conscription of young "coloured" and "Indian" men into the SADF.

Although the Labour Party and the People's Congress Party say they will oppose conscription of coloured and Indian men

the decision will not be in their hands. "Defence" is a matter of common concern under the new dispensation, and this will be largely under the control of the Nationalist Party.

unjust cause

The extension of conscription is likely to begin over the next few years, and has already evoked widespread opposition around the country. The UDF and many other organisations have already taken firm decisions to resist the extension of conscription. "We will not allow our children to die for an unjust cause," said an Indian mother at a UDF meeting in Cape recently.

The extended call-up is also likely to be a slow process, probably starting with the introduction of cadets in Indian and coloured schools. This may be followed by a selective call-up by a ballot system, fragmenting the number of people conscripted in each area and thus preventing unified opposition.

Continued overleaf...

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

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