

- 2 = -

NSâ\200\224 =

\ 4% L.),...l.,\au!z{:.nâ\200\230.'g,(.){\â\200\230v | \O\%% ' PNâ\200\231 â\200\230â\200\224\2)~

\ BRSNS
.\ Âç
\

Bdev ~SRE

CCâ\200\231W\.'Â«\.\.&' \stols

TR LA

prieve bt (PSR

4
I
Gfnsio =i]

FrovAis aala

"Every step appeans to be the unavoidablelÃ© conbeÃ©uehce'ag+' [
and in the end beckons mone and mone cleanly TOTAL ANNTHALATIOR

- 4

' AZbentâ\200\231Ein\$îÃ©Â£4;f

=

: N aw

q" And from th dÃ©hebâ\200\234oÃ© Bp

ll the screaming knife of histony
Sy (0 bring the breath of LIB
[, et M SR RAT

!â\200\230 .- 16 Fs
gy s o~ P
Bt 4% i TR R e A

s 5 TRE G 3 %4
SV B o | N TR

i
o
Io)
OUR GREAT o
LEAVER)
aE A/Og\
TALLH
5TANDS !'l va

WHITE
SUPPIRTERS
& Â»

i""\ A}
2 7 (.kâ\200\231! .

â\200\231

OX<Â© !
) Wt N 4
Â£,99307 â\200\230.I X

RN

The National Party has been in power for 40 years. These many years have been disastrous to South Africa. Apartheid has had bad meanings to the majority of our people. Apartheid has not only been a racial policy, but it has affected all aspects of people's lives on political, social and economic levels.

It would be a fallacy to say Apartheid started in 1948 in South Africa. In actual fact, in 1948 the policy of racial discrimination reached its concretisation and climatic maturity. Hence our people could not tolerate any longer a system which denied them basic political

rights, decent housing a proper and relevant education system. During this period our people were saying NO to the migrant labour system, to pass laws and low wages. It was a period when our people no longer wanted a "fair deal" within the defective system itself but a complete change of the Government. It was not surprising that the Defiance Campaign in 1952 became evidence of our people's anger, protest and challenge to all aspects of the State machinery. It was a planned systematic and goal-oriented cam-

campaign for a future South Africa. Hence later on, our people came up with an envisaged alternative form of Government by consultative means of drawing up the Freedom Charter in 1955. All democratic forces under the banner of the African National Congress, South African Communist Party, Congress of Democrats, Coloured People's Congress and South African Indian Congress came together in Kliptown. They declared in political unison that the Apartheid Government needed to give way to a People's Government.

The Apartheid monster, which feeds itself on our people's blood, responded viciously by charging 156 people's leaders with treason during 1956. It was and it is still treason to say we are nationally oppressed and economically exploited. An authentic people's document was labelled a "communist ploy". It was clear to our people that the Nats did not want any opposition, but the

. people's struggle and defiance con-

tinued. The usual State terror and violence against the defenceless and unarmed people reappeared in 1960 at Sharpville. 69

people were shot dead and many were injured. The banning of organisations particularly the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress followed in the same year of the Sharpville shootings. Many people who had strong attachments with their country, families and friends were forced into exile. The strategies and tactics of opposing Apartheid were broadened by introducing the armed component of resistance.

We still maintain that it was not our people but Apartheid which caused the Rivonia Trial. Apartheid obstructed our right to national self-determination. Apartheid and its agents need sentence of any kind not our people. The National Liberation Movement was forced to have its first conference outside the border of South Africa by the Apartheid Regime. This happened in Morogoro in 1968.

From the early to the late 70's people's resistance continued from the Black Consciousness tradition. The Apartheid Bantu Education made us lose gallant sons and daughters of Africa on June 16, 1976. The worst repression of the Nat Regime was during the period of the 70's. The Jimmy Krugers banned the people's organisations in 1977.

From the late 70's to the early 80's the Nats introduced the dirty tricks of reform and repression to enforce their illegitimate rule on our people. Local authorities governments and Tricameralism became the Nat strategy of reform. The Congress tradition re-emerged to take its rightful position of opposition to Apartheid. The United Democratic Front was formed forcing the enemy into a state of crisis, which it openly admitted by declaring the State of Emergency in 1985 - the ordinary law of the land was no longer adequate to rule over the people.

Today, 3 years later, we are living under a much harsher State of Emergency, but even this cannot adequately rule over the people so that it has to be modified and new regulations added each day. We hear the regime calling on the ANC to abandon its revolutionary work and talking of a "peaceful settlement" through "negotiation", in a bid to fool the international community and to woo certain sections of South Africa. The prerequisites it puts are that the forces of peace and progress be silenced and suppressed through the State of Emergency, continued detentions and incarceration, restrictions, bannings, treason trials, press curbs, attacks on neighbouring States, etc. It is against this background that the Municipal elections will be held in October. When all opposition has been silenced "responsible

recognisable Black leaders" - people who have been rejected by their communities will be called upon to take up their positions in structures that have been outrightly rejected by the people and some of which have been forced to disband in the past. Nothing has changed in 4 decades of National Party rule : 1. Our demands remain unaddressed and many organisations have restricted including COSATU. 2. We are still ruled under the State of Emergency. 3. People's leaders are in jail, detention and exile. 4. People's organisations remain banned. 5. Our alternative structures in civics, education and labour are regarded as subversive and communist inspired. 6. Our people are still defying apartheid laws. There is nothing the apartheid government has to offer us except repression and more repression. Our task still remains to frustrate all its efforts at implementing its programme, thereby defending gains made in the past and advancing the struggle to higher levels. '=

DEMOCRACY

We are involved in a national DEMOCRATIC struggle. But what do we mean by democracy? How does our approach differ from other approaches to democracy? Under the state of emergency are

democratic procedures possible within our organisations? These are just some questions that arise when we speak about

democracy.

To understand our approach to democracy,

it is useful to consider the question at two different but connected levels.

1. In the first place democracy is, the fundamental aim of our broad national democratic struggle - to bring about a united, democratic South Africa. This aim is summed up in the demand : The people shall govern |

2. In the second place, there is the question of democracy within our existing organisations.

It is useful to separate these two levels, but obviously they are also connected. By developing active, mass - based democratic organisations, we are laying the basis for a future, democratic South Africa.

Let us consider each of these levels in more depth. -

DEMOCRACY, THE BASIC AIM OF OUR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

We are struggling to build a future South Africa in which the broad working masses of our country have a real control over their lives. This means control over ALL aspects of their lives - from national policy to housing, schooling and working conditions. This, for us, is the essence of democracy. When we speak of majority rule, we do not mean that black faces must simply replace white faces in parliament. When we demand that the people shall govern, we mean at all levels and in all spheres, and we demand that this must be real, effective control on a daily basis.

To place stress on THIS understanding of democracy, fundamentally distinguishes our position from various liberal versions of democracy. These liberal approaches look at abstract models, and, in particular, they lay great stress on multi-party systems as opposed to supposedly 'undemocratic' one-party states. A future, liberated South Africa may have a one-party or a multi-party system. That, for us, is not at all the most important question. Indeed, in different liberated countries there are advanced democracies that involve one-party systems in some, and multi-party systems in others. In all progressive countries, seeking to build and deepen democracy, it is not a question of how many parties are to be included, that is not the central question at all.

The key to deepening democracy lies in

deepening mass organisations in all sectors of society, and in creating the right social and economic conditions in which power is no longer in the hands of a small class of exploiters. :

Reflecting this approach to democracy, this is what Sandinista and Nicaragua vice president, Sergio Ramirez says :

"Effective democracy, like we intend to practice in Nicaragua, consists of ample popular participation : a permanent dynamic of the people's participation in a variety of political and social tasks ; the people who give their opinions and are listened to ; the people who suggest, construct and direct, organise themselves, attend to the community, neighbourhood and national problems ; a people who are active in the independence of the country and in the defence of that independence and also teach and give vaccinations ; a daily democracy and not one that takes place every four years, when at that, or every four or five or six years when formal elections take place ; the people don't go as a minority but in their totality ; and they consciously elect the best candidate and not one chosen like a soap or deodorant, a vote freely made and not manipulated by an advertising agency ... for us democracy is not merely a formal model, but a continual process capable of giving the people that elect and participate in it the real possibility of transforming their living conditions, a democracy which establishes justice and ends exploitation."

The rudimentary organs of people's power that have begun to emerge in South Africa (street committees, shop steward structures, SRCs, PTSAs) are the BEGINNINGS of the kind of democracy that is already being built in Nicaragua and elsewhere. Clearly, this approach to democracy is very different from the abstract, liberal view of democracy, of political parties competing every few years for elections.

But it is not just liberals who approach the question of democracy in this way. At present, there are supposedly 'progressive' groupings who, in the speaking of democracy, put all their stress on the 'right to differ', 'the need for criticism', etc.

Neville Alexander is one of the leading voices in this little chair :

"Provided a particular position is not clearly an enemy viewpoint, we should as far as possible, tolerate differences, 'allow a hundred flowers to bloom and a thousand schools of thought to contend', for this is the essence of the democratic ideal."

It is true that the right to constructive criticism is of great importance. We in the progressive movements also understand very well the need to work with and unite a variety of different tendencies and social forces. It is one thing to say this, it is another to portray the 'essence of democracy' as lying in the blooming of a hundred flowers, and in the contest of a thousand schools of thought. As we have said, for us, the essence of democracy does not lie in this debating society view of politics, but in the ability of the working masses to effectively control their lives.

Alexander's approach to democracy brings him very close to a liberal pluralism. In fact, he even uses the example of bourgeois political practice to justify his own stand :

"It is very seldom that one organisation alone represents the interests of a given class. We need only look at the different parties that represent the interests of the (white) capitalist class in South Africa (National EautvatRER S NRREE etc)

The example betrays the source of Alexander's error. The power of the bourgeoisie rests in its ownership and control of the economy, and in its influence over the army, police, prisons, courts and administrations. Bourgeois party politics happens BEHIND the screen of this economic and state power, a power that exploits and oppresses the majority. Meanwhile, behind

this screen, bourgeois party politics is fun-

damentally a question of competition between ruling factions, of dividing up the spoils of exploitation, of lobbying and dealing, of a hundred schools contending.

To present this to the oppressed and exploited masses as 'the essence of democracy' is, in fact, to disarm the popular classes. In the face of exploitation and oppression, the major weapon of the broad working masses lies in their numbers and in

their capacity for UNITED, DISCIPLINED action. It is united, disciplined mass action, and

. not left-wing debating 'societies that will lay

the basis for real democracy in South Africa.

If we have looked at Alexander at some length, it is because at present these pluralist ideas (democratic in form, and

sectarian in essence) are being expressed in @ number of places. We have looked at the demand : The people shall govern. Let us now consider democracy within our existing organisations.

ORGANISATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND THE STATE OF EMERGENCY.

The state of emergency can make the fullest practice of democracy difficult within our organisations. Open general councils, or Annual General Meetings may be dangerous or impossible to organise. But this does not mean that the basic principles of organisational democracy should now be forgotten. In fact, the conditions make it crucial that we ensure that the widest democratic consultation and discussion takes place. Without this members will become demobilised and out of touch, even dissatisfied. Without democratic involvement of all members, leaders lost through death and detention will be hard to replace.

At the same time we must not be simple minded about the security situation. When we say that all members must participate in the decision making, we are not saying that they must do this in a meeting of two hundred people, or even fifty people. To ensure democracy is practised in this period, we need to improve our organisation. We need to build many smaller units within our organisations. It is in these units, and through mandating and reporting between units and higher structures that democracy can be maintained, and even deepened. To elect a new executive of a youth affiliate, for instance, a full Annual General Meeting may not be possible. But this does not mean that elections cannot happen, or policies cannot be reviewed and changed. This can be done through voting processes from the smaller units, to branches, to the central structure. Although conditions have changed, then, in the emergency, the basic principles of organisational democracy remain. They are :

1.ELECTED LEADERSHIP. Leadership of

our organisations must be elected (at all levels), and re-elections must be held at periodic intervals. No single individual must become irreplaceable. Elected leadership must also be recallable before the end of their term of office if there is gross indiscipline, or unsuitability. :

2.COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP. At all levels We must practice a collective approach. There must be continuous, ongoing consultation. We must always work as a team. Executives, committees, must be seen as collectives - five brains are better than one. This collective approach Spreads leadership skills, and is therefore also a measure against possible disruption due to detention, etc. :

3.MANDATING. Leaders, delegates, etc. are not free-floating individuals. They must always operate within the democratic mandates of their positions and delegated duties. How often do individuals, who are Supposed to be delegates, for instance, speak their minds without making it clear that these views have not been mandated by their organisation/region/branch ? This is not to say that individual views must never be expressed, or that they are not often valuable - but the meeting must be clear as to what is mandated and what is personal.

In speaking of mandates, it is important to remember that there are different kinds of mandate. Let us take the case of an organisation's publicity secretary. For this work to be effective, for the organisation's press statements to be up to date, there is no possibility of waiting for a tight mandate on each and every issue. We expect our publicity secretary to be able to react swiftly on issues, and in so doing reflect the broad policy of the organisation. But this does not mean that the publicity secretary, for instance, works unmandated - merely within the boundaries of a broad mandate. On other issues tighter mandates will be needed.

4.REPORTING. Reporting back to organisations, areas, units, etc. is an important

dimension of democracy. As we have already said, with the emergency this work be-

. Comes even more important, because we

need to have many more smaller meetings. Reporting back is a basic democratic principle that is often not treated with enough care. Too often delegates report back in a sloppy way. They will remember what they

can, or read long boring details all jumbled up from the notes they made at the meeting. Often they have not even looked at these notes, or thought about them since that time. To enable full democratic participation, the task of reporting back must be taken more seriously. Prepare yourself for your report back, be clear of the main points. This helps those you are reporting to, to participate in a meaningful way in the issues raised.

5. CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM. No organisation is perfect, the most effective organisations are those that know how to learn from their mistakes and correct them. To do this evaluations, questions and criticisms must be encouraged. Obviously these must be constructive, not endless demoralising moaning. The task of criticism is to improve our work, not to turn our fighting organisations into debating clubs. In criticising a comrade, we must do so as friends, as comrades concerned about the person, hoping to improve his or her work for the sake of the whole organisation. To criticise is not to turn a comrade into a victim.

We should always be ready to practice self-criticism, to recognise our own faults, and be the first to speak about them for all to learn. The purpose of self-criticism is not to make a confession and to ask for forgiveness. It is also, obviously, not designed to win time, so that we can go on making the same errors. The purpose of both criticism and self-criticism is to improve the work of all. These five basic organisational democratic principles are not a luxury, they are a fundamental weapon in our struggle. Organisational democracy properly applied is the means to achieving the fullest, most active and most unified participation of the working masses in our struggle.

SOUTH AFRICAN TERTIARY
SPORTS COUNCIL. (SATISCO)

d

INSTITUTIONS

LWL/

SATISCO is born out of the famous maxim in our National Democratic Struggle : NO NORMAL SPORT IN AN ABNORMAL SOCIETY. It is based on the idea of International isolation of South Africa in sports and further differentiates the multiracial concept of sport as opposed to a pure and sacred, realistic and all-sided non-racial principle as envisaged by the freedom charter, an all embracing document, once branded as treason by the Nationalist regime. SATISCO unites all sporting bodies in tertiary institutions .i.e. Universities, Colleges of Education and Technikons, to further complement a tapestry of different forms of struggle, armed and unarmed, legal and illegal, underground and open on the political. economic and ideological battle fronts, and unifying these diverse forces that together comprise our liberation movement. Thus sport which is inextricably bound to culture cannot be loosely seen as apolitical. It is in this context that, while resisting all forms of domination and realising that we have alternatives, which cannot be fully asserted to under these repressive times, we must not desist from building people's organisations serving as cornerstones of such alternatives.

The racist clique in Pretoria has been compelled to undertake cosmetic surgery in the form of promoting multiracial sporting bodies, to seek to put a human face on the monster which all progressive mankind knows and abominates as apartheid. These colonial solutions cannot be left unchallenged.

We must look at SATISCO as a mechanism that provides us with the clarity and correctness of our strategies and tactics, and testifying the revolutionary maturity of the toiling masses of South Africa. It also reaffirms the political and ideological clarity as the neces-

sities in understanding the interwoven phases of our National Democratic Struggle. Let us make sure that our sports bodies affiliate to SATISCO. Let this be a shining thread that speaks of our determination to win, of rededication to our national cause and the principle of unity among the ranks of all freedom, justice and peace lovers. Let us start having discussions around SATISCO and explaining to other students the necessity of using sport as a weapon against the Pretoria colonial regime. In unity there is strength and in action there is victory.

LONG LIVE SATISCO !1 LONG LIVE THE
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT !1 VICTORY IS
CERTAIN |1

FREEDOM CHARTER

The South Africa today is the result of Common effort of all of its people. The cities, industries, mines and agriculture are the fruits of the efforts of all its people. But the wealth thus created is used by and for the interests of the WHITE MINORITY only. From the outset of the history of our organised struggle the masses asserted their right to determine the direction and destiny of their lives and their land.

In the early fifties the liberation struggle was reaching new heights, the need was seen for a clear statement of the future South Africa as the people saw it. Thus was born the Congress of the People campaign. In this campaign the ANC (African National Congress) and its allies invited the whole of South Africa to record their demands. These demands were collected by thousands of unpaid ANC volunteers who went to every town, village as well as factory floors. Finally, these demands found expression in the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour, which met at Kliptown Johannesburg on the 25 and 26 June 1955.

Thousands of delegates who gathered at Kliptown represented people from all walks of life. There were workers, intellectuals, women, youth and students from all over South Africa. Despite the harassment and the presence of a large contingency of police around the stadium, our people were not afraid to voice their demands for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Thus the Freedom Charter became the guiding document enshrining the aspirations of all the freedom loving people of South Africa. Throughout the years the Charter has served as a beacon and a basis of struggle for the masses of South Africa.

In the last few years we have seen how the support for the Freedom Charter has grown in the country: the cities, villages, rural areas as well as the factory floors; where the Charter remains unchallenged as the voice of the South African people. It is now the

guiding document of trade unions like COSATU, as well as organisations such as SAYCO, SANSCO, UDF etc.

Why is the Charter relevant today? Firstly the Charter is a document that has been borne out of the struggle itself. One cannot understand the history of the present state of struggle without reflecting on the Charter.

In the same vein, the vision of the future society that is incorporated in the Charter is still the same kind of society towards which we are struggling. None of the demands in the Charter have been met, and they are still as important to our people today as they were in 1955. Also the Charter addresses itself to all sectors of our population from teachers and students to workers.

Of what Importance is the Charter to us as students ?

For us students the clause "the doors of learning and culture shall be opened", is of immediate importance and relevance. Throughout our proud history of struggle against apartheid, the system of racist education has been a constant target of resistance and defiance among the people. The 1976 student uprising marks the pinnacle of this resistance. Thereafter our people began to echo in one voice the demand for a People's Education.

In 1982 students from COSAS and AZASO (now SANSCO) realised the need for an Education Charter containing the demands of the oppressed, which would serve as a guiding document for the students in the struggle for democratic education and a non-racial people's democracy in South Africa.

It is thus appropriate and it is our task for all the people of South Africa, and students in particular to organise the masses wherever they are for the attainment of a South Africa based on the Freedom Charter and to intensify the struggle for a free, democratic and non-racial education.

These Freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty.

WOMEN ! - PLAY YOURROLE IN THE STRUGGLE

In South Africa today we find a situation where our people are nationally oppressed and economically exploited. We have a Situation where the majority of the people are denied voting rights and other fundamental rights. As Black students we are discriminated .against and Oppressed. At the same time we are slowly being groomed into a middle class which serves as a buffer between the economically exploited and nationally oppressed people of South Africa and the enemy.

On top of the above mentioned oppression women also suffer sexual oppression due to the laws and customs that discriminate against them with an effect of keeping them in a position of inferiority and subordination. The legal system in this country discriminates against women by enforcing upon them the status of a minor.

The discrimination of women' goes back many centuries since with the disintegration of primitive community and the establishment of private property and the division of society into classes, men attained economic supremacy and with it, social predominance.

Nature made women physically weaker to men but did not make her morally and intellectually inferior and therefore both men and women have a duty to prevent this physical

difference in strength from becoming a cause for discrimination against women,

In a capitalist society women remain culturally and politically downtrodden, they have fewer educational opportunities than men and many times, women in a class society are deceived precisely because of their low level of politics andâ\200\231 are frequently used against revolutionary processes.

There has been g growing recognition among progressive student groupings of the need to form womenâ\200\231s groups. The task of these groups is to create consciousness for undertaking increasingly complex tasks to Prepare women to take their place in the building of the type of country that is free of all forms of exploitation and to represent the specific interests and aspirations of this jmportant sector of the population.

Itis important to note that discrimination will not be wiped out within the framework of g capitalist society which is why women should take part in the broader struggle against exploitation, imperialism, colonialism and racism. That is National

Liberation. As Mache| put it "The emancipa-
tion of women is not an act of human charity,
but an essential part of our liberation strug-
gle and a precondition for success of the
revolutionâ\200\235

P i,

_JUNE16,1976: REVOLT

It is now 12 years since that faithful day, June: 16, 1976, when the Soweto Students

Representative Council (SSRC) called upon

students to protest against the imposition of -
- Afrikaans: as the medium of instruction in

- schools. Two hundred thousand students
converged on Orlando stadium in what was

intended as a peaceful demonstration. The:
- police opened fire and HECTOR PETER-
SON, a 13 year old student, became the first -

of many victims of the 1976 rebellion. Student response was violent and vehicles belonging to the West Rand Administration Board were burnt and its offices destroyed. Beerhalls, liquor stores, a bank and a hotel, as well as several post offices suffered a similar fate. Within 24 hours the seething unrest had spread throughout Soweto and Prime Minister Vorster announced in Parliament that the police had been instructed to maintain law and order at all costs.

During the following week, the violence spread throughout the townships of the Reef and Pretoria to Nelspruit, Klerksdorp, Bothaville, Kimberly, Langa and Nyanga in the Cape as well as the campuses of Turfloop and Ngoye. July witnessed a resurgence in the struggle as it was carried over to the remainder of the Transvaal, Natal, Kwazulu and O.F.S under the banner of SASM who threw all their efforts into realising the country-wide nature of the crises.

In August the revolt assumed new dimensions as the Cape 200 000 coloured 231 students came out in support of the African schools rebellion.

What had started as a peaceful protest -

march against the enforced usage of
Afrikaans: as a medium of instruction had

turned into a full blooded rebellion in which the police shot to kill. Most alarming from the point of view of State power was that student

activists: began to reach out toward community groups and a series of huge stay-aways racked the economy.

Hundreds of students lost their lives, thousands were crippled for life but thousands more poured out of South Africa as refugees, many of them finding their way into the guerilla training camps of the ANC.

THE AFTERMATH :

-The student unrest began in: 1976 when

continued throughout '1977 and in October of that year boycotts or closures had

about a hundred thousand out of school and
- over five hundred teachers had resigned

rather than teach Bantu Education. - In an event which clearly showed the shape of things to come; Soweto pupils waged a campaign against the Urban Bantu Council as a collaborationist institution causing its collapse. - October 19, 1977 saw a massive State crackdown as 17 Black organisations were outlawed. - Beginning of 1979 saw schools beginning to function with some semblance of normality, but June and November saw the formation of COSAS and AZASO (now SANSCO); organisations which pledged to fight Bantu Education.
WAY FORWARD :

And now 12 years later the problems that led to the June 16 uprising are still with us. The money spent on education is far less than the money spent on the military which is involved in economic destabilisation and waging wars of aggression on the frontline States. :

The crisis in education itself is far from being resolved. The military has taken over the running of the University of the North. Schools in the townships have been transformed into something resembling an operational area with the constant presence of the army with their tanks and heavy artillery. From the battles of 1976 and from the national school boycotts of 1980 we have

learnt that students must have a clear political line and, clear and coherent set of

demands. The problems in our campuses.

we cannot solve as individuals and this neces-

sitates the formation of SRC's. The SRC's it will function smoothly if they enjoy the active
- Support of the majority of the students i.e. All -

students must be actively involved in all SRC activities. The SRC's themselves should affiliate to progressive student organisations and this will mean that they will fall under the discipline of these organisations.

Again from the lessons learnt in the 1980 boycotts it was felt that students should have

a documented set of demands. From this

% TN
T g) o

A kel T s G
B gt L Â¥

the idea of the Education Charter was born
and the Education Charter Campaign em-
barked on. These demands will act as a
guideline of what we should replace the in-
justices in our education with, following their
collapse. But up to this far the response of
our fellow students to the campaign has
been disappointing. This must raise our
seriousness in working hard to see this cam-
paign being completed.

Let us learn from the past, consolidate the
yester gains, measure the losses, revive our
spirits and propel our liberation struggles.
THERE SHALL BE FREE, COMPULSORY
EQUAL EDUCATION FOR ALL | :
LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF NO SUR-
RENDER, LONG LIVE !l â\200\231
FORWARD TO PEOPLEâ\200\231S EDUCATION.

. FORPEOPLESPOWER:IL

RESISTANCE TRIAL AND
THE STATE LEGAL TERROR

IF You STAND uP
YouLL BE GUILTY OF - - - -

The thrust by Apartheid colonialism is a rule
by force. At moments when White rule is
challenged, it does not hesitate to use naked
terror such as the deployment of troops in
the townships, vigilantes, assassination
squad and the destabilisation of our friend-
ly neighbouring States. If such terror is not
used, it resorts to legal and administrative
terror. Central to this latter strategy are the
resistance trials, which within the enemy

DISOBEDIENCE,
DESTRUCTION,
NECKLACING-

)/ CHEEK D MIDNESS

ranks and commercial media are called ter- e
rorism or treason trials. :

Bethal Trial: This depicts the manifest inten-
tion of the State to act against the authentic

Leadership of the people and how it under-
mines the sovereignty of the independent
neighbouring States. Ismael Ebrahim who is
the first accused was kidnapped from
Swaziland in 1987 by the agents of the State
and detained under the notorious Section 29

of the Internal Security Act. Later he- was charged with two other comrades, Mandla Maseko and Simon Dladla. He is allegedly charged for being the Chairperson of the Regional Politico-Military Committee of the ANC stationed in Swaziland. It is also alleged that under his auspices, landmines were planted by the two comrades. Their actions amount to attempted murder, terrorism and treason. This trial is characterised by the protectionâ\200\234given to the secret State witnesses, identified only as x1, x2, x3, x4. Another development is that Comrade Tamboâ\200\231's former personal body guard Jabulani Msibi who was abducted in Swaziland in 1986 was shot dead by an unknown gunman in Soweto on July 5. He was supposed to be a witness for the defence. Delmas Trial: The launch of the UDF in August 20, 1983 heralded a new era of resistance shaking the granite walls of Apartheid. The State's response was the harassment, killing and detention of our leaders. Significantly, the National Publicity Secretary, Popo Molefe, are among the 19 Comrades facing treason charges for allegedly conspiring with the ANC-SACP in the violent overthrow of the racist regime. These Comrades have spent almost four years in custody and the trial has been moved to Pretoria in the same courtroom where Comrade Mandela and the Rivonia Trialists were sentenced. Most notable is the dismissal of one assessor who was a signatory of the UDFâ\200\231s Million Signature Campaign showing the rejection of Apartheid and doing a national service by fighting against it.

, Alexandraâ\200\230Trials: â\200\230Moses Mayekiso, the

10

General Secretary and other Comrades within the Alexandraâ\200\231s Action Committee and Youth Congress, represent the new generation of unbroken resistance against rule by force. They also demonstrate the inseparable marriage between factory floor and community struggles for self-determination and economic emancipation. They are charged for taking control of their lives by establishment of rudimentary organs of peopleâ\200\231s power, organising residents into yard, block and street committees, and the formation of courts and marshalls to exert revolutionary discipline among residents.

Such structures are alleged to undermine

the authority of the State and heeding to the call of the ANC of making the country ungovernable.

The trials in which people are charged of necklacing others and condemned to death has been the result of the spontaneous anger of our people generated by the terror of Apartheid. If all these Comrades facing trials of various indictments are charged of

treason, all peace-loving South Africans are guilty of treason because, we believe it is Botha and his underlings who are guilty of treason. We therefore, demand : 1) Release of Nelson Mandela and others. 2) Safe return of all exiles. 3) Stopping of all death sentences and granting of prisoner of war status to all captured ANC combatants. 4) An end to the State of Emergency and the eradication of all racist laws.

The demands form the bottom line of the advancement towards a free and non-racial democratic society, where oppression and exploitation will be outlawed forever.

CRISIS IN EDUCATION

Since 1980 we have seen an intensification of the struggles waged in the sphere of education. We have seen a qualitative and a quantitative development on the struggles of the 50s and 1976. This intensification has meant a deepening of the crisis in which the state finds itself generally and particularly in the field of education. During this period we have seen the birth and growth of COSAS

and SANSCO (formerly AZASO), we have also witnessed the birth and growth of the NECC. ; :

- The crisis in education is inextricably bound

to the crisis in which the South African government finds itself generally. It expresses itself politically, economically and ideologically. The government has failed to address the crisis in the manner that it

should. Its response to the crisis has been naked repression. It has declared a State of Emergency, detained thousands of people, - sent troops into the townships, schools and our campuses. We have also experienced the cronic expulsion of students from schools and campuses. It has also tried to be sophisticated and introduced some reforms which falls short of what our people are demanding.

This two pronged approach of the government of repression and sophistication has failed in that our peoplesâ\200\231 advance is not deterred. Their demands for the opening of the doors learning and culture, democratic student-parent representation and participation, free education, free text books, and an education that reflects and serves their aspirations.

In 1988 as students we have a task of ensuring that the struggle for a democratic and dynamic education is intensified. Particularly in the light of the fact that our student organisation SANSCO is restricted, NECC is restricted and there is a State of Emergency in force. We must continue to fight for our institutions to be accountable to our community. We must continue to fight for the unbanning of SANSCO and the 17 other

-restricted organisations.

Turfloop (UNIN) : Troops still occupy the campus, and the SRC is still banned. We must in solidarity with students at UNIN demand the removal of troops and the unbanning of the SRC and the return of normality to the campus.

THE APARTHEID SPONSORED VIOLENCE
- IN NATAL

The guiding principle of the policy of apartheid is that the oppressed and the exploited have to be kept divided so that ruling and governing them could be facilitated (divide et impera). This is in keeping with other colonial powers which kept the people of

Africa and Asia in a state of subjugation for centuries. In doing this they get willing and

gullible allies in the form of the most conservative and backward looking elements from the oppressed. Tribal chiefs have obviously fitted in that category, hence the homeland system which is based on tribal hierarchy.

To give an account of the violence that has drenched the Natai region in blood for the past two years will demand an indepth

12

t

analysis of the historical and social background to the conflict and also the collection

of large amounts of data on the other elements

that are part of the conflict. This is, therefore, a very superficial analysis of the conflict that has engulfed the Natal region, especially the Pietermaritzburg areas, which form the focus of this article.

Violent conflict between Inkatha and the people in the Pietermaritzburg areas began in mid - 1985, when one of the community leaders, Robert Duma of the Imbali Residents Association had to leave the area after his house was attacked by people who were later identified as being Inkatha members. This was followed by a series of attacks on the person or property of UDF (United Democratic Front) members together with the march to the Federal Theological Seminary (Fedsem) on the 30th August 1985, led by Patrick Pakkies and Velaphi Ndlovu, both Inkatha leaders in the area. The general pattern that has been seen elsewhere was followed by these Natal warlords. No matter

NB who the leaders of these vigilantes were, be

â\200\224=it Winnington Sabelo, Prince Gideon Zuly,

Mandla Shabalala, Mhlahlo Jamile, or, Crossroads thugs in the Western Cape, or. Imbokodo in the Transvaal, behind all these forces there is always the hand of the Racist

Regime giving directions and instructions. That hand may be in the form of a casspir

accompanying thugs in Crossroads, or, in a minibus leading Inkatha members attacking delegates at the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) meeting in April 1986. Another feature is the quality of the demands that these vigilantes will make. With no exception, none has ever demanded the dismantling of Apartheid. On the contrary, they always demand what is counter to the resolutions of "their" respective communities, coming up with agendas that are nakedly advancing Apartheid and reactionary in essence. Botha and his cronies are the only people who smile when Inkatha talks of "troublesome Xhosa lawyers" and demanding from the Anglican Bishop of Natal to remove Rev. Xundu from Lamontville, because he is a Xhosa causing trouble. Thirdly, these thugs have recruited from outside their areas of operation. Those

thugs that attacked the Lamontville community are not Lamontville residents. The murderers who attacked Ngoye students in October 1983 were not students of that University. Nor was the crowd that marched to Fedsem drawn from Imbali. Fourthly the security forces of the State have been most unwilling to arrest these vigilante thugs, notwithstanding evidence that has been advanced, at different times, in support of the allegations against them. This is in sharp contrast with the way the police handle instances when the people successfully defend themselves against Inkatha. Students of Natal University have themselves experienced this when in 1985 the police were misled into believing that there were petrol bombs and other weaponry to be used against the impending Inkatha attack at Allan Taylor Residence. Hundreds of the security personnel held ATR under siege and they nearly knocked down Prof. Colin Webb. In passing it should be mentioned that some of the Inkatha leaders have been court interdicted more than once, something that is unheard of in the juridical activity of law enforcement agencies.

A further look at the Pietermaritzburg conflict is the whole dimension of initiatives taken by the democratic movement in the area, aimed at bringing about peace and cessation of vigilante activity. These initiatives have taken many different forms. Churches as well as business interests in the area have been involved. What is important is that everyone in the area (we are referring to those who are honest) admits that the democratic movement did not start, nor is it sponsoring, violence in the area. The experience of those people who have been involved in peace talks (that includes people who are not in the UDF and COSATU such as church leaders and business leaders) is that Inkatha has been frustrating these talks.

The Apartheid State has not been slow in introducing the " Black-on-Black violence " misfactor in its arsenal of weapons on an ideclogical level. The same people who have come with this phrase have never applied it in terms of " White-on-White violence " when the AWB has been attacking National Party meetings. Nor have they used it in the World

Wars that have been fought, mainly in Europe. This opportunistic use of the phrase is a reflection of the myth that human beings have to be defined and described in terms of their pigmentation. There have been tensions between the English speaking Whites

and the Boers in this country, but no one

from the Apartheid State has described it as "White on White" confrontation. In any event, the Apartheid State has no record of advocating the unity of the oppressed and exploited. Even if there was validity in the claim that "Black on Black violence" does exist it would be strange to hear those very same people who are responsible for persecuting the majority of the population for more than three hundred years to decry the "disunity" that was sown by their own ranks.

People like vigilante leaders are a sample of the oppressed and exploited that stand to gain from the perpetuation of Apartheid. They are people who in the civilized world would be charged of criminal offences : Apartheid being a crime against humanity. The confrontation is between the people and Apartheid. There are human beings that support Apartheid despite the fact that they are oppressed and exploited. Homeland leaders, community councillors, Black policemen, Hendrickse and Rajbansi are some that belong to this unholy company that competes for ignomy. There are also Whites that belong to the camp of the people because they have shown, mainly by action, that they are prepared to lay down their lives for the struggle and for democracy. Some have died in the thick and thin of the struggle against Apartheid. Just as the conflict in, Europe, and elsewhere, during the 30's and 40's was between forces of progress against those of darkness; forces of democracy

against those of reaction; and forces of peace against those of war. We have said

~ earlier that vigilantes are a tool that is used

and that will be used in the future by the backward looking elements of our society being led by the National Party. The question that is the determining factor is loyalty to democracy. "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, both Black and White" so declares the Freedom Charter.

In looking forward, vigilante activity falls within the broad plan of the liquidation of the oppressed and exploited by Apartheid. At times it takes the form of death squads killing our leaders, or professionally trained assassins as in the case of Chief Lutuli, Griffiths Mxenge, Matthew Goniwe, and many others. It may be in the form of mass attacks as was the case with the attack on mourners at Victoria Mxenge's memorial service in Umlazi. The same could be said of the 1978

Kassinga massacre in Angola and other acts
of terrorism levelled against the people of the

. Frontline States. As Apartheid loses its grip

over the oppressed and exploited, it will intensify vigilante activity together with other forms of repression. But in all this flow of blood, the certainty of victory is assured as more and more people join the struggle against apartheid.

Our resources have to be galvanized in support of peace initiatives in the area. It may be in the form of discussions, seminars, prayer sessions, pamphleteering, mass meetings, petitions and other creative initiatives that students on campuses can come up with. The objective is to stop the flow of blood. In the long term the solution is the establishment of a democratic society where tribalism will be a thing of the past, where blood will spill no more.

IS 57 WsHIAin

AT I8 Wy X 93)8i)

Prowed on the UND SHU Prers

INTER-SRC COMMITIEE

Issued by:

inge MURDERER S oF ouy Rovw\â\200\230r-
4 SISIERS WERE LED By 2utu

king 2w eLiTrint.

. THE 2ulug AMN The 2 Lemng< A
PRE JUSt SAYASES, sjp0ges
AT Blood -TwIRsST DJ'

VW ERECORE Taeae w&e NO
Oâ\204ç\ DemMoONSTRATIO Nt
%-Fq HJUQ Jd4o @â\200\235e 1< Fâ\200\230N
[FRUSCR RN s iy

WH 0 i s ZweliThin

| and h}'s "w câ\200\230*rrio:?

e mugl Cth@ nye THI.S

XY TG T Ao

B
b ; , Seeind] k 1 ,â\200\231 S A-, Â\$

5 â\200\235â\200\234"/â\200\235d Kin 4