

sitting at Codesa have no right to sit there. They belong to a discredited, illegitimate regime, or to puppet banana enclaves run by military dictators or by NP appointees who rule over some of these bantustan enclaves.

**S**ome of them have stolen money and they earn fat cheques from the government to ensure that black people remain oppressed and exploited. Every day there are revelations of programmes and plots by De Klerk's security agencies and puppets of how they are involved in committing terror and violence against black people. There are revelations of billions of rands being defrauded through the government's various agencies.

These are the people who are sitting at Codesa to discuss the future of this country. There is no doubt in Azapo's view that Codesa will, in the final analysis, fail to deliver the goods to black people.

Since 2 February 1990 nothing, I repeat nothing, has happened which dramatically alters life for black people.

And just as the Trojan horse put the Trojan people to sleep, Codesa is depoliticising and deradicalising black people. We are being numbed into a sleep because we believe that Codesa will solve our problem.

#### **Azapo's vision for a lasting settlement**

A truly democratic solution cannot be implemented with the participation of De Klerk as the NP or the government.

The liberation movement - all its components - must come to terms with the reality that none of us singly can bring liberation. Solidarity is the key to our liberation.

Despite the misguided argument that the regime is too powerful to unseat, the liberation movement has the capacity, the resources and the will to work out a programme of action.

If De Klerk is serious about wanting to resolve the conflict in this country, then he has only one honourable option - to suspend his parliament and resign as a government.

If De Klerk indicates his willingness to resign, he must make that known to the liberation movement and to the world at large. The liberation movement can then work out how a transitional authority can smoothly take over the day-to-day running of government, take over the budget and finance, quarantine the security forces, bring in a peace-keeping force, and oversee fair and free elections for a constituent assembly.

If De Klerk wishes to discuss these points with the liberation movement, he must meet us at a neutral venue, at a meeting chaired by a neutral co-ordinator.



*National Women's Coalition: spirit of generosity.*

Anna Zieminski

## **A 'minor' process where people - not power - count**

By BEA ROBERTS

**T**he past year has witnessed the mushrooming of a variety of negotiating forums, alliances and social contracts, Codesa possibly being the most important - and most precarious. But for those who despair at the difficulties and deadlocks of the national process, the personality clashes and party-political jealousies, nevertheless, here and there, cause for cautious optimism exists.

One such initiative is a process which was started in 1991 and culminated in April this year, with scant media coverage. (However, women are no longer surprised when their actions fail to capture the national consciousness for more than the briefest of periods - but the determination to succeed continues to grow).

The National Women's Coalition was launched at a meeting in September 1991 when a range of women's organisations, service groups, political parties and church groups met around one common objective: to ensure that women's equality, and the means to enforce it, would be entrenched in a future constitution.

On April 25 and 26 more than 250 women from more than 40 organisations country-wide met in Johannesburg to plan and workshop the process needed to determine what rights South African women want. With the mix of the SACP and the Women's Bureau,

Women for South Africa and Cosatu, the Rural Women's Movement and the Association of University Women, the Black Sash and the Executive Women's Club, the ANC, National Party and Inkatha, the chances of reaching consensus seemed slim indeed at the outset.

Procedure did pose problems, not unusual given that women came from such diverse socio-economic and educational backgrounds, and from radically different political schooling. But even though procedural differences took almost three hours to resolve on Saturday morning, something was gradually emerging as the two days unfolded. Could one call it a sense of common purpose? Or was it perhaps the Sisterhood...

Gender certainly was the unifying issue - no matter where women came from, all had a common sense of frustration at the discrimination they experienced at personal, societal and structural levels. However, little time was wasted harping on this. The emphasis was very much on the future and a determination to transcend the present.

But what made the weekend a unique experience, more than the actual achievement of common purpose and recognition of common ground, was the spirit in which it took place. To be sure, there were bitter

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arguments, aggressive discussions, moments of intense exasperation. But – and perhaps this is where men could learn a few lessons – in the final analysis other qualities claimed victory; compromise, tolerance and especially generosity. The quest was not for power, but for a shared vision and consensus.

This was illustrated particularly well on the last day when the time came to elect a steering committee. Once again, procedure posed problems, and momentarily it seemed as if petty differences were going to undermine what had thus far been achieved. Once again, however, the spirit triumphed, and a committee emerged which surely has to be the most representative elected body in politics today, cutting across political, racial and class divides.

Elected unanimously, and to great acclaim, as convener, was Frene Ginwala of the ANC, with a steering committee comprising women from Inkatha, the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Rural Women's Movement, Kontak, Cosatu, the Union of Jewish Women and others. And the faces of the delegates reflected their genuine pleasure at this motley group.

The thought of the work lying ahead is sobering. If the Women's Coalition is to be true to its stated commitment of reaching women in the far rural areas of this country, it will be a slow and time-consuming process to achieve its objectives. But somehow the weekend inspired faith, particularly in the ability of women to overcome the odds. (I mean, who would have guessed that by the end of the weekend buoyant mamas, reticent tannies, hardline feminists and even the odd purple rinse would be awkwardly bonded, arm in arm, in song – "Malibongwe", the celebration of women).

I had a little fantasy as I drove away on Sunday afternoon, an impossibility, but such is the stuff of fantasy. I imagined all those women resigning their positions, and uniting on the political front to form a mighty and unified Women's Party. Representing the majority of South Africa's people, we would of course be a forceful presence, at Codesa and beyond. We would not need to fight for power, because it would come from within. And perhaps, for a change, this country would be built on principles of peace and caring and sharing.

Common vision and common purpose brought together a group of the most diverse people imaginable. Perhaps this is the lesson to be learnt by the national political players – that is, if they have time to stop, reflect, and absorb these "minor" processes in their race for power.

**Bea Roberts is a regional co-ordinator in Idasa's Pretoria office.**

# Peace process: what hope for a solution?

**Prompted by the violence which rages through many townships the National Peace Committee held a crisis meeting recently. Identifying the lack of trust in the security forces as a "major obstacle" in achieving peace, it also decided that all National Peace Accord signatories should meet as soon as possible. THOMAS SMIT spells out some of the problems with the Peace Accord in the Border region.**

**A** common reproach against organisations and individuals participating in the peace process is that they lack tolerance and tact. Generally it is so. Our emotions are more easily stirred than our intellect, and the stuff of violence is very stirring.

But everyone has become so careful not to stir the emotions that they resign themselves to tolerating defeat. Recently the chairperson of the National Peace Committee was quoted as saying that the peace committees are "fragile structures finding their way in a subterranean world of horror".

Fleshing out the metaphor a little, the national peace structure can be likened to a large blind mole. One of its blind spawn is the Border/Ciskei Regional Peace Committee. Blindness in this case is an hereditary disorder, written in its genes, the National Peace Accord (NPA).

The Border/Ciskei Peace Committee, formed six months ago, is the second oldest regional committee, after Natal/Kwazulu. Called the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (B/C RDRC), its key players are the ANC and the Ciskeian government.

Six Local Dispute Resolution Committees were created, but the RDRC development sub-committee recently broke away from the peace structures to become a development forum, in order to involve the Transkeian government and the PAC.

Neither the Transkei nor the PAC are signatories to the NPA. Both have stated separately that they have serious problems with the NPA and therefore do not want to be part of the peace structures.

The area's RDRC secretariat is a full-time body of seconded personnel. After the departure of the first chairperson, it consisted for a long time of only the

ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's representative, and the part-time chairperson. The other members of the secretariat had vanished.

Business originally showed keen interest, but its promised representative on the secretariat never fully materialised and after the severance of the Development Forum, it is unlikely to do so in the future.

The Ciskei government was forthright in its total disregard for the RDRC. It withdrew its representative on the secretariat when it announced its withdrawal from the regional peace structure.

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**'Our emotions are more easily stirred than our intellect, and the stuff of violence is very stirring'**

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Recently it was agreed that the South African government second a person to the secretariat. The Ciskeian and South African governments' secondments came equipped with vehicles and salaries paid for by the South African taxpayer. Yet the ANC's seconded person has no access to those vehicles for peace work. This seems to fly in the face of provisions laid down by the NPA:

- "The required financial and administrative resources of the National Peace Secretariat, and the other bodies established by it, will be provided by the Department of Justice"

- "Members of the NPA's LDRC's and Justices of Peace not in the full-time employment of the state shall be entitled to remuneration and allowances to be paid by the state."