

Cosatu takes a NATAL MERCURY tough line 4 DEC 1985- on 'bantustans'

Labour Reporter

SOUTH Africa's newest and most powerful trade union federation yesterday rejected the 'bantustan system' and threatened to defy the banning of trade unions in some homelands.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), lashed out at the banning of one of its affiliates — the South African Allied Workers' Union — in Ciskei and the banning of all trade unions in the 'Boputhatswana bantustan'.

Cosatu's hard-line stance on homelands was disclosed yesterday as part of its planned wide-ranging onslaught against apartheid.

In a strongly-worded resolution, unanimously accepted by representatives of about 500 000 workers throughout the country at this week's Durban congress to launch the new super-federation, Cosatu stated:

'The bantustan system should be totally rejected and the federation should continue with its struggle, together with other democratic forces, for the creation of a democratic and

unitary South Africa.

'We are completely and absolutely opposed to the super-exploitation occurring in the homelands and declare our commitment to reject the idea and practice of workers receiving low wages under poor conditions.'

Cosatu also expressed its solidarity with the residents of Lamontville and Hambanati who are opposing the proposed incorporation of their areas into 'bantustans'.

Inkatha warns political unions

NATAL MERCURY - 4 DEC. 1985

ULUNDI—Inkatha says it reserves the right to mobilise the full strength of its workers to find alternative means of negotiating for worker rights if any trade union abandons 'this prime responsibility' in favour of a party political role.

It has urged every Inkatha member who belongs to a trade union to report to its secretary-general any discussion among trade union executives on the treatment of Inkatha as an enemy.

The warning came yesterday in a Press release of resolutions made by the movement's central committee at the weekend.

A preamble recalled that the majority of Inkatha's more than 1 000 000 members were workers and restated its policy that political organisations should not interfere with trade unions.

It reiterated that trade unions affiliated to Inkatha gained seats on its central committee without any requirement of reciprocal representation on trade unions' authority structures.

The release deplored political organisations 'which ride on the back of trade union organisers in an attempt to gain credit and advantage from the hard, grinding labour of

organising people which they themselves had not undertaken'.

It was aware that the ANC mission-in-exile had declared war on Inkatha, had threatened its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with assassination and was exhorting trade unionists to kill those who used non-violent tactics to bring about radical change through negotiation.

The central committee recommitted itself to national reconciliation and deplored political violence which, it said, divided and destroyed where democracy healed and built.

It reminded all attempting to turn Inkatha into a target for black anger that its deep commitment to non-violent strategies necessitated its being prepared to defend, with every means at its disposal, what it held sacred.

Crisis

It deplored the perpetration of violence by blacks against blacks, fostered by the ANC mission-in-exile, and attacks on Inkatha members and their homes.

'We are aware of the deepening crisis into which our country is entering because of this violence, the violence used by the State and the deepening economic depression through which we are passing,' the committee said.

It resolved to mobilise Inkatha to play its full role in the crisis.

Imminent revolution

NATAL MERWY - 4 DEC 1982

in S A a false image

IT IS RARE that a year graduates to the status of 'crisis' year or 'watershed year' before it is over. Nineteen-eighty-five seems to be such a year.

In the just-published prospectus of the 1986 Summer School of the University of Cape Town the following course is listed: 'Understanding 1985: A Crisis Examined'. It will be taught by an outstanding historian, Prof Colin Bundy, co-author of a forthcoming work *Hidden Struggles* on black political resistance.

Compared to previous crisis years — 1899, 1915, 1960 and 1976 — 1985 ranks in a class of its own. It is no longer a Boer-Brit struggle with blacks as passive onlookers. And it is no longer blacks rising up against some elements of white domination. The fight today is against the Government and the entire system of rule. 'Apartheid must go before we go back to school' is the common cry among those who boycott schools.

Reinforced

With rebellion sweeping the townships, many people are assuming that the South African State is confronted with a massive political crisis, that its breakdown is imminent and ultimate downfall not far away.

This is an assumption that has been reinforced

both concretely and theoretically. On the one hand there is the impact of television and life in the townships. Because the State wanted to demonstrate that it was a democracy of sorts and not ungovernable it allowed a degree of media coverage of the unrest that would make any authoritarian régime shudder. Watching the images of revolution leap from the television screen every night people easily fell into the trap of believing that images add up to real revolution.

Participants in or close observers of the unrest within the townships have also been imbued with a sense of imminent revolution.

Their world

A top coloured educationist writing a regular column in *Rapport* recently explained that the whole world of black schoolchildren was to a large extent that of the township in which they lived. Consequently, it is easy for them to believe that the entire country is ungovernable once unrest has broken out in their particular township. Behind many a school or university boycott lay the tragic misconception that the sacrifice would not be all that great — that the State was close to collapsing.

It was easy to believe that 'No education before liberation' was a reliable, short-term goal.

Scholars and journalists alike have also come under the illusion of imminent revolution.

Misconception

They are influenced by a common political wisdom which finds its theoretical foundation in the studies of revolution by scholars such as Chalmers Johnson, Charles Tilly and Ted Gurr published in the 1960s and early 1970s.

In a recent major study that has been generally hailed as a new departure Theda Skocpol summarises the major misconception shared by those scholars. They believe that revolution starts when the majority gets more and more disgruntled. Once an existing government loses its legitimacy — general support based on consent and/or the sense of the population that the State is supplying an essential

service — a turning point is reached. The State cannot effectively repress for long disapproving or disconcentrated majorities.

Naïve

Skocpol convincingly argues that these views are naïve. She comments in *States and Social Revolution*: 'They are belied in the most obvious fashion by the prolonged survival of such blatantly repressive and domestically illegitimate régimes as the South African'.

She concludes that even after a great loss of legitimacy the State can remain quite stable — if the police and the army remain coherent and effective in controlling the population and the State continues to collect taxes and police and military recruits. The State must also be autonomous in the sense that it cannot be brought down by a colonial power (Algeria) or a neighbouring patron (as Rhodesia was by South Africa).

How does the South African State rate on these scores? When the state of emergency was declared Gen Johan Coetzee declared that it was not cruel but weak governments that fell. We may be offended by such a statement but as an historical rule of thumb it is probably correct. And we may be repelled by the conduct on some occasions of the security forces but no one can deny that they are controlling the black population or that the situation has even once looked like getting out of hand in the sense of the police being forced to flee.

The State is experiencing no difficulty in finding police and military recruits. In the past year attacks on the lives and property of black policemen have received much attention; hardly noticed is the fact that the police have succeeded without any effort in attracting the required 600 new black recruits this year.

The same is true of the standing army — applications, both white and black, are several times higher than vacancies. Much has been made of the 8 000 conscripts that this year have failed to show up, but this figure is open to doubt, and the Defence Force is in any case confident that it can ease out conscription in the foreseeable future.

With similar media images of angry crowds and turbulent priests the Western world tends to consider South Africa as yet another Iran. However, the revolution in Iran was not brought about by the ayatollahs and their fanatical followers but by the fact that the army and the police refused to take action against the crowds. In this respect it is well to remember Alan Paton's

observation, expressed 15 years ago, that 'as long as the police force continues to be able to recruit African policemen, a strata that would be the first object of hate from the general population, there can be no hope of revolution'.

Furthermore, the State is experiencing no problem in collecting sufficient revenue. Revenue gathered so far this year is considerably higher than for the same period last year.

Growth rate

Over the past seven years the rate of growth in State expenditure is at least twice as high in South Africa as that in the U.S. This may be bad for the economy but is hardly an indication of a state under serious pressure to find funds.

What we have in South Africa is not a revolutionary crisis but some other crises. We obviously have instability. But does it go beyond what someone once called 'violent equilibrium'?

For blacks there is a different crisis — that of living with dashed hopes and shattered illusions. After a year of turmoil

they have to face up to the cruel but wise words of John Kenneth Galbraith in his *Anatomy of Power*: 'Nothing so serves the military or corporate power as the belief of its opponents that they have accomplished something by holding a meeting, giving a speech, or issuing a manifesto.'

Note of hope

Skocpol ends her book with a note of hope for those who cannot live with the idea of a durable yet unreformed South African state. She writes: 'A modern social revolution would probably have to flow gradually, not cataclysmically, out of a long series of non-reformist reforms, accomplished by mass-based political movements struggling to democratise every major institution from the economy to the political parties, army and civil bureaucracy.'

(Herman Giliomee is a professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town).

S. Africa black vows revenge

Los Angeles Times

MAMELODI TOWNSHIP, South Africa—Black nationalist leader Winnie Mandela boldly defied government orders banning her from political activities yesterday to tell mourners at a funeral for 12 people killed in an anti-government protest that "the blood of our heroes will be avenged."

"The day is not far when we shall lead you to freedom," declared Mandela, 50, the wife of imprisoned African National Congress President Nelson R. Mandela and an increasingly important black leader in her own right. Her remarks came amid chants of "Amandla ngawetu—Power to the people!" with the black-green-and-gold flag of the outlawed African National Congress held high in the crowd.

"We are here today as testimony to the failure of this government to rule our country and to the fact that the solution to this country's problems lies in these black hands," she said. "This is our country!"

Her dramatic appearance at the funeral, the first time she has addressed such a public



**Winnie
Mandela**

rally in 25 years because of government restrictions on her, showed a greater political daring on her part and a growing determination by blacks to confront the government.

Speakers at the daylong funeral, attended by about 30,000, denounced the government and the police action two weeks ago in which the 12 people buried yesterday and three others had died. They called for greater organization and concerted actions, such as consumer boycotts and general strikes, to overturn the country's apartheid system.

The 15 victims died when police opened fire on a Nov. 21 protest march of about 50,000 gathered outside government offices in Mamelodi, about 10 miles from central Pretoria. The protesters were demanding the withdrawal of troops and riot police from the township, a reduction in rents and settlement of other grievances.

Now known among blacks as the "Mamelodi massacre," the incident was one of the bloodiest in more than 15 months of unrest in which more than 950 people have died.

Police, justifying their use of shotguns loaded with buckshot, have described the marchers, mostly women, as "particularly violent mobs." Those buried yesterday included six women, one of whom was 69 and another 65, five men, mostly middle-aged, and 2-month-old Trocia Ndlovu. The infant died after inhaling fumes from a police tear-gas grenade shot into her home.



A youth carries the coffin of a 2-month-old infant during a funeral procession yesterday. The infant and 11 other people died in clashes between police and residents of Mamelodi Township, near Pretoria.

Associated Press

Mandela's wife defies ban, exile

From Chicago Tribune wires

MAMELODI, South Africa—Banned black nationalist Winnie Mandela dramatically defied South African laws Tuesday by appearing at a mass funeral for 12 blacks killed in a police clash and then addressing thousands of mourners.

In her first public speech in a quarter of a century, she vowed to the cheering crowd: "The blood of our heroes will be avenged! We are here today to tell you that the day when we shall lead you to freedom is not far away."

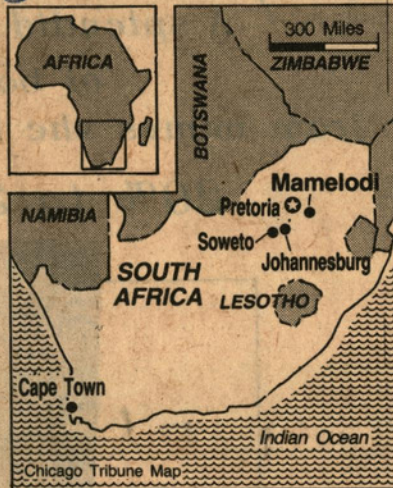
Meanwhile, in ironic juxtaposition, President P.W. Botha lifted the state of emergency in 8 of 38 cities and towns, saying "the revolutionary climate is fast losing momentum." Most of the 8 districts are small, rural communities in Transvaal province or in eastern Cape province which have been free of racial violence.

In Mamelodi, a black township near Pretoria, Mandela arrived unexpectedly at the graveside where Western diplomats, clergymen and opposition politicians had joined an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 dancing and singing mourners.

After the burial, she returned to the soccer stadium where the funeral service had been held and spoke to about 4,000 blacks who rushed to hear her.

"I have come here to weep with you," she declared. "I have come to wipe the blood of the children with you."

The crowd answered with clenched-fist salutes and cries of



"Amandla," the Zulu word for power.

Mandela, wife of jailed guerrilla leader Nelson Mandela, is banned, which means she may not be with more than one person at a time or be quoted in local media. She is also confined to internal exile. She violated both curbs Tuesday.

In her address, she said she brought messages of love from the leaders in jail, a reference to the imprisoned hierarchy of the outlawed African National Congress, which is committed to end white rule by force.

Mandela was escorted to the graveside under a huge banner in the black, green and gold colors of the ANC.

A police helicopter circled the stadium as she approached, but police took no action.

U.S. Embassy political counselor Timothy Carney said a contingent of diplomats attended the mass funeral to express support for the principle of peaceful protest.

"Many of us have friends here in Mamelodi, and many of our employees are living here," he said.

The U.S. diplomats were joined by representatives of 10 other Western countries.

Tuesday's funeral was for a dozen people killed in Mamelodi on Nov. 21. At least 13 people, including a 2-month-old baby and a 60-year-old man who were both overcome by tear gas, died when security forces opened fire to break up an antigovernment protest march. It was one of the bloodiest episodes in recent unrest in black townships.

Hundreds of troops and police were on duty Tuesday in the dusty township but kept a low profile.

Most residents of Mamelodi stayed away from work for the funeral.

In Pretoria, President Botha announced the lifting of the state of emergency in five rural areas in Cape province and in three remote areas south of Johannesburg. There has been little or no violence in those areas, either before or since the emergency was decreed in July.

Botha's statement said, "The government is of the opinion that elements that are ideologically opposed to orderly reform ... are being defeated" and "the revolutionary climate is fast losing momentum."



Reuters photo

Winnie Mandela defying the law Tuesday: "I have come to wipe the blood of the children with you."

But the violence continued Tuesday. Police said a black man was shot to death and two were wounded when officers fired shotguns at a crowd stoning them near the coastal village of Knysna, between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

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Tambo urges: Create climate for talks

CAPE TIMES
4 NOV. 1985

MR OLIVER TAMBO, the president of the African National Congress, has urged the South African Government to help to create a climate for talks with his organization. In an interview in London with the Editor of the Cape Times, he said he would "welcome" the creation of such a climate.

The interview was conducted in Mr Tambo's London house in Muswell Hill last week while the ANC leader enjoyed a great deal of international attention on his visit to the British capital.

Mr Tambo gave his views on the possibility of a "truce" with the South African Government and felt that serious negotiations could start at short notice, even before violence had ended. His list of conditions included the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison. He felt that the Botha government was not ready to talk at this stage.

He strongly denied that the ANC was communist-led, though admitted that it had some communists in its membership and had worked with the South African Communist Party since 1921. He claimed that the ANC was gaining more support from the West as interest in South Africa grew.

He set out the ANC policy on attacks on the civilian population, maintaining that "soft targets" would never be sought out but could be hit in crossfire as the ANC stepped up its attacks on military, police, etc.

He said the ANC supported the idea of a mixed economy, with "some" industries nationalized, but with room for levels of private enterprise and private ownership.

4 Dec 85 CHICAGO TRIBUNE

South Africa police tear-gas parishioners

From Chicago Tribune wires

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Racial violence flared Thursday as Rev. Allan Boesak assailed the white-minority government for a police attack on his mixed-race parishioners as they left a candlelight church protest.

In Soweto, the largest black ghetto in white-ruled South Africa, a black police officer was seriously wounded and a black woman was injured in the second hand-grenade attack in two days in the township. The injured woman was later arrested for the attack, police said.

Rioters also threw stones and gasoline bombs in other incidents near Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and East London, police said.

Earlier Thursday, Rev. Boesak expressed his anger after police fired tear gas at his parishioners leaving his Bellville, Cape Town, church from a candlelight protest ceremony Wednesday night.

"Not even in Russia do people get tear-gassed for going to church," he said.

His church council Thursday sent a telegram to Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, demanding to know "if the government has declared war on the Christian church."

Thousands of mixed-race residents of segregated suburbs surrounding Cape Town held candlelight vigils on the streets

Wednesday night, standing in doorways of darkened homes and at churches to protest the state of emergency.

Boesak said that at the end of his ceremony, when parishioners walked out of his church singing, police fired tear gas into the church grounds, driving them back into the building, screaming and crying.

Police also dispersed thousands of mourners at a young black woman's funeral, witnesses said Thursday.

In other developments:

- Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, was reported to be "extremely tired but not in any serious condition" in a Johannesburg private medical clinic Thursday.

Mandela, 50, had been through several tense weeks after her husband had prostate surgery and persistent rumors spread of his impending release after more than two decades in prison.

- Seven blacks were convicted in a major terrorism trial in the Natal province town of Estcourt Thursday, while another six were acquitted.

Four of the accused, who demanded prisoner-of-war status and refused to take part in the proceedings, were convicted of terrorism and found to be members of the outlawed African National Congress guerrilla group.

4 Dec, 85 CHICAGO TRIBUNE



AP Laserphoto

50,000 at funeral for 12

Some of the 50,000 mourners salute as the body of 2-month-old Ndlovu Trocia is carried Tuesday in a funeral

procession for 12 people killed recently in clashes with police at Mamelodi, South Africa. Story, Page 5.