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SOUTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

Southern Africa is the focus of increased military attention from the United States and its West European allies. A wider and protracted war in the sub-continent is inevitable. The South African regime's recent rightward lurch and the renewed determination of liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa, supported by adjacent independent African states, in their struggle for freedom, have created a sense of urgency for the West.

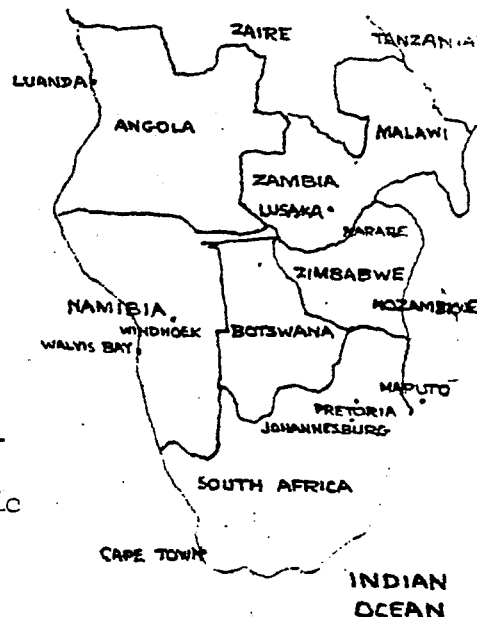
A report in the April 30 WASHINGTON POST tells how the USA and its NATO allies 'have begun a major buildup of military facilities' in the Azores and Madeira island groups controlled by Portugal and strategically located in the Atlantic west of Gibraltar where Africa and Europe meet. The Azores particularly have provided crucial way stations for air and naval traffic between North America and those eastern hemisphere continents, a junction point serving the NATO countries, the Middle East and Africa. The heightened emphasis now has to do with containing events along the South Atlantic coast of Africa. An American admiral speaks of a 'military plan, a contingency plan' in view of Soviet warships operating from Luanda and Lobito in Angola.

In February, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported on the CIA's use of the abandoned Kamina airbase in Zaire's Shaba province for arms deliveries to UNITA which is fighting the government of adjacent Angola. In a scenario similar to what we are currently learning during the House-Senate Irangate hearings, C 130 and Boeing 707 cargo jets of 'Santa Lucia Airways' brought in shipments chiefly at night in operations directed at Kamina by a black American. Lighter aircraft took the materiel on to UNITA's Jamba base. THE TIMES reporter "was interrogated and warned before being allowed to leave.

In mid-April, THE WASHINGTON POST wrote of a two-week joint USA-Zairean military exercise at the Kamina base, employing US special force personnel - army, navy and air force, 'less than 150' in number, the Pentagon and State Department insisted. Restoration of the former Belgian airbase, including its 750-bed hospital, could amount to \$100 million. As of THE POST's story a final decision had not been made, pending a US go-ahead and the signing of a treaty with Zaire. US officials insist Kamina would be used for humanitarian food shipments and the like. But an updated Kamina would provide a gigantic airfield in the heart of Africa commanding virtually the entire region, east to west, central Africa to the Cape.

A South Atlantic Treaty Organization to complement that existing in the North Atlantic region has been an active concept for at least six years. In 1981, an international symposium was held in Buenos Aires on formalizing a security alliance amongst the USA, South Africa and the cone states of South America. South African and Namibian newspapers ran a series of reports about the utilization of naval bases in those countries, with special emphasis on the Namibian port of Walvis Bay, an enclave claimed by Pretoria. NATO officials admitted contingency plans concerned with the South Atlantic.

The South American wing of an envisioned SATO appears to be in abeyance, but the developments outlined above indicate that the NATO powers are serious about extending an active reach well below NATO's assumed limit of the Tropic of Cancer, into the explosive southern Africa area.



The UDF outlines its dream for democracy

IN one of its most explicit public policy statements to date, the United Democratic Front last weekend unveiled its vision of mass-participatory democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa.

This vision, insisted acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, was grounded on the grassroots organisations already operating in townships. "What is possible in the future depends on what we are able to create today," he said. "The creation of democratic means is for us as important as having democratic ends."

Morobe's speech — delivered on his behalf at the first conference of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's extra-parliamentary Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — came one day after the National Party's landslide election victory. He rejected parliament as a democratic forum, both in its present form and as a future model.

Parliament, argued Morobe, had been illegitimate "since the very first whites-only Union government of 1910 gave political shape to and confirmed the process of colonial conquest and land dispossession that had taken place over the three previous centuries". The subsequent banning of the African National Congress, clampdown on the UDF and State of Emergencies had confirmed this illegitimacy.

Furthermore, he said, parliament had become irrelevant. Real power lay in the "executive and absolute powers vested in the state president, backed up by a national security system of joint management committees under the State Security Council (dominated by the police and army)". The security forces, given sweeping powers under the Emergency, "with vigilantes and impimpis (informers) at their disposal, are unelected, unmandated and unaccountable," Morobe said.

"There can be no democratic alternatives in this country as long as these forces continue to exist."

Majority rule, Morobe said, did not mean black faces would simply replace white faces in parliament. He spurned constitutional models which sought to make political representation more non-racial "without any real transference of power away from the small elite which has the present monopoly."

Some 350 delegates from a variety of organisations met at the weekend under the umbrella of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's new 'think tank' to discuss ideas for a future without discrimination.

JO-ANN BEKKER reports

"Our democratic aim is control over every aspect of our lives," he explained. "The key to a democratic system lies in being able to say that the people in our country cannot only vote for a representative of their choice, but also feel that they have some direct control over where and how they live, eat, sleep, work, how they get to work, how they and their children are educated, what the content of that education is."

"We are talking about direct as opposed to indirect political representation, mass participation rather than passive docility and ignorance, a momentum where people feel that they can do the job themselves, rather than waiting for their local MP to intercede on their behalf."

He said the "rudimentary organs of people's power" such as street committees, defence committees, shop-steward structures, student representative councils and parent-teacher-student associations "represent in many ways the beginnings of the kind of democracy we are striving for".

In many townships, Morobe added, the call for "people's power" "was actually transferred from a slogan into a reality before the repressive tide of the second State of Emergency took its toll."

"Never have our townships seen such debate, such mass participation, such direct representation — not just on the part of political activists, but on the part of ordinary South Africans who throughout their whole lives have been pushed around like logs of wood."

He said the basic unit of "people's power" was the street or yard committee — an executive of 10 to 12 people elected at a meeting of all the street's residents. The committee met at least once a week and sent representatives to zone, area or section committees that represented about 25 streets. A township civic executive was chosen at a meeting of all sections and ratified at mass rallies.

The tasks of the various structures included direct political representation, two-way communication from the mass base to the leadership and back, debating the strategies of protest action, solving social disputes through people's courts, and "intervening in the running of the

townships" by building parks, clearing rubble and even collecting rent to build new houses and facilities for township residents.

Morobe said the difficulties of "organising democratically at gunpoint" were obvious: with most meetings banned, most officials in jail or underground, "the need for tight security and secrecy obviously puts a strain on the development of a mass-based democratic practice".

However, he said the basic principles of organisational democracy remained intact — leaders had to be elected at periodic intervals and collective, consultative leadership, where leaders were strictly accountable to their membership, was striven for. Members had the right to differ, but once a decision had been voted on within an organisation all members were expected to abide by it.

"Democracy in South Africa can only survive if it tackles the existing unequal relations of power and privilege as well as the issue of political representation and individual freedom," Morobe said.

Thus, he added, many in the UDF supported the ideals of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955. The Charter, he said, had called for the nationalisation of the mines and major industries, as a way of asserting a "democratic solution" to the "gross inequalities" caused by the combination of political discrimination and economic exploitation, which had resulted in "one of the highest rates of profit in the world and one of the most skewed distributions of income and resources".

But while Morobe outlined the UDF's goals, he gave no indication of how it hoped to achieve them in the face of the security crackdown widely endorsed by the white electorate last week.

"Against these odds," he said, "it is important to remember that Davids have defeated Goliaths before and will do so again. Few weapons are more powerful than mass participation and unity in action against the common enemy."

WEEKLY MAIL: May 15 to May 21, 1981

Two sieges, a bomb blast and several deaths, but Cosatu keeps on talking

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has survived two sieges in a week, a bomb blast that wrecked its headquarters and several incidents of death, violence and arson.

But if this week's well-organised press conference is anything to go by it will take more than death and destruction to silence the voice of the largest worker organisation in the country.

At the conference, held in a somewhat rundown hotel in Johannesburg on Wednesday, Cosatu screened a film of what the federation termed a malicious, but well co-ordinated and orchestrated media propaganda campaign against it.

The film also included clippings of the damage caused by the police during the first two sieges of Cosatu House last month and the devastation of the bomb blast on May 7.

That Cosatu could organise such material only a week after their offices were wrecked by what is believed



The aftermath of the largest bomb ever to have been detonated on the Witwatersrand. An architect's photograph captures the chaos in a Cosatu House office

to be an expert bombing job, is an enduring feat.

Hours after learning that Cosatu House was unsafe, Cosatu-affiliated unions were temporarily housed in several offices in the city.

Attempts to get alternative accommodation have been thwarted by reluctant landlords who "refused to give us premises as soon as they learnt that we are from Cosatu House," according to secretary general Jay Naidoo.

Naidoo acknowledges that the attacks on Cosatu have had an effect on union activity.

"To a large extent it has disrupted the daily activities of trade unions.

"The fact that we are not allowed into our building at present even to have access to the material that is crucial to any negotiations is a great

problem.

"The organisation however has not been stopped by the attack on our house and the events of the last few weeks," he said.

Naidoo said the attack on the integrity of Cosatu and the labour movement in general serves to obscure and attempts to justify the physical attacks on its members and its offices.

Allegations linking Cosatu to the ANC and the SACP were rejected by Naidoo.

"We reject this allegation and our lawyers have been instructed to take legal action."

The propaganda campaign started in earnest during the South African Transport Service strike.

At the beginning of April, Sats management attempted to shift the blame for the dispute, focusing not

on the dispute or the parties involved but attempting to cast doubt on the origins and intentions of Cosatu.

Several allegations attempted to link the SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union and Cosatu to the ANC.

A few days later police launched a massive raid on Cosatu House. The raid resulted in extensive damage to Cosatu property.

Then came the bomb that was described as the largest ever to have been detonated on the Witwatersrand.

"The building was insured but the R100 000 printing unit had just been installed and was in the process of being insured," Naidoo said.

He warned the government that should they persist in their current approach to Cosatu they may well promote a massive collapse of the labour relations system.

The campaign of violence and intimidation against the student movement and the largest trade union federation in the country continues.

●On Wednesday morning extensive damage was caused to the offices of the Transvaal Student Congress (Trasco) and the National Student Co-ordinating Committee (Nascoc) after they were firebombed.

●The Germiston offices of the Metal and Allied Workers Union and the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union were vandalised last week.

●The East London offices of the South African Allied Workers Union and Sached were smashed up last Wednesday.

●The Witbank offices of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mawu and Ccawusa were raided last Friday.

●Sarhuw offices in Kroonstad were smashed up and closed down on Monday after office worker were escorted out of town.

●A badly beaten up Transport and General Workers organiser Josiah Tire was found manacled to the security gate and lying in broken glass at Cosatu House after being assaulted by police during an argument on Monday.

Still no SATS response to union

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE South African Transport Services has not yet responded to a wide range of re-employment proposals from the union representing 16 000 dismissed workers.

The workers are demanding the re-engagement of the entire workforce in the same capacities and on the same conditions and rates as applied to them before the strike.

They are also demanding that evicted workers who have been repatriated to the "homelands" be returned at Sats' expense.

The workers have rejected Sats' offer of selective re-employment, but there are possibilities of settlement of the dispute that has caused the transport service sector millions of rands.

Although talks between the lawyers of the dismissed workers and Sats' legal advisers have been going on on a positive tone, there are fears that the talks may be ruined by the

government's hardline attitude.

Opening the 50th annual congress of Sats' Salaried Staff Association, Transport Minister Eli Louw said the parastatal was aiming at a smaller and better paid staff.

"Before large-scale employment and re-employment is effected, an assessment of labour needs will be made."

This prompted Cosatu's Jay Naidoo to remark that "the attitude of Sats and the government has always been confused and chaotic.

"An indication will come that it is positive and be reversed a few hours later by negative indications."

There are, however, strong indications that Sats might opt for a settlement that will include the reinstatement of the entire workforce because in dismissing the workers it didn't follow its own in-house disciplinary procedure.

The delay in Sats' response to the dismissed workers' proposals is believed to result from the demand that all detained workers be released and trespass charges and strike offences be dropped.

Over 400 South African Railways and Harbours Union members and officials are being held.

The union's education secretary, Mike Roussos, and five negotiators were detained soon after the May 7 blast at Cosatu House.

Their detention and that of general secretary Sello Ntai has not hardened the stance of the negotiators, but it is believed a delay and an unsatisfactory proposal from Sats might have that result.

The majority of the members who went on strike are Sarhuw members and the detentions are seen as an attempt to sidestep the issue of conducting a ballot to determine which union is representative in Sats.

Public sector ready for union growth

THE massive labour disputes which have rocked the Reef since March have spotlighted public sector unions as a vital new force in South African politics.

The marathon stoppage by some 30,000 railway and postal workers showed that the government-owned sectors of the economy is a vast area that the labour movement is poised to expand into.

Conditions in these sectors have all the ingredients for rapid union growth - a huge workforce subject to pre-Wiehahn industrial relations policy and practices.

In addition most black public sector workers have had limited exposure to militant unionism, and as a result, have high expectations of unions.

They are also housed in massive hostels that allow for the rapid spread of ideas about workers organisation, says Prof. Eddie Webster of Wits University's Industrial Sociology Department.

Central Statistical Services data shows that 1.06 million workers of all races were employed in central, provincial and local government as well as in universities and other statutory bodies.

Nearly half a million people work in the transport and post and telecommunication sectors while the big parastatals employ nearly 200,000.

After gaining a foothold in the private sector, it was inevitable that the unions would mount a push into this huge terrain of growth.

But industrial conflict in the public sector also has peculiar consequences which encourage a brand of unionism that combines factory floor organisation with political struggles.

"The Soweto stayaway last week worked because residents were already angry about not receiving their post and waiting in long queues after work for public transport," said a youth activist who declined to be named.

The stoppages also struck at the heart of the racially stratified system of employment that has created a class of privileged white bureaucrats who are loyal to the Nationalist government.

"The vicious response by the police and military to our strike was designed to win votes from white workers who could have switched their support to right-wing parties," says Mike Roussos, spokesman for the SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union.

Today the following unions organise under these conditions in the public sector:

- The Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) and the National Union of Mine-workers (NUM), both affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), have begun to recruit at Escom. Mawu also has 6,000 members at Iscor.

- Cosatu's Chemical and Industrial Workers' Union has more than 10,000 members at Sasol's fuel plant and collieries in Secunda.

The SA Chemical Workers' Union, affiliated to Cusa-Azactu, is active in the Sasolburg plant.

- The independent SA Black Municipal and Allied Workers' Union (Sabmawu) claims 35,000 members in town councils across the Transvaal and was responsible for a rash of strikes in this region last year.

- The Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa) claims a national membership of 15,000.

- Sarwhu now has a national membership of over 20,000 but faces the test of re-grouping after its dismissed members are selectively re-employed.

The independent National Union of Railway Workers and Cusa-Azactu's African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union have a smaller presence on the railways.

- Cosatu has pledged to form a national union of transport workers and another for municipal workers before mid-year.

Recent events have shown there is a militant enthusiasm amongst workers for the political unionism that flows from this area of organisation.

An indication of the lasting achievements that could come out of the recent strikes, is the call by the Director General of Marpower, Piet Van Der Merwe, for a re-examination of the legislation governing collective bargaining in the state sector.

The ability of the young public sector unions to consolidate will depend on their ability to withstand repressive measures.

WEEKLY MAIL, May 15 to May 21, 1987

Prince linked in court to slaying of mine unionist

A KWAZULU prince and two other officials of the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) have been linked to the brutal killing of a National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) organiser in Vryheid last week.

According to affidavits in the Natal Supreme Court, Victom Zulu, Zephania Ntombela and P Mhlungu assaulted Bhekuyise Ntshangase with a variety of weapons last Tuesday at the Vryheid Coronation Colliery.

Ntshangase later died from injuries. In a separate interview Uwusa legal advisor Gordon Radebe said the killing possibly resulted from the NUM refusal to vacate an office which they had to share with Uwusa on an alternate basis.

On Monday the court granted an interim order restraining Uwusa, its officials and members from unlawfully assaulting, threatening violence, intimidating or interfering with members of the NUM as well as unlawfully interfering with NUM's trade union activities.

Uwusa was also ordered to read out the court order to its officials and members at the colliery.

Uwusa has denied all allegations of unlawful conduct and has indicated that it would be opposing the interim order on July 3 when argument will be heard on whether the order should be finalised.

The NUM submitted that there was an arrangement whereby the three unions operating at the mines (NUM, Uwusa and the Black Allied Mining and Tunnels Union) used the offices on different days of the week.

As Uwusa had used the office only twice in six months, a new arrangement was entered into with management in March.

The agreement was the NUM could use the office on days the other unions did not, provided the office was booked in advance. This, the NUM claims, was done.

However, on the morning of May 5 Uwusa demanded the use of the offices.

The Uwusa men were offered an alternative office but they turned it down.

Ntombela, accompanied by Zulu and Mhlungu entered the room and ordered the NUM members to leave the office.

After Ntombela struck Ntshangase on the head Zulu and Mhlungu joined in the assault.

Some people in the room escaped through the door and window.

NUM member Xola Myoli said he attempted to climb through the window but was unable to.

Myoli watched as the three men assaulted Ntshangase as he staggered towards the door.

Ntshangase managed to move into the passage while blows were rained on him.

By SEFAKO NYAKA

Another NUM member, Clifford Ramafole, said he fled when the three men came into the room.

"As I entered the passage leading out of the office, I noticed there where a number of people blocking the way.

"I managed to push my way through and, while doing so, was struck twice on the head by a hard object. I then ran to the No 1 hostel."

Harrison Nxiytwala head clerk and NUM Coronation branch chairman described how the three men struck Ntshangase as he emerged from the doorway at the end of the passage.

Ntshangase was bleeding and staggered to the hostel manager's office from where he was taken to the Industrial Relations Office.

The group of about 10 men then chanted Uwusa slogans.

Personnel manager Mr P Adlam joined the group and appeared to talk to them. At the same time another NUM organiser, Phumlani Mdletshe, arrived and Ntombela urged the men to kill him. Nobody responded.

Last Friday a disciplinary inquiry found that Mhlungu and Zulu had been positively identified as having participated in the assault.

They were dismissed whereupon Zulu said his dismissal would lead to a war situation.

By late Wednesday afternoon mine management and KwaZulu Legislative members were locked in discussion over the dismissal of the Uwusa members.

Severe pressure had been exerted on Zulu-speaking employees at Hlobane and Coronation mines to join Uwusa, according to NUM members.

On June 6, 1986, Mdletshe went to Hlobane Colliery to persuade striking workers to return to work.

During the day busloads of Zulu-speaking men from KwaZulu were bused to the mine.

Eleven NUM members were killed that day. Some of the attackers were identified as Uwusa members.

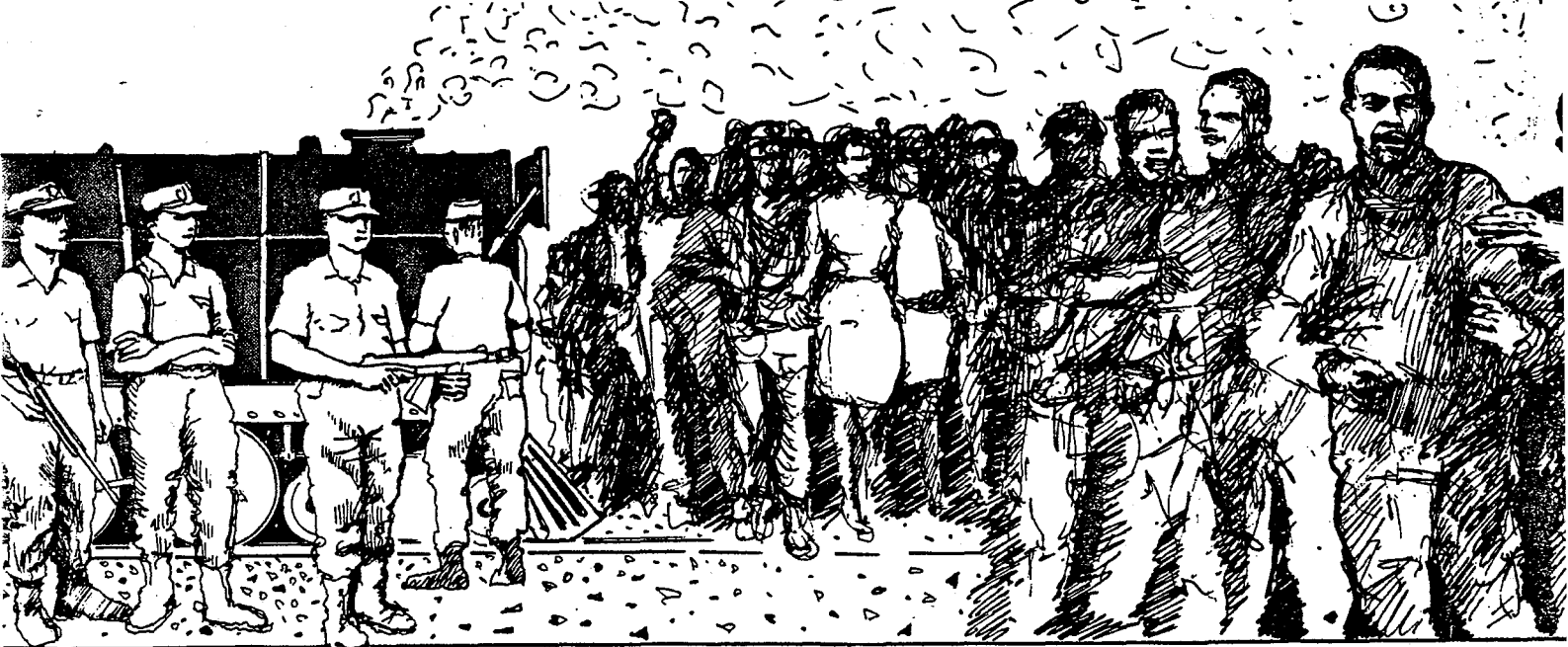
In March Andries Mbata, an acting section hostel manager and active Uwusa member, went to Abion Mavuso's home and threatened to kill him.

On April 9, after an Uwusa meeting at the mine, a group of men marched to the married quarters chanting anti-NUM slogans.

A week later NUM member Alfred Mithethwa was threatened by an Uwusa follower.

In July last year the Legal Resource Centre in Durban sent a letter to Uwusa asking them to restrain their members from issuing death threats to NUM staff steward Dolly Myeni.

Radebe claimed he had never heard of allegations of assaults by Uwusa members on Cosatu affiliates.



May Day, 1987: The state is everywhere — but then so is organised labour

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE shootings and mass dismissals of South African Transport Services workers last week and other recent attacks on the workers' movement have pushed trade unions and the government close to the edge of all-out confrontation.

The question now is whether the angry mood among workers and unions and a desire in some state circles to crush what they see as a front for revolutionary forces will push the seething hostility over that edge.

The trade union movement is the best organised and most deeply entrenched opposition to the system inside South Africa.

Where township-based organisations have borne the brunt of the repression under the State of Emergency, the unions have emerged relatively unscathed.

The unions' response to the Emergency last June and July — industry-based strikes and legal challenges — put pressure on employers and the state, and shielded them from the worst of the crackdown.

The state's strategic aim was to smash the street committees and quell the township revolt — which was at least partially successful.

The state's security apparatus, including the Joint Security Management Committees, has been targeted at the townships.

True, the state has regularly interfered in labour relations through security force action and apartheid structures such as the migrant labour system.

But, however imperfectly, the doctrine of "self-governance" between employers and unions has created space and relegated the state to a peripheral role in labour relations.

This space has proved a curious double-edged sword. It has left organisations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) more exposed and with more expected of them.

The sustained onslaught on their township allies has posed questions of political action and the development of correlative structures outside the factories in an era when Cosatu has embarked on the politics of alliance with community-based organisations.

Both the SA Transport Services (Sats) strike and state reactions to the escalation of labour unrest on the Reef in recent weeks have revealed that the state is divided in its response to the unions.

There is without doubt a large, security-oriented grouping who would favour an all-out confrontation to cripple the unions or at least force them to retreat from the political arena.

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, last week warned trade union leaders whose activities were not "in the interests of the country" that the security forces would take action against them.

Vlok said Cosatu was involved in "the polarisation, politicisation, organisation and mobilisation of the worker to plan for a so-called living wage campaign".

He said that the African National Congress's theme for 1987 was "Advance to People's Power" and that the labour terrain was "an ideal area in which to reach the masses."

"Repeated pronouncements by the organisation's leaders are known: they say that the trade unions must be used for this goal (to 'advance to people's power'). Certain events surrounding the recent strikes, especially the rail strike, must be seen in this light."

At the same time Alwyn Schlebusch, the Minister in the State President's Office, warned that the government was planning to introduce

new legislation to deal with strikes.

While Schlebusch's pronouncements could be dismissed as electioneering, Vlok's have a distinctly ominous ring.

Yet the director-general of the Department of Manpower, Piet van der Merwe, placed a completely different interpretation on the Sats strike.

Having repeatedly quoted the high rate of usage of the official disputes settling machinery as proof of the success of the labour dispensation, he saw the root of the problem in the fact that the public sector is excluded from this machinery.

Van der Merwe told *Business Day*: "One must weigh up the pros and cons of the government — either providing for conciliation machinery in its own legislation or adopting the Labour Relations Act."

He pointed out that 50 percent of all strikes in the private sector ended within a day.

There is an influential school of thought within the state which blames the Sats and post office strikes not on the bloody-mindedness of workers, but on the absence of the machinery which has proved successful in regulating conflict in the private sector.

This school is also mindful of employer concerns that the heavy hand of the state could mean employers will have to bear the brunt of the political struggle in their factories.

Differences of opinion could also explain the length of time Sats allowed the strike to drag on before firing workers.

In 1982, when a few hundred General Workers' Union members went on a go-slow in the Port Elizabeth docks, demanding that Sats deal with them, it was only a matter of hours before they were fired and deported on buses back to the "homelands".

When the City Deep dispute erupted Sats had just been through its own Wiehahn Commission and was clearly hesitant about how to deal with the escalating problem.

The fact that Sats was willing to reinstate Andrew Nendzandza (who had been dismissed over a weekend delay in handing over R40 in fares) was unprecedented, as the workers at the Port Elizabeth docks would testify to.

But by then the long-standing grievances of Sats' heavily discriminated against workforce came pouring out and other demands, such as recognition of the South African Railways and Harbours

Workers Union (Sarhwu), came to the fore.

At the same time the government — wary of the more than 100 000 white voters employed on the railways — could not afford to be seen to be giving in to the demands of black workers, particularly over recognition of a Cosatu affiliate.

In the end it was the brutality of the security forces which prevailed, and seemed to propel the dispute inevitably towards full-scale confrontation at the same time as giving warning of just what they were capable of.

The anger they have provoked, coinciding with the emotionally significant May Day celebrations on Friday and the white election next week, could only heap fuel on the volatile labour situation.

But Cosatu's strategic goal remains the establishment of a bridgehead into the railways, one of the most significant economic sectors still to be properly organised.

The next few days will tell whether the gap is still there, or whether the factories and mines will indeed become a battleground between the state and the workers. The choices confronting Cosatu are no less momentous than those which divide the state strategists.

WEEKLY MAIL April 30 to May 7, 1987

Cusa-Azactu: Workers should strive for a new order

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE heightened militancy among South African workers will make this year's May Day celebrations different from other years.

Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, assistant general secretary of Cusa-Azactu, says events such as the killing of striking railway workers last week, the recent rent stayaway in Soweto, and the South African raid into Zambia had made workers more determined to challenge the state.

PW Botha's declaration of the first Friday of May as Workers' Day was a strategy to pre-empt this growing militancy, he said.

"The SA Transport Services (Sats) and post office strikes show there is a militancy, even among workers in the state sector."

Nefolovhodwe said his federation was determined to hold rallies tomorrow, regardless of possible state action.

"And, despite the fact that Cosatu and Cusa-Azactu will not be able to celebrate together, there will be more rallies — and we believe they will be more successful," he said.

But his federation has a problem: all its applications to use venues in the township have been referred to the community councils "and we refuse to negotiate with councillors for the use of public venues".

If these rallies go ahead, he warned people not to embark on a "defiance strategy" if confronted.

"It is not a sign of cowardice. The government has clearly shown that it wants to create a certain mood in the minds of the white electorate."

"If there is any defiance they are going to deal with it properly. At a time when the government is seeking a new mandate to govern the country it will crush, ruthlessly if need be, any opposition."

Cusa-Azactu assistant general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe on the issues facing his federation on May Day 1987



The white elections have also played a part in heightening tensions between workers and the state, he said, as people are questioning the legitimacy of the government and its elections.

Nefolovhodwe believes that although the trade union movement has grown substantially, that growth has not been equalled in understanding and solidarity.

His federation has been able to consolidate its position, and more than 35 000 workers from the electrical sector and 20 000 from the furniture sector are affiliated to Cusa-Azactu.

This makes Cusa-Azactu — which tomorrow undergoes a name change to the National Council of Unions (Nactu) — the second largest union federation in the country, claiming 600 000 members.

But this growth in numbers does not impress Nefolovhodwe: "In certain quarters in the trade union movement we are still obsessed with the 'one-man-show-tendency' and legitimacy."

"I don't have any problems with that — but as soon as these are used as a fundamental feature of a united force towards attaining our goal, then it creates problems," he said.

He pointed to the OK strike, saying the solidarity of "the UDF, Azapo, Cusa-Azactu, Cosatu and other forces of differing political views made it very difficult to break".

He said separatism had, however, ruined several strikes: "We feel the Sats strike was easier to crush because of the lack of support from other organisations."

Nefolovhodwe believes unity would have broadened the pressure on Sats to resolve the strike.

He said it was Cusa-Azactu's policy to co-operate with all workers despite their affiliation. The only criteria is that they must be supportive of "the broad liberation struggle".

"On May Day workers should be more determined to see freedom and justice, and should resist efforts to divide them."

He said workers should strive for a new order where there will be no room for tribalism, regionalism and ethnicity.

"There should be no room for racial groups or cultural groups — there should be one people in one country."

Nefolovhodwe said the State of Emergency had only been a hindrance in as far as meetings were concerned.

"There is a new understanding of trade unionism and militancy and the Emergency will not be able to break that."

He said the workers have not yet taken over the leadership of the struggle and in many cases have been scared off by the battles of the youth.

"To some extent the youth has failed in fundamental issues like convincing the working class on the type of campaigns needed to bring about change."

Cosatu: We must take up the issues

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE government's threat to pass further legislation to curtail the activities of trade unions will only escalate a tense situation, according to Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

The SA Transport Services (Sats) strike, the killing of railway workers and last week's Cosatu House siege have had an impact on the community at large. It has made the community more aware of what they are fighting for, he said this week.

"Any action by the government to further curtail and impose more restrictions on the labour movement is going to radicalise even more the position and strategies of the labour movement."

"What we are going to see is a situation where there is anger, massive demonstrations of people's dissatisfaction in the way the regime is reacting to the democratic demands being made by the people."

"One sees throughout the country that workers are getting involved increasingly in using their main weapon, which is their labour, as leverage to gain what is legitimately ours."

"The state has claimed that Cosatu's Living Wage campaign and the Sats strike are a huge communist plot, a conspiracy by Cosatu, the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party."

"We believe that taking up issues relating to problems of workers in the community is a legitimate extension of our activity, given the fact that our membership and the millions of black people in this country don't have political rights."

This year's May Day will be different from those in the past, he said. "A few years ago, it was just a few hundred workers meeting to celebrate May Day."

"But with the formation of Cosatu, and with Cosatu leading the May Day celebrations last year, one-and-a-half million people were involved in strike action."

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo on the issues facing his federation on May Day 1987



Cosatu has not been granted permission to hold any open-air rallies.

"I think this attitude, especially in the light of the fact that (President PW) Botha was forced to make a concession of Workers' Day, is just going to further aggravate the situation and increase the conflict between workers and the state."

"There are alternative plans being made. We will use any venues that we can get but we are aware that the government might move even to ban indoor meetings."

Naidoo said next week's white elections would also have a bearing on this year's May Day.

"The fact that there is massive resistance in the country has put the issue of representation, of the right to elect a government of the people's choice, firmly on the agenda."

"We have a government that has plunged the country into political and economic chaos," he said. "There are six-million people unemployed; there is a massive housing and education crisis. The government has not been able to resolve any of these issues."

"The voters must realise that parliament no longer represents power. It is clear that the

struggle for political power rests outside parliament. It rests in the struggle between the real seat of political power, the National Security Council and its appendages, like regional and local Joint Management Committees, on the one side, and the mass democratic movement on the other side."

The growth of the labour movement since Cosatu's launch has brought problems with it, such as insufficient resources and consolidation.

"That is why in our executive message earlier this year we stressed that this is the year of consolidation and decisive action."

"In the past year, Cosatu has established itself and rooted itself more firmly in structures. Regions have been set up and we have seen a number of mergers taking place."

"We are running more cohesive campaigns, like the Living Wage campaign."

Cosatu's growth has been in relation to the most important sectors of the economy.

"We have the mineworkers union (NUM) which has a membership of 369 000. The metalworkers, with a merger going ahead around May 23/24, will bring together 120 000 workers in that sector. Then we have Food and Allied Workers, Paper Wood and Allied, Ccawusa."

"And in the public sector, you have seen massive activity. It is obviously a sector that is relatively badly organised, but it is one that has seen the most militant activity in the past month."

Naidoo conceded that the State of Emergency had had an impact on the growth of the labour movement.

"It has forced organisations to retreat and consolidate," he said.

"We would say that in this year there is a mood of mass militancy. Mass organisations have survived the imposition of the State of Emergency. People have learnt to live under repression; they have learnt to fight repression. It has definitely had a radicalising effect."

"In fact we have not only survived the State of Emergency but also the attacks on our members in the Natal area. When Uwusa was launched last year, some people predicted a mass exodus of our members in that area. Instead we have experienced tremendous growth in that region."

"What we have seen since the formation of Cosatu is that the workers are able to take decisive action. When one looks at mass action one finds that workers are very much in the forefront."

WEEKLY MAIL, April 30 to May 7, 1987

S. Africa Spawns a New Underground

Forced Into Hiding, Black Antiapartheid Movement Is Damaged, Not Destroyed

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

ZWIDE TOWNSHIP, South Africa—The word came by courier, late at night. "Be at Kasiso's by 9," the messenger said. "There's a press conference."

Kasiso's, a general store in the black township of Zwide near Port Elizabeth, seemed an improbable place for a press gathering. But as reporters waited uncertainly, a man standing in a bus line there whispered the name of another spot and the exercise was repeated.

At the third checkpoint a young man led the way down an alley into a cramped wood-and-iron shack where three men introduced themselves as members of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress.

"I'm afraid we can't stay long," the leader said, and then rapidly outlined plans for massive black protests against the whites-only general election on May 6. Moments later, the little group dispersed into the anonymity of the township.

Eleven months after the South African government declared a state of emergency and be-

gan a massive crackdown on antiapartheid activists, detaining about 25,000 and putting thousands more to flight, organized black resistance has been badly damaged—but not destroyed.

Surviving elements have gone into hiding in the townships, where they are reorganizing and learning to operate as an underground movement. The May 6 antielection demonstration was their first attempt at mobilizing renewed protest activity, and the large-scale response to their call for a two-day strike, made in conjunction with the black labor unions, was an indication that they can still be effective in expressing opposition.

Nowhere is the impact of the government crackdown more clearly visible than in the townships of the eastern Cape Province. Historically, this is where black nationalism has been most militant and where the security police have been most forceful.

This is where the black African National Congress was born 75 years ago and where most of its current crop of imprisoned and exiled leaders came from. It is also where black consciousness leader Steve Biko operated, and where he suf-

fered fatal injuries in a security police interrogation room in 1977.

It was also in the eastern Cape in September 1984 that the young militants who call themselves "comrades" took the rebellion further than anywhere else. The Port Elizabeth Youth Congress effectively seized control of the city's townships and ran them as the closest thing South Africa has ever seen to "liberated zones."

Official black city council members, elected under the apartheid system, were forced to resign or flee. Black policemen took refuge in protected camps outside the townships. Black youngsters walked out of the segregated schools in protest against what they called "gutter education," and Youth Congress street and area committees stepped into the vacuum.

The Youth Congress' chairman, 27-year-old Mkhuseleli Jack, strode the streets like a mayor, carrying a beeper and a briefcase and meeting with Port Elizabeth's civic and business leaders, who were desperate to end a series of massive consumer boycotts.

Today all that is over. True to the region's

See RESISTANCE, A26, Col. 1

RESISTANCE, From A25

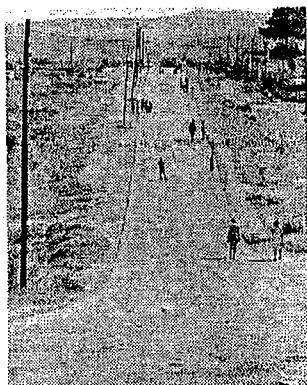
pendulum tradition, once the state of emergency was declared, the troops and police moved into the Port Elizabeth townships with the ferocity of an occupying army and recaptured control.

A wall of barbed wire was thrown around the main township of New Brighton, with a single checkpoint where everyone entering or leaving was searched. House-to-house raids were carried out. Anyone with a whiff of "comrade" about him was detained.

The last consumer boycott petered out in December. The youngsters are back in the state schools, the "people's courts" are no more, the police ride the streets again in big armored personnel carriers called Casspirs, and Jack and more than 1,000 of his associates are in jail under indefinite detention orders.

But as the press conference and the near-total response to its strike call showed, the Youth Congress is not dead. Mzimasi Mangcotywa, who was one of Jack's executives, has managed to elude the security force dragnet with a dozen or so others, and reconstitute the organization underground.

A month ago Mangcotywa and other youth leaders from around the country also managed to hold a secret meeting in Cape Town where they formed a national body called the South African Youth Congress, which claims a total membership of 600,000 and is being hailed as a major achievement of underground organization.



Meduna Road near Uitenhage, where 20 blacks died in 1985 police action.

"We can't deny that the emergency has had a tremendous impact," Mangcotywa said at the press conference. "At this stage we have not been that much on the offensive. We have been concentrating on trying to strengthen our structures and consolidate our gains."

"The aim of this [antielection] campaign is to revive the spirit of our people and show that we have not been crushed. With the emergence of [the new congress], things are going to move at a faster pace," Mangcotywa added.

Some analysts are skeptical about

how far this revival can go. They suggest that the widespread adherence to the strike call was due more to the influence of the black labor unions than to the battered political organizations and that the government may now turn its attention to trying to neutralize them as well.

So far the unions have survived the emergency far better than the political groups. Some have even gained in strength. There have been more strikes in the past four months than in the whole of last year, which was a record.

Tom Lodge, a specialist in black politics at Johannesburg's University of the Witwatersrand, said this is partly because the unions have a measure of protection from big business, which doesn't want disruption of the labor force. The unions also have a better sense of the strategy of confrontation, Lodge said, and the government is reluctant to destroy its own most important reform, the legalization of black unionism in 1979.

Lodge believes, however, that these considerations may soon be overtaken by a determination to stop the unions from spearheading a new wave of political activism.

"The main leadership in the black community has shifted to the unions," he said. "Their strikes have become rapidly politicized and turned into mobilizing points for wider action in the townships. I think the government is going to confront them quite soon."

Colin Bundy, a Cape Town academic who is close to the United Democratic Front, a coalition of 700 antiapartheid groups, agrees. He sees the police raid late last month on the Johannesburg headquarters of the main black union federation as the forerunner of a major confrontation.

"The government is going to try to force the unions into becoming a purely industrial relations movement that is totally depoliticized. The unions won't accept this, so there'll be a test of strength which is going to be the most crucial event of the next few months," Bundy predicted.

There are other townships where the UDF has been damaged even more than in Port Elizabeth. Mamelodi outside Pretoria, Alexandra on Johannesburg's northern outskirts and Cape Town's Crossroads squatter camp are all communities where the "comrades" held sway a year ago but have now suffered what Lodge calls "systematic demobilization" at the hands of the state's security apparatus.

Worst hit of all are the townships of Uitenhage, about 35 miles inland from Port Elizabeth and until recently also a UDF stronghold.

Langa—a center of organized resistance that made world headlines in March 1985 when police opened fire on a funeral crowd and killed 21—has simply disappeared. A month after the emergency was declared and most of the local leaders had been picked up, bulldozers and trucks moved into the township and bundled its bewildered inhabitants off to a new site 10 miles away.

In nearby Kwanobuhle, where a mass funeral rally for the Langa dead provided the high point of the black rebellion, a band of 1,000 armed black "vigilantes" attacked known supporters of the front last January, ransacking their homes and setting fire to their furniture while police stood by and a spotter helicopter circled overhead.

"After that," said Rory Riordon, a white man who runs a civil rights organization in the area, "everything that looked like [United Democratic Front] fled for its life."

A small group of reporters met some of the Uitenhage "comrades" at another underground meeting in Port Elizabeth. They admitted they dared not return to Kwanobuhle, which they said was now under a

reign of terror by the government-backed vigilantes and black municipal police known locally as "greenflies."

But they insisted that the spirit of resistance was still alive in the township and would break out again soon.

Riordon agrees that the spirit of the people has not been broken, but feels that the repression is so overwhelming that no new political activity is possible now.

Lodge said he thinks the black resistance is entering a period of recession. In addition to the government's disruption of the activist organizations, he said people in the townships are exhausted and need a breather.

But he warns that there will be a resurgence of trouble. The government has done nothing to remove any of the underlying causes of black alienation, he said. Large sections of the population have been politicized, and the combination of rapidly increasing school dropouts and mounting unemployment has created "a production line for radicalism."

"I think there is going to be a cyclical process of mobilization, repression, quiescence and then another wave of trouble, each one started off by some cataclysmic event," Lodge said.

The lull in the unrest provides time for reappraisal by the resistance movements as they contemplate the reasons for the setback they have suffered.

"There never was a proper long-term strategy," Lodge observed. "The whole movement arose almost spontaneously in resistance to Botha's tricameral reforms in 1984 [a new three-chamber parliamentary system that continued to exclude the black majority] and everything developed very rapidly from there with little control from the center."

"There was no real conception of how it was all going to succeed, of what to do after they had destroyed the local authorities and set up their own institutions."

"You can win the battle of the townships, you can run the townships if you like, but in the end you are back to square one. The people still go to work, they come back from work, the government still rules, the police can still cut off the water supply to the township. In the end it doesn't really make any difference to the ability of the government to remain in power," Lodge said.

The Port Elizabeth consumer boycotts were the closest the black resistance came to developing a strategy for extending their efforts beyond the townships. The idea was that if black consumers squeezed the businessmen, organized business would in turn pressure the government into introducing meaningful political reforms.

Although the boycotts were spectacularly successful in Port Elizabeth, forcing more than 300 busi-

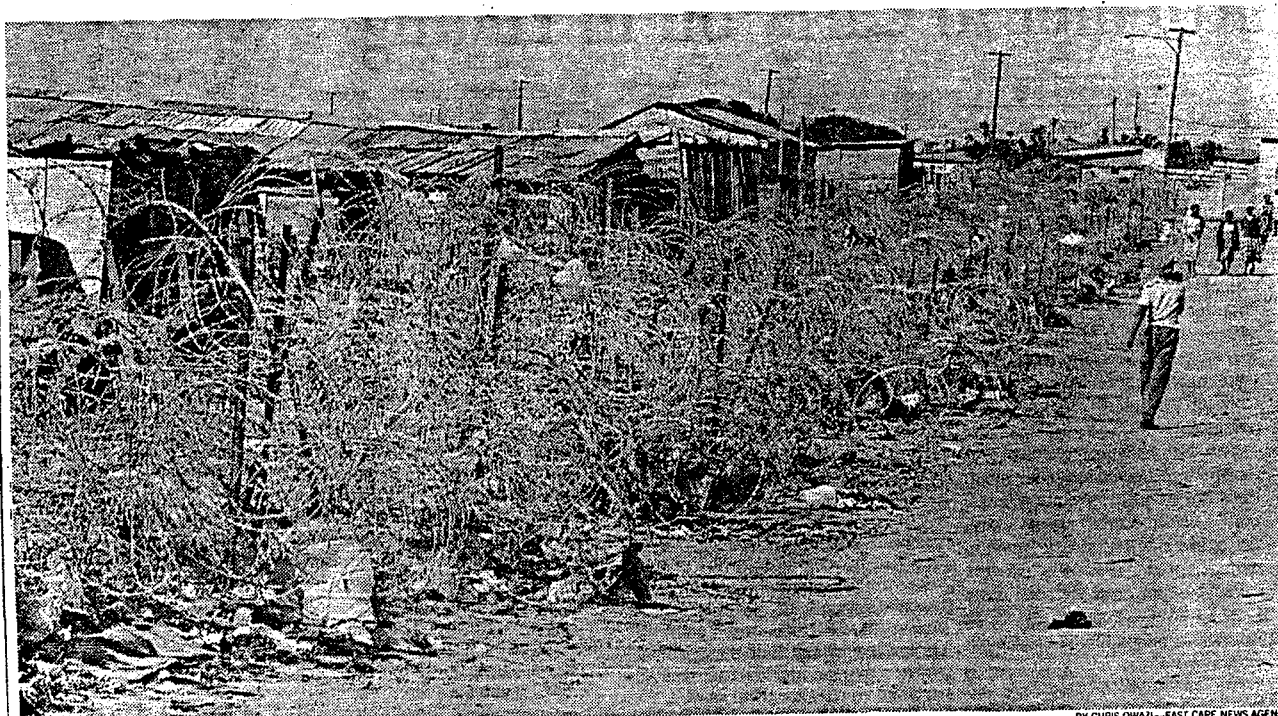
nesses to close, the strategy did not produce political results. As Lodge notes, it failed to take account of the relatively little political influence the predominantly English business community has on the Afrikaner government. The businessmen duly pleaded with Pretoria for reforms, and were rebuffed.

"As a political strategy, the consumer boycotts were a complete failure," said Anthony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, who was at the center of the three-way conflict. "Blacks can see now that pressure on the business community did not enable it to become an effective lever on the government, and I don't think we are going to see any more of these campaigns."

The underground groups interviewed in Port Elizabeth acknowledged that strategic planning had been inadequate and needed reappraisal. "We have got to change our strategy and tactics," said Friday France, of the Uitenhage group. "We have seen things in the past that have failed and we have got to change them. It must be a long-term strategy."

Bundy thinks the black organizations will not find this easy. The black nationalist political culture here, he said, is not attuned to political theorizing and analysis.

"It is reactive, impassioned and committed," Bundy said. "There is a tremendous release of communal energy. But it is not programmatic. It is not directed."



BY CHRIS QWAZI—EAST CAPE NEWS AGENCY

Wall of barbed wire is one of the South African government's security measures at New Brighton township near Port Elizabeth, once a scene of black protest.

Namibia's first May Day rallies make history in field of labour

MASS TURNOUT OF KATUTURA WORKERS

BY MARK VERBAAN

FOR THE first time in the country's history, a massive crowd of approximately 10 000 Namibians came together in Windhoek last Friday, to commemorate May Day.

From eight in the morning, labourers, factory workers, city workers, trade unionists and union members began gathering at Shifidi Square in the Katutura township.

By midday, thousands of Namibian workers wearing brightly-coloured May Day T-shirts, had assembled to hear speeches made by churchmen, union officials and labour activists.

Hundreds of people attending the meeting had come armed with knobkerries, bows and arrows and knives — obviously in anticipation of vigilante interference.

Painted banners were erected behind the platform, emblazoned with worker demands such as "Better Pay ... 435 Now ... Stop Discrimination".

A few of the companies mentioned on the banners were Swawek, Hartlief and the SWA Breweries.

Chief organisers of the Shifidi Square rally were the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), and its affiliates, the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN), and the Namibia Food and Allied Union (NAFAU).

The NUNW and its affiliates were launched only last year, and despite the fact that the right-wing press and the state-controlled SWABC avoided giving coverage to NUNW-organised events before May 1, they managed to attract the vast majority of workers from Windhoek and surrounding areas.

To cries of "Aluta continua", "Victoria certa" and "435 Now", speakers such as Jason Angula, Swapo's Secretary of Labour, John Pandeni, General Secretary of NAFAU, Ben Uilenga of the NUNW, and Pastor Nathaniel Nakwatumba of the Anglican Church, addressed the enthusiastic crowd on issues affecting workers in Namibia.

Pastor Nakwatumba said that Namibia and its workers had been ruled for too long by the "evil spirits of colonialism and apartheid".

He called on the crowd to pray for Namibia to be rid of these "evil spirits".

"Christ will be our liberator. We will one day be embraced by peace, justice and freedom. Under the power of the evil spirits we are being robbed and plundered of our rights, our freedom and our dignity," said the Pastor.

He added that under the "evil power", being a worker was no blessing.

"In Namibia we are victims of war, poverty, injustice, hunger, harassment, rapists, an unholy government and unfulfilled promises."

Pastor Nakwatumba said that Namibia was being robbed of its resources, and that throughout the country injustice ruled in the name of justice.

A spokesman from NAFAU took the platform, and reminded the crowd why the meeting was being held in Shifidi Square.

Mr Immanuel Shifidi, 60-year-old Swapo nationalist and founder member of the organisation, was murdered by alleged right-wing vigilantes in the square while attending a Swapo rally held on November 30, last year.

"The South African Government is nothing but a bunch of botsotsos, who say they are here to protect us. Do you feel protected?" he asked the crowd.

The answer was a resounding "NO!" which could have been heard by interim government Cabinet ministers had they been leaning out of their office windows at the Tintenpalast.

The NAFAU spokesman emphasised that the South African Government had "lost control", and that all the Government could do was blame the Cubans for the situation in Namibia.

"We don't need Pienaar to decide our future. We can do that ourselves," he said.

MAY DAY was celebrated in Namibia on a nation-wide scale for the first time this year. Windhoek saw the largest-ever gathering of workers — in spite of the fact that the SWABC and the right-wing press avoided giving publicity to the Swapo-affiliated unions responsible for the organising. Rallies and prayer meetings took place at most of the major towns in the country, while reporters from The Namibian were present at meetings held in Tsumeb, Swakopmund and Windhoek. Their reports on this page today.

Before he left the platform the crowd joined in a chant of "An injury to one is an injury to all".

A woman trade unionist told the gathering that the Namibian women were being "doubly exploited" and that they received far lower salaries than the men.

"Why should we be discriminated against when we contribute on an equal basis to the economy of this country?" she asked the cheering crowd.

She stressed that the women of Namibia were "very disappointed" in their wages.

"We can hardly buy food, let alone afford to send our children to school. If we fall pregnant we get unpaid maternity leave, and how do we feed our families then?" she demanded to know.

Speakers representing the MUN, demanded better salaries with overtime pay, an end to apartheid at work, the right to organise and the right to strike, pension schemes and health benefits for all workers, an end to the hostel form of accommodation, and the immediate implementation of UN Resolution 435.

The Heroes, a local group, played songs to an appreciative audience between speeches.

The meeting ended late in the afternoon, with thousands of workers marching through the dusty streets of Katutura waving banners and shouting union slogans.

Despite a tense build-up to the day, Police kept a low profile and never interfered with the proceedings.

As always, the Security Police were there impregnating the crowd on video, but the notorious Koevoet were nowhere to be seen.

Staff members of the interim government's Afrikaans daily mouthpiece were spotted hovering on the outskirts of the meeting, photographing the "whites" who were present.

The resulting report which they published, and which stated that most of the crowd had been forced through intimidation to attend, was completely and utterly devoid of truth.

Also putting in a brief appearance was Mr Sean Cleary, of the interim



government's propaganda network — Transcontinental Consultancy, who was escorting a group of British conservative parliamentarians.

One remarked how "wonderfully peaceful" the meeting was. A pity they were not in Shifidi Square on November 30 last year.



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