

MAY 1984



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

1984 YEAR OF THE WOMEN



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SECHABA

MAY ISSUE 1984



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ANC says: Solidarity is Internationalism

The Nkomati Accord has been signed by the racist Prime Minister P W Botha and President Samora Machel of Mozambique. This surprised the progressive world. What was even more surprising was the fanfare and publicity and later the clampdown on our people in Mozambique.

In this issue of Sechaba we publish the ANC reaction to these developments. One or two things may be said in this regard.

We are living in difficult times when the racists in South Africa are trying to convince everybody that things are 'changing' in southern Africa. The more they talk about change the more things remain the same. They are talking about change when they still occupy Namibia and parts of Angola, when repression is continuing (and is being intensified) inside South Africa and indeed the skies in southern Africa are still clouded with the ever-present threat of aggression and invasion.

It is our honest conviction that peace in southern Africa cannot be brought about by 'appeasing' the racist regime — whatever the motives are. Change in South Africa and

in southern Africa cannot be brought about by the racists. **It is only the organised might of the black masses — in conjunction with all democratic forces — that will bring about peace and change in southern Africa.**

The African National Congress together with other democratic forces within the country is the real force that will bring about change and 'good neighbourly relations' in southern Africa. It is only on the basis of **joint action to destroy the present system in South Africa** that we can think — let alone talk — of a 'new era' breaking through in that part of the world.

In the light of the latest racist manoeuvres about so-called non-aggression pacts, in the light of the Reagan Administration's strategy of so-called constructive engagement, let us double our efforts. Solidarity is a two-way street. Talking about solidarity it is important to remember that Mozambique itself is a product of international solidarity and therefore the international community has a responsibility to what is happening to its baby. Its concern is justifiable.



The people of South Africa are fighting to liberate themselves **nationally** from colonial and racist oppression and exploitation. In that process they are faced with **international** imperialism. By liberating South Africa we are weakening international imperialism and therefore contributing to the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle. By supporting our struggle you are actually promoting your own struggle because in a sense we are fighting your battles in that part of

the world. Our struggle is therefore your struggle. We are very much aware that we have to carry the bulk of the burden. We are prepared to do so. All we say is that solidarity with our struggle is important now more than ever before.

It is in this spirit of internationalism that we ask you to redouble your efforts more so that our people at home are up in arms. They need your assistance. They look up to you.

ANC ON THE NKOMATI ACCORD

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress has met to consider the current situation in southern Africa. The meeting resolved to issue the following statement.

Over the last few weeks, the racist and colonial regime of South Africa has been involved in a frantic diplomatic, political and propaganda counter-offensive in southern Africa.

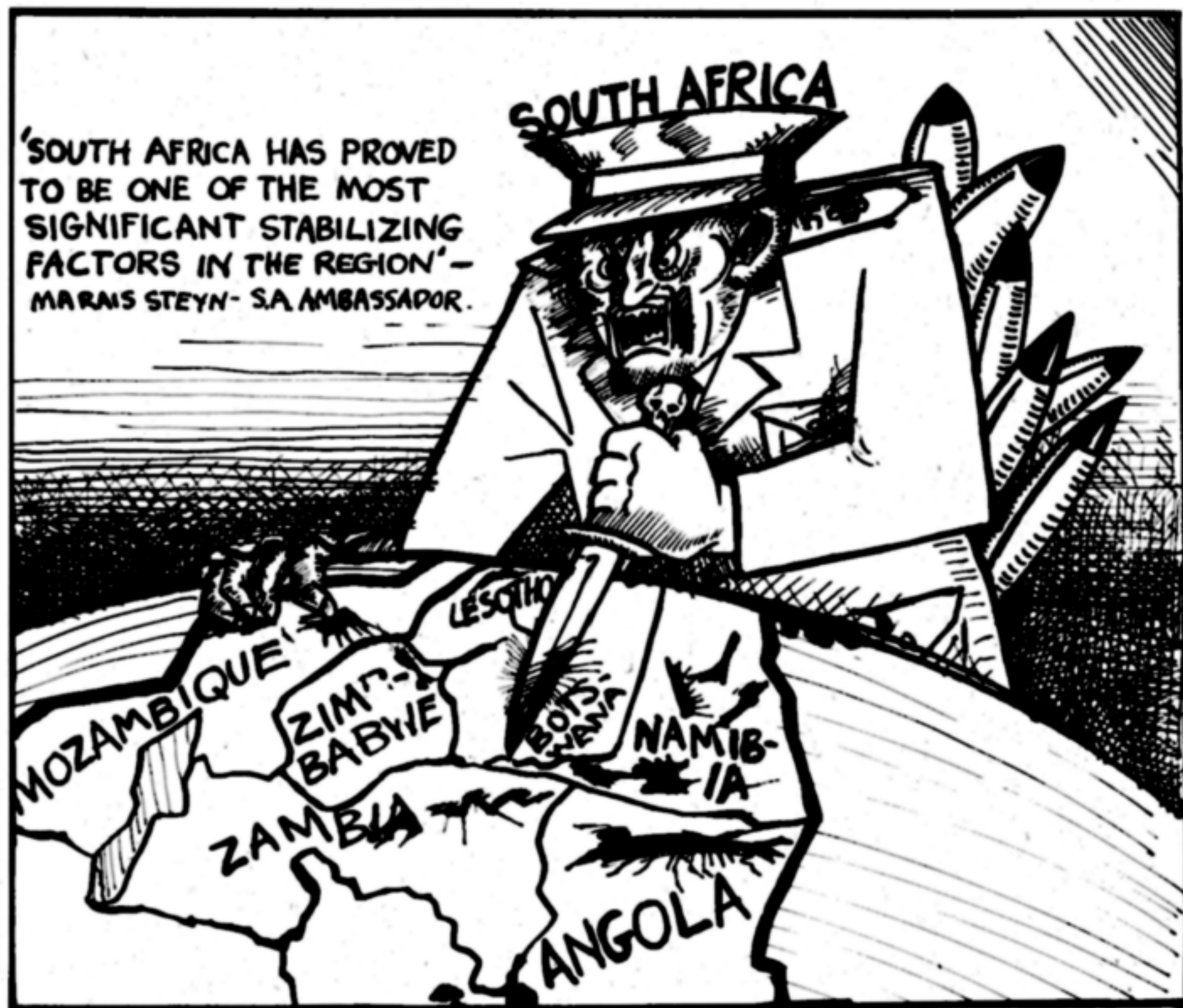
Some of the principal objectives of this offensive are:

- To isolate the ANC throughout southern Africa and to compel the independent countries of our region to act as Pretoria's agents in emasculating the ANC, the vanguard movement of the South African struggle for national emancipation.
- To liquidate the armed struggle for the liberation of South Africa.
- To gain new bridgeheads for the Pretoria regime in its efforts to undermine the unity of the Frontline States, destroy the SADCC and replace it with a so-called constellation of states and thus to transform the independent countries of southern Africa into its client states and
- To use the prestige of the Frontline States in the campaign of the white minority regime to reduce the international isolation of apartheid South Afri-

ca and to lend legitimacy to itself and its colonial and fascist state.

In pursuit of these aims, the Botha regime has sought to reduce the independent countries of our region to the level of its bantustan creations by forcing them to join the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei ban-





tustans in entering into so-called non-aggression pacts with Pretoria.

Such accords, concluded as they are with a regime which has no moral or legal right to govern our country, cannot but help to perpetuate the illegitimate rule of the South African white settler minority. It is exactly for this reason that this minority has over the years sought to bind independent Africa to such agreements.

The African National Congress is profoundly conscious of the enormous political, economic and security problems that confront many of the peoples of our region. The blame for many of these problems must be laid squarely on the Pretoria regime which has sought to define the limit of independence of the countries of our region through a policy of aggression and destabilisation.

We are convinced that this regime, which is dripping from head to foot with the blood

of thousands of people it has murdered throughout southern Africa, cannot be an architect of justice and peace in our region.

Neither can the ally of this regime, the Reagan administration of the United States, with its pro-apartheid policy of 'constructive engagement', be an architect of justice and peace in this region, while it is an angel of war, reaction and repression in other regions of the world, including the United States itself.

A just and lasting peace in our region is not possible while the fountainhead of war and instability in this area, the apartheid regime and the oppressive system it maintains in South Africa and Namibia, continue to exist. The Botha regime knows that no peace has broken out: rather, it has resorted to other means to continue its war for the domination of southern Africa.

The situation in our region continues to point to the correctness of the decisions of the Maputo Frontline States summit held in March 1982. That summit observed that: 'Under the leadership of the ANC, the people, through strikes and armed action, are vigorously rising against apartheid'. It went on to commit the Frontline States 'to intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements, Swapo and ANC of South Africa, so that they can intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of the national independence of their peoples'.

That statement was made in full recognition of the fact that the destruction of the apartheid regime and the liberation of South Africa and Namibia constituted the fundamental prerequisites for peace, stability and uninterrupted progress in our area.

That commonly agreed position reaffirmed the obligation of the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, to escalate their offensive, using all means, including armed action, for the overthrow of the criminal apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the masses. We remain and shall remain loyal to this perspective.

The Pretoria regime is acting in the manner that it is, to try to extricate itself out of the crisis that confronts its racist and colonial system of apartheid. It hopes that after it has 'pacified' our neighbours and driven the ANC out of our region, it will then have a free hand to suppress the mass democratic movement of our country and thus create the conditions for it to spin out its intricate web of measures for the refinement and entrenchment of the apartheid system.

Our principal task at this moment therefore is, and must be, to intensify our political and military offensive inside South Africa. This is the urgent call that we make to the masses of our people, to all democratic formations and to all members and units of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Relying on our own strength, through action, we will frustrate the schemes of the enemy of the

peoples of Africa and continue our forward march to the destruction of the system of white minority colonial domination in our country.

The central and immediate question of South African politics is the overthrow of the white minority regime, the seizure of power by the people and the uprooting by these victorious masses of the entire apartheid system of colonial and racist domination, fascist tyranny, the superexploitation of the black majority and imperialist aggression and expansionism.

This question will be and is being settled, in struggle, within the borders of our country and nowhere else. We are entitled to expect that all those anywhere in the world, who count themselves among the anti-colonial and anti-racist forces, will join hands with us to bring about this noble outcome.

The peoples of southern Africa know from their own experience that there can be no peaceful coexistence between freedom and independence on the one hand and colonialism on the other. We are confident that these masses, their parties and governments which have over the years, demonstrated their commitment to the cause of the total liberation of Africa, will themselves remain loyal to this cause and firm in resolve to stand with our people until victory is won.

We are equally certain that the rest of Africa and the world progressive community will continue to deny the Botha regime the legitimacy it craves so desperately, adopt new measures to isolate it and increase their political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the ANC.

The struggle for the liberation of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, will continue and grow in scope and effectiveness, until we have won our victory. Forward to a people's government!

Alfred Nzo

Secretary General

On behalf of

the National Executive Committee

March 16, 1984

Nyanga squatters watch the still smouldering ruins of their shelter as a jet liner comes in to land at D. F. Malan Airport.



The Western Cape Squatter Scandal



By Nyawuza

While politicians, publicists and even sportsmen argue about whether white South Africa is really trying to 'reform' itself, people in Cape Town are being harrassed for no other reason than that they want to lead a decent life. This is happening when racist South Africa is invading and occupying parts of Angola, not to say about Namibia. The almost 40 years of Afrikaner National post war rule has seen massive 'resettlement' (removals) and migratory labour has caused untold mental and physical disease among South Africa's black population.

The Problem

The people called 'squatters' are simple people

who want to be treated with fairness and dignity.

This becomes clear when one considers that since 1948 more than 13 million South Africans have been sent to jail for defying laws forcing them to live in the homelands. Every day, 100,677 people languish in South African jails — a third are arrested because they are 'illegally' in South Africa — which is called 'white South Africa'. To keep them in prison costs in excess of R3-million a month.

It is a known fact that from 1971 to 1980 the government built 278,000 houses for whites, 157,000 for Coloureds, 50,000 for Asians and 97,000 for Africans, who form 80% of the population. Not a single home

has been provided for Africans in the Western Cape and none of the houses was for Africans in the homelands, which had more than 3-million people resettled forcibly in the past ten years.

But these people are not asking for official housing but the right to build their own houses. They are called squatters, a display of an amazing sense of short-sightedness and insensitivity.

These people are no law breakers. These are people who are desperate for a roof over their heads; they are usually people who have jobs or who want jobs; they are people who want to be together as families.

Western Cape

The area at times experiences very cold, cloudy conditions. Rain falls in winter. Rain, biting winds and bitterly cold weather sweep the Western Cape with a vengeance as harsh winds move up with an intense cold front. Cold wind and cold mud. Skies are blanketed by thick cloud but once this vanishes the area really feels the cold biting. Gusting winds, low temperatures and at times violent thunderstorms accompany rain. Snow sometimes falls over many high-lying areas in the Cape Province. Lightning is menacing. In heavy rain buses skid; freak thunderstorms are not uncommon.

This is what the homeless people have to go through.

Besides these weather conditions – bad as they are – the Western Cape has other peculiarities which one cannot find in South Africa. The African population in Cape Town is relatively small compared to other ethnic groups although Africans have been living and working in Cape Town as early as the 1830's. Cape Town has no 'homeland' on its doorstep. Cape Town in 1970 had an abnormally high masculinity ratio: 248 males to 100 females. This means that women have been kept out of the city more strictly than elsewhere. There is another problem in Cape Town. The racists have declared the Western Cape a 'Coloured labour preference area' in

which Africans may be employed only when no Coloured labour is available. There are political and military considerations for this rationale as *The Sowetan* (1.2.81) correctly stated:

'They (the Africans) are also more than usually unwelcome in the Cape Peninsula because there no doubt exists at the back of the collective Nationalist mind the fear that one day the white man may have to trek back whence he came and the last thing he'd want to find is that the final bunker is full of blacks'.

Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens and Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Black Affairs in the Western Cape, expressed himself in the same vein when he said:

'... the Western Cape must be kept as a last refuge for the white man. If all else fails, they will have a bit of South Africa that does not have a black majority to retreat to for their last inglorious stand'.
(*Sowetan* 16.5.83)

What is New?

What is new in this brutality against the squatters is not the violent destruction of shelters and physical transportation and dumping of people in a homeland – this has happened before – but their being transported out of Cape Town under the same law as would be used against any foreigner or alien.

The squatters are charged under the Admission of Aliens to the Republic Act. According to the racists Africans who have links with the Ciskei or Transkei are aliens in South Africa. Indeed, the Status of the Transkei Act of 1976 – a South African Act which was accepted by the Transkei even before 'independence' – imposes Transkei citizenship on all Xhosa-speaking people of Transkei origin. Matanzima's complaints about 'repatriation' of people are nothing but crocodile tears because he is party to it.

A survey conducted by the Western Cape Administration Board (WCAB) indicates that out of a total population of 24,000 at Cape Town's Crossroads squatter camp, 3,598

families (or roughly 18,000 people) are 'totally and unacceptably illegal' in the Peninsula and will have to be 'repatriated' to Ciskei or Transkei. In the Transkei itself 27,000 young Transkeians start looking for jobs each year, but in the past five years only 11,000 new jobs were created under a Transkei development plan. As more people flock to the cities racist South Africa tightens the screws on homelands. The penalty for all this: that is for doing what you are told to do – staying where you are – is starvation.

There are three types of squatter camps in Cape Town:

- 1) People living 'legally' in townships who have to squat because there are no empty houses;
- 2) Families of migrant workers – the worker living 'legally' in the township but living 'illegally' with his wife and children;
- 3) The whole family living 'illegally'.

New Crossroads and Khayelitsha

The Verwoerd-inspired commitment to de-Africanisation of the Western Cape meant the denationalisation of the Africans, the entrenching of the power of the minority through fragmentation of South Africa and the permanent exclusion of Black South Africans from political participation in the common society. But this does not work.

Between 1968 and 1974 the employment of 'bantustan contract workers' rose 200% on average, with government services increasing their engagement of Africans from 1447 to 6123, an increase of 323%. But at the same time the regime put a freeze on housing for Africans in Cape Town.

The New Crossroads development, in two phases, was the cornerstone of the 1979 'Koornhof Agreement' between the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Koornhof, and the people of Crossroads. In New Crossroads Phase One meant the construction of 1500 homes at a cost of R18-million. This was in 1982. People saw this as the most concrete victory in the fight by the settlement's 20,000 people against bulldozers and 'Koornhof Street' was named in honour of

the Minister 'who saved Crossroads from the bulldozers'.

In 1983 people read in the newspapers that Phase Two – a development in which 1,200 homes were to have been built at a cost of R18-million – had been scrapped.

Permission was given for 250 squatters to build shelters on the Phase Two site. Later it was announced that a new African township is to be built at Driftsands near Mitchell's Plain. 20,000 Crossroads people would eventually be moved to the new township, Khayelitsha (new home). Koornhof also announced that eventually the people of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga would also be moved to Khayelitsha.

Residents who qualify for resettlement in this new township are:

- a) Families whose heads of household hold Section 10(i)(a) and (b) rights (of whom there are 650 breadwinners);
- b) Contract workers living ('illegally') in the camp with their families (about 500 families);
- c) Families where the breadwinner is not a contract worker in full time employment but 'earns a living for them in some other legitimate way' in the formal sector (38 families);
- d) Persons or families 'who by reason of having been uprooted or through other circumstances deserve special consideration with a view to avoiding hardship'.

Which one is of this latter category is everybody's guess.

There are specific exclusions such as 'criminals' convicted of offences severe enough to result in forfeiture of Section 10 rights or 'vagrants' or families and persons with 'no visible' and 'legitimate' means of support who may be a burden on the community and people who may want to return to the Transkei or Ciskei.

KTC – Centre of Resistance

In January 1983 squatting started on the dunes adjacent to the Kakaza Trading Centre (KTC) – a nearby store. On February 14 there were 200 families on the site. Plastic

shelters mushroomed until about 500 families were reported to be living in three separate camps on the sandy wasteland of KTC, sandwiched between Guguletu, Nyanga East and New Crossroads. The numbers rose to several thousand men, women and children.

It all started as a passive protest against the chronic housing shortage for Africans in the Western Cape, with thousands of people flocking from their overcrowded houses in the townships to erect plastic shelters.

Koornhof's promises never materialise, such as the promise of 2,500 sites to KTC squatters at the height of the crisis. With each unfulfilled promise the anger and resentment grows. Plastic sheeting became standard usage for squatter shelters and this comes in a variety of colours. By the way, this is no protection against cold or rain or wind — it is just a raincoat.

On February 16, 1983, the first large raid against the squatters of KTC was launched and since then it became a pattern. More than 1000 families had their shanties bulldozed. The harassment of defenceless people meant that the site was raided on a daily basis — sometimes at 3am — shelters torn down and burnt in bonfires on the site. People were arrested repeatedly. Possessions of squatters were confiscated, including food, medicine and blankets.

A para-military, including armoured personnel carriers and tear smoke machines, would be mounted on land rovers and heavily armed police and Administration Board officials would set up a 24-hour vigil. Pieces of plastic used to shelter babies were confiscated and searchlights would be trained on groups huddled round fires through cold and rainy nights.

The angry residents, who were determined to remain on the site until they are given land to build their own houses, would be seen wrestling with inspectors trying to take away their plastics. Teargas cannisters and 'sneeze machines' would billow thick clouds of white tear smoke.

Now KTC squatters are gone: the 'legals'

are being housed in two disused beerhalls in Langa and Nyanga, waiting to move to Khayelitsha. The 'illegals' are facing charges of being in the area 'illegally'.

The 'Bed People'

There are irresistible economic factors which force Africans in the Cape to leave the rural areas. The Transkei and Ciskei are without any agricultural or industrial base. In the Transkei at least 120,000 people are estimated to be unemployed with 10,000 added annually. In the Ciskei 158,000 workers out of a population of 800,000 are not 'gainfully employed'. These areas are just dustbowls.

The failure, or refusal, to realise the significance of these factors (rural poverty and opportunities for jobs in Cape Town) has resulted in the lack of feeling and concern by the authorities. A lot of bitterness has been built up. Influx control can never be a solution. This lack of feeling and concern was demonstrated in the treatment of the 'bed people' who spent more than five months in the open. These are the people who were literally living on rusty beds in the open because they were not allowed to erect shelters. Many of the 'bed people' including babies and small children, are ill with coughs, colds, flu and diarrhoea. Children suffer from pneumonia, chest complaints and vomiting.

Their 'homes', these rusty iron and wood beds, are covered with plastic and old boards to protect them from the rain. Terrible pains in the chest and legs are regular complaints; in winter — when it's cold and raining — the bed and mattress become soaking wet and so are the blankets and clothes. When it rains, these unemployed people lie in bed under a sheet of plastic weighted down with rocks and branches. Cooking pots, pressure stoves and possessions are kept in cardboard boxes. Cooking itself — if there is anything to cook — becomes a problem.

What has happened now is that these 'bed people' — at least 470 of them — have been moved to Sizamile School and Cida Centre, an airy, white-washed shed which is crammed

with more than 60 beds; overcrowded and without privacy.

People's Resistance

The Star (17.10.83) reported that a huge crowd of Crossroads residents pledged not to move or be dumped in Khayelitsha. At this UDF meeting, filled to overflowing in the Noxolo School, the crowd decided to support the UDF in the struggle for democratic rights. Oscar Mpetha, one of the UDF presidents is a symbol of resistance.

The residents of Crossroads in a statement by the Crossroads Committee after a meeting said:

'We say that Dr Morrison (the Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development) can come and kill us and take our dead bodies to Khayelitsha because that's the only way we'll go there'.

The problem is that decisions are taken and the people are not consulted. Koornhof makes promises and does not keep them. People have no say in the type of housing and the shape of the new township. People are not certain about their fate and future. Other objections to moving to Khayelitsha were that it was situated close to a shooting range and that it was far for most people to travel to work – about 40km from Cape Town. Distance is not just a question of geography, but it means high cost of transport and distance from places of employment and shops. The unsubsidised Khayelitsha/Nyanga return trip is R1.30. We should remember that a domestic worker earns R65 a month and this means more than half her wages would go for transport. The threat to the existing black townships, the coercion and lack of consultation mean basically the denial of fundamental human rights.

There is the other grievance, namely that of being 'deported' to the Transkei or Ciskei. The squatters are technically aliens because they have a presumed link to the Transkei or Ciskei – these people were deprived of their South African citizenship when the Transkei

and Ciskei became 'independent' bantustans in 1976 and 1981 respectively. In August 1981 more than 1,000 Nyanga squatters detained were deported to the Transkei by bus under the Admission of Persons to the Republic Act, which provides for summary deportation without trial of people not entitled to be in the Republic.

Homelands are becoming less and less of labour pools and more and more of dumping grounds – forced population relocation schemes in the Ciskei have caused so much overcrowding that by the end of the decade there will be standing room only!

Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, did not believe his words when he said:

'They are not South African citizens. They are like Mexicans in the United States'.

Many squatters who were being evicted were not 'Transkei citizens' at all and some had been forced to leave without their possessions or children. As squatters arrive in Umtata in driving rain they cram into the Catholic and Anglican churches for shelter while they search frantically for their missing relatives. A woman was hustled out of Cape Town so fast that her breast-feeding baby stayed behind while two small babies turned up in Umtata without their mothers.

The *Rand Daily Mail* described one of these incidents:

'Of the many possessions the squatters left behind when they were deported to the Transkei, one was the most poignant. The bundle, lying in the sun, was small enough to contain a pair of shoes. But the bundle stirred and a seven-week old baby began displaying hunger pangs. His mother was not there to feed him. She was one of the more than 1,000 squatters arrested and put on railway buses for the Transkei.'

The WCAB evicted 58 women from their homes in Langa and bussed them immediately to the Transkei. As soon as they were dropped the women walked 80km to Queenstown, hired a bus and returned to Cape Town. A Nyanga woman, deported in 1981 to the Transkei, had to walk 250km trying

to find her two-year-old daughter with whom she was reunited when she arrived in Cape Town.

It is incidents like these which inspire the people of Cape Town. Of course nobody forgets the success of the Crossroads peoples' 'asihambi' (we will not move) defiance.

There have been cases of men and women breaking away from police and escaping while being put into a police van. The whole thing is like keeping the ocean back with a broom.

Apart from overcrowding and the raids, there is also the lack of schools and creches: there is only one functioning primary school to serve the entire community and there are no day creches for working mothers; high school students have to travel to New Crossroads or one of the nearby townships because there are no secondary schools in Old Crossroads! Even in New Crossroads there is no shopping centre, no creches, no church sites or community centre. The biggest problem in New Crossroads is the high rentals — R35.51 for a single bedroomed house! The lowest rental for a house in the new scheme is R24.61 and the highest is R97.71. The average worker earns about R25 a week.

What about health care? There are an estimated 25,000 to 40,000 people still living in Old Crossroads. The Empilisweni SACLA (South African Christian Leadership Assembly) clinic has two doctors, a dentist and two fulltime nurses — these offer only curative services for the entire Crossroads community. In the year ending June 1983 the clinic treated more than 30,500 patients, most of them were children and many were suffering from the diseases of poverty, including malnutrition, tuberculosis and gastro-entiritis.

The problem facing our people in Cape Town is that of survival. To leave women and children to sleep in the cold and rain, to tear down their makeshift shelters, to enforce influx control and try to subjugate those who resist it — this is violence!

The deployment of a vast army of administration officials, court officials and police-

men to enforce pass laws, the adoption of strong-arm tactics against people whose only 'crime' is to be black and poor and seeking a better life — this is violence!

Now some people are sleeping in holes they have dug in the ground as the authorities continue to prevent them building shelters. A derelict car offered some protection to a mother and her baby, only three weeks old, but other small children — some of them babies — are not so lucky and have to sleep in the open with their parents or in the holes dug in the grey sand. In one scooped out hole in the sand and covered by three blankets slept six children.

The women of the Western Cape have been marvellous. Through the United Women's Organisation (UWO) which has a strong support in the townships, they make their voice heard. Listen to Mrs Mampe Ramotsamai, a community worker in the townships:

'We will fight it tooth and nail. Leave us alone. We were moved from the suburbs and dumped here. We want to stay where we are.'

And Mrs Regina Ntongana, the formidable chairwoman of the Crossroads Women's Committee:

'They can try and scatter us but we are not prepared to trek to Khayelitsha. We are not going to allow them to break us. We are demanding what was promised by Dr Koornhof'.

or Mrs Alexandra Luke, the veteran Crossroads resident:

'There is a long way for us to go. There are people outside in plastic shelters. There are people with three-month permits, there are people with six-month permits, there are people with three-day stamps. All these problems are on the shoulders of Crossroads'.

They involved themselves in a 24-day fast at the Nyanga Cathedral in a bid to win legal status for themselves and their families in the Peninsula. According to the white press prayer meetings have political connotations because political motives and actions are

closely linked to the religious service — at night hymns continue, reaching a fever pitch when people are loaded in the prison trucks.

Women are demanding the right to stay with their families; family life can no longer be separated from the contract system; they refuse to go back to the Transkei or Ciskei to face slow starvation and a lonely life. They have nothing to return to in the homelands: they have either to defy arrest and/or to pressurise the authorities into giving them legal status.

The mood of the people in the Peninsula can be said to be a development from the early building of makeshift Port Jackson willow structures to a realisation of a need for united action; active defiance and strengthening of a collective spirit. People are showing solidarity in the form of hot meals to the squatters and general appeals for torches, cooking equipment etc for squatters. The Cape Areas Housing Action Committee is doing a marvellous job. The Department of Health and the medical profession as a whole say nothing although medical ethics require that doctors seek not only to alleviate and cure but to prevent illness. But the Red Cross has, despite lengthy wrangles with the WCAB, given some assistance to the squatters.

Koornhof is engaged in a campaign of mud-slinging; smearing organisations to save his political skin and by the way his already doubtful credibility as a politician is in shreds. He speaks with two tongues — talk about 'cooperation', 'development' and 'elimination of hurtful discrimination' becomes meaningless — even hugging Gatsha Buthelezi in public as a 'brother in Christ' actually reveals what he really is, the proverbial ostrich.

While the officials concerned cannot be totally absolved for their inhuman treatment of families, the real blame must rest squarely on the Nationalist government and Koornhof



in particular. It is not the WCAB officials or the South African Police who decide policy, they only carry out the dirty work of the Nationalist Party.

It is the apartheid ideology which brings in its wake the snarling dogs, the spotlights, the ripping up and burning of frail shelters, the imprisonment of men, women and children.

In this context it is noteworthy to remember how *Sechaba* (Fourth Quarter, 1978) summarised the situation in Crossroads:

'Places like Crossroads in the Cape could mean crossroads for the South African racist regime and we shall determine which road shall be followed'.

INTERIMINAL

**EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT BY
MAJOR GENERAL JN GARBA
OF NIGERIA
ON HIS ELECTION AS CHAIRMAN
OF THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AGAINST APARTHEID**

... I have heard it suggested in some quarters that we should now tread softly in view of the ongoing talks between the regime in Pretoria and some of its neighbours, but nobody has been able to tell me how whatever arrangements are being devised will improve the situation in South Africa itself.

I had occasion to read most of the accounts of the current talks and have found no mention of the brutal policies and practices of apartheid and the plight of those they oppress. Neither have I found any evidence that these talks will result in lessening the problems of the Liberation Movements. Instead they are more likely to prolong the suffering of the majority of South Africa's people.

In the clamour of self-congratulation from Western countries over what the new dialogue between South Africa and its neighbours has achieved, one crucial point seems lost: that it is the 'constructive engagement'

of these countries with the South African government that has given that same government not only a free hand to force its neighbours to these talks, but also to contrive systematic exclusion and persecution of the majority African population in South Africa.

It is my feeling that, in view of all this, the UN Special Committee should re-dedicate itself to fulfilling its mandate. But we must recognise that the new initiatives have changed not the internal but the external situation. We must reassess our activities in the light of these developments. Our goal of mobilising support for compulsory mandatory sanctions and eradication of apartheid remains constant, but perhaps we should consider new tactics to achieve this.

While it is necessary to intensify our collaboration with those who share our goals in the West, particularly the Nordic governments who have always been very supportive, we must also cultivate new friends wherever we can find them. People living in any country are not monolithic, and we must reach out to those who share our views even when their governments are antagonistic to our cause ... Let me assure you of my unflinching commitment and that of my country to the struggle against apartheid ... Our commitment to liberation in southern Africa is total.

**EXTRACT FROM THE MESSAGE
RECEIVED FROM
SHRIDATH RAMPHAL
COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARY GENERAL
TO THE NATIONAL
PARLIAMENTARY LOBBY
LONDON, MARCH 21st, 1984**

... We must not lose sight of the fact that apartheid remains the root cause of practically all the problems of southern Africa. We must be on our guard lest the new stance towards neighbours is designed to cover even harsher oppression of those who struggle for their basic rights within South Africa. We must continue to show up the so-called constitutional reforms within the republic for the sham that they are. We must reject any

attempt by South Africa to circumvent the United Nations in devising a Namibian settlement.

The Commonwealth's position on southern Africa is free of ambiguity. It was reaffirmed by Commonwealth leaders in New Delhi only a few months ago. In their Communique, Commonwealth leaders said that 'only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in southern Africa'. In this I believe the Commonwealth spoke for all who stand for morality and civilised values within the international community.

**MESSAGE FROM NEIL KINNOCK
LEADER OF THE LABOUR PARTY (UK)
TO THE PARLIAMENTARY LOBBY IN
LONDON ON MARCH 21st, 1984**

... While apartheid remains, no one in southern Africa can be truly free. The white minority will continue under the oppression of prejudice. For the black majority suffering and misery will be the order of the day. For neighbouring countries there will be no lasting peace and the freedom gained after many years of struggle will be incomplete and precarious.

Of all countries Britain has the most pressing responsibility to take action against apartheid. Yet, far from seeking to meet this responsibility this government has sought to protect, encourage and co-operate with South Africa. When Labour takes power at the next General Election we will reverse this approach and effect the long overdue change in national policy which you seek. Our policy will be to isolate apartheid South Africa and

to promote effective action to hasten liberation. In particular we will give financial and material assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, and, by extending and tightening the arms embargo and actively supporting the imposition of United Nations comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions, we will work to end the economic and military collaboration which is so essential to the apartheid regime.

In Opposition we will persist in exposing and contesting those policies of the Conservative Government which sustain the apartheid regime ... I am pleased to be able to reaffirm the support of the Labour Party for and my own personal commitment to the cause of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We know that the threat to freedom in southern Africa is greater than ever. And today, therefore, more than ever, we must redouble our efforts — against collaboration, in support of the Front Line States and in solidarity with the liberation movements ...

**EXTRACT FROM THE
STATEMENT OF THE UN SPECIAL
COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID
IN RESPONSE TO RECENT DEVELOP-
MENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

The Special Committee Against Apartheid ... considers it essential to reaffirm that the primary cause of tension and conflict in southern Africa has been and remains the inhuman policy of apartheid pursued by the racist regime of South Africa. **There can be no stable peace and security in the region unless apartheid is totally eliminated and the people of South Africa as a whole are enabled to establish a non-racial democratic state ...**

The Special Committee considers that, so long as apartheid persists in South Africa, the international community has a duty to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime in South Africa and assist the legitimate struggle of the dispossessed and oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia for self-determination, independence and freedom ...

**THE OSLO HEARING
MARCH 22 – 24, 1984**

During March 22–24, Oslo, capital of Norway, was host to the *International Hearing on South African Aggression Against the Neighbouring States*. Organised by the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa, the Africa Groups of Sweden and the Danish Association for International Co-operation, the Hearing was intended to expose the nature and purposes of Pretoria's aggression against independent Africa with a view further to heighten the activities of the international anti-apartheid movement.

The Panel assembled to preside over the Hearings was composed of distinguished personalities befitting the seriousness of the occasion. These included the British historian Basil Davidson, Ms Kaci Kullman Five, MP, Vice Chairperson of the Norwegian Conser-

vative Party, the Rt Rev Gunnar Lislrud, Bishop of the Church of Norway, the Mayor of Stockholm, Ms Annie Marie Sundbom, former Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kjeld Olesen MP, Arthur Svensson, Chairman of the Norwegian Chemical Workers Union, and others.

In his welcoming address, the Chairman of the Norwegian Council, Asbjørn Eidhammer, observed that 'Never before has such a representative gathering in support of the liberation struggle in southern Africa taken place in Norway. When the Norwegian Council took the initiative to arrange the Hearing,' he continued, 'it was because the escalating war in Southern Africa convinced us of the necessity to inform public opinion in Scandinavia about the sufferings of the peoples in the region and of the threat to peace constituted by this war, not only for the region itself, but also for the outside world.'

Referring to the agreements between Pretoria, Mozambique and Angola, Mr Eidhammer went on to say that 'the need to highlight Southern Africa has not been reduced by the recent events in the region ... Less support for the liberation struggle will give the Pretoria regime more time to consolidate its white supremacy in South Africa and to tighten its grip on Namibia.'

The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr Sverre Stray, expressed the views of his government when, in his Opening Address, he said: 'The apartheid policy of South Africa ... concerns the world community both as a severe violation of basic human rights and as a dangerous threat to peace and stability in (Southern Africa).'

The Minister went on to call for more comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime and pledged that Norway will continue to extend humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements and economic aid to the Front Line States. These pledges for material assistance to the struggling peoples of Southern Africa were reiterated at the Hearing by representatives of the official

development agencies of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, respectively NORAD, SIDA and DANIDA.

An important element of the Hearing was the presence of representatives of the Front Line States, Lesotho, Nigeria, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, the UN Commission for Namibia as well as SWAPO and the ANC. Furthermore, various experts and eyewitnesses presented detailed evidence on Pretoria's policy of aggression and destabilisation, and explained the aims and objectives of this policy.

Reflecting the understanding of the peoples of Southern Africa of recent developments in the region, Lesotho Ambassador to Scandinavia, Mr Joe Mollo, observed that: 'Destabilisation will stay with Southern Africa as long as there is apartheid in South Africa. There is no other choice – everything else is temporary'.

For his part, Mr Sam Mpuchane, Botswana Ambassador to Norway and High Commissioner in London, noted that 'the root cause of all the problems in our region – apartheid – must be urgently addressed and eradicated. That it is an evil doctrine and practice and that it is a threat to the peace and stability of the region have been clearly demonstrated.'

And indeed the Hearing demonstrated clearly that there can be no peace and stability in southern Africa while the peoples of Namibia and South Africa remain oppressed and colonised. In its statement at the start of the Hearing the ANC said: 'We know the nature of the (apartheid) regime and know that it does not seek peace. It forced us to take up arms. For us to abandon armed struggle would be to surrender.'

Emphasising the point that whatever else was happening in southern Africa, the situation in South Africa remains unchanged, a surprise participant at the Opening Session of the Hearing, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, posed the question: 'What is the reality inside (South Africa) – is the face of apartheid changing?'

He answered the question with a categorical no. 'The new constitution entrenches apartheid and racism,' he said. 'The South African situation is violent already. Violence is not being introduced by those the authorities call terrorists. The primary violence in South Africa is the violence of apartheid.'

Bishop Tutu posed yet other questions. 'Why is South Africa's detente for export only,' he asked. 'Why is it not for domestic consumption also?'

These questions were answered by, among others, the Zambian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, the Hon. Otema Musuka, who said: 'We also know that whatever South Africa does is ... either in support or defence of apartheid.'

Africa's response to this reality was expressed by the representative of the Federal Government of Nigeria, Mr E.O. Adefemiwa, who told the Hearing that: 'Even in these times of tight economic straits, Nigeria will continue, within her limits, to champion the cause of the oppressed in Southern Africa until final victory. We see no half way house between freedom and slavery.'

In its Declaration adopted at the Hearing by acclamation, the Panel observed that: 'The recent negotiations and agreements cannot hide the fact that a lasting peace in Southern Africa is impossible as long as the apartheid system exists.' The Panel noted that 'all means are being used to exert military and economic pressure against the neighbouring states to circumscribe the struggle of the liberation movements and to weaken the international society's campaign against apartheid.'

The Panel pointed out that Pretoria's reactionary policies have 'been encouraged during the last few years by the policy of the present US Administration'

Continuing, the Panelists emphasised that 'the main goals for the policies of the Nordic countries in relation to Southern Africa should be to contribute to the complete elimination of the apartheid regime in South Africa, to the independence of Namibia and

to the achievement of peace in the whole region.'

The detailed proposals of the Panel included increased support for the ANC, SWAPO and the Front Line and independent states of southern Africa, the full implementation of the arms embargo, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime, the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia, increased action by popular organisations in the international solidarity movement, and so on.

As the more than 500 participants left to return to their regular work, at the end of this highly successful Hearing, they carried with them the resolve expressed by the Panel that: 'It is ... more important than ever to work for the elimination of apartheid, the termination of the illegal occupation of Namibia, and to counteract South African destabilisation and economic dominance of the neighbouring states.'

Clearly, the clarion call that issued from the Hearing will reach wide sections of the anti-apartheid solidarity movement, especially in Western Europe. The interest of this movement in the work of the Hearing was demonstrated by the presence of representatives of a large number of political, trade union, religious and solidarity organisations as well as governments.

These were drawn not only from the Nordic countries, but also from the Netherlands, the FRG, Switzerland, Great Britain and so on. Prominent among them was that great fighter for liberation, justice and peace, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, to whose call — **now is the time to act** — the Hearing responded with an impassioned standing ovation.

PRETORIA'S GENOCIDE BILL

Part 2

by David Riga

This is the second in a series of three articles analysing Pretoria's new 'influx control' policy.

The first part of this analysis showed how the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black

Persons Bill grew out of the Riekert Report, whose job was to find a way out of the crisis of 1976.

That crisis was caused by contradictions on at least two levels. Firstly, there was a political contradiction whereby South African



capitalism had brought into being a black working class and urban youth that threatened its very existence. And secondly, there was an economic contradiction in that the 'influx control' system had caused bottlenecks in the supply of labour power and a dangerous level of black unemployment in the cities.

Twin Strategies

African youth and workers, especially those with Section Ten rights, stood at the centre of both these contradictions and formed the link between them. The Riekert Commission would have liked to attack Section Ten rights, but thought this would be too dangerous. It decided to postpone this question. Instead, it put forward twin strategies for overcoming the crisis – the strategies of "normalisation and "effective control."

The strategy of "normalisation" meant rearranging the system of 'influx control' so that the legal responsibilities of the Department of Co-operation and Development

(then known as the Department of Plural Relations and Development) would be distributed among other state departments:

"The Commission can find no sufficient reason why the Department of Plural Relations and Development should, in the present time and in view of constitutional developments, still operate as a 'public service within the public service' in respect of matters affecting black persons, and why it should exercise control over them and perform services for them that are undertaken by the functional departments for the other population groups."

The report recommended that the labour bureaux go to the Department of Labour, pass courts to the Department of Justice, "travel documents" (that is, passes) to the Department of the Interior, and so on.

Although some economic arguments 19

were put forward in favour of these proposals (for example that it would co-ordinate African and non-African labour if all fell under one department) the real aim of the "normalisation" strategy was political.

The existing system was found to be "discriminatory" and "hard to defend." In other words, it was an object of criticism at the United Nations and elsewhere overseas. Secondly, the centralisation of repressive measures against Africans under the Department of Co-operation and Development, and the execution of these measures by the Administration Boards, created what the report called a "focus of criticism" and led to "absolute polarisation of criticism against the Department and the Central Government."

The well-directed anger of the African people had to be deflected from a single, highly visible target to several less conspicuous ones. This process was called "normalisation."

Why "normalisation?" In the first part of this analysis we saw that the administration of the affairs of Africans in South Africa had been organised along colonial lines, different from the state apparatuses dealing with whites. While the administration of whites was based on a large measure of consensus and common values between citizens and state officials, that of Africans was based much more on force and physical coercion. Apartheid ideology forbade the creation of a common South African culture and values shared by Blacks and Whites.

Over the years the state departments that ruled the lives of black South Africans had become more and more a world of their own, with 'Bantu Affairs' officials working according to very different methods and values from those of their colleagues in what Riekert called the "functional departments."

This "two-tone state" was an integral part of the political and economic reality of South Africa. But it was also a source of intense criticism — from overseas but also from certain sections of white South Africa. This was because it went against what is consid-

ered a norm of capitalist society: that all citizens have formal legal equality in their relations to the state.

More important, the apartheid system was generating intense hostility and opposition among the masses themselves.

How were the realities of South Africa's colonial structure to be reconciled with the norms observed by South Africa's capitalist friends overseas? Various alternatives were discussed. The Department of Co-operation and Development could take over control from the Administration Boards — but this would make things even worse. The municipalities could be given control — but this would be "unacceptable politically" to the regime because local authorities might "obstruct government policy ... by not applying influx control properly."

With the wisdom of Solomon the answer was found. The various powers of the Department of Co-operation and Development and the Administration Boards should be given to the "functional departments," but the actual execution was to be left to the Administration Boards "on an agency basis." Almost all the special repressive measures against Africans (such as the powers of compulsory "repatriation" of "idle and undesirable Blacks") were to be kept.

Colonialism of a Special Type

How could the Riekert Commission, which had found that the Administration Boards had been almost total failures, still propose to retain them? The answer tells a lot about the nature of South Africa's special brand of colonialism.

One reason given was that:

"the Administration Boards are already familiar with some of these functions ... (and) have the necessary administrative and physical infrastructure."

Another, more revealing reason was that the officials of the Board had in the past been:



These tents in the Crossroads area have for the past few months been "home" to many of the hundreds of "illegal" squatters awaiting decisions by the Department of Co-operation and Development on their status in the Western Cape.

"responsible for the application of the statutory and administrative measures in connection with entry, sojourn, housing, employment, conditions and documentation of black persons. **This function can hardly be separated from the employment function**" (my emphasis).

Finally, the report considered that the Administrative Boards should be retained because their officials:

"have the experience and knowledge of the culture, traditions and customs, etc of the black population."

In other words, the most important parts of the apartheid system — total control over the movement, supply and conditions of African workers — had to be maintained, no matter what the political risks.

An additional factor was the vested interests of the huge and powerful bureaucracy running the 'influx control' system. This is

the reason for the references to the supposed special skills of the officials. This bureaucracy, as we shall see in the final section, acquired, in the words of Engels, "particular interests, distinct too from the interests of those who empowered them."

So the Administration Boards had to stay. But because the commission found that the labour bureaux had "a very poor image," owing to being "associated in the minds" of Africans with influx control and employment, work "should be done at different counters."

But it would be wrong to think that under the cover of distributing legal responsibilities to other departments, the influx control system was to stay just the same. In fact, under the second Riekert strategy of "effective control," it was to be greatly tightened.

The report found that influx control was "an absolutely essential social security measure." Control over the movement of black work-seekers was inadequate because large numbers of Africans from rural areas contin-

ued to come to the towns looking for work, and brought their families with them. Their movements were based on "mere expectations" rather than on a realistic chance of finding work and housing.

The result was:

"large-scale unemployment in urban areas, lower wages, and a threat to the interests of the established inhabitants."

Controls Based on Jobs and Houses

The answer was to be found in controls based on jobs and houses:

"Controlled employment and accommodation are the two pillars on which the ordering of the urbanisation process ... ought to rest."

This was to be the basic principle of the new style of influx control. No employment would be legal unless registered with a local labour bureau. And no job would be registered if "approved accommodation" was not available. In addition, work-seekers would not be allowed to take jobs if suitable local people were available.

The proposals meant that the main responsibility for making sure that African workers were 'legal' would fall on employers rather than on the workers themselves. The employers would have to report all hirings and firings to the labour bureaux. Heavy fines should be imposed on employers who were caught with 'illegals' in their work force. The new policy would mean:

"a real shift of emphasis to the prosecution of employers."

This principle was later built into the Bill in the form of a R5 000 fine or twelve months in gaol for employers of illegal labour. Riekert had suggested that heavier fines for employers could mean lighter penalties for the workers. But the regime went one better on this and — just to make sure — raised the

penalty for not producing a pass from R20 or two months to R500 or six months' gaol.

In order to strengthen the second 'pillar' of the new strategy — control over housing — the Bill makes those who give lodging to 'illegals' subject to a fine of R500 or six months' gaol.

To solve the problem of urban black unemployment and bottlenecks in the flow of African labour power between prescribed areas, the report recommended that Section Ten rights should be transferable "subject to the approval of the labour bureau concerned and provided that ... approved housing and work are available." People with Section Ten rights, who were married or wished to marry, should be allowed to have their families live with them. But, once again, this was "provided approved housing was available." (In 1982 there was a backlog of 168 000 units of African housing in urban areas. To cope with the demand for houses, 463 would have to be built every working day over the next eighteen years.) It was suggested that Section Ten people should be allowed to change jobs within prescribed areas "without further authorisation from a labour bureau."

Turning to the control of contract workers and commuters, the report recommended that, in line with the "normalisation" strategy, this should be transferred from the Pass Law Act, 1952, to various laws relating to the "entry of aliens" to the 'white' sections of South Africa. A complicated set of new laws and amendments to existing laws was proposed. What this boiled down to was that no African person from a bantustan (whether "self-governing" or "independent" or neighbouring state would be allowed into the 'white' areas at all unless he or she had permission in advance to be there.

With breathtaking cynicism the report argues that such measures would "eliminate discrimination on grounds of colour," but it immediately adds that these measures would "also be conducive to more effective control."

"Normalisation" in the case of commuters and contract workers meant treating

black South Africans as literal "aliens" in their own land, just as foreigners from overseas countries would "normally" be treated if they came to South Africa.

Under such conditions it is not surprising that the Riekert Commission found that the 72-hour rule could be scrapped "without detriment to the effectiveness of control." In fact, the relative freedom of movement under the 72-hour rule was being abolished. In the same way the new system would mean that "passes" would be "abolished" (again!) and replaced by a "simple identity card" on which the "status" of the bearer would be recorded. The report found that it was not necessary to keep a record of employment, as in the "reference book" system, because "labour bureau records were kept under workers' identity numbers and it was a simple process to look up a workers' record of employment."

The Real Meaning of the Riekert Report

The real meaning of the Riekert report was not widely understood at the time of its publication. The commission's work was seen as creating "a new deal for the urban Black," and the recommended abolition of the 72-hour rule and the curfew regulations was hailed as a bold step away from apartheid. That is why the publication of the Orderly Move-

ment Bill was greeted with shock and dismay by the liberal press. But it is quite clear from a careful reading of the report that the general strategy it recommended was fully in line with the Bill.

The Bill differed from the report mainly in brushing aside tactical concession and hesitancy on the part of Riekert to deal firmly with Section Ten rights. The reasons for this more confident, hard-line approach will be discussed in the next section.

The Riekert report fully supports the measures proposed in the Bill to drive ruthlessly out of the urban areas all those Africans whose labour is not required there. What is most striking in the report is the attitude that what happens in the bantustans is no business of the Pretoria regime. The measures proposed in regard to contract workers and commuters aim at finally carrying out the intention of the National Party strategists and ideologues to push 'influx control' right back to the borders of the bantustans. This aim was expressed in the very first years of Nationalist Party rule. Now, in the fourth decade of apartheid, the 'homelands policy' is making it easier to turn these goals into reality. The sham independence of the bantustans provides a legal cloak for a policy that will inevitably cause epidemic disease, mass starvation and human tragedy on a catastrophic scale, unless resisted and defeated.



There have been many commissions and many reports dealing with influx control and labour supply in the course of the development of South African's special type of colonialism. But the Riekert report is almost certainly the first to ignore entirely conditions in the bantustans.

In this sense it is the true parent of the "Genocide Bill."

The final chapter of the report provides a long list of the "benefits" that will flow from its proposals. Two of these may be selected to show the two strategies of "normalisation" and "effective control."

The first, under the heading, "Miscellaneous points of friction," claims that the proposals will lead to "the elimination of various existing points of friction and of the criticism and dissatisfaction to which they give rise."

The second, under the heading, "Con-

trol of employment and accommodation," reads as follows:

"The Commission is also satisfied that movement control that applies to all population groups and which is linked to employment and housing affords a far more acceptable and justifiable basis than the present set-up, and that it will in no way yield poorer results, but rather far better results, since control will be concentrated on a far smaller number of strategic points, i.e. on employers and owners of premises."

The final section of the analysis will look at how the Riekert proposals and the Orderly Movement and Settlement Bill fit into the overall strategy of the National Party, at the political struggle around the Bill, and at the various social forces involved.

The Eloff Commission

by Jeffrey Khensani Mathebula

For too many years now the successive white racist and minority regimes have been at great pains to convince us and the world that Communism is a threat to Christianity in South Africa. But when we compare the freedom under which Christians and other believers profess and practice their religion in the socialist countries and the shameless way in which the successive racist, minority and illegal regimes have all along abused and misused the Christian faith with the clear aim of justifying and legitimising the capitalist op-

pression and exploitation of our people, and how much many a true and genuine Christian has been persecuted for voicing out his indignation against the evils of apartheid, we cannot but reach the conclusion that it is precisely they who threaten Christianity in our country.

One just has to look at how the findings and recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission were used to destroy the Christian Institute about six years ago to understand this and therefore realise the great danger which those of the Eloff Commission of

Inquiry represent to the continued existence of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and indeed to the Christian faith. It goes without saying that when the racist minority and criminal regime took the decision to appoint the Eloff Commission in November 1981 after it failed to implicate the SACC and a few of its prominent functionaries during the trial in which its former General Secretary, Mr John Rees, was accused and found guilty of fraud and theft involving an amount of R296,000 belonging to the funds of the church body, this was not done out of any concern for the smooth-running of its financial affairs. On the contrary, it was without doubt a politically motivated move which was calculated to discredit and tarnish the prestige and respectability of the renowned church body in the eyes of its member churches and the Christian community both inside and outside South Africa. This was to be done by 'discovering and unearthing' how the unaccounted use of some of its funds might have found their way into the hands of the ANC 'terrorists' as the regime has repeatedly alleged. In the case of its allegations being verified, the racist and criminal regime, undoubtedly would have declared the SACC an affected organisation in terms of the all-embracing powers of its legislation.

It was not without reason that the Secretary General of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, in exposing the real motive behind the appointment of the Eloff Commission and the serious nature of its threat, bluntly declared that: 'It is not the finances or any other activities of the SACC that are being investigated. It is our Christianity, it is our faith and therefore our theology that are under scrutiny and the central matters at issue are profoundly theological ... We are under trial for being Christian and that by a government which claims to be Christian. It may be that we are being told it is an offence to be a Christian in South Africa. That is what you are asked to determine.'

Now that the racist and illegal regime

has failed to nail the SACC on any of its allegations, the only thing the Eloff Commission could do was to recommend that the Fund Raising Act be amended so as to be able to curb the activities of the church body in particular and other organisations by bringing them under strict control regarding the management of their donated funds. As part of the racist minority and criminal regime's intention to destroy the SACC, the Eloff Commission further recommended that the definition of economic sabotage as an offence would have to be more clearly defined and broadened to include the promotion of foreign disinvestment also as an offence against the State in terms of the Internal Security Act. This obviously and simply means that the threat of the Eloff Commission's findings and recommendations not only to the SACC but also to all those organisations and individuals who oppose foreign investment for the role it plays in strengthening the apartheid system is not over yet but is still lurking in the air.

The fact that the Eloff Commission has recommended that the SACC not be declared an affected organisation because this would result in the suffering of needy and innocent people must not be seen as an action taken out of mercy or less so a sense of justice by the same racist and criminal regime that almost daily murders defenceless women and children, violently suppresses workers' strikes and uproots thousands upon thousands of our people from their dear and humble homes to dump them into some unknown and barren spot somewhere in the hated bantustans to die of hunger and disease.

Nor must it lead us to lower our guard or vigilance against the threat that the Eloff Commission's findings and recommendations still poses against the SACC and bodies such as the UDF. Instead, it should be seen as one more victory on the part of our people and the Christian community in particular against the evils of apartheid and as an attempt by the wounded humanoid beasts in Pretoria and Cape Town to explain away their fail-

ures and consequent actions as being carried out because of humanitarian reasons. Under these circumstances, the need to mobilize further and redouble our fighting unity and the support of the international community in favour of our struggle and the SACC becomes an urgent task for all democrats and patriots. This will help to foil the threat which like an axe ready to fall is still hanging over the neck of the SACC.

The fascist nature of the South African racist and illegal regime and the wide powers of its legislation, combined with the experience of how the findings and recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission were used to destroy the Christian Institute leaves us in no doubt that the regime will not hesitate to let the axe fall on the SACC if and when circumstances allow it. This it would attempt to do regardless of whether the findings and recommendations made on their basis have been established beyond any doubt or not.

As for the investigations that took almost two years to complete by the Eloff Commission, they were merely an act of window-dressing by an illegitimate regime which in the name of Christianity and the so-called Western Civilisation is bent on violently suppressing the just and noble aspirations of the overwhelming majority of Christians and other believers in South Africa.

Although the findings and recommendations of the Eloff Commission have not led to the SACC being declared an affected organisation as the regime wished to do thanks largely to the support and prestige that the church body enjoys among its member churches and the Christian community in general both inside and outside South Africa, it is evident that the State and Church as a whole are set on a collision road that will only end with the total elimination of apartheid and the national liberation of all the oppressed and exploited people in our beloved country.

The ferment and turmoil that is to be seen tearing apart the various sections of the

Reformed Church today are just one other aspect of this confrontation. In this situation it is therefore an urgent task for us as genuine patriots, democrats and revolutionaries, Christians and non-Christians, believers and non-believers to rally our forces in support of those of our compatriots who are today being persecuted for proclaiming, standing up in defence of their belief and convictions against the evils and injustices of the apartheid system.

The massive financial and moral support that the SACC receives from the Christian community through its member churches and foreign and international religious organisations that included the WCC, National Council of Churches (US), Episcopal Church (US), Episcopal Church (Scotland), Anglican Church (Canada), Anglican Church (Britain), Ecumenical Partners of the SACC (Switzerland), Protestant Central Agency for Development Aid, Bread for the World, the Protestant Association for World Mission, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Norwegian Church Aid, Church of Norway, Dachurchaid (Denmark) etc in spite of the big campaign of slander and smear against the renowned church body during the proceedings of the Eloff Commission was a smack in the face of the racist minority and illegal regime. Although the investigations of the Eloff Commission caused some confusion, tension and even disrupted to some extent the normal activities of the SACC, the latter emerged at the end stronger than before and is now in a better position to face the threat. We are certain that 'the churches themselves and not the Eloff Commission will determine whether or not there will be a South African Council of Churches', as the Vice-President of the SACC, the Rev T S N Wing put it some time ago.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE



SACTU AND TRADE UNION UNITY

By Ronnie Press

The diagram No 1 compares the wages of African and white mineworkers. It clearly indicates that apartheid has not changed. It is a system of exploitation, and a system of social discrimination.

The diagram No 2 shows the number of economically active people in South Africa. After the second world war there was a rapid expansion of the working class in South Africa. Since about 1975 this expansion has been slowing down. Today, black workers number about five and a half million.

The diagram No 3 shows the number of strikes by black workers since 1950. All of these (except perhaps one or at the most two) were illegal. It clearly shows that the South African Congress of Trade Unions, active in the fifties, was a significant factor in generating trade union militancy. It also indicates the massive strike wave in the early seventies and the latest surge of the early eighties.

Against this background one must view the numbers of workers joining trade unions in our country. Diagram No 4 indicates trade union membership for the three main groups – white, Indian/Coloured and African workers. These divisions are historical, and part of the apartheid system of divide and rule. It is now difficult in practice to find separate figures for African, Coloured and Indian workers. This arises from the growing unity of the black workers, and from the fact that the law on trade union membership has been forced to change.

Let us consider the two cases of the Whites and the Africans.

Of the Whites, there were few in trade unions up to 1915. By 1922, and the Rand revolt, white trade unions had grown rapidly only to be crushed by the state. After 1925 the white trade unions were brought into the state system, and grew steadily until now, when about 30% to 40% of white workers are in trade unions. However, just because workers join trade unions they are not necessarily progressive, militant or internationalist.

African workers started joining trade

DIAGRAM 1 - WAGES RAND PER MONTH, YEAR 19--

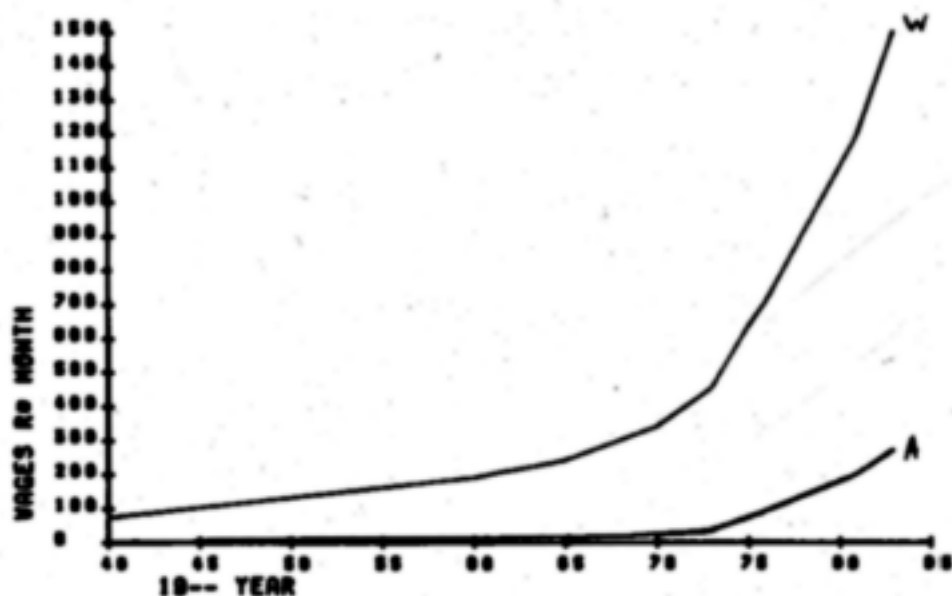


DIAGRAM 2 - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE, YEAR 19--

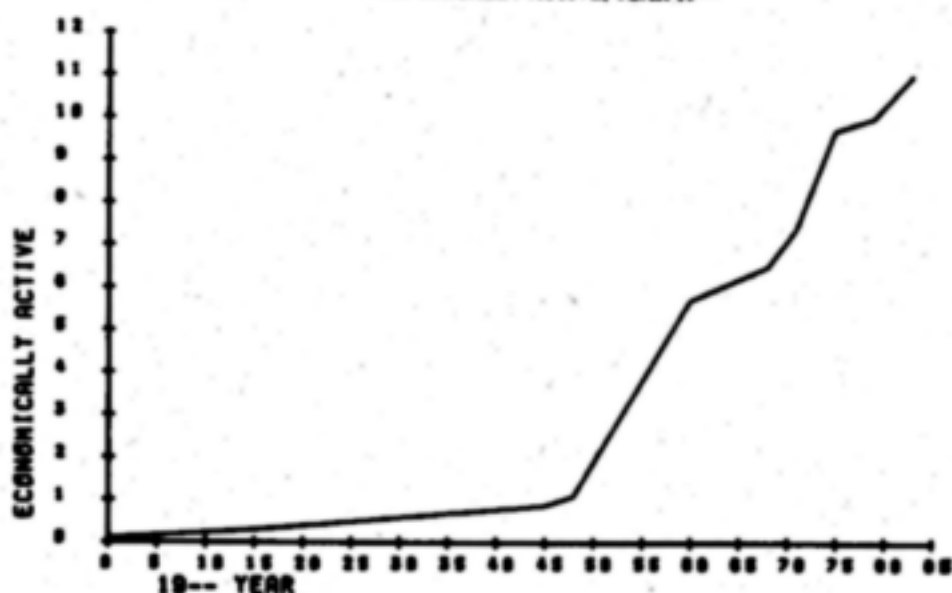


DIAGRAM 3 - STRIKES, YEAR 19--

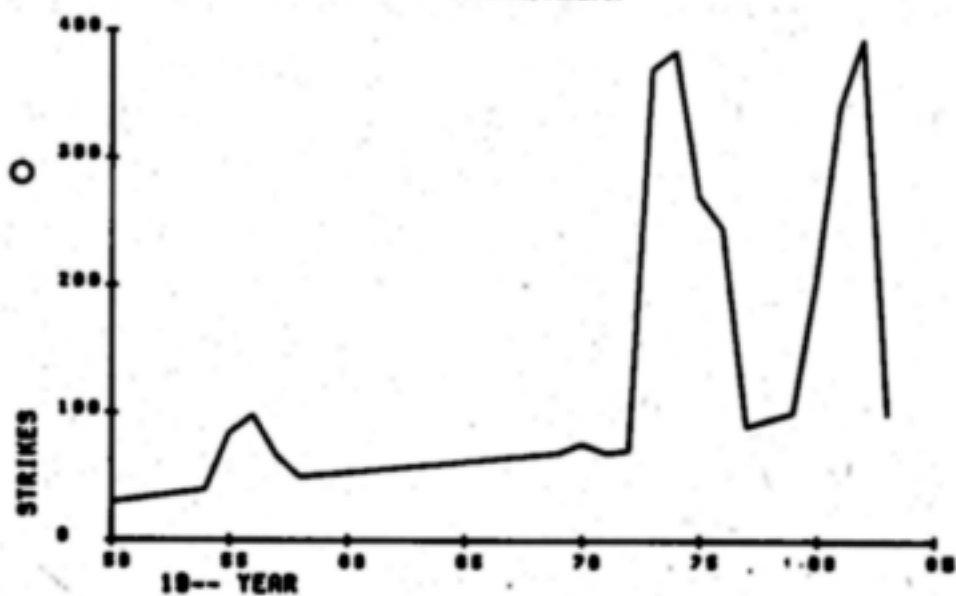
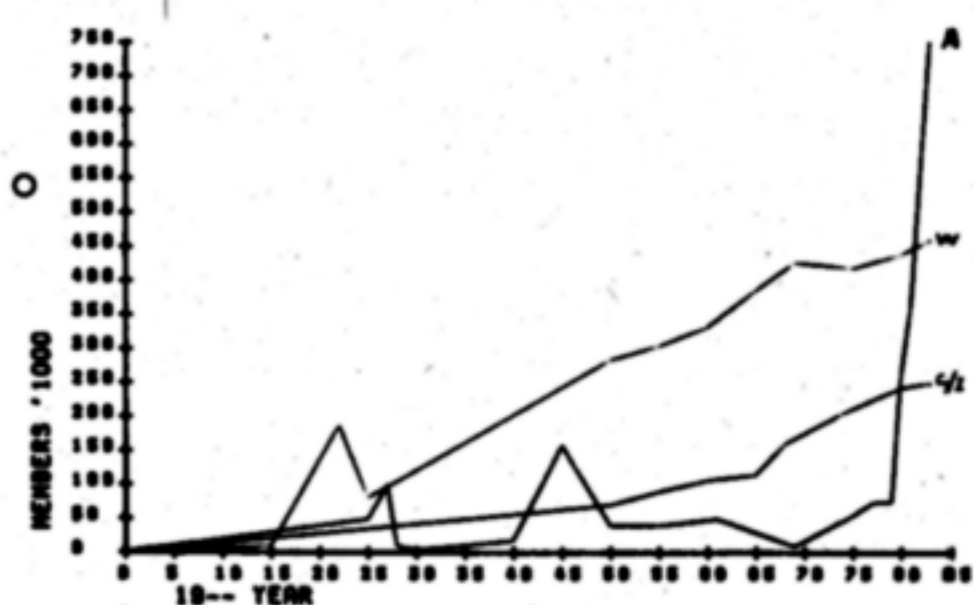


DIAGRAM 4 - MEMBERS IN THOUSANDS, YEAR 19--



unions in great numbers in the mid-twenties, the time of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. Considering the small size of the African working class at that time, the percentage organised was high. This trade union movement was crushed by the bosses and the apartheid state, and the white workers refused to come to the aid of the black workers. The anti-Communist International Federation of Trade Unions and the British 'expert,' W Ballinger, gave assistance which only made matters worse. Collapse followed.

By the end of the war, the Council of Non-European Trade Unions had taken up the struggle, and a great resurgence occurred, only to be crushed once again - this time by the new Nationalist Government, and because the unions were betrayed by their own right wing.

Numbers Don't Tell the Whole Story

SACTU took up the struggle in the mid-fifties.

Here I would like to digress. The numbers game is a dangerous one. SACTU cannot claim to have organised the mass of black workers into trade unions. It can claim, though, to have accomplished a far greater task. As a trade union centre, SACTU laid out the path that the black (and the white) workers must take to freedom from the apartheid system of exploitation.

1. A worker is a worker, irrespective of race, colour, creed or any other form of discrimination.

2. A trade union is an organisation of workers, for workers, run by the members. In short, it must be a democratic fighting force.

3. Although the main reason for the existence of a trade union is to advance the workers' demands for wages, conditions, rights and so on, at work, it cannot end there. All these things exist in the context of a political system. Therefore, political issues are issues for the trade union.

4. The trade unions are not political organisations and should not, cannot, aspire to be

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS DECEMBER 1983

NOTE:

A = African; C/I = Coloured and Indian; B = African, Coloured and Indian. W = White

Total number of workers organised:	W	500,000	(34%)
	B	1,000 000	(18%)

Organisation	Number of Unions	Membership	Politics
Individual unions	100	273,000 W 81 000 B	Variable
Democratic Trade Unions			
Industrial unions	12	90,000 B	Against apartheid system
General Unions	10	220,000 B	Against apartheid system
CUSA	12	120,000 B	Against apartheid system
FOSATU	9	105,000 B	Against apartheid system
SAAWU	?	100,000 B	Against apartheid system
TUCSA	56	102,000 W 195,000 C/I 128,000 A	Supports government policies
SACLA	12	120,000 W	Thinks government liberal

political organisations. However, since workers cannot advance without the overthrow of apartheid, the trade unions are part of the liberation movement led by the ANC, an independent part but fully committed to the struggle.

In SACTU were communists, non-communists, Muslims and Christians, Whites and Blacks, men and women of all persuasions.

In SACTU were registered and unregistered trade unions, unions that participated in industrial councils and unions that did not, unions with stop orders and negotiation agreements with their bosses and unions which were to all intents and purposes underground. Most were industrial unions, but general workers' unions were by no means excluded. Some were national unions, others were organised locally. Each union had its own constitution and its own form of organisation

and democracy, but all were united for freedom and against apartheid.

SACTU was part of the Congress Alliance and endorsed the Freedom Charter. SACTU stood firmly outside the state structure of industrial relations, although of necessity it used all means to further the cause of the workers.

After the enforced lull came the strike waves, the storms of Soweto and Guguletu, the lightning flashes of Umkhonto We Sizwe and the burning anger of Crossroads. By the beginning of 1980, trade union membership had begun to rocket, to stand now at an all time high.

The Unions Today

A survey of the unions is subject to a number of difficulties. Membership figures depend on factors such as numbers who have joined,

paid up membership, hand collections or stop orders, a stable or unstable labour force, state of organisation, degree of harassment and state interference, and so on. Political views are usually expressed through journals, statements to the press, conference motions and such like, but the attitude of the state to a union often is a better guide to the politics of that union. Even so, the leadership does not always reflect the views of the membership, and the nature of the democratic process in the union is important.

However, one thing we can be sure of is that under fascism in South Africa the workers are neither free to express their views nor to join trade unions. In spite of this, they do so, and I will attempt to survey the scene.

The table for December 1983 gives a broad picture of membership and political views of the major unions.

Although we dismiss the South African Confederation of Labour (SACLA) as racist, which it is, we should nonetheless try to remember that these are workers. I know it is difficult. The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) is proving itself to be a true inheritor of the racist sell-out policies of the old Trades and Labour Council. It continues its move to the right. Even the Boilermakers have resigned because TUCSA refuses to see the emergence of the African workers as a major force. TUCSA affiliates, with the help of the bosses and the closed shop, continue to force black workers into 'sweetheart' unions, but with a growing and increasingly successful opposition from the workers. The battles continue between the racist South African Typographical Union and the Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union; between the Union of Textile Workers supported by the textile magnate, Frayre, and the FOSATU affiliate, the National Union of Textile Workers.

TUCSA does not represent the aspirations of the black workers. Every effort must be made to win the workers and their unions away from TUCSA and into the broad democratic trade union movement.

The table gives the broad numerical picture. I wish, however, to enlarge on this.

Unity and the Democratic, Non-Racial Trade Unions

There are a number of threads to the views of the unions as expressed by their leaderships. First, they all now express anti-apartheid views, all in practice work with community organisations, and with a few exceptions they all accept into membership all workers irrespective of colour, race or creed. They have all expressed a desire to work towards the formation of a single trade union federation. They all, for example, have suffered from government oppression to a degree ranging from simple harassment over passes and office accommodation to the murder of their organisers.

At the unity talks are represented well over 300 000 workers with a potential at the present moment of a federation of almost 600 000.

What are the problems?

Some problems are political. The general aims and objectives of such a federation can, I submit, be generally agreed, provided certain ideas and philosophical niceties are not raised to the status of principles. For example, there is a tendency towards the belief that workers must stand alone, and that only the workers can bring freedom to South Africa, and towards this being used as an argument against support for the Freedom Charter. There are no doubt other views, not expressed, on revolution or evolution etc. None of these override the hatred of the workers for apartheid, and their demand for freedom.

There are also structural and organisational problems. For example, over 10 general workers' unions exist. Their memberships overlap with those of industrial unions. There are about eight unions organising in the food industry, and about 15 in the metal and engineering sectors. Clearly, demarcation and amalgamation will be a problem. Some of these unions have already begun to transfer

members. Some general unions have begun to specialise, with a view to becoming industrial unions. With others there has been a history of strike-breaking and poaching, so time will be necessary to heal the wounds.

In certain cases, as, for example, in an isolated town, it is in fact better to organise as a general workers' union than as fragmented industrial unions. There is also the necessity to accommodate small, specialist workers' groups which are unable to stand alone. There is also the old practice of SACTU, to have a holding section for members, which keeps them in the union movement until they are numerous enough to stand alone and form their own union. In a united federation the need for general unions will decrease.

There are clearly financial and constitutional problems in a new federal body, problems of representation. How do you count members? Will a union close to the bosses have more votes because it has more members with stop orders? Will a militant, unrecognised, harassed union have fewer votes just because it does not have stop orders? Should the new federation be a highly centralised, tightly knit, disciplined organisation or a loose one where each union is autonomous? Should there be regional structures with representation at an NEC level, or should the NEC be a body directly elected from the unions? What role must international financial aid be allowed to play? Should education be centralised?

There are innumerable questions like these, which cannot be answered in an abstract, academic manner. Only broad principles can be written down. Time, patience and the will and necessity to succeed will solve most of them.

The British TUC has been in existence as the single, unified centre for the trade unions for over a hundred years. There are still demarcation disputes, there are still general workers' unions, there are still two major unions in printing, in any large engineering factory five or more unions organise. We in South Africa can have one trade union

centre for the democratic unions, in spite of our difficulties. Our need is even greater than that of the British workers, and, with all due respect to the British workers, the political understanding of the black workers in South Africa is very much higher.

As the struggle intensifies, as the move-



ment experiences its victories and defeats, so organisational methods and structures will change to meet the needs of the workers.

Organisational and political problems of the kind I have described will continue to exist until the workers have won freedom in South Africa. It is part of the problem of living under capitalism. It disappears under new, more advanced systems of organisation as in Cuba and the USSR, under socialism. New problems will arise, but that is another story.

A Few Basic Principles

I would like to emphasise a few basic principles in the light of the present stage of our struggle.

1. The South African trade union movement is the property of the South African workers. History has placed its future in the hands of the black workers. They are eminently capable of doing the job.

2. The Trade Unions are organisations of workers. They and they alone have the right and duty to mould their unions to their will.

3. Members of the trade union movement are also members of other organisations, churches, community associations and so on. All are welcome.

But in particular the trade union movement has learned from the hard school of practical trade union building that members of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party are particularly valuable. Such people have a wealth of experience, the highest motivation and dedication, and a clear view of how to struggle for the success of the workers' cause.

4. The trade union movement of South Africa is internationalist. SACTU during its formative years was a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and was instrumental in the formation of the first All-

African Trade Union Federation, and its successor, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity. History has shown that the imperialists use their parasites in the international trade union movement to undermine the struggles of the workers for freedom. The CIA and its lackeys in the AFL-CIO were instrumental in the overthrow of the popular government of Allende in Chile. Similarly, imperialist agents play a large part in the international activities of the British, West German and other trade union centres, and in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

It is in the mutual interest of the South African workers and the workers of the Western world that imperialism is not imported into the international trade union movement.

SACTU

The struggle in South Africa proceeds apace. It is pursued at many levels, by many methods. The apartheid regime has made it abundantly clear that all opposition to the system of apartheid is 'illegal.' Therefore, to fight for its necessary overthrow is 'illegal.' Trade unions must of necessity be legal organisations, but they cannot, on pain of becoming useless appendages of the bosses, give up the struggle against apartheid. Therefore, it is essential to have an organisation within the trade union movement which is free to pursue, in alliance with the liberation movement, the task of the overthrow of apartheid. Such an organisation is SACTU. SACTU alone is free to perform this task, for the very reason that it is underground.

The banning of SAAWU in the Ciskei is an unhappy reminder that we live under fascism. The fascist aim is to crush the trade unions or incorporate them into the state apparatus. We will have none of it. That is why SACTU is essential.

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**THE UNITY WE NEED
IS PEOPLE'S UNITY.**

**We need it all
we need it here
we need it now!**



The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, the result of humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition of its victory. The main objective of the revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potentiality of human beings, reconciling them with labour and with nature. This is the context within which the question of women's emancipation arises.

**ORGANISE
FIGHT ON!**