official organ of the Congress Movement, nevertheless stated that it founded its editorial on the Freedom Charter. The paper was distributed nationally and aimed at a general audience, probably of fairly politically aware people.

New Age eventually bit the dust in November 1962. Having come out for eight years it was actually something of a record for Bunting and his staff.

But in the classic tradition of publish and be damned, they were out the next month with a newspaper called Spark. Its reign was short-lived, and March 1963 saw Spark's last edition.

This time, however, the Minister didn't just ban the publication under the Suppression of Communism Act, but used the Act to prevent those responsible from operating as journalists again.

The rest of the decade and the next saw a dropping off in the "general" type of independent newspaper.

But specialist publications — those that focussed on particular issues of labour, community university or religion, lived and died at various times of this period.

For instance Christian organisations started bringing out far more politically, hard-hitting papers. The best example is the Christian Institute's Pro Vincia, particularly for its exposes of torture in detention. This paper was finally banned in 1977, along with the Christian Institute.

Now this brings us to the student press, which until the late sixties was wishy-washy and often apolitical.

Then, as a result of the greater radicalisation of student politics in the sixties and the influence of overseas student movements, the student press began to become more political. But there was an interesting schizophrenia if one looks at these newspapers. A newspaper like Wits Student was very forceful on civil rights issues. But then the back page would feature a photograph of the Rag Queen. This showed exactly the development of student political consciousness. A student rights committee might be meeting in these papers, but notice that we see today as immature either didn't seem that significant or weren't issues to them at the time.

Wits Student was a very interesting paper in the early seventies, not because it was much better than anybody else's, but because of the controversy it was involved in as a result of protest. The student press was seen by the public and began to see itself as a radical and outspoken medium.

The most well-known incident was the "soil seal" saga in 1972. Wits Student editor, Map Douglas-Home, a nephew of the former British Prime Minister, published a cover on Wits Student of a little baby looking down into a toilet bowl, saying, "Excuse me, are you the Prime Minister?"

Now that rather suggestive entitled looking down into the bowl of a little baby, especially
in a publication that probably distributed to no more than 2 000 people on an English-speaking campus in Johannesburg, generated a national incident, became a subject for heated parliamentary discussion and eventually Douglas-Home was deported to Britain. This incident certainly woke up the campuses and redirected the student press.

The media was no longer a game. But what was significant was that the student press began to see itself as more important — as having a certain amount of power and being able to influence things. But people also learnt that it wasn’t good enough to be provocative. There was a certain responsibility in publishing, and there were certain consequences if you didn’t toe the line. If you were going to get your fingers burned, at least make it worthwhile.

By 1974, the Publications Act was passed and bannings of student newspapers gradually accumulated. The Publications Committee had certainly seen student journalism as one of its prime customers, and not a week goes by when you don’t see student newspapers banned.

Students moved beyond this to realise it wasn’t such a big status symbol to be banned, and that to publish to be banned was also irresponsible. During that period a greater radicalisation and maturity developed in the student press. People realised they had newspapers they could do something with, and make decent use of.

But there are certain problems in the role the student press tries to adopt. It started the phrase — "the alternative press," which came into currency in 1977. What it meant was that the student press saw itself as an alternative to the commercial press. The student press said, "We will take up the issues the commercial press aren’t publicising. We will fill that gap."

It was probably a little bit ambitious. Firstly, the student press didn’t have the resources to do the research, the necessary contacts with the community to actually publish those kinds of stories. Most importantly, they didn’t have the readership. While they saw themselves fitting into a much broader role, ultimately they were very much bound to the campuses.

Moving beyond the student press in the seventies, the media was significantly affected by the change in resistance. As popular resistance emerged and grew, so the role of the media within the community was to grow as well.

The trade unions, for example, saw it was useful to mobilise and communicate with membership. They couldn’t meet them on a day to day basis, tell them what the union was doing there and in other places and so on.

For community organisations, it provided an opportunity to identify with the community and through it, members of the community could identify with each other. It could take up important issues in the community, however trivial they seemed to the commercial press.

Central to these media was that, like the papers of the fifties, they worked hand in hand with organisations. By helping to spread and strengthen those organisations, they were taking them forward — and that is what progressive media is all about.

This revival of the alternative press was marked by community newspapers, and following the Grassroots example in the 70’s, the concept spread in an almost domino effect.

But certain problems that have always lived with the alternative press continue.

Firstly there’s the age-old hey of state repression which we’ve been trying to learn to live with and develop counter strategies. On the other hand, the student press can go a lot further today than it could have in the past because of circumstances emerging in the Publications Appeal Board. This is not because the Board is getting more liberal but that it is trying to legitimise itself and so seems to be more tolerant of student media. Hence publications like Work in Progress and Sash National, banned on the one hand by the Appeal Committees, were then unbanned by the Appeal Board.

The next problem facing alternative media is finance. Unlike the commercial press, community newspapers have a very small readership and profit-seeking is not normal with the commercial sector. Because of this they have found one normal form of revenue, advertising, and so have to rely on funding from their community, outside funding or selling advertising to smaller traders in the area.

Then, there are the internal problems. It’s not only the state and finances that have destroyed independent newspapers. Some of them have destroyed themselves, and particularly when there isn’t much clarity on the newspaper’s role, internal conflict has led to disintegration.

Finally, a paper is only as good as it is read. While the commercial press distributes via news-stands and shops, the alternative press has to rely on a network of volunteers. Although intentions may be good, often the paper does not get out or money from sales comes in drabs and drabs, making it hard to存活.

“Alternative” also implies a completely different attitude towards journalism. The commercial press produces a more or less a passive audience with journalists who know everything acting on them. But the alternative press should operate from a different starting point working to empower the people who make up what of a media worker and positive interactive relationship which contribute and enrich the publication. It is the kind of interaction on both levels that actually make an alternative press possible.

So it’s not good enough to just bring out a newspaper with "the right line", but its the interaction and communication with the audience that actually makes it a people’s paper.

Although working in the alternative press may seem daunting after this history of the literal graveyards that have grown in the names of many of these publications, we should not overuse the issue. The fact that newspapers have actually died does not mean their sole aim was to survive. They were there for a specific purpose at a certain time and in many cases they fulfilled their role. No-one working in these publications supposed they would, like Peter Pan, live-and remain young forever.

The death of one or the other has drawn a death blow to the entire movement and we have yet to see, amongst the graveyards of the dead progressive publications, a tombstone inscribed "Rest in Peace, the Alternative Press". And let’s hope we never will.
Organising small towns

Q: How did Nismawu start?
A: Nismawu was formed in March 1981 at Richards Bay. It is affiliated to the National Federation of Workers (NFW), a Durban based organisation of workers (NFW). A Durban based breakthrough was achieved at Eshowe, where the workers unionised municipal and domestic workers.

Q: Why did you start organising workers in small towns?
A: There was only one metal company at Richards Bay, and that was Alusaf, which is organised by Fosatu. So we decided to organise workers in the small towns and farms of Natal. The reason why we've selected these areas, for example, Mtubatuba, Empangeni, Eskihaweni and Melmoth is that there is a tendency among other major trade unions not to pay too much attention to people from small towns. These workers are actually grossly exploited.

Many other unions concentrate on major industrial areas. When you organise in small towns you have a lot of problems with transport. For example, Mtubatuba is 50 km away from our office at Eshowe and we have to make use of public transport. Nevertheless you can't leave these people just because it's expensive to go and organise them.

Q: Does this mean that Nismawu is no longer organising Iron and Steel Workers and has become a general workers' union?
A: When we organise workers in their towns they all join Nismawu. Although some are municipal workers, others work in supermarkets, for example, Mtubatuba is 50 km away from our office at Eshowe and we have to make use of public transport. Nevertheless you can't leave these people just because it's expensive to go and organise them.

Q: What is the main grievance of workers in the area?
A: During the year we conducted some research around the town of Mtubatuba. We found that the workers there were badly exploited. Many of them were earning R35 to R65 per month after three or four years service. In this area there is no proper transport. People used privately-owned buses and so were paying an average of 90 cents a day on transport. That's two-thirds of their income on transport.

In July, we started organising in Mtubatuba. We worked with these workers on a minimum wage which they could demand. We decided on R180 a month. It's still low but it's better than R60 a month. We worked it out on the basis of a family of eight. The workers actively participated in working it out. We took into account people's staple foods, their transport costs and their rent.

Q: What response did you have from employers to this demand?
A: We believe that we cannot involve the workers themselves, whether or not they are shop stewards. Our union is still small so it's easy to get many of them to come to meetings.

Our members are all African workers. We have a non-racial constitution, and we would like coloured and Indian members, but it's difficult to organise these people because they are mainly supervisors and clerks.

Q: What relationship does your union have with the community in the areas where you organise?
A: We believe that we cannot organise the community if we have members of the union who are also community leaders.
members of different communities. Although we have not yet devised a system of working with the community, we try to get involved in community matters. Recently we tried to form a sub-committee at Musina to cater for the interests of some unemployed people who are forced to sell vegetables and fruit at the bus rank. They continually face police harassment. We have been helping them by taking them to the magistrate and the local police commander to try and negotiate for them to be left in peace.

Another problem which workers face, particularly at Empangeni, is the transport system. To travel from Town Dikana to town from Esikhaweni you have to pay 60 cents on a bus. Employers are actually dividing the workers from the rest of the community because they buy them bus tickets while members of the community have to pay the full fares.

During the strike at Richards Bay Minerals last year, the housing situation caused a lot of problems. Workers at Richards Bay Minerals live in three-roomed houses built by the company. This gives the company a hold over the workers. When 800 workers went on strike last year demanding recognition of the union, management gave them eviction notices from their houses.

Q: How has the recent wave of state action against some unions affected your union?
A: Earlier this year the president of the union, Keith Maku, the national organiser, Magwaza Maphalala, and three organisers, Vincent Mbhoza, Matthew Oliphant and Philemas Msomi, were detained. Matthew Oliphant was kept for two months, and the others for a few days. The police took all the union's records and typewriters. This did intimidate some of our members.

Q: What is the attitude of the Kwazulu government towards your union?
A: The Kwazulu Department of Work has also tried to intimidate our members. At Esikhweeni, municipal workers made representation to the Kwazulu government for a minimum wage of R200 per month. The Kwazulu government said that municipal workers are not allowed to belong to trade unions and refused to speak to the Nsamwu.

There were a number of incidents in September this year that were clear victimisation. A senior foreman took almost all the 250 workers from a site to the local police station where he told the station commander that he wanted to fire the workers who are "members of Oliphant", not even members of the trade union, to stand on one side and all those who work for the Department to stand on the other side.

The station commander told the workers that as far as he knew they were not members of trade unions.

However, this was not the end of the story because the same foreman told the workers to return their union cards to the effect that the workers didn't do this. Then the next day the Security Police arrested one of our organisers and questioned him for a day before releasing him. The following day there was an instruction from Ulundi to fire the worker.

The Kwazulu government does try to control progressive trade unions but in a very much more refined way than the Ciskei government in its dealings with SAWU.

Recently, the Kwazulu Minister of the Interior, Dr Mdialase, made a press statement to the effect that some unions are actually misleading Kwazulu employees. He assured that the Kwazulu government is in favour of trade unions. That's why Chief Buthelezi has been awarded that award by AFLCIO (the American Federation of Trade Unions), because of his involvement in the workers. But the employees of the Kwazulu government are not allowed to join trade unions. They have to belong to staff associations.

Q: What do you think about the American trade union delegation which came to South Africa recently?
A: The American type of trade unionism doesn't appeal to us and it doesn't apply to us. In America workers have the vote, in South Africa this is not the case. So while trade unions in America can be concerned with bread and butter issues only, in our country this is not so. We have to be concerned with bread and butter issues and also with the fact that we don't have the vote. If the American trade unions are trying to make our trade unions follow the same pattern as their own, then they are divorcing us from the real issues.

Q: How do you think retrenchments are affecting the trade union movement?
A: Employers are using retrenchments as a weapon. They use the large reserve of unemployed people to cripple worker militancy.

So when workers go on strike they can be easily replaced by experienced workers. This makes workers afraid to risk their jobs by striking. This is an issue around which the labour movement needs to organise so that there are proper retrenchment procedures.

This will stop management from retrenching people they see as troublesome workers.

Whose independence?

Twenty years of political reforms have done little to alter the results of centuries of traditional patriarchy, nor has the new colonialism of multinational companies anyting to place women in useful roles in the emerging African states.

In 1949, the women of the United Nations Assembly were given the right to participate in discussions and decisions which affect them. The first thing which came under fire from delegates was the patriarchal nature of traditional society. It was clear, they said, that only allowing males to play useful roles in development and production was both archaic and a luxury the developing countries couldn't afford.

The new colonialism of multinational companies and government elites was also blamed for the lack of progress in this area. Reforms carried out under this system large ignored women as they were instituted by a Western-educated intellectual elite guided by the demands of Western capitalism. This did not leave room for the proper integration of women into decision-making. Rural women working for agricultural companies were still given lower wages than men for example despite lip-service being paid to equality.

The export of Western consumer society to independent Africa has also had a bad effect on female advancement. Through advertising, glamorous images of the ideal woman have been spread by radio, television, and magazines. Most of these images portray women as independent people, but rather as attachments to men.

What we said and where in our statement was the second part of the conference. "We must be seen as a local and household-level level entering a national discussion." In another level, delegates demanded that their voices be heard and that women's contribution to society be recognised. "We condemn equal opportunity and discrimination and implore based on race as that based on gender. We believe our hope lies in joining with those who are trying to forge a future society free of discrimination."

The Dakar Declaration, as it has already become known, is an important stage in freeing African women from the bonds of both traditional and Western culture. African women have begun finding their own identity and preparing to make their contribution to development.
Stop or they'll shoot

Shootings by police — the facts

A POLICEMAN may legally shoot at "and justifiably kill" a person suspected of having committed certain specified offences. He may shoot if he feels that there is no other way of stopping a fleeing man he is trying to arrest.

This emerged from a comment by police in Pretoria after readers had said they were concerned about the number of recent police shootings.

A few examples reported by police in the Cape Town area are:

1. On November 1 in Elsie's River, two 17-year-old youths, part of a fleeing group of eight men, were both hit when police fired 14 shots at them.

2. On November 3 a man caught breaking into a parked car in the Gardens was hit in the back of the head by one of four shots fired by a policeman.

3. On November 3 a man caught breaking into a shop late at night.

4. One was hit in the stomach and the other in a shoulder, and their condition was later described as satisfactory.

5. On November 3 a man caught breaking into a parked car in the Gardens was hit in the back of the head by one of four shots fired by a policeman.

He was running away after being surprised.

He has not been named and is in hospital.

The police spokesman emphasized that when a policeman uses his firearm, a full investigation is held and the reasons for his action are fully investigated and forwarded to the Attorney-General for his decision.

The scene in question is inspected by an officer, who compiles a complete report.

The District Commandant and the Divisional Commissioner concerned then decide whether or not the circumstances justified the use of a firearm, he said.

"Apart from this, the usual four case against the offender who was fired upon follows in virtually all cases.

"As these proceedings, the pleading officer will automatically instruct that the necessary steps he takes if there has been any irregularity.

"In the case of a death under such circumstances, an inquest is held and the magistrate concerned has to make a finding," he said.

He also said that training of South African policemen in the use of firearms was intensive and legal aspects were emphasized.

"Hours are spent to acquaint students in the use of different firearms before a single shot is fired."

Reprinted from the Cape Times

Criminal Procedure Act.

In layman's terms. Section 49 of the act, which deals with the use of force in arresting a person, states that such force "as may be used to overcome resistance or to stop a person fleeing."

It also states that the killing of a person who cannot be arrested or stopped in flight by other means than by killing, shall be "deemed to be justifiable homicide."

The catch is that the policeman must be sure or at least must "reasonably suspect" that the man he is about to shoot and possibly kill has committed an offence referred to in Schedule 1 of the Act.

This is a list of 20 specified offences.

They include treason, sedition, murder, culpable homicide, indecent assault, robbery, arson, assault when a dangerous wound is inflicted, breaking into premises, fraud.

Other offences listed are: knowingly receiving stolen property, escape from lawful custody, and finally, any "conspiracy, incitement or attempt to commit" any offence referred to in the schedule.

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A few examples reported by police in the Cape Town area are:

1. Two "suspected" car thieves were shot dead by police in Guguletu on October 31 as they fled on foot from a car which had been identified as stolen, and which they had crashed into a street lamp after a short chase.

2. Their bodies have still not been identified.

3. On November 1 in Elsie's River, two 17-year-old youths, part of a fleeing group of eight men, were both hit when police fired 14 shots at them.

4. The shooting took place after they were surprised breaking into a shop late at night.

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Reprinted from the Cape Times
WHAM WHAM, you're dead

Youth movements in Namibia

THE PHRASE “Winning Hearts and Minds” (WHAM) is such a giveaway it’s almost a Freudian slip. The very fact that hearts and minds have to be won at all is fair indication that neither hearts nor minds have a natural affinity with those who seek to win them.

WHAM was a strategy developed by the Rhodesian government whose challengers stood to enjoy wide support from the local population. Part of US military strategy was to undermine support for the VIetcong by convincing the locals that the US and the Saigon regime were after all, more deserving of their support. WHAM’s ultimate failure in Vietnam did not deter either the Rhodesian government employing it during their war against ZANLA and ZIPRA, or the South Africans in Namibia.

In the northern war zones of Namibia, the need to gain the support of the local population has always been particularly pressing. Civic action programmes run by the SADF and the SWA Territorial Force have, however, been largely unsuccessful. Now the prospect of Namibian independence has brought a new sense of urgency to the attempts.

A prime target for the WHAM offensive is youth and an increasingly popular idea among second tier government in the area is the youth movement.

Modelled along similar lines to Boy Scouts and Voorterrekkers, movements such as Ekongoro in the Kavango are financed and controlled by the regional governments. Ekongoro has a membership of 30,000 school pupils of all ages. Membership is compulsory. A yearly curriculum is presented in weekly lectures and regular camps.

The movement was established in 1975 “to encourage the development of a Kavango nationalism”. At the time, the South African Government was still committed to the Ovireedal plan, which envisaged a Kavango divided into independent homelands according to the South African model. The failure of this plan has since been recognised and the concept of a single Namibian nation acknowledged.

Ekongoro, however, has remained cheerful in its commitment to its ideal of Kavango nationalism. Whilst the movement’s leaders acknowledge that it ought to be placed within the context of a broader Namibian nationalism, this has yet to be implemented. In fact, the emphasis is still directed towards building an allegiance to the five Kavango tribes.

The five traditional chiefs have been enthusiastic supporters of the movement since its inception. Camps have been built on land donated by the chiefs, one for each tribal area. In addition, there is the main camp at Rundu, the administrative centre of the Kavango.

The movement’s headquarters “Maria Mwenger” after the chiefs who donated the land, reflects the emphasis on traditional culture. The huts used to accommodate pupils on camp are made entirely of traditional materials and there is an exhibition of pottery where the fine but vital distinction between Kavango and Mowana pottery is explained.

The site also boasts a parade ground where drill is practised and the Kavango flag is hoisted and lowered daily during camps, as well as an amphitheatre for the performance of traditional song and dance.

A Traditional Sports Day is an annual event, participants competing in duagout and slingshot races, spear throwing and tree felling. Future projects include the construction of an open-air museum featuring traditional Kavango and Bushmen kraals.

A traditional culture emphasis does not preclude the movement from claiming Christian Nationalism as its base, according to an information brochure issued by Ekongoro. The brochure lists the movement’s aims as transmitting Kavango culture to the youth, developing a Kavango nationalism and moulding the young into better citizens.

At the same time, however, the movement appears firmly rooted in Verwoerdian philosophy. The ultimate aim is given as “to give the youth an interest in agriculture by means of agricultural projects and in this way to make a contribution to the development of an agricultural economy.

Where Ekongoro fits into the Hearts and Minds strategy is that it aims to make the youth of Kavango satisfied with the poverty of a “traditional” rural life.

The pinnacle of Kavango success, according to Ekongoro, would be a small herd of cattle and a piece of land to plough. All other aspirations ought to be stifled as anti-traditional, thus ensuring a docile workforce whose sole desire it is to return to their homeland after fulfilling the labour requirements of the white areas.

Although Ekongoro is a pioneer in its field, other ethnic authorities are beginning to follow its example and the Caprivi government has already set up a youth movement modelled on Ekongoro. Their success remains to be seen.

Another two community newspapers go to print

"TWO NEW community newspapers appeared in Johannesburg. Umhlanga was established in recent months. Umhlanga is a strategy developed by the government in the area is the youth movement. A prime target for the WHAM offensive is youth and an increasingly popular idea among second tier government in the area is the youth movement. Modelled along similar lines to Boy Scouts and Voorterrekkers, movements such as Ekongoro in the Kavango are financed and controlled by the regional governments. Ekongoro has a membership of 30,000 school pupils of all ages. Membership is compulsory. A yearly curriculum is presented in weekly lectures and regular camps.

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Another two community newspapers appeared in Johannesburg. Umhlanga was established in recent months. This brings to five the number of community newspapers in South Africa. The others are Grassroots Cape Town: Umhlanga in Durban and The Free Press, Umhlanga in Pretoria. The first edition appeared in September after a series of preparatory meetings.

"A newspaper is a mirror that reflects the community’s problems and the mood of society." said spokesperson for the newspaper.

"It is a valuable weapon with which to fight people against major issues such as high rent and rising transport fare."

The first edition covered the Gwang-Doi’s appeasement of the residents and an article on a political meeting.

There have been two editions of Speak, distributed to the township and around Johannesburg.

It has focused on protests and community campaigns against racial inequalities which have hit most Johannesburg communities. It has also covered a variety of community activities such as new agricultural activities. The second edition included a news section.

"The response to Speak has been overwhelming," said the editor.

"Speak is only successful if it has the support and participation of the people."

"Unlike commercial newspapers, we do not rely on journalists for news", said a Speak organiser. "Most of the news we publish comes directly from the community, student and workers organisations and is written by people involved in the activities that these organisations." In their first edition they outline the need for a different paper and pointed to the differences.

"Speak writes about the actual experiences of direct contact to everyday people", said an editorial outlining the need for a different paper.

"Speak also hopes to promote the development of organisations, and encourage the exchange of ideas between different communities", said the newspaper.
Mental institutions in South Africa...

"Less than a hundred years ago, patients in a mental hospital were bound and jailed like criminals. In a hundred years time, people will possibly be as shocked at our treatment of the mentally ill as we are at that of our ancestors."

"The problem with mental illness is that we are treating conditions we hardly understand at all. Realising this, we ought to be cautious and compassionate in our approach."

INFORMATION ON mental health in South Africa is difficult to obtain. The Government has imposed restrictions on what may be published about mental institutions and their patients. This is an unhappy state of affairs, but what is even less pleasant is to consider why. What is there to hide?

The 1976 amendment to the Mental Health Act outlaws the publication "in any manner whatsoever" of false information concerning the detention, treatment, behaviour or experience in any institution of patients, or concerning the administration of any institution. Establishing whether information is true or false involves having it verified by the Department of Health. Photographs or sketches of any mental institution and of mental patients are prohibited except by members of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa, or those authorized by the Secretary of Health.

The amendment came after Press criticism of mental health conditions. The role of the Department of Health, which supplies the companies with funds was also highlighted in the Press. By 1978, maintenance for black patients ranged from R1,695 to R2,11 per day whilst that for white patients ranged from R5,33 to R6,375 per day.

As a Superintendent explained, however,
patients are expected to feed and look after themselves."

The staff, described by a delegation from the American Psychiatric Association which visited the institutions under the aegis of the Department of Health, as "worse than inadequate", are also State provided.

The Department of Health responded to the reports by dismissing "the international African mental health services" as "unadulterated nonsense".

Nor were allegations that mental health conditions were unacceptable, it would seem, confined to the Press. Professor J H Robertse, head of Clinical Psychology at the University of Pretoria and President of the South African Council for Mental Health, deplored "the growing malignancy in mental health in South Africa".

The Department of Health responded to the reports by dismissing "the international campaign against South African mental health services" as "unadulterated nonsense and propaganda". It extended an "open invitation to the Director General of the World Health Organisation to visit any institution in the Republic to acquaint himself with the prevailing conditions."

A summary of their findings or allegations were as follows:

- An unduly high death-rate — True
- Substandard care — True
- Abusive practices — True
- Grossly inadequate professional staff — True
- Exploitation of patient labour — Equivocal.

Regarding allegations that patient labour was exploited, the APA conceded that, whilst it is common for patients to work in public mental hospitals, they are usually paid. Any work done in a profit-making institution reduces costs and increases profit and where patients are paid, it is usually a fraction of what a worker normally receives.

Government officials attributed conditions to the "primitive references of African patients". Of the overcrowding and shortage of beds, the Department of Health said that "for so many Africans, this is often the case".

Regarding the lack of shoes, the Department said that patients wore "half the time", "their own" and "would like three shoes per patient." The APA commission noted, however, that no walking white patient was seen without shoes. Finally, the Department claimed that the APA found to be inadequate food on grounds of cultural preference.

The APA commission found that South Africa's political, social and economic situation had a destructive impact on families, socio-institutions and the mental health of Africans. The recent edition of Critical Health pointed out that research has shown that, just as TB is related to poverty and inadequate social services and health attacks occur almost totally among the affluents, so "mental illness" is a response to the socio-economic conditions under which we are forced to live.

The Department of Health claims to be moving away from the system of private companies providing custody for the mentally ill patients but there remains large numbers of black patients in the care of these companies. The annual report of the Department of Health for 1981 argued that both financial and staff shortages caused the hospitals to be overcrowded. "The nursing staff shortage during the past number of years has reached a critical point," it said.

In as much as the APA findings indicate that the health of mental health in South Africa is not well for mental health in South Africa, the veil of secrecy surrounding it is hardly likely to facilitate an improvement.
The great Afrikaner rebel

From a conservative upbringing to head of the Christian Institute

BEYERS NAUDÉ has been described as "the most significant Afrikaner rebel of our time."

At the end of October, he was served with a banning order restricting him to the magisterial district of Johannesburg for a further three years.

Naudé was first banned, along with his Christian Institute, in 1977, the culmination of what amounted to a campaign of state harassment against him and the CI.

But just 20 years before, Naudé was one of the up-and-coming ministers of the Ned Geref Kerk, tipped to go right to the top of his church.

A new book traces the transformation from NGK dominee to CI director, a man dedicated to a non-racial, egalitarian society. "Not Without Honour" (Ravan Press), edited by Peter Randall, is a series of four complementary essays which together present a thorough human and political portrait of Naudé, the CI, and ultimately the changing forces of the church in South Africa.

Naude's background could hardly be more Afrikaner establishment. His father was a dominee of deeply religious and conservative Voortrekker stock, one of the six Boer generals who refused to sign the Vereeniging peace treaty after the Boer war; his mother an equally conservative and religious woman.

In the opening essay, Randall sketches the doubts that crept into Naudé's mind about his parents', and his own, political beliefs.

After university in Stellenbosch and induction into the Broederbond, Naudé advanced steadily up the NGK ladder and was very much in demand as a dominee. By the beginning of the sixties, however, Naudé's views changed dramatically. Randall shows how in the mid-fifties, Naude had begun to have second thoughts about apartheid.

Sharpeville, in particular, appears to have been a turning point in the process which included an awareness of the Freedom Charter and the massive Treason trial which followed. In the book's third essay, Archbishop Denis Hurley speaks of the event as the culmination of what he terms Naud's conversion: "Out of the tragedy, God spoke to Beyers Naudé."

The Sharpeville incident was the background to another crucial event that year, the Cottesloe Consultation in December. This was a gathering of churches to consider the racial situation in South Africa. The document that came out of it, was a very moderate questioning of apartheid with what Peter Walshe, in the book's second essay, describes as paternalistic overtones.

Walshe says the document was a "cautiously worded plea to the white power structure to move away from the existing practice of apartheid."

Nevertheless, it proved too extreme for the NGK. Though NGK delegates at Cottesloe had endorsed it, the synod rejected it out of hand, a process topped with an attack on the document by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd.

Naudé remained strongly in favour of the document — eventually the only NGK delegate to Cottesloe who continued to support it. Along with other like-minded Afrikaner clergy, he formed a journal, Pro Veritate, to continue what still had the status of an ecclesiastical debate.

The paper caused immediate controversy, to the extent that Naudé's election in 1963 as moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod of the NGK, was seen as a possible attempt to woo him back into the establishment fold.

But when his own synod, and those all over the country, failed to make any significant pronouncements about the increasing racial tensions in South Africa, the foundations of the CI were laid.

For some time, Naude had been involved in running non-racial and interdenominational bible study groups, and out of these came the idea of an organisation to, as "Not Without Honour" puts it, "meet together to try and work out the implications of the Kingdom of God for the people of the country". The result was a meeting of about 250 clergy in August 1963, at which the
Christian Institute was formed with Naudé as its director.

1. Accepting this post meant he was stripped of his position as moderator and eventually as chairman, and the beginning of a campaign against him and the Institute. The reason, says Walsh, was that Naudé's stance against apartheid and the establishment threatened the very foundations of Afrikaner civil religion.

2. The Institute's formation came at a critical time — the government was cracking down on political opposition in the build-up to the Rivonia trial of the next year. This meant, says Walsh, a vacuum in black political leadership which was partially filled by non-racial Christian bodies with the Christian Institute in the vanguard.

3. Initially Naudé and his colleagues saw their work as a continued attempt to convince whites — especially Afrikaners — of the injustices of apartheid, but increasingly the CI moved to a far broader viewpoint.

4. In the late 60's, the CI-commissioned Spro-cas reports into alternative South African governments were underway, the World Council of Churches had come out in support of South African liberation movements, and black consciousness began to emerge. In this context the CI moved to a much closer contact with black organisations. Its biblical interpretation became more and more of a contrast with the NGK and the English-speaking churches, which former CI director parties Villa-Vicencio, in the book's final essay, says had positively no intention of truly resisting the government.

5. The CI began working for the "empowerment of the powerless" (Walsh) and forged links with BC organisations. It changed its views dramatically in a way illustrated by the final Spro-cas report which suggested looking at a socialist society as an alternative to the status quo.

Naudé and his staff refused to testify before the Schlebusch Commission, seeing it, correctly in the events as a facade for an eventual crackdown on the organisations under investigation. Among them the CL, SASO and Nusas. The Commission's findings declared the CI an affected organisation, meaning it could not gather funds overseas.

Walshe sees the CI's crucial project in these years as its work with leading personalities and organisations in the BC movement, among them the Black Community Programme, itself banned in 1977.

6. In all this change Naudé was described as the charismatic centre point of the CI without which it would collapse. But as Villa-Vicencio points out, the rest of the CI's staff had more than a small role to play.

The change in Naudé's personal views is illustrated by Peter Randall: "Towards the end, Naudé was prepared to consider equal salaries for all CI staff, from cleaners to himself."

The new black theology, emerging from black consciousness, became the background to the CI's views, heightened by the Soweto revolt of 1976, of rejecting not only apartheid but also the existing economic system — a result of its identification with the poor.

This transformation led inevitably to the CI's banning in 1977, along with 17 other organisations and its major personalities, including director Breyers Naudé and Theo Kotze.

The CL was the only predominantly white organisation of the 17 banned, and the only one led by a former dominie and broader-bender.

THE DE LANGE report is trying to sell an essentially unequal system of education under the guise of a differentiated education system based on merit rather than race.

This is the message of a new booklet on the Committee's report into education in South Africa called "De Lange marching to the same order."

Produced by the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa), the booklet shows how the de Lange recommendations do not substantially change the content or form of the present education system.

In a chapter titled "Education of equal quality is not equal education", the authors examine the way the report suggests the schooling system should be changed. They argue that the plan to stream students into either formal or non-formal education at an early age will continue educational discrimination against students from black working class backgrounds.

The report delineates formal education as either academic or technical schooling. Non-formal education is any type of training outside the school situation, for example job training.

The booklet says the implication of this type of streaming is that pupils from middle white middle class backgrounds will be channelled into academic schools, universities and in time into managerial and professional jobs.

"Black children will be forced to make do with technical education or will be pushed out of school onto the job market after an initial literacy and numeracy training."

The booklet argues that the likelihood of this happening is increased because the state is going to take less financial responsibility for providing education. Financing education will come more and more from the private sector and the "community", with the private sector providing the kind of education that they need a future workforce to have. Many communities are in no position to pay for the education of their youth as they can hardly afford rents, food and transport costs.

Apart from dismissing an unequal system of education. Financing education will come more and more from the private sector and those who are skilled labour which commerce and industry have been complaining about for a long time, and to offer limited opportunities for certain sections of the so-called black middle class. It would also attempt to control pupils ideologically by giving them technical training without also teaching them to think critically or to participate actively in shaping their own lives.

The book's final section, "Reconnaissance of the Real Issues", is perhaps the most interesting and stimulating. Many writers who criticise existing educational provisions stop short of the critical questions of what should be done.

Neusa's ideas in this section are challenging and practical — and should be recommended reading for all teachers.

The chapter begins with a discussion of some of the demands put out by the Committee of 81 during the 1976 school boycotts which included better facilities, free textbooks and equal salaries for teachers. They also look at demands for establishing one education department and equal state expenditure on all students, as well as free education.

The authors say these demands are long term ones and the question now facing most teachers is how they can meet a little progressive content into their classroom teaching. The booklet offers some useful suggestions to the question "But what am I going to teach on Monday morning?"

A strength of the Neusa publication is that it makes the Report's findings and the issues it raises, accessible to the people most affected by them — the teachers and student themselves. Its weakness is that it concentrates on the De Lange report and does not look in any great depth at the ways the recommendations are actually being implemented in the country. For example, what is happening in terms of syllabuses actually changing, and how does the content of what is being taught change when schools become "technical high schools."
Straighten the trees while they're young

WHO SAYS children should be seen but not heard?

Well, one thing's for sure — it's not the organisers of the Cape Town children's magazine Molo Shongololo.

"Children are often seen as people without any contribution to make," says one of the Molo organisers. "They are seen as ignorant and in effect are treated as non-people, often being sent out of the room because they're not old enough to hear certain things and so on."

"All of us at Molo see children differently — as functioning human beings who can make decisions." - Molo Shongololo, the centipede with legs representing the children whose ideas keep it worming ahead, was started in April 1980. A magazine by and for children had its seeds in Crossroads when a group was asked to write about their experiences as a way to record history.

"A way of sharing each other's experiences through reading and writing was the initial boost to get Molo off the ground. But since then the aims of the magazine have become more defined. Firstly it is the only magazine of its kind for young children. It tries to break down prejudices found in most reading material for children. "There is a wealth of children's reading material, but most have sexist and racist content — of the 'Janet and John, girls are weak and boys are strong' or 'Dr Doolittle, the great white doctor organising the natives' type," says one of the Molo group.

"Although the magazine is for all kids, such a vehicle is particularly needed in black communities where at school children are constantly taught not to take any initiative."

Molo shows them they are important and allows them to express their thoughts.

The idea that children can't understand their environment or take decisions is rejected by the Molo group. "We are sometimes criticised for being too political because we see children as part of a community and believe the magazine should play a role in moulding them to see themselves as part of that community."

"The kids, as they express time and again in their letters and writing of drawing forms, feel and know the kickback of community problems. Designing them access to understanding those issues is negative." Because of this, each edition of the monthly magazine has as its theme a local, community issue such as transport, bread and so on. The main article is written around this theme, either in a story of comic form using Xhosa, English and Afrikaans to help children learn the languages.

In short, the Molo group believe society underestimates children's ability to relate to things supposedly "out of their reach". Molo Shongololo provides an alternative to the whole idea and allows children to speak for themselves. In general, its broad aims are:

- Look at issues not normally appropriate for children
- Stress that black schools result in making children feel unable to express themselves
- Stimulate creativity and creative skills by formal education

The magazine is particularly linked to what is happening in the Western Cape. Are there any plans to extend its fellowship to other parts of the country?

"Molo can't function without the community and to broaden it would lose much of its close to home appeal to which children relate. "Obviously, we hope that other centres will initiate similar projects there," says the group.

Rather the Molo group see starting a library to make progressive books available for kids, teachers and coordinators of children's groups as a way to extend Molo's role in providing alternative reading and writing forms, while they're young..."
If POCUS

To function or to learn

"UNABLE TO read or write, he was employed as a cleaner by Roche. One year after starting Literacy Training Philemon is reading his own mail and, still at Roche, is now employed as a petrol pump attendant. Here is a typical 'success story' of how literacy training can add a limitless dimension to a man's life, in addition to making him a happier and more productive employee."

This is an extract from Lita News, the newsletter of the Bureau of Literacy and Literature, which is currently training 20,000 miners in literacy skills. It is one of a number of literacy organisations geared to industry where businesses are booming. But why the sudden rush to get people to read and write? Between 1980 and 1981, the number of adult illiterates increased from nearly five to six million. Has this prompted employers into action, or are they other moves?"

"Industrial literacy began in the wailes, when the Bureau started a campaign to increase literacy on the mines. The mining houses felt lack of communication was a cause of labour unrest, and a literacy programme would help solve the problem."

By the 1970s, increased worker militancy and the acute shortage of skilled workers led to the passing of the Bantu Employee's In-Service Training Act which offered tax incentives to employers setting up training programmes at the workplace.

Some employers who have started courses are quite honest about their aims: literate workers will function better at the workplace and therefore increase productivity. Others claim that management-worker relations are the aim of these courses. "We want to look after the social needs of workers to make sure that social stability is maintained. It is not just a question of increasing productivity."

The education director of the Bureau of Literacy says the course isn't planning to make anyone a better worker, but "if a person is independent and self-reliant, he is a more concerned person."

"Maintaining social stability" has always been important in industrial literacy programmes. It is important that the "right" kind of ideological content is included, to help ensure a "stable workforce."

The State has seen to it that in control education. Schools like the International Socialist League's night school of the 30's and 40's, and the Mavibuye schools of the 50's taught people to read and write, but also gave them a critical awareness of the society they lived in.

These schools came under attack from the State. Finally the 1953 Bantu Education Act saw the end of education that aimed to be registered after meeting certain conditions.

The State has also set up "Adult Education Centres" in all high density industrial centres. A private literacy organisation called "Operation Upgrade" helps train literacy teachers at these centres. Operation Upgrade, however, is a firm government ally.

The teaching methods vary from one company to another, but there are common characteristics: constant repetition of words together with walks, games, rhymes, tours of the factory area, stores and plays.

Second language educationists criticise this method because chanting and doing exercises doesn't require much concentration. "While students may learn the chant, this doesn't mean they understand what they're being taught, or that they'll be able to apply what they learn in this situation to any other."

"Literacy should not merely give skills to make people more productive, but also educate. It should be a tool to help people become aware of their living conditions, develop their sense of worthwhile, and start them on the road to making decisions about their lives."

The education director of the Bureau of Literacy says the course isn't planning to make anyone a better worker, but "if a person is independent and self-reliant, he is a more concerned person."
Education for a National Culture

Author Ngugi wa Thiong'o spoke at an Education conference in Zimbabwe recently. Here is an edited version of his paper.

EDUCATION SHOULD teach people about the world in which they live: how the world shapes them and how they shape the world.

It should show that in the same way they can act on the natural world and change it, so they should be able to act on their social world and change the relationships which exist between people. We used to fear nature until we were able to understand it and use it to our own advantage.

Today the social relationships between people control our lives. When we understand those relationships work and how they control us, we will be part of the way towards changing our social conditions.

Education, then, should give people the confidence that they can create a new way of life.

Unfortunately at present it doesn't fulfill any of these aims. This is because the picture we get of how our society works depends on who controls the educational system.

Let's look at a simple example: A is sitting on B. A is earned, fed and clothed by B. What kind of education will A want B to have? A will want B to have an education which would hide from B the fact that B is feeding, clothing and caring A. A will want to teach B a religion that says it is God's wish that B shall feed, clothe and carry A. A will want B to have a culture that tells B he is inferior and stupid.

B on the other hand wants an education that teaches him that everything changes. He will want a religion that teaches that the system of some people sitting on others is against God's law.

He will want to look at his history where he will find out that he was not always a slave feeding and carrying A.

B will want a culture that gives him pride and self-confidence. In short, he will want an education which no only helps him to understand his position but also encourages him to change it.

Let's take colonial education as an example.

What does the coloniser who controls the education system want the pupils to believe? He wants them to think they are ultimately inferior, so he places a greater value on his own culture than on that of the people he has colonised.

European culture is taught as being advanced. It is right that the European is in charge because his culture is superior to that of the colonised.

For example, a Professor of History at Oxford University wrote: "Before colonialism there was only darkness in Africa."

In countries such as Egypt and Ethiopia where there were advanced civilisations, colonial historians found evidence to show that these people are not Africans. In countries such as Zimbabwe and East Africa where there is evidence of very advanced ancient architecture, the same historians will argue that these civilizations began because of visiting whites or Arabs. Often there are no facts to back up these arguments but this is what school children are taught and they have no reason to believe otherwise.

The next way the colonisers assert their culture through education is by language. The children of the colonised are ridiculed when they speak their own language and rewarded when they do well in
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EDUCATION

The language of Europe.

So the colonised child learns to aspire to the values of the European language. Language after all is a way of describing things and giving things meanings, and different languages have different value systems.

Just look at the value the English language attaches to blackness — black market, black humour, black day. It is a black lie. And if the child learns that he is black and what does he think of his national origin.

And there's the religion the colonisers brought with them. Missionaries taught a version of Christianity which said Africans were pagan and superstitious. The Africans, converted to Christianity, learnt that there was only one God and he is white and his angels are white. The devil is black and his angels are black and when the sinful go to hell they will be burnt charcoal black.

Many Africans who converted to Christianity also changed their African name for a Christian one.

A name as a symbol of identity and many people who changed their names to Smith, Robert, Elizabeth, Mary or James, did not realise that this practice had its roots in slavery. Slave masters gave their own name to slaves to show that the slaves belonged to them.

The same values we find taught in history and religion are also present in furniture, art, music and drama. The "Good African", as the European stories had one who accepts colonialism — the land native is the one who rejects colonialism and tries to prevent himself and get back stolen wealth.

One such example is to be found in "King Solomon's Mines" by Rider-Haggard, a book which is often prescribed reading in primary schools. The blacks like Gogool who went to stop foreigners from taking away the country's wealth such as gold and diamonds are described as witch-like, nasty, evil.

The sum total of this education is to give the African youth an outlook which will bind him to what is really going on. It will teach him to be a good servant, working hard for his master and believing that colonialism is right.

But there was also another aim — to produce a native elite which had absorbed the culture of imperialism. This is colonial education's more dangerous result because it is this elite who often take over after independence. While they beat the independence drum, they often continue the practices of their former colonial masters. They have learned how to make themselves powerful and reap the benefits of the system known as neo-colonialism. The people remain exploited but the masters are different.

Because the new elite grew up accepting the world-view of the colonisers, they will drive the youth as vigorously to accepting the same view. More churches will be built and more religious programmes appear on radio and television so the new elite can prove to its mentors that they are civilised, cultured and will not bring shame to the country.

As soon as they accept colonial ideas about what is progress and stability, the old colonisers can move in with new ways of colonising — with large companies instead of colonial armies. In this way, the new elite has taken over the power function.

People who want total liberation must see imperialism, whether British, American, Japanese or whatever, as the real enemy. They must see that it has two phases colonialism and neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism, like only one object: economic control. The battle is not won with a flag and a national anthem.

As long as the land's wealth does not go back to feed, clothe and shelter those whose labour produced it, those people cannot consider themselves free.

Part of a liberated education, then, is realising that the country's economy must be freed from the influence of local and international parasites. Its aim then, is to achieve a world-outlook, free of the values of the colonisers and neo-colonisers described above.

A liberated education must give people a sense of dignity of their own culture and values. While the colonisers tried to produce a party-developed person who only vaguely understood the forces at work in society, education for liberation aims to produce people who understand and are able to develop their potential to the full as human beings.

This can only be achieved by education which can develop a person's intellectual and physical potential. Such an education must have three aims.

To provide mental education to develop intellectual capacities. People should be taught their own history, art, literature and customs before being taught those of others. They should also have a political education which would aim for conformity but nonetheless teach people to think critically and creatively.

Education should aim at producing healthy, strong individuals so that every form of physical education would be necessary.

Every child should also be taught some technical skill which would enable him or her to engage in direct productive labour. It is necessary for every one person to be involved in some form of productive labour so that the nation eventually becomes an association of producers who are masters of their social and natural environments.

Education must aim at developing people who realise that they must control both their natural and social environments. Education and culture should not only explain the world but must prepare people to change it.

The great Neo-colonial Education Short