

Journal of the African National Congress

# MAYIBUYE

September 1993

WIN A MOUNTAIN BICYCLE



## Future of the Alliance:

Strains of parliamentary politics

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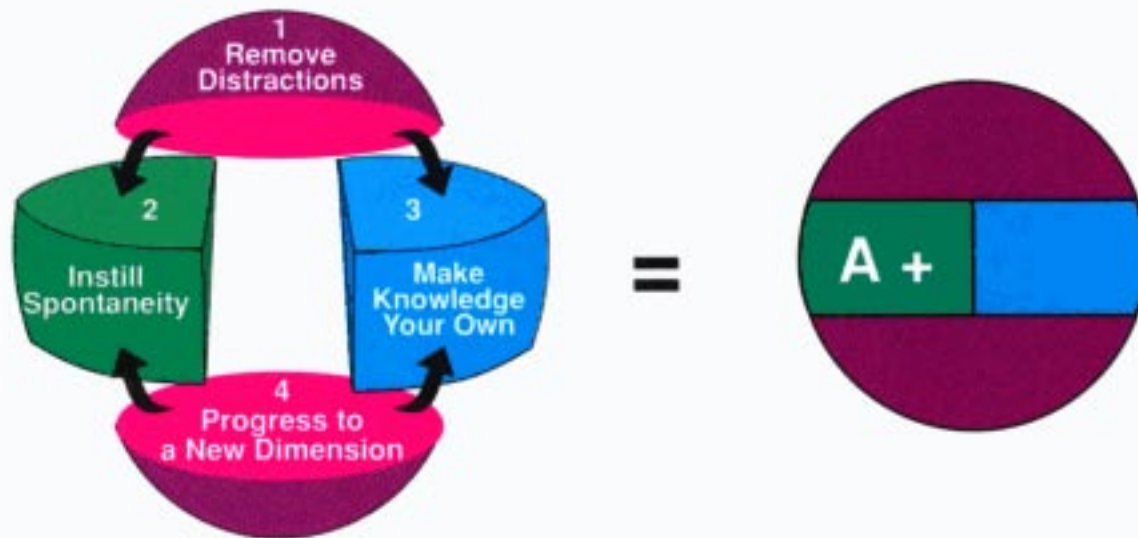
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# MAYIBUYE

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## Future of the Alliance: Strains of parliamentary politics



• 14-15  
**Goldstone's  
credibility at stake**





**Grief ...**  
**Anger ...**  
**Determination**  
**Funeral of victims of**  
**violence in Thembisa - 12**  
**August 1993**



*From top:  
1) With fists raised high:  
Mourners stand guard  
beside the coffins.*

*2) Soldiers grill a driver  
from ANC Head Office -  
the enthusiasm disappears  
when they deal with  
attackers.*

*3) "We shall not be  
intimidated": Vote For  
ANC!*



# Crisis or seeking the limelight?

**W**ar drums from Ulundi are sounding louder by the day. The more references to civil war are repeated with nauseating regularity, the more the qualification that they are a mere objective forecast rings hollow.

There are contradictions galore in what the spokespersons say. This they have refined to perfection. On the one hand, we are told that the IFP is the largest national party, let alone in Natal; that it will sweep the stakes in an election. Then in the same breath they mourn that if Constituent Assembly elections were held, the ANC would achieve such a majority as to ride roughshod over other parties' interests.

No one should begrudge the IFP this dearth of logic. But when this endowment starts to impact on serious national questions, South Africans are duty-bound to demand an explanation. What with proud pronouncements that "deliberate ambiguity" is their approach to constitutional negotiations.

From some strange interpretation of federalism we now hear of so-called Zulu self-determination, a mirror image of what issues from white racists, and Verwoerdian dogma at its best. Attempts at seeking compromise only seem to fuel "deliberate ambiguity".

Of course, the ANC and other responsible South Africans should not give up. There are other factors that can no longer be ignored.

Lately, the condescending noises from some IFP spokespersons are comparable only to the deafening silence of most of their officials and negotiators. Combined with this is the calculation by some elements that staying out of multi-party talks helps growth in support: that is, among whites longing for the past and clinging to the present. Perhaps we are being subjected to a peculiar strain of electioneering.

Aren't we, anyway, witnessing more of this as the election campaign hots up? With parties of apartheid, white privilege and SADF cross-border raids making adventurous forays into townships and informal settlements and feigning innocent bewilderment when people respond with anger, wrong as some of the latter's actions might be.

Cast in the mould of a "victim with enormous potential", they are then placed in the spotlight. With this, free political activity is trivialised as attention is drawn away from security force actions, the burning of ID's, closeting of farm and domestic workers and repression in some bantustans.

This is possibly what the war drums from Ulundi are about. But there is concern that, as their volume increases, strange behaviour is setting in among some NP government negotiators who are trying to block progress on issues earlier agreed upon.

Will the government take a stand if the bantustan recalcitrants continue in the same mould? Or has the moment of crisis arrived? This is no longer a moot question. ♦

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# Readers speak out

## **"VIVA NELSON! FOR BRAVE PEOPLE"**

Dear sir

I would like to bring to the attention of your readers how a tobacco company is exploiting the name of Mr Nelson Mandela to sell cigarettes in African countries.

A brand of cigarettes in the Ivory Coast is called "Nelson" and advertisements for these cigarettes show two attractive young couples in a speed boat. One of the men is offering everyone cigarettes and the caption reads: "VIVA NELSON! For brave people."

Dr Keith Ball, a British heart specialist and campaigner against smoking, saw this ad in Senegal. He immediately realised that there is only one Nelson who is an international hero for young people, and that is Nelson Mandela. Dr Ball wrote to Mandela, asking if he had given permission for his name to be used on a cigarette ad.

Mandela replied: "I am astounded that a brand of cigarettes has been called 'Nelson', presumably, as you indicate, after me. Had I been approached by the manufacturer of this cigarette I would certainly have withheld my permission. I fully endorse the sentiments in your letter that

smoking should be discouraged, most particularly amongst the young. I have asked our Legal and health Departments to investigate this matter..."

This is just another example of what the cigarette companies will do to fool and con people into smoking. Viva Nelson Mandela and other world leaders who oppose the sale of death by multinational tobacco companies. Viva!!  
*YS, Mayfair.*

## **MESSAGE TO THE ANC**

Dear sir

I should like to express profound sorrow on the occasion of the brutal killings on 25 July. I was deeply shocked by the savage outrages against the worshippers of St James Church in Cape Town and the people of the township of Daveyton.

Nelson Mandela's appeal to all political leaders and to your supporters to remain calm and to refrain from actions that could add to the cycle of violence is yet another demonstration of political maturity and capability and deserves due praise.

I hope for the people of South Africa that the extremists' goal – to undermine all efforts for a peaceful, negotiated solution – will fail dismally and that the transition to a democratic SA, firmly rooted in justice and equality, will continue to fruition.

*Barbara Simons, Member of European Parliament, Vice President, Joint Assembly ACP-EEC, Brussels*

## **DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOCCER SQUAD**

Dear sir

Discrimination in the SA squad has caused me to become happy whenever they are beaten. I am very sorry to say this but in a new SA we won't tolerate it.

First of all, Iwisa Kaizer Chiefs and Sundowns are not the only best teams in the NSL. There is a series of best teams in the NSL, eg Hellenic, AmaZulu, Umtata Bucks and Bloemfontein Celtics. It is very disgraceful that one team, with more than five players, dominates the whole squad out of 20 teams in the NSL. That means we are represented by Chiefs internationally and I warn kaizer Motaung to stop dominating soccer in the country. The NSL and the SA squad are nothing without Jomo Sono.

I would also like to convince Palacios (coach) that he cannot manage it alone. I am a keen Buccaneers' fan.  
*XNM, Clermaville.*

## **CONCERN AT THE ANC'S MODE OF OPERATION**

Dear sir

I read all copies of MAY-BUYE and this month (July) I have been deeply touched by a letter written by MQ, PMBurg, titled: "We know how to behave." Among others, MQ seriously raised the issue of our leaders seeming to leave the oppressed masses behind and even doing or saying things that benefit the regime. I would like to throw my full weight and support

behind MQ's allegations, and I consequently wish to raise a few problem areas on my side as well.

I must allege that the ANC, nowadays, appears to be advocating totalitarian democracy and this could spell endless rifts within our organisation if found to be true. As a popular organisation, the ANC must continue to strengthen the armour of the masses in struggle against quasi-parliamentary dictators and reactionary powers. Otherwise we will always tilt dejectedly at the windmills driven for the rest of history by capitalist powers.

Many allegations have already been made about elites and cabals within the ANC, and a distinction has also been made between so-called radicals and moderates. We all understood and vehemently rejected this as a ploy to drive a wedge in the ANC. But, to my surprise and dismay, the ANC itself seems to believe the myth about radicals.

I am compelled to say so because how else can one define their strong objection to one of our most popular and peaceful chants: "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" as advocated by some of our most famous leaders? Is the ANC perhaps doing this to satisfy whites or for fear of ultra-rightwing AWB and AVF radicals?

I wish to point out, therefore, that our demand for a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic SA will always remain an illusion as long as certain elements within the leadership continue to act





*Umkhonto weSizwe. A reader appeals to the NEC to keep MK alert, vigilant and highly mobilised in anticipation of a Cosag backlash.*

as conveyor belts for bourgeois ideologies. The ANC must never fear right-wingers because we, black South Africans, will never allow our organisation to be coerced, intimidated, harassed or even held to ransom by a rag-tag army of scruffy hobnob and fringe minority bandits.

I also want to make an earnest appeal to our NEC to keep MK alert, vigilant and highly mobilised in anticipation of a Cosag backlash in the face of the storming of the World Trade Centre and the continuing ravages of frustrated puppets – the so-called IFP.

I also wish to point out a few issues about which I am highly dissatisfied:

- The banning of “Kill the Boer, kill the farmer” – and I’m sure I share this

view with millions.

- Power-sharing with the NP because it is racist and autocratic, and will remain so.
- The fantasy of co-opting MK, Apla and Azanla or integrating them with the SADF and SAP because the former are democratic forces and their image will be tarnished by mixing with forces which protected apartheid for decades.
- Structures of the National Peace Accord as presently headed and championed by whites. I support concerns raised by the SACC’s 25th conference.
- I strongly reject federalism or the so-called confederalism.
- I vehemently oppose the creation of a so-called Boerestaat.
- I strongly object to the

ANC’s acceptance of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry as a legitimate structure since most of its findings are designed to protect and further the interests of the NP. For instance it advocates the myth that there is no evidence of the existence of a third force. What about MI’s dirty tricks, police involvement in many massacres, covert operations and the continued existence of Koevoet?

- I do not recognise the present SABC board as tempered with by De Klerk.
- Lack of consistency in the ANC in putting forward its demands. Why do we seem to be forgetting the following issues:
  - the release of all remaining political prisoners;
  - the fencing of hostels and the of carrying of

dangerous weapons;

- the bringing to book of perpetrators of Boipatong, Bisho, Sebokeng (X4+), Swanieville, Katlehong, etc massacres;
- the continuation of the anti-VAT on basic foodstuffs campaign; and
- the demand for the immediate dismissal of Hernus Kriel and Craig Kotze?

Lastly, may I humbly make a very special request to the editor and staff to publish the whole of this letter even though it is too long. Please.  
SM, Driekop. ♦

**Write to:**



**MAYIBUYE**  
PO Box 61884  
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Johannesburg 2107



**N****E****W****S**

## **Rendering to Caesar what is his**

The debate on regions turned sour for the regime at the World Trade Centre last month when the government proposed that Walvis Bay and the 12 offshore islands be administered by its proposed Western Cape region. Instead, the Council agreed unanimously that the territory be transferred to Namibia. The negotiating forum instructed the government to institute talks with the Namibian government and report back to the Negotiating Council in a month.

Welcoming the decision, Namibian Foreign Minister, Theo-Ben Gurirab said the NP "blunder" was "manna from heaven ... it added impetus to a campaign that was already in full swing".

Meanwhile, as could be expected, white "South Africans" in Walvis Bay reacted angrily to the announcement, accusing the NP-government of betrayal. They are reported to have formed an "apolitical" organisation to demand guarantees for a long list of rights prior to the transition to Namibian rule. Among the demands are the continuation of SABC radio and TV broadcasts to the enclave, guaranteed pensions in South African currency and guarantees on the future of Afrikaans.

## **No solution yet to teacher's strike**

As Mayibuye goes to press, teachers were still continuing with their chalks-down which began on 16 August 1993. Talks between education authorities and the South African Democratic Teachers Union had failed to forge agreement, despite the union lowering its demand for a 20 percent salary increase to 15.

The government had refused to budge on its 6,7 percent offer. Sadtu's strike council was to meet on 21 August to decide whether to augment the strike by a programme of action. At least two mil-

lion pupils country-wide have been affected as black education has ground to a halt, less than fifty days to the year-end exams.

In the Transkei, teachers affiliated to Sadtu marched to the South African embassy in Umtata and handed over a memorandum to the ambassador. The memo called on the SA government to release the bantustan's budget before the end of August.

But problems in education were not limited to the teachers' strike. In the same week scores of students disrupted lectures at Wits University in Johannesburg as they marched against a court order barring them from disrupting lectures. This followed repeated clashes a day before between the South African Students Congress, police and university authorities after students barricaded themselves in an administration building and reportedly smashed campus property.

At the Vaal Technikon white students attacked black students who were marching to the administration, protesting against unequal representation in the council.

Meanwhile, University of Bophuthatswana authorities have announced the reopening of the campus after a three-month break, but added that students would only be re-admitted if they agreed to a set of conditions. The university shut down earlier this year after police attacked students protesting against Mangope's positions at the multi-party negotiating forum.

## **Accused in Hani case given bail**

In an outrageous decision that can only help strengthen perceptions that the state views black lives as cheap, the Rand Supreme Court granted Gaye Derby-Lewis R30 000 bail, with secret conditions.

The ANC, while not calling into question the judicial process in the country, found the decision insensitive to the feelings of Hani's family and the majority of the people in the country.

"Many of our compatriots, like

the Eikenhoff accused and the Phola Park ANC leadership, are languishing in jail for over a year whilst the state refuses to grant them bail.

"We ask: was the accused in the Hani case granted bail because the victim in this instance is black and in other instances the victims were white? It will be unfortunate if a public perception develops that the judiciary, which is suffering from a legitimacy crisis, is viewed as applying double standards," said an ANC statement.

## **SABC board – One more blunder**

Television licence fees are to go up by R12 from 1 September, proposes the new SABC board. Many organisations – labour, political, consumer, etc – have reacted angrily to the proposal.

The ANC's initial response is that it is regrettable that the new board, without thorough investigation of the various options of raising revenue – has chosen to raise fees as one of its acts. "The majority of South Africans do not pay TV licence fees partly due to lack of affordability, the legitimacy crisis of the SABC, and the bias reportage.

"The question of the SABC's revenue base can only be fully addressed in the context of its transformation into a true public broadcaster, coupled with a democratic and legitimate new licence dispensation," said the ANC.

The organisation also said the government's demand on the new board to compel people to pay licence fees seeks to cast the board into a role of a policeman.

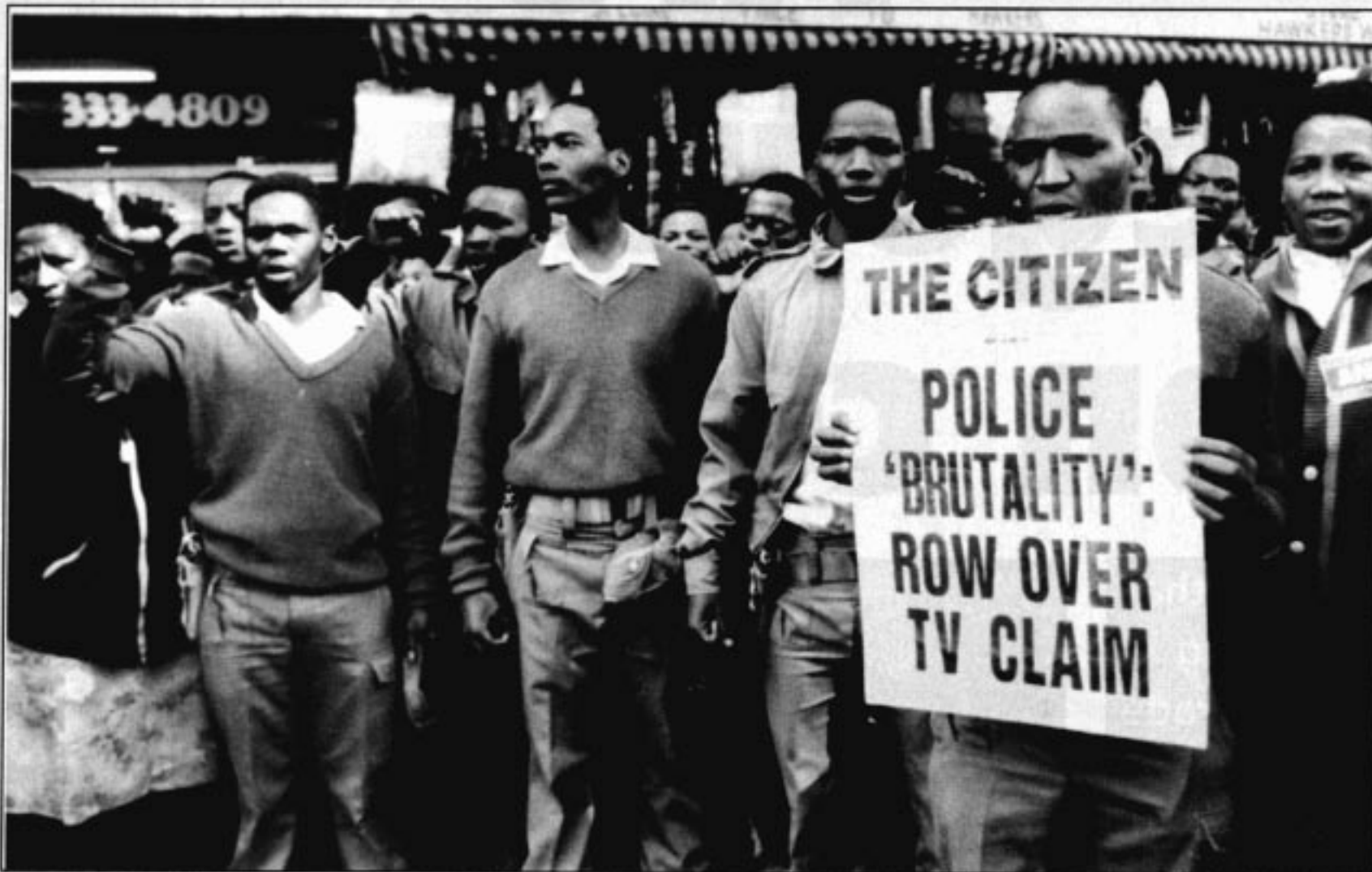
## **ANC meets Parks Board**

A meeting between the ANC and the National Parks Board was held on 13-14 August to discuss various issues relating to conservation and the future of national parks as well as the concerns of communities adjacent to them.

**roundup**



# Marching to freedom



More than 2 000 members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) marched on the regional offices of the South African Police in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, on 21 August. Many were in their uniforms and carrying their service revolvers. Other demonstrators were dressed in prison uniforms and chains, highlighting prison conditions.

The protestors chanted slogans denouncing De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, hailing ANC President Nelson Mandela.

They presented a memorandum in support of wage demands and better working conditions.

Meanwhile, on the same day, ANC and Popcru members marched to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town. In a memorandum to the Department of Correctional Services, Popcru demanded recognition and the reinstatement of its dismissed members.

The Union also called for the replacement of Lt-Gen W H Willemse as Commissioner of the prison and expressed its concern at the inequality in the treatment of prisoners.

Popcru has given the department 14 days to respond to its demands.

Initiated by the ANC, the meeting was characterised, according to an ANC press release, by a frank and friendly exchange of views on conservation philosophies as well as measures which could be introduced to maximise potential benefits to local communities.

"However," says the ANC, "some issues remain unresolved and the challenge to transform national parks in such a way that they become an

asset to local communities, through direct involvement and real tangible benefits, has only begun.

"The Parks Board acknowledged that perceptions concerning the Kruger National Park amongst black rural dwellers in the Eastern Transvaal are negative. The fact that there are historical claims to land within the boundaries of the park remains unresolved and could be one of the topics

for further discussion between the two delegations as well as the affected communities."

On the positive side, there was strong agreement that both sides look forward to a time when all South Africans will take pride in the country's national parks, not only because of their attraction for tourists but also because of their accessibility to ordinary South Africans. ♦



# Are negotiations on course?

There is no doubt that a lot is happening at the World Trade Centre. But, with the behaviour of some participants (and non-participants), the question whether the whole process is on course is starting to arise.



**M**eetings, bloody meetings. The bee-hive activity at the World Trade Centre is astounding. Schedules of meetings and the time needed after each meeting to study new proposals and prepare for the next meeting are overwhelming even for the most enthusiastic. Things are moving with such speed that it is difficult to keep abreast.

This is understandable, and everyone is soldiering on. There are deadlines to meet. All aspects of legislation on transitional mechanisms have to be finalised before the parliamentary sitting in mid-September.

There is progress and there is optimism. But to the likes of Buthe-

lezi, Hartzenberg and Constand Viljoen, the negotiators have simply buried their heads in the sand. Their Bophuthatswana and Ciskei allies are inside to influence things, and yet declare that they will consider being part of the process only in some distant future.

It is understandable that beneficiaries of apartheid should panic in varying degrees as the crunch moment arrives.

## **SHORT MEMORIES**

With Cosag, it is also a problem of short memories. The country has been at this game for three years and basics tend to escape the forgetful: why negotiations came about and, prior to

this, what resistance the all-powerful apartheid state offered! The Cosag parties then try to outdo one another in attempting to block history.

With the NP, it is either a case of trying to use their puppets to wring as many compromises as possible or a beautiful act of make-believe: that their employees can disrupt the process with impunity. Clearly the time has come to read them the riot act. De Klerk should not expect to fool anyone. The responsibility lies primarily with his government.

Legislation on pre-election structures must be adopted and apply to all parts of South Africa. The playing fields must be levelled everywhere. ♦



## THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

**A**s MAYIBUYE went to press, the Negotiating Council was debating the final drafts of legislation on structures to level the playing field.

These are the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and the independent bodies to run elections and to ensure equitable media treatment. With the NP intent on being player and referee and determined to cling to power, the going has not been easy.

It has been agreed in principle that the TEC, which will be made up of one member each from bodies participating in the multi-party forum, will have powers to intervene in all legislative and executive matters pertaining to ensuring free and fair elections. It will exercise these powers through six sub-councils on:

- regional and local government;
- law and order, stability and security;
- defence;
- finance;
- foreign affairs; and
- status of women.

All the sub-councils will have an important role to play in ensuring that current structures are not utilised to prejudice or favour one or other party during the election campaign.

### SERIOUS CONCERN

Of serious concern to communities and the negotiators themselves is the place and role of security forces. This arises in the main because these machineries are implicated in repression. An attempt has been made to obviate this problem. (See box on Page 11)

The all-powerful structure in the whole myriad is the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). At one level, if agreement cannot be reached within the TEC, adjudication will be conducted by the IEC. This is in addition to the major tasks that this body will undertake: running the election, monitoring it, adjudicating electoral disputes and pronouncing on the fairness or oth-

erwise of the election. Separate bodies will be set up for this purpose under the supervision of the "executive" of the IEC.

Despite progress in earlier debates, the IEC has come under venomous attack from representatives of the government. The aim is to so challenge some of its powers and functions that the regime's Home Affairs Department takes over the running of elections. The role of the international community is another thorn in the regime's flesh. But it cannot be allowed to have its way.

To ensure equitable treatment of parties in broadcasting media and that government media structures are not used to promote or undermine any party, an Independent

Media Commission will be set up to monitor such media. It will have the power to impose relevant penalties.

These structures should be backed up by legislation which will have provisions to overrule any discriminatory and repressive laws that have not been repealed.

### POSSIBILITY

Taken as a whole, the proposals do contain the possibility to limit the capacity of the regime to wreak havoc in the build-up to elections.

But on crucial questions, the agreement of the relevant Ministers is required for sub-council decisions to take effect. Besides, the decision-making mechanism is so loaded (the NP and other right-wingers are argu-

# Will the playing field be levelled?

There are many facets to the levelling of the political playing field. The Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils are not the only link in the chain, writes a correspondent.



ing for an 80 percent majority) that the lowest common denominator, rather than rapid and decisive action, may be the norm.

Essential questions on the independent commissions are being settled. But battles are still to be waged around appointees. Multi-party horse-trading that will go into this exercise could mar the process and undermine the effectiveness of these bodies – with the NP and other right-wing parties vying for sympathetic representatives rather than looking at their integrity and human rights record.

Once adopted and legislated, will these agreements be smoothly implemented? It will be an enor-

mous mistake to exaggerate the significance of progress made thus far.

### AGREEMENTS

Firstly, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu aim to resist the application of these agreements in these bantustans. Yet there is no way in which elections can be held if these and all other parts of South Africa are not fully brought under the jurisdiction of these bodies.

The despots in these areas should be persuaded to co-operate – to the extent that they are prepared to listen. But decisive action will need to be taken if this does not happen. This depends on whether the regime is ready to take a firm stand. For in the final analysis, bantustans are not only its creation; but they are

also dependent on central government for their survival. It is primarily against the De Klerk government that pressure should be exerted to resolve this problem.

Secondly, when these structures are set up, a major challenge will emerge: what infrastructure to back them up. As with the IEC, the government seeks to staff the TEC and its sub-councils with personnel from the current bureaucracy.

### CRUCIAL REPORTS

The multi-party representatives will then be saddled with individuals who are to all intents and purposes loyal servants of the National Party. The information TEC members receive will be “doctored” to suit the government’s interests. Crucial reports will be delayed or disappear in the bureaucratic conveyor belt. The other tactic will be to present TEC members with piles and piles of documents without proper identification of priorities.

As a result, members of these structures will be snowed under with loads and loads of unprocessed information but unable to transform the experiences of ordinary people on the ground. From time to time, security forces and civil servants might undertake provocative actions against the peo-



*Laying the foundation for a National Peace-keeping Force, MK cadres demonstrated their support for workers' struggles when they joined Popcru in a march for better working conditions.*





*Singer P! Powers went to apply for an ID for the first time in her life in preparation for next year's elections. With her is the Terror Lekota*

ple and lay the blame on the TEC and its sub-councils.

Solutions to these problems need to be worked out now, in the first instance by guaranteeing the right of the TEC to appoint its own staff. There should also be firm measures to deal with functionaries who violate agreed norms.

#### **DANGERS**

In the overall, there is a real possibility that these structures will go a long way in levelling the political playing field. But two dangers need to be addressed. Firstly, De Klerk might not be sufficiently committed to the process to ensure that the agreements are implemented notwithstanding protestations from his bantustan employees. Secondly, if corrective measures are not taken now, representatives in the TEC and other structures might find themselves in a bureaucratic quagmire.

And in negotiations themselves, there is yet another bigger hurdle: the debate on the interim constitution, which is bound to take a few more weeks.

So, from whichever angle the World Trade Centre may be looked at, a clear image of things to come is starting to take shape. But there is no end to the problems to be resolved. The only consolation is: the struggle continues! ♦

## **Will SAP & SADF be tamed?**

**A**mong the most important structures in the Law and Order Sub-council will be a national police inspectorate to monitor all police agencies, and an independent complaints mechanism. International experts will also be brought in to evaluate changes in this area. The sub-council will have access to all documents and police facilities and to attend meetings of any policing agency.

If a member of a police agency is alleged to have undertaken activities undermining the objectives of the TEC, s/he will be suspended pending the outcome of an investigation.

A Minister may not declare a state of emergency, unrest area and promulgate emergency regulations without the sub-council's agreement. If this happens, the sub-council will effectively have the power to revoke it.

#### **PEACE-KEEPING**

The same principles apply to the army, and include the formulation of a binding code of conduct. Deployment of defence force units in "crime prevention" or "peace-keeping" will be in accordance with regulations set out by the sub-council on defence. Such regulations will have to be agreed upon between the sub-council and the relevant Ministers.

All armed formations will be subject to monitoring and other rules. A co-ordinating council made up of commanders of the armies will see to the implementation of the sub-council's decisions.

There will be set up a National Peace-keeping Force (NPF) comprised of elements of all military forces and police agencies. While the NP government seeks to limit its numbers, the argument for at least 10 000 has been accepted by most parties.

This will be a fully integrated unit, highly mobile and capable of rapid deployment in violence-torn areas. International experts will be brought in to assist in its training. In bilateral discussions, the power of the NPF to apprehend culprits and other details have been considered. In addition, the SADF will be obliged to supply this force with distinctive uniforms and with transport and other logistical support. The mechanisms will be worked out by the sub-council. In this regard, the possibility of sabotage will have to be taken into account. ♦



In present day South Africa we are used to seeing strange sights but not as strange as seeing uniformed SAP members parading with members of MK in uniform. This was the case recently in Port Elizabeth.

**A MAYIBUYE correspondent in Port Elizabeth was at the rally.**

# 'To serve and to protect'... the people

**O**n 8 August, over 1 000 policemen and women were introduced to a public rally in Port Elizabeth. The culmination of behind-the-scenes negotiations between the Eastern Cape black police and the ANC, South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) and Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru).

The theme that ran throughout this historic occasion was that of service and protection of the people. It became clear that the police had not reached an easy decision in coming to the people and pledging to serve and protect them. The heavy hand of SAP commanders hung over their heads, constantly reminding them that they would be victimised for the step they had taken. Whereas they had moved into the changing South Africa with their step, in terms of their employment they are still working for the most backward and repressive arms of the South African government.

## **ALLEGIANCE**

In the past the police had served the government unquestioningly. Their loyalty was to the state first. This allegiance is expected of the police in all countries but in South Africa they had the distinction of serving a state that made it law not to take the interests of the others into consideration. It was loyalty to the National Party.

## **A product of hard work**

**T**he rally at the Dan Qeqe Stadium was not spontaneous but planned over a long period. It started when the KwaMagxaki ANC branch approached the ANC Eastern Cape regional office about the dilemma faced by members of the SAP in that area. Besides general harassment and marginalisation by the communities, especially the youth, they were threatened with attacks on their homes after the death of Chris Hani.

A general meeting was called where police came in great numbers to present their case. In this meeting a committee was set up comprising Richard Masoka, deputy secretary of the KwaMagxaki ANC branch, Gregory Rockman, the president of Popcru, and representatives of policepersons from KwaMagxaki. The ANC regional office was represented by Dan Hatto and Phila Nkayi.

The meeting also decided to involve policepersons from Motherwell, where a Popcru branch is active and working well with the community. So, police representatives from this area were co-opted. It is this committee that organised the successful rally where over 1000 police and prison warders (all of them members of Popcru) attended. They were mainly from Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Grahamstown. There were also some from the smaller areas of the Eastern Cape.

There is a possibility of another rally in Uitenhage but Popcru is still looking at the matter.





*Rock them, Rockman.*

It still is to the majority of police in the force today. Other police forces in the world have developed community policing to the extent that the majority of the people accept their role and assist them in the execution of their tasks. In South Africa it is the opposite.

### **BLACK PERCEPTION**

The police are still perceived as the enemy by the majority of the people. This became particularly so in the middle 1980's when the repression was at its highest. It was at this time that the black police came to be regarded as

legitimate targets because they were the ones who were placed in the frontline by the white regime. For many black persons the perception has persisted, fuelled by those police who continue to serve those who are killing black people in the townships.

The significance, therefore, of the Eastern Cape rally goes far beyond the parade on 8 August. It signifies a break in the power that the regime has held in the townships. It could actually be viewed in a similar light as the break that many bantustan leaders have made with the regime in favour of democracy. The regime can no longer call them to order. Similarly, it cannot be expected to call the police to order if the move they have made becomes even more massive than it is today.

A few years ago they were able to victimise the pioneer of Popcru, Gregory Rockman, because he was almost alone. Then at the rally, he could really see that he had not sacrificed in vain.

It is reliably understood that harassment of the police who took part, by their white superiors, has started. It is our duty to defend them. ♦

## **The statement of intent of the policemen and women read in part:**

**A**s we fully believe that the basic duty of policing is to serve and protect the community, we rededicate our service to the whole community of our land. It must, however, be noted that this commitment is not made to a particular political organisation or specified section of the society, but is a promise to serve all the people, great or small.

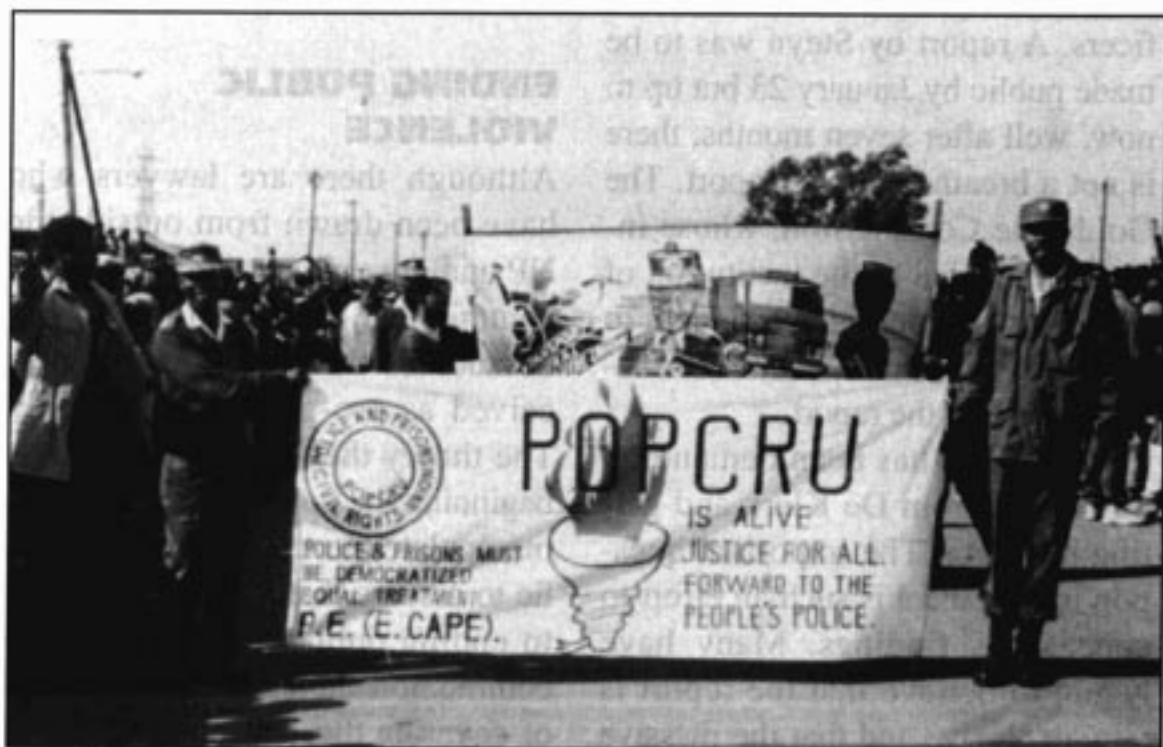
In this regard, protection of life and limb will be our first priority, second to that, will be protection of private property.

Subject to fundamental human rights, we shall also bring any offender or culprit to the court for justice to be done. But our statement of intent will be rendered null and void if we do not acquire the necessary help from the community.

## **Popcru community police oath**

**W**e as the members of Popcru, hereby declare to serve:

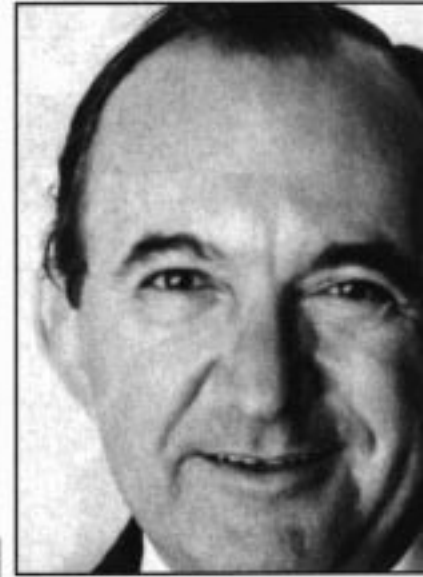
- (a) All communities, irrespective of colour, creed or religion or ideologies in an unbiased and impartial manner
- (b) To respect the basic human rights of all citizens
- (c) To execute our duty in a dignified and civil manner
- (d) To assist in restoring stability in our country
- (e) To be transparent and accountable to the people as a whole.



*Marching towards the rally: part of the people and nothing to fear from them.*



# Goldstone's credibility at stake



**W**hen the Goldstone Commission into Public Violence was instituted, it did not enjoy immediate credibility with the mass democratic movement because of the history of distorted investigations by previous government-appointed commissions.

Judge Richard Goldstone's pronouncement that there was no evidence linking Third Force activity to the training of Inkatha members in the Caprivi Strip took most of those who had followed the matter by surprise. It had been taken for granted that that was the most damning evidence against the perpetrators of violence especially since the testimony given by Mbongeni Khumalo, a former leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

## THE ONLY FORCE

The Goldstone Commission now appears to be the only force in the country that is denying the existence of this force. Even the police could not deny its existence when the Vaal Monster, Khethisi Kheswa, was killed and found to have shady connections. The question is how it has happened that, with its heaps of information and testimony, it could reach its conclusions.

The crowning glory of the Goldstone Commission was the crackdown on the Directorate of Covert Collection where numerous

In the months following its establishment, the commission began to enjoy some credibility because it was perceived to be doing its work impartially and efficiently. But, there are now rumblings about its recent failures. MAYIBUYE spoke to some senior ANC officials in its legal and security departments.

anti-ANC plots were being hatched. This activated De Klerk to institute an investigation led by SADF officer, Steyn, which led to the immediate dismissal of 13 senior army officers. A report by Steyn was to be made public by January 23 but up to now, well after seven months, there is not a breath about its report. The Goldstone Commission, whose investigations led to the institution of this investigation, does not seem to be visibly concerned about the non-publication of the report.

The ANC has been demanding this report from De Klerk and getting nowhere. The important question is why there is such an effort to conceal its findings. Many have begun to believe that the report is very explosive and that the massive and frantic destruction of police, security and military documents is an attempt to limit the damage that

could be done if the report was to be published immediately.

It would explain Goldstone's silence if he was sympathetic to the De Klerk government. The National Party government was the one that appointed him and if he is to regain his credibility, there

should be no suspicion that he is protecting it. But his behaviour has led to the disconcerting question about whether he is deliberately letting the NP off the hook.

## ENDING PUBLIC VIOLENCE

Although there are lawyers who have been drawn from outside the NP and government circles into the commission, there is still a preponderance of those who can be perceived as pro-government or NP. The theory then goes that from the beginning the government wanted to manipulate the thinking of the public to assume that it is so committed to ending public violence that the commission should not be suspected of covering those responsible for it. How was this to be achieved? The sprinkling of appointees acceptable to the ANC and other anti-apartheid





*The Goldstone Commission's pronouncement that there was no evidence linking Third Force activity to the training of Inkatha members in the Caprivi Strip took most of those who had followed the matter by surprise.*

forums and the high profile cracking open of certain cases in the early days of the commission. Added to this were pronouncements on violence that appeared balanced and impartial, but were, in fact so, technically neutral as not to address the real issues.

Both the legal and security departments of the ANC say that they are not trying to deprecate the efforts of the Goldstone Commission with which they have worked closely. But they do admit that these questions are being asked in these departments and quarters of the movement, and have to be answered soon.

### **COMMISSION REOPENING**

There are many people who are wondering what has happened to the evidence of the many Messrs X,Y,Z,A's who have given vital information about the forces behind the violence. In the recent case into the conduct of the KwaZulu Police a witness spoke about how they were instructed to attack opponents of the IFP. He clearly implicated those who trained in Caprivi right in the footsteps of the culprits' exoneration by the commission. We have yet to hear of the commission reopening its case on the activities of Military Intelligence training IFP killers.

The latest case involving the

self-confessed police-hired assassin, Bongani Mbatha, is a typical case of what has been happening. A man was taken into custody by the community near conflict-ridden Thokoza on allegations of spying. The man subsequently confessed to working with the police, but not as a spy. He is a paid killer, he said. The journalists asked to speak to him outside the ANC's presence and he repeated his story.

He was then handed over to the Goldstone Commission and he immediately retracted what he had said. Was the man assured that once in the hands of the commission he would be safe to retract? What we do know is that the ANC members are no longer the honest citizens making an arrest, but are now the targets of Goldstone investigation into maltreating the self-confessed killer.

And the information Mbatha gave about arms caches, links with the police and their role in the violence, supply of uniforms and arms? All this seems to have been put on the back burner as the Goldstone Commission pursues the ANC members who passed Mbatha on to the commission.

Similarly, it seems that the commission has not been struck by the urgency of checking out the controversy over why a policeman who

was present when the Vaal Monster died, happened to be driving the vehicle that killed the monster's accomplice when he tried to "escape".

### **FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY**

Attention has also been drawn to the mild comments about the World Trade Centre (WTC) invasion by the AWB and its allies: errors of judgement on the part of the police; Constand Viljoen misled by Terre'blanche; etc. Not even a demand that Viljoen and others should publicly censure Terre'blanche.

The situations do differ and the comparison of characters inappropriate. But isn't what Goldstone demanded of the ANC when people asking for free political activity were killed in Bisho last year – to censure Ronnie Kasrils – more suitable for the WTC occasion? Again Goldstone's venom against the ANC is only matched by his rationalisation for those who belong to the white establishment.

No one expects the Goldstone Commission to end the violence on its own but, by acting with urgency and being seen to be objective rather than technically neutral, it can show the victims of violence that it cares. Otherwise it will be seen as an extension of the NP and the government. ♦



# A strategic approach to the violence

**C**ontrary to media sensationalism, the violence has not been anarchic. It can, and should, be divided into categories that can be used to debate strategy. Broad categories of violence in the Transvaal so far include:

- **“Unknown gunmen”**

These elements initiate conflict when it does not exist, perpetuate and intensify it when it does, assassinate leaders and activists, as well as indiscriminately shooting at people in trains and taxis. It has tended to be most intense in times of significant political developments nationally.

- **Hostel dwellers vs residents**

This has been ongoing, but has moments of intensity and moments of relative calm. There have been persistent reports from residents of police arming, transporting, assisting the attackers and being the last line of defence for hostel dwellers. In addition, there have been allegations of people being bussed into hostels whose full-time occupation becomes fomenting and sustaining violence for the duration of their stay.

An increasing dimension of this type of violence has been the looting and forced take-over of people's houses by hostel residents, with areas closest to hostels being the

**The basic intent of the violence is to block the current political changes. It is primarily fostered by forces who oppose change, who always ensure that it feeds into whatever existing divisions and conflict, as well as problems of socio-economic underdevelopment, writes an activist in Katlehong.**

most vulnerable to such actions. The police also stand accused of complementing their support of hostel dwellers by disrupting all defensive activity and organisation by residents. This violence has also tended to coincide with significant political breakthroughs.

- **Taxi conflicts**

These have been sporadic, and primarily appear to be driven by competition for routes, licences, and passengers. There have, however, been quite a few occasions where taxi con-

flicts have replicated the hostel dwellers/residents divisions, and the attendant violence.

- **The criminal element**

This has tended to have three broad categories. The first is the opportunistic hard-core criminals who take advantage of all instability and access to some arms to intensify their usual criminal programme. This category is the main criminal element. They are opportunistic, and are always doing their best to initiate and intensify the violence. They also do their best to infiltrate self-defence units.

The second category is the hostel dwellers themselves. In the first instance it includes those elements bussed in specifically to foment violence. They then forcefully occupy the hostel, and forcefully evict or kill those who refuse to cooperate.

Those who leave the hostels rather than cooperate are always under threat of retribution, and a lot of them are being killed.

Having forcefully taken over and looted hostels, these elements move about looting houses, especially in areas where most residents have run away. Increasingly they go to the extent of taking over houses, and have begun expressing an intention to take over whole sections of townships (especially those surrounding hostels).



The third category, one must concede, is that of genuine community defenders who, whenever the level of violence gets somewhat reduced, get persuaded by the criminals and agent provocateurs to use their new-found authority and weapons to enrich themselves at the expense of the community. They then embark in activities like transforming genuine and useful patrol units into hijack units, running protection-fee rackets, etc.

### **ANARCHY**

Although the list above is not comprehensive, the important thing is that it shows that what the media calls anarchy can be unpacked into clear and logical patterns. It also shows that some of the more high profile anti-violence measures of the past few months, for example,

Mandela-Buthelezi meetings, Peace Accord summits, could at best only address aspects of the problem. None of them dealt with the whole problem.

The violence tends to have many layers at any given time, and tends to acquire over time a momentum which even its fermenters do not control. Solutions should be geared at both the fundamental causes and the various layers of violence and instability that have formed around, in order to succeed.

What is unfortunate is that some of the proposals being bandied around now suffer the inherent weakness of addressing the outside layers instead of the whole onion. For example, they tend not to distinguish between those attacking communities and those defending them. From a propaganda and electioneering point of view, some of these proposals are impeccable. There is also no doubt that most of the people making these proposals do so in good faith.

The problem is that by themselves they will not succeed in stemming the violence. And as these ten-



***Security force intervention: Blankets to cover dead bodies in the streets.***

tative, well-meant ideas continue to be thrown forward and fail, the people of the East Rand, Vaal Triangle, Natal and elsewhere will continue to die. These people are doomed to paying with their lives for the conflicts at the World Trade Centre and the confusion in various leadership circles.

### **STRATEGIC APPROACH**

The problem with most "solutions" to the violence is that they are more a response to the hype generated by the media, rather than what actually happens on the ground. Once upon a time the media characterised this violence as a war between the UDF/ANC and Inkatha, and the response of the democratic movement became high profile summits and working groups between the Inkatha leadership and the ANC leadership.

Then the media characterised the violence as a war between the Zulu and the Xhosa, and the response of the democratic movement became to seek a meeting between Mandela and the Zulu king, as well as appoint a Zulu-speaking person to a top position in the movement.

Now the media characterises this violence as a conflict of "undisciplined/marginalised youth" and "Zulus", and the response of the ANC is to call for an SADF-based "iron fist" in which a sprinkling of Umkhonto weSizwe combatants will take part. Parallel to this has been a campaign of giving political concessions to the NP/Cosag section, as well as outright condemnation of the youth.

The youth seem to have suffered a spectacular fall from being the revered "Young Lions" to even being called agent provocateurs. Some of the more extravagant responses have complained of the diminishing of "ubuntu", a particular ethic/value intrinsic in African people, which apparently makes them behave like saints

even under extreme provocation.

A strategic approach would have aspects that are universal across the country, as well as those which are specific to regions and areas. It should be formulated democratically, and the input (as well as perceptions and fears) of the violence-stricken communities themselves must be prioritised. It would essentially be a coherent political, military and developmental programme.

The political component would essentially be to isolate the counter-revolutionary element nationally and internationally, (through strategies such as addressing the legitimate fears). At the same time, we must show a firm resolve to democratising and transforming society, and continue to campaign vigorously for rapid and visible movement to this end.

The reason why people have remained firm in their support for the democratic movement, even in the most trying situations, is mainly because they are convinced that liberation will bring definite improvement to their lives. While one must always





**Armed police presence  
after the fact:  
The recent upsurge has  
been accompanied by  
renewed professional  
attacks in the trains.**

openly acknowledge the constraints, economic and political, the capacity to deliver at least some incremental (and transformative) improvements must never be compromised.

The military component is primarily the defence of communities. On the one hand this entails joint control and peace-keeping in order to ensure impartial and effective policing, as well as to crush the "third force" element. Just as important in this regard is fighting for political and legal space, as well as adequate material supplies for disciplined and accountable community self-defence units. Not only must their legality and necessity be recognised, they must be given material and logistical support as well.

The developmental component in this instance is intended to reduce the social base of counter-revolution. The core perpetrators of this violence have historically made effective use of the poverty and under-development in our communities to initiate and sustain violence, as well as to recruit. Violence-stricken areas in particular must be targeted with democratically-conceived and implemented programmes that create jobs, develop skills, as well as upgrade infrastructure and community development.

Linked with these should be the immediate installation of credible and effective local authorities in these areas, both to guide and co-or-

dinate the developmental and peace programmes, as well as to begin to deal with some of the long-standing disputes, for example, taxi routes and licences, that tend to feed into the violence. Given the urgency, these developmental programmes and local authorities must happen even if they complicate or upset carefully negotiated national frameworks and time-frames.

### **THE NATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE**

The NPKF is examined here because it is the common denominator of the proposals from almost every sector, as a way of addressing the violence. The demand for NPKF (and joint control generally) is a product of both the current phase in the constitutional negotiations process, i.e. the setting-up of transitional structures, as well as continued reports of police incompetence and complicity in violence.

It is important that those setting up this force give as much attention to the potential capacity of this force to end violence as they do to the dynamics and imperatives of the multi-party forum. There is a definite danger that the multi-party forum will create a force on which they may have some sufficient consensus, which may, however, lack credibility in the eyes of the violence-stricken communities and of most South

Africans. If this should happen the democratic movement may find itself having to take responsibility for a force that is both ineffective and considered illegitimate by the majority of South Africans.

At the same time it should be recognised that even if a best-case scenario of an NPKF comprising equal proportions of SADF/MK/International forces were to arise, it will not succeed in stemming the violence simply through brute force. An "iron fist", even by an NPKF that includes credible armies, can never solve the violence because it is multi-dimensional. Initiatives like the East Rand Peace Summit, which include local organisations and defence units, are models to be followed. The NPKF will only work if it is properly constituted, and is part of a broader strategy.

### **CONCLUSION**

If violence is not ended soon, all of us are in danger. It is not only those in violence-stricken areas who lose, but elections, economic recovery and the social fabric are in danger. In fact, the entire transition and reconstruction are in danger. The truth about violence does not lie somewhere in-between warring parties, to be uncovered by the Goldstone Commission. It is a desperate and brutal campaign by the enemy, and must be defeated. ♦



# The lighter side of a tense trip

When ANC President Nelson Mandela went to the United States recently to receive the Liberty Peace Award, the other traveller to receive the same award was State President De Klerk. The South African media reported extensively about the tensions that characterised the trip. Others, in the ANC delegation, saw a lighter side to that gloomy picture. They spoke to MAYIBUYE.



*Nelson Mandela and Bill Clinton: Like the majority of South Africans, Americans have no doubt about the Presidents of the 1990's.*

From the time the delegations set out separately on this journey, it was clear that the South African State President wanted to benefit from the joint presentation of the award. The South African media accompanying De Klerk began to try and pressurise the ANC to make it a "South African" trip rather than two trips. They were so desperate that it would not have surprised our delegation if it was not part of the payment for the travel benefits in De Klerk's plane that made them make such an effort to combine the delegations.

Again, it could have been just the media persons inside them that made them try so hard. They knew that, with the delegations separated, they were missing the big story. De Klerk was in America because of Mandela and the US media continued to make this very plain. But for many the question was: how could they desert the man who had made it possible for them to have a slice of the tax-payers' money?

## **PROTOCOL**

The ploy they used most was making too much of the tension between Mandela and De Klerk than actually existed. Every trick was used to raise De Klerk into the main man. One of these was protocol. For example, the De Klerk delegation insisted that the motorcades of the two delegations should move as a convoy to the award ceremony in Philadelphia. If this was accepted, protocol would have been followed and De Klerk would then have been the first to drive past the crowds who daily lined the streets to wave at Mandela.

In the event, the South African cameras would have picked the moment – a De Klerk being welcomed by enthusiastic Americans – and sent it to their stations and newspapers with this distorted interpretation. Fortunately, even before the ANC could decline the offer, the US security intervened saying that it



felt that small and very mobile convoys were better than long ones.

The South African public was not informed of the US media's cynicism at a media briefing by De Klerk. After answering questions with his recent waning confidence, the media persons, in keeping with an American tradition, presented De Klerk with a gift. It was a

The blows that were traded, like Mandela shying away from a picture with De Klerk and Clinton, are nothing compared to what happens in the US, Britain or other western countries during election time.

book on golf. The significance in giving a high profile official a book on golf is that he is on his way out and needs to perfect his golf because he is

going to have a lot of time on his hands. By the way De Klerk was shown beaming after the briefing, the cynicism of the press was lost to him.

#### **PRESIDENT-IN-WAITING**

In his eagerness to show that he is known and welcomed to the American high brass, De Klerk made another blunder. He met George Bush and the South African media made it appear like a major coup. The irony they appeared not to see was that, to others, it was seen as a meeting of two ex-presidents. Bush was, after all, a former president defeated by Clinton. Mandela has defeated De Klerk in all but an election and most people in South Africa and the world see him as the president-in-waiting.

De Klerk had his moments too. He swept the carpet under the ANC's feet when he was the one to announce that the IMF would soon extend a multi-billion rand loan to South Africa. It has been learnt that the ANC was the primary force behind the attempt to get the loan and had expected to make the announcement.

#### **ELECTION TIME**

It was a tough struggle out there and it is naive to expect that it should have been anything else. That the public here got enmeshed in the pleas to let the two leaders be civil to each other shows the manipulative effect of the media here. People forgot that it is election time and there is nowhere else than in America where the race becomes very heated. The terrain had its influence on the opposing forces. The blows that were traded, like Mandela shying away from a picture with De Klerk and Clinton, are nothing compared to what happens in the US, Britain or other western countries during election time.

All said and done, the side events created the right climate for the main events. ♦

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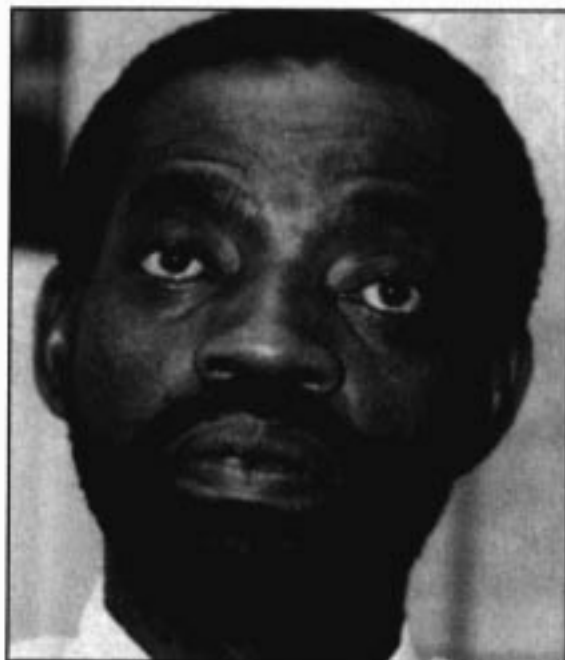
# The ANC and the rights of the disabled

**T**he position of the vast majority of disabled people in society has not changed significantly. The major reason has been the failure of the charity/welfare approach to address a basically human rights issue. Hence, in recent years, the struggle of disabled people of the world has emphasized their right to equal opportunity and development. Another reason is related to the provision of rehabilitation services and the view that disability is a specialist medical problem.

## REHABILITATION

Professionals in services concerned with disabled people (medical and vocational rehabilitation) have for a long time now influenced the so-called "able bodied" public into believing that the important task is to rehabilitate disabled people to the point that they become as "normal as possible". Thus rehabilitation became entirely the product of the minds of able bodied people according to objectives entirely set to able bodied standards. Below are some principles that should guide discussion about future disability related services.

Disabled people must have a direct say in the planning, development, maintenance and evaluation of any service which has a specific



relationship to them and their lifestyles. This input must come from the democratic and representative organisations of disabled people.

As a minority social group, disabled people have an inalienable right to determine their own lifestyles without others imposing their images of what are appropriate roles or objectives for them. When they do have contact with the medical services they have no special claim to, and are entitled to no less than, equal access to good medical practice as their able bodied peers.

## SUPPORT SYSTEMS

The development of appropriate community-based support systems is a pre-eminent unique concern of disabled people. In South Africa the majority find themselves doubly discriminated against, in the first instance on the grounds of their disabilities and,

Now is the time for a democratic South Africa to join the ranks of those governments maintaining an independent ministry on disability, writes Dr Ralph Mgijima of the ANC's Department of Health.

secondly, for their race as a result of apartheid policies and practices.

In addition, causes of disability are race related in South Africa, whereas the major causes of disability in the white population compare with those of affluent western societies (road accidents, sports injuries, etc.). Black disabilities are associated primarily with violence linked to the poor socio-economic circumstances of the apartheid townships as well as by the violent repression of resistance to apartheid inside and outside our borders.

## DEVELOPMENTS

According to the World Health Organisation the average number of disabled people in any country is as high as ten percent of the population (1981). The South African Department of Health and Welfare puts this figure at over 12 percent.

For some years now the ANC has taken note of international developments, and has been inspired, in particular, by the Disabled People of South Africa's (DPSA) fight against apartheid. This resulted in the ANC sharing a number of international fora (despite sanctions against South Africa) in search of



lasting rights for the disabled people of the world.

As recently as 28 September 1992, the DPSA and the ANC participated in a United Nations (UN) summit in Vienna in finalising standard rules on the equalization of opportunities for disabled persons.

On 24 March 1993, the ANC hosted a meeting of several of its departments with the DPSA in Johannesburg to look at various issues affecting disabled people. At this meeting the Disability Rights Charter of South Africa was adopted by the ANC departments. This document is outstanding in that it deals comprehensively with all the rights of disabled people and proposes positive action to address existing discriminatory practices.

#### **BILL OF RIGHTS**

In the ANC draft Bill of Rights of February 1993, Article 9 refers to the rights of disabled persons. The ANC government will adopt the principles of human rights entrenched by the UN in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation on Vocational Rehabilitation.

An ANC draft policy document on employment of disabled people acknowledges the need for affirmative action to achieve equal employment opportunities for the disabled. Such affirmative action should take the form of a percentage quota for the civil service when the ANC becomes the government. Employment will include women and men of all disabilities and will guarantee them salaries equal to those of other workers, with full employment benefits.

The challenge facing South Africans at the dawn of a democratic South Africa is to liberate disabled people. It should be borne in mind that the struggle against apartheid has eclipsed the quest for rights of disabled people. The DPSA has long recognised that the greatest handicap facing its membership is

The challenge facing South Africans at the dawn of a democratic South Africa is to liberate disabled people. It should be borne in mind that the struggle against apartheid has eclipsed the quest for rights of disabled people.

apartheid, hence its support for the anti-apartheid struggle.

#### **EMPLOYMENT SYSTEM**

Now is the time for a democratic South Africa and the private sector to seriously consider an enforcement mechanism for the employment quota system. Now is the time for advocacy by all in a democratic South Africa for disabled people and to put in place legislation and related measures for a free and better environment.

Now is the time to consider disabled people controlling their own affairs and for a democratic South Africa to join the ranks of those governments maintaining an independent ministry on disability. ♦



*At an ANC rally in Durban: Being disabled does not mean being unable to contribute to build change.*





# Absolutely ridiculous!

That's Cosatu Secretary-General, Jay Naidoo's view on suggestions that the workers' federation should transform itself into a Workers' Party.



“It has never been part of Cosatu's calculations that it will become a political party.” He believes the debate on the call for the unity of the left is being misunderstood. “When Chris Hani was alive there was a lot of talk within the left about the need for unity of the left. Hani was one of the leading protagonists of such unity.

“If we look at the left in this country or in the whole world it is a fragmented left. No-one has a blueprint for socialism. We are all struggling for a democratic society that reflects the interests of everyone,” Naidoo said.

## UNITY PROGRAMME

Setting up a workers' party now would be contrary to a unity programme for the left. “It is in that context that the Numsa resolution needs to be read,” Naidoo said.

He said most people accept that the “most critical challenge facing us now is to win an election and ensure that the ANC is the majority in government and that we have organisation on the ground to defend that election result and ensure fundamental transformation.”

Naidoo believes an evaluation of the alliance would take place in the post-election period, based on conditions that will exist then.

## CENTRAL ISSUE

“The alliance was formed in order to dislodge the apartheid system. The nature of the alliance now begins to change as the central issue is no longer the struggle against apartheid, but what the form and content of the system that

will replace apartheid is.”

He believes that in the post-election period the alliance should act as a bulwark for the defence of democracy and avoid an Angola-type situation where “an election result is rejected by the party that loses and the country is plunged into civil war.”

The most important thing, Naidoo said, is to ensure that organisations are powerful at grassroots level.

“We need to construct, in the period leading up to the elections and post election very powerful institutions in which our organisations are able to determine decisions that affect their lives. The Housing Forum, the NEF (National Economic Forum) and the Local Government Negotiation Forum become critical for us to be able to ensure that the needs of the majority are being met,” he said.

## RULE AND TRANSFORM

In releasing “between 20 and 30 very senior leaders onto an ANC list for Parliament”, Cosatu sees itself as strengthening the ANC, not only to win an election, but to rule and transform the country.

“We have shared a common platform in the trenches of battle against apartheid. And the outcome of such a battle has to meet some of Cosatu's very own needs,” he said.

Naidoo said Cosatu would ensure the restructuring of government departments that directly interface with it, like the department that deals with Labour Relations.

The strengthening of the alliance, according to Naidoo, would ensure that victory at the polls next year is not just a constitutional victory, but a victory that brings real change to the majority of the people. ♦

*The alliance in action: SACP Chair Joe Slovo, ANC Secretary General, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Cosatu President John Gomomo*





**T**he questions posed about the future of the alliance are legitimate and timeous. In broad terms, the democratic movement is moving from the politics of resistance to that of governance, a reflection of the victories scored in struggle.

But these victories have qualifications. The path to a truly democratic dispensation will be tortuous: firstly, an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), and then some five years of a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction (GNUR). During this period, parties which do not have the interests of the poor at heart will be part of the cabinet. This will limit the ability of the majority party to fully implement its programmes.

Aggravating this are the changes in the international situation, the need to attract investments and to develop "good" relations with international finance institutions.

Given this bleak picture, there is concern about whether the GNUR or its predecessor will deliver!

Some have already written off the ANC (and the SACP) as organisations representing the poor. Better create a "mass workers' party", they implore. This is to miss the point. For, the central task is to address the objective balance of forces and find ways of changing it in favour of the poor.

This means, firstly, challenging the 'seek-ye-the-political-kingdom-first' approach, which sees the adoption of a new constitution and installation of a new government as the be-all and end-all to the issue of political power. The other extreme arises from frustrations with constitutional negotiations and poses socio-economic negotiating forums as the main instruments of change.

The balance should be found somewhere in-between: a democratic constitution and a new government will be important sign-posts of change. But intervention in forums and in mass activity, now and in the future, will be crucial in defining the content of change.

This should be based on a clear programme of reconstruction. The core of such a programme, it has been proposed within the Tri-partite Alliance, should be restructuring of the state, socio-economic programmes, economic growth and job creation as well as education and training.

### **WHICH FORCES WILL SEE TO ITS REALISATION?**

The new state will have a crucial role to play. But the main forces will be the people themselves: workers, the unemployed, communities in the ghettos, students, teachers and so on. Their sectoral formations will have to take an active part in the formulation and implementation of the programme. This presupposes co-operation between civil and political organisations – particularly those, like the Tri-partite Alliance, which share the democratic vision broadly defined in the Freedom Charter.

As in other African countries, constraints imposed during negotiations will not be sufficiently overcome if the liberation forces, including civil society, do not mobilise outside the corridors of power. We should also guard against civil organs being turned into conveyor belts for the ruling party. On the other hand, an oppositionist civil society which protests only from the sidelines will squander real possibilities to determine the agenda of change. It will leave the governmental terrain open to manipulation by representatives of the rich.

Pressure for real change should be exerted both "from above" and "from below".

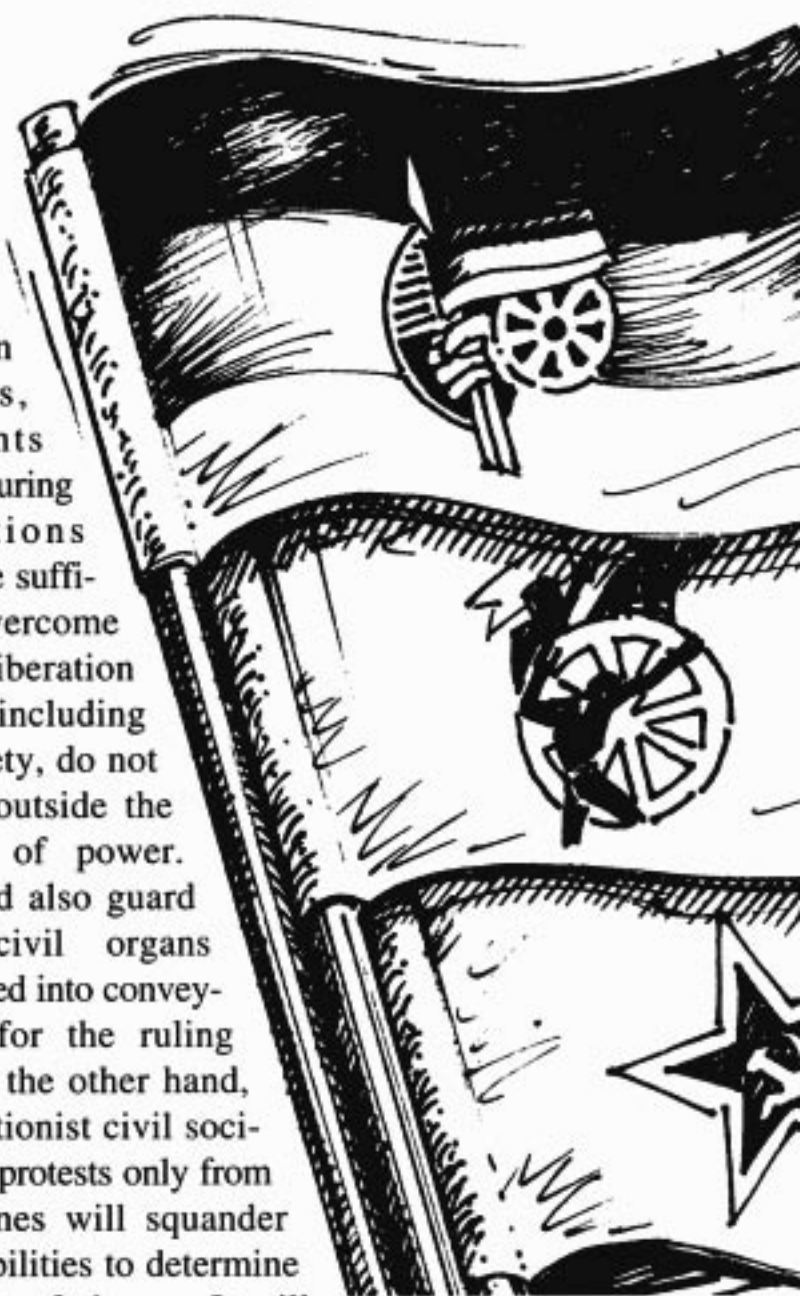
### **CRUCIAL**

The presence of leaders from union and other such backgrounds in parliament and the contribution of civil society in the restructuring of relevant ministries will be crucial. Intervention from above will also include forums dealing with socio-economic issues and the involvement of organs of civil society in developmental programmes.

Therefore, there will be some partnership between civil society and government: in pursuit of a programme agreed upon.

Intervention from below, on the other hand, will entail marches, rallies and other independent actions of unions and other organs. In these actions, they will be pursuing their sectoral and national interests.

Will such actions involve only structures of civil society? This



# AI Stra tran







should not be the case. If the ANC as an organisation becomes a meek and uncritical mouthpiece of the cabinet and the bureaucracy, then a schism is bound to develop.

The organisation should be further strengthened, represent the feelings of its supporters, take part in mass struggles and ensure that electoral promises are met. It should honestly explain any shortcomings to the people. Such mass involvement should also deal with sabotage, corruption, resistance to restructuring and so on. The MP's should be accountable to the organisation, not the other way round.

As such, democratic political and civil organisations will meet in the theatre of struggle. The Alliance (perhaps with changes in form) will be a natural expression of common objectives and programmes. As in the past – and perhaps even more in the future – there will be tensions: “unity and struggle between non-antagonistic opposites”, as some would call it.

What about a “mass workers’ party” and socialism?

#### **GENUINE LIBERATION**

The ANC is a broad movement which unites all who believe in genuine liberation. Its leaning is towards the poor. But this cannot be taken for granted. For it to sustain this approach requires that the poor take active part in its structures.

Naturally, a few years down the line, the complexion of South African politics will change. The national interests which the ANC represents today may be redefined more prominently in class terms, affecting both the ANC and the SACP. Yet this does not necessarily mean an exclusivist approach in relation to other sectors of society. However, to speculate about the explosion this chemistry will trigger off would be to mesmerise ourselves in crystal-gazing.

Suffice to note that for the SACP and most socialists, the way forward is through a multi-party democratic system which emphasises the deepening of national democratic gains. There are others who believe socialism should be on the immediate agenda.

Perhaps this is what the debate on the future of the alliance and a “mass workers’ party” is about. It should then be taken up as such! ♦

# alliance: ns of sformation

Will the Tri-partite Alliance be necessary after elections? Should there be new organisational forms to give expression to the aspirations of the poor? The answers are not that simple, writes Joel Netshitenzhe, a member of the National Working Committee of the ANC and Editor of *MAYIBUYE*.



## We need a platform of the left

**Is the alliance functioning in the best possible way?**

We have been complaining that the alliance is not functioning the way that it is supposed to. When it comes to mass action or pressures on the government, there is co-ordination. But when it comes to negotiations, it is different. Presently, all the forces are together to fight apartheid at local and national level. At the multi-party forum there are areas where the alliance has worked as a team.

But when it comes to compromises, you read about those in the press. They would not have been channeled through alliance meetings, even where fundamental compromises are involved. Take the issue of regionalism. It is a major issue but it has just been decided upon by the negotiators. To rectify this, there should be regular meetings of the alliance to discuss negotiations.

**Up to when does Numsa think the alliance must continue?**

Our resolution says that the trade unions cannot, in a normal situation, be in an alliance with the government of the day. This tends to undermine the independence of the unions.

We are saying that our alliance has been good because it is based on major issues such as getting rid of apartheid. Our resolution says that once we put the ANC in power our task would have been fulfilled. There would be no need now to continue with that type of alliance. There should then be another type of alliance which should be guided by the reconstruction programmes that would have been agreed upon. It should not be a political alliance.

**Would there be a formal break with the ANC?**

The labour movement should not be tied to a political party that is in government on deciding what political issues it wants to take up, because it might want to take them up with that very government. This could be done without affecting the relationship with the ANC.



**What about the workers' party that we have been hearing of?**

We have not called for a workers' party. It does not even feature in our resolution. Our resolution says that the socialists who are organised into some structures as well as individual socialists, all the organs of the left, must come together in the form of a forum or structure that would map the way forward. These could include socialists in the PAC, WOSA and others.

**That would be after the elections?**

Even now the process can begin.

**Why, then, are many of the forces you have mentioned not coming together now and fighting apartheid as socialists or are they waiting to unite to fight the ANC?**

These socialist forces must not be the opposition to the ANC but a reinforcement. I want to insist that there is no political party envisaged but a platform. Numsa is not a political party and has no intention of being one. This is the same for Cosatu. A union can regard itself as a socialist union but it cannot be a party. Numsa is only calling on the SACP and Cosatu to facilitate that unity of the left. Those parties that come to this platform will retain their independence as parties, and so will the unions.



SACP Secretary-General Charles Ngakula believes it would be in the best interest of a new democracy that the alliance continues to exist.

# Splitting the interests of the workers



“The ANC has to mobilise all democratic forces in defence of the new democracy against anti-democratic



forces. “Anti-democratic forces are going to join hands to try and destabilise the new democracy and we would need to consolidate and defend our gains at the democratic elections.”

The Alliance, Ngakula said, developed under specific conditions and it is not possible to predict that those conditions would have been altered in such a way so as to invalidate its necessity.

Ngakula believes that the establishment of a Workers' Party does not mean the creation of a new party that would be in opposition to the SACP and the ANC.

## POTENTIAL

“Our people believe that the best organised formation for socialism is the SACP and ought to raise its potential for mobilising the forces fighting for national liberation and socialism.

“There are some in the liberation movement who are looking at what's referred to as the Brazilian Option where they believe that the interests of the workers would be best served if the labour movement transformed itself into a political party.

“There are problems with that suggestion because there are so many workers in this country who are fervent supporters of the ANC, SACP and other organisations which are not necessarily part of our traditional alliance.

“You'll never be certain that if the labour movement transformed into a political party all Cosatu members would belong to that party. You'll be splitting the interests of the workers if you say the labour movement must be destroyed.

“Other workers think what is being suggested is sim-

ply a situation where there's another party emanating from the ranks of the workers that would work with the alliance as it is constituted.

“But the majority view is simply that the SACP must assume the responsibility of mobilising the left as part of our building blocks for socialism.

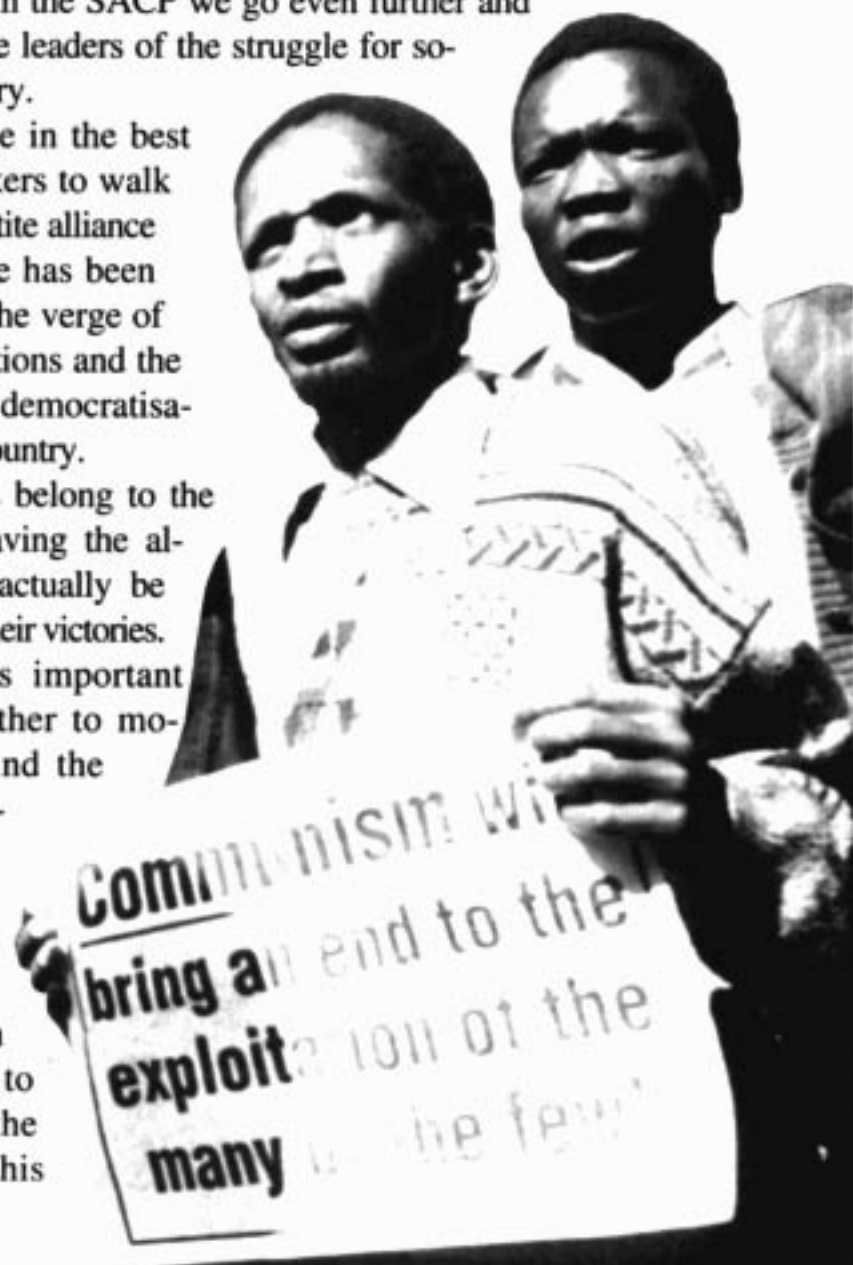
## STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

“We have said the workers are the leaders of the struggle and, of course, in the SACP we go even further and say they are also the leaders of the struggle for socialism in our country.

“It would not be in the best interest of the workers to walk away from the tripartite alliance because the alliance has been able to bring us to the verge of the democratic elections and the first step towards a democratisation process in our country.

“Those victories belong to the workers and by leaving the alliance they would actually be walking away from their victories.

“Therefore it is important that we work together to mobilise support behind the ANC which is, during this phase, the leader of the struggle. We need a massive victory when we go to the polls in order for the ANC to be able to dictate the pace of change in this country”.



**A**nd yet meeting the bearded Charles Nqakula at his offices in the rundown part of Braamfontein, Johannesburg, one might be forgiven for thinking that he is a church minister of an Apostolic sect. Nqakula has got a certain presence and aura that seem to dispel all myths about communism.

### COMMUNIST LITERATURE

Born 51 years ago in Cradock, Nqakula was drawn into politics at an early age. It was largely due to the influence of Rev James Arthur Calata who was in charge of the local Anglican Church. "Calata used to ask us to sell some of the national liberation movement's publications, particularly communist literature."

While working as a journalist in the 70s, Nqakula joined the underground involved in propaganda. It was Nqakula's family background that drew him into politics at an early age. His father died while Charles was still very young, leaving him with no clear recollection of what he looked like.

His mother had to raise and educate ten children from the money she made as a washerwoman. Despite his poor family background, he managed to pass matric through bursaries and scholarships.

In the early 80's he skipped the country. He was later infiltrated into the country, following the decision of the 1985 Kabwe Consultative Conference to infiltrate senior leadership into the country.

"To me that was a very important step taken by the ANC because in that way it meant we

# Dusty street to General Secretary



It's a long way from the dusty streets of the Eastern Cape Midlands town of Cradock to the helm of what is certainly the world's fastest growing communist party – the South African Communist Party.



would quickly organise our forces for insurrection."

With all the poverty and hardships he had to endure as a youngster, Nqakula would not want any aspect of his life to be changed.

"If I were to live my life all over again I would want to live exactly as I have because each part and aspect of my life contributed to my whole being."

Nqakula would like to consult with the people all the time because "I get empowered when I sit down and discuss with people. No one can claim monopoly over ideas. It can only be through discussion that we can arrive at a programme that we feel would be fulfilling in terms of our struggle, both emancipation as well as the abolition of exploitation."

### NEW SOUTH AFRICA

His ideal of a new South Africa is one which will adopt a programme of a thorough-going democracy. To him democracy is not simply to go to the polls at regular intervals, but rather to ensure that the entire population is empowered through a clear programme of reconstruction which must ensure that people have houses that are habitable.

A programme that ensures that our lives have been improved in an overall fashion. But, more than that, a democracy where the majority of the people participate in the decision-making processes.

"I say this as the result of the collapse of the socialist countries and, in particular, the former Soviet Union where decision-making had become a preserve of a small elite and where the majority of the workers were cut out from the process of democracy." ♦



# The seeds of corruption

Corruption in government is an ever-present threat as it stems from abuse of power or privilege in order to grant favours to select individuals or groups – invariably of close affinity to the disburser through blood relation or common interests. In this article, **Sindiso Mfenyana** of the ANC Civil Service Unit examines some of the causes.

**T**he further one recedes from democratic government to less accountable forms, the more pervasive corrupt practices become. Even the most controlled societies as could be found a decade ago in Eastern Europe, where cross-checking of every transaction was the norm, those who were in top positions and assumed to be the guardians of social mores and morality, turned out to be the worst offenders.

In Africa (and similar) societies where pressures of extended families abound, many a civil servant has succumbed to corruption to satisfy

assistance and support expected of him by his distant relatives. A common story is that, when a prominent relative is elected into a government post, the entire extended family converges to his home with trinkets of sorts to “pay homage”. Thereafter any of these relatives is likely to appear at his office unexpectedly to seek his help – usually in the form of a bus fare or a job.

Established democracies have had to evolve systems of checks and balances against abuse of position and betrayal of public trust by the elected and legitimately appointed officials of government. But these systems need constant review and

adjustment in the light of human ingenuity to manipulate rules and laws to their own advantage.

Since corruption takes place at various levels of authority in diverse situations, let us confine ourselves to corruption at central government level and examine the environment under which it thrives. Besides, corruption at lower levels is commonly a reflection of what goes on at the top, and not vice-versa. What are the factors which contribute to corruption?

## **SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM**

All societies which were/are based on acceptance of innate power or privilege of a certain population group (natural “superiority”) or class are fertile ground for corruption. In such cases even the laws presuppose the natural justification of whatever demands are made in the interests of the ruling group. Any laws seeking to protect the underprivileged at best attempt to restrict excesses of the rulers.

Apartheid bore within it the seeds of corruption, as long as this was directed against the non-people – for that was what the denial of the vote to the black majority made of them. Once the principle of stealing land from blacks was made state policy (Group Areas Act et al) all white officials were open to corruption by those willing to take advantage of the law to enrich themselves. The worst instances occurred when white law officers used their power to use cheap convict labourers for white farmers.

## **FRANCHISE DEMOCRACY**

Globally, when the right of all adult citizens to elect their rulers through

the ballot was finally entrenched in state constitutions, the freedom to create wealth at any price reigned supreme. When organised labour was able to access the legislature, it ensured the enactment of laws which protected and improved the working conditions and remuneration of labour.

But the responsibility of government for social welfare (health, housing, education, etc) remains an arena of struggle even in the advanced democracies. South Africa is still going to grapple with the consequences of corruption in government with decades of misappropriation of funds which were ostensibly meant to improve the lot of the marginalised and under-privileged.

Abuse of power for self-enrichment has become the norm in several government departments in South Africa – based on unfettered power and privilege of white and black civil servants over the lives of, particularly, the underprivileged. The issuing of permits, licences, etc, right down to fines for traffic offences, are areas where corruption through bribery are quite common.

### SINGLE PARTY

In Africa the late 1960s saw the con-

solidation of single party rule. The reasoning was that the parties which had united the people and led them to victory were equally capable of spearheading economic development. Besides, (the reasoning continued) the multi-party system served merely to divide the nation and its efforts in reconstruction. The results were:

- manipulation of the electoral systems to ensure the return of the ruling parties;
- assured return of ruling party candidates even if the individual performed poorly;
- collective party protection for criminal behaviour of individual party officials; and
- widespread corruption in government circles.

In South Africa where effective single party rule obtained over the past four decades, the effects are summed up by the *Financial Mail* (15 May 1992): "Billions of rands belonging to the taxpayer have been misappropriated in the worst financial scandal this country has ever known ... The government's silence is deafening. Despite months of investigation, not one enriched crook has been imprisoned ... In fact, the incompetent

have been rewarded and the dishonest scattered to secure jobs in other departments."

### THE PERSPECTIVES

South Africa is poised for a new era when the entire population is going to enjoy the right of franchise. With a vibrant multi-party system, elected government officials will either have to be accountable to their constituencies or be replaced. This will open new possibilities for curbing the rampant corruption which is daily reported with impunity in the news media.

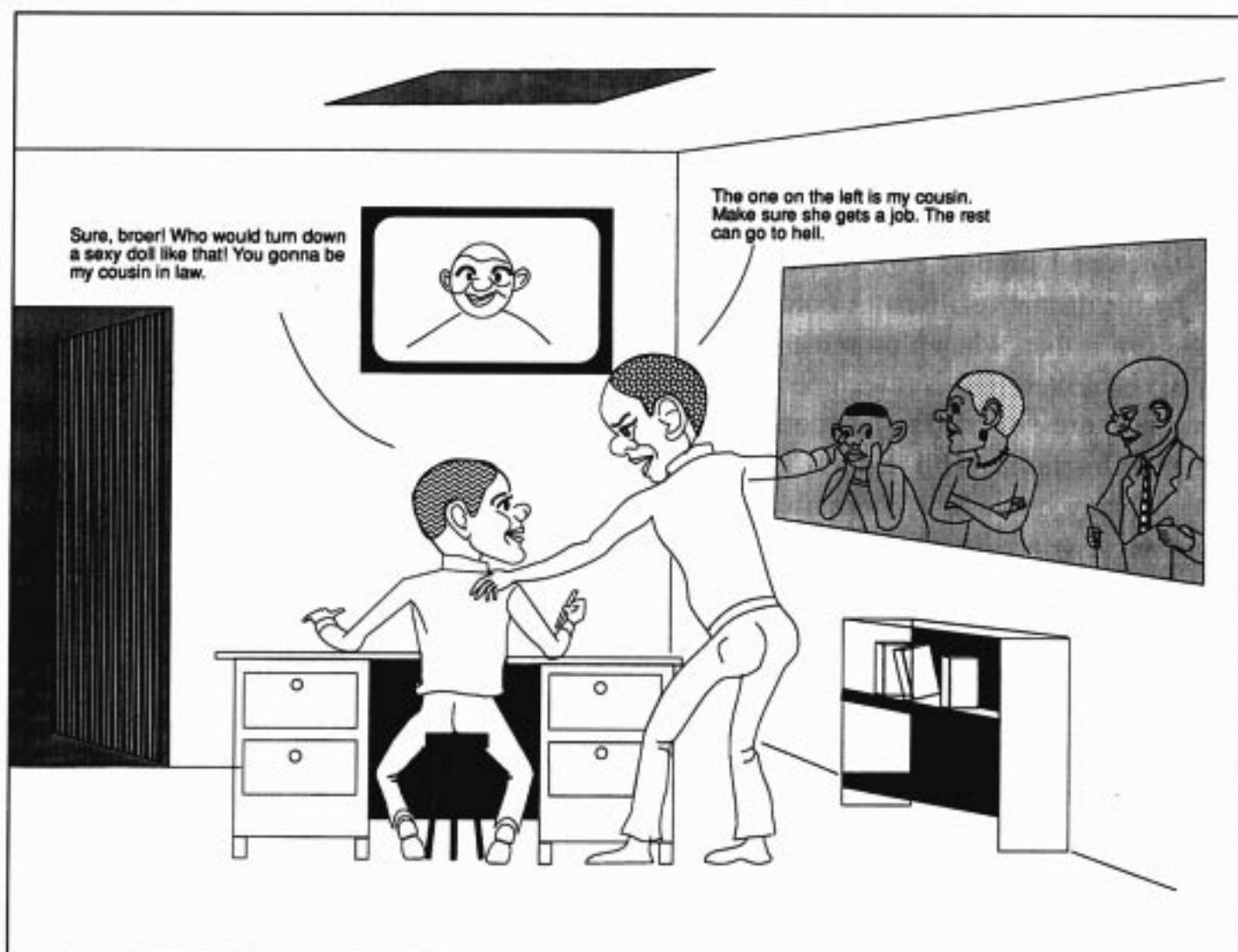
No one believes that corruption can be eliminated overnight, but there are clear areas where immediate action can be taken to arrest and gradually reverse the trend.

The Civil Service Unit of the ANC has presented a working model of the civil service in the transitional period: "A professional civil service, recruited and appointed on merit in an equal-opportunity environment; committed to serving the elected government and administering the law and government policies with integrity, impartiality and efficiency; and accountable to the public through ministers and parliament for its actions and conduct."

Assumptions are that:

- The government will be legitimate, democratic, transparent and accountable through appropriate structures and instruments (parliamentary committees, independent audit, independent judiciary, ombud, etc) to exercise checks and balances on the Executive.
- The civil service would be representative (non-racial, non-sexist), recruited on merit which takes into account the potential as well as experience in staff selection.
- A Code of Conduct agreed upon by all interested parties to guide civil servants in their behaviour and attitudes at work and outside.
- Job security will be provided for the competent and legitimately employed.

We would then have made a start towards addressing some of the areas where corruption is prone to occur. ♦





# Teenagers and the vote

Could it be that in another few decades from now, we might be amazed and embarrassed that we did not think it "normal" for children to have the vote?

"It is difficult to take this silly business very seriously."

"Such a liberty has never been recognised in any civil society. I consider it a disgrace."

Responses to Nelson Mandela's call in May 1993 for the voting age to be lowered to 14? No. They are, in fact, comments made 150 years ago to the Governor of the Cape in response to the suggestion that the vote be extended to women.

## REACTIONS

A brief analysis of reactions to Mandela's call as reported in the media – front-page reports, feature articles, editorials, letters from readers – confirms similarity in type and tone to the reaction over a century ago to the idea of votes for women.

Outrage, derision, mockery, disbelief, disgust greeted Mandela's call, as the *Cape Times*, *The Argus*, *Weekly Mail* and *South* show: "deeply disturbing"; "such a suggestion would not receive serious consideration in a civilised country"; "a ploy"; "a major political embarrassment"; "absurd suggestion"; "ludicrous"; "beyond serious contemplation"; "the idea is nonsense"; "Mandela is crazy"; "horrified"; "irresponsible".

Cartoons and jokes abound – stereotypical cartoons of what look like English schoolboys running wild in classrooms, babies in playpens, comments like "Pimple Power".

Similar hilarity and scorn were a feature of the reactions to proposals for the vote to be extended to women. Speaking in the suffrage debate in the House of Assembly in



1920, JX Merriman opined: "The more you read of the accounts of England, the more you read of the doings of those unsexed women who are rambling about the country, the more you feel anxious about the future of civilisation. Modesty and Purity apparently have fled to another planet."

Two *Cape Times* editorials are particularly interesting in this regard. On 30 April 1921 one pronounced that "because of a difference which no laws and no amount of education or intelligence can ever change, women are not fitted for voting". Some 72 years later, on 25 May 1993, another declared that "a leader of Mr Mandela's stature can only weaken his own position by sponsoring a lost cause. The sooner the whole episode is forgotten, the better".

This kind of comparative approach shows up the rather smug

comfortableness and arrogance that seems to be a feature of most of the reactions to Mandela's call.

## MATURITY

Of course the "experts" are wheeled in – important political commentators, psychologists, teachers, children's experts. A psychiatrist consulted by the *Argus* said "a 14-year-old does not have the intellectual maturity to make a rational decision about how to vote" and a psychologist agreed: "It is generally accepted that a person of 14 is not mature by any stretch of the imagination and cannot be regarded as informed or sophisticated enough to have the vote."

"Experts" also pronounced women unfit to vote on the basis of their inferior intellect and lack of maturity. Writing in the *London Times* in 1921, Sir Almroth E



Wright warned that "no doctor can ever lose sight of the fact that the mind of woman is always threatened with danger from the reverberations of her physiological emergencies ... it is with such thoughts that the doctor lets his eyes rest upon the militant suffragist. He cannot shut them to the fact that there is mixed up with the women's movement much mental disorder".

### CUSTOMS AND LAWS

In his book, *"Escape from Childhood: The Needs and Rights of Children"*, John Holt reminds us that childhood is not a natural state but a rather recent invention. A passionate advocate of children's rights, he laments "all those attitudes and feelings, and also customs and laws, that put a great gulf or barrier between the young and their elders, and the world of their elders; that make it difficult or impossible for young people to make contact with the larger society around them, and, even more, to play any kind of active, responsible, useful part in it; that lock the young into 18 years or more of subserviency and dependency, and make of them a mixture of expensive nuisance, fragile treasure, slave and super-pet".

Holt says that one of the most important rights that should be available to the young is the right to vote. "It is first of all a matter of justice. To be in any way subject to the laws of a society without having any right or way to say what those laws should be is the most serious injustice."

He adds that "the possibility of voting will stimulate an interest in voting. The possibility of exercising responsibility draws people towards it".

Martin Hoyles points out in *"Changing Childhood"* that it was only in the 17th century that the concept of childhood arose which stressed innocence and weakness, and became linked with the idea of subservience or dependence. Noting that historically children have been involved in political issues, he says that of "all oppressed groups in society, children have perhaps the hardest task in asserting their right



*Nelson Mandela calls for the voting age to be lowered to 14 years.*

to equality. Indignation is often expressed that women or blacks are treated like children, but not so often that children are treated the way they are".

In *"Down with Children"*, Shulamith Firestone explains how the fiction of childhood parallels the fiction of femininity. Both women and children were considered asexual and thus "purer" than men. Their inferior status was ill-concealed under an elaborate "respect" while both were considered mentally deficient. The pedestal of adoration on which both were set made it hard for them to breathe. Moreover, because the class oppression of women and children is couched in the phraseology of "cute" it is much harder to fight than open oppression.

A final similarity to note in reactions could be called the prophecies of doom, the predictions of total chaos that people warn would be the inevitable result of such "absurd notions" being taken seriously. Contemporary readers are warned from the right that "the blacks are calling for the vote for 14-year-olds because they want to make South Africa ungovernable", and from the left AZAPO that "we must find a way of accommodating the youth while not ending up with a monster that could swallow us all".

The monster threatening to swallow the nation in 1877 was "petticoat government". A few years later in 1891, Samuel Smith, MP, was saying: "If we abandon the caution of the Anglo-Saxon race, and plunge into wild experiments like woman's suffrage, I much fear that dark days will befall this nation, and that the splendid fabric of centuries will totter to its fall".

### CHANGE THINGS

How would it change things for children to have the vote? How, for example, would it affect the situation and problems and needs of the 100 million streetchildren in the world if those in power depended on them for their vote?

Could it be that we don't want to let children vote for the same reasons men didn't want to let women vote? That we want to keep children as an oppressed, disenfranchised "class"? Could it be that in another 70 years from now, we might be amazed and embarrassed that there could have been a time that people did not consider it "right" and "normal" for children to have the vote?

*This article by Anne Schuster, a writer who has done research on children's rights and children in courts, originally appeared in Democracy in Action, 15 July 1993. ♦*



**A**ccording to SAP's Witwatersrand liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman, it is "in accordance with the National Peace Accord that police may use false number plates during execution of investigations." Opperman was responding to questions posed by MAYIBUYE about false number plates on police vehicles used by Detective W/O Gouws, who tried and failed to recruit ANCYL's Moroka branch member Thabo Ziya.

Gouws allegedly made lavish promises to Ziya – including a whopping R150 000 – if he were to spy on the ANC and his activist colleagues.

### **FALSE REGISTRATIONS**

Car registration plates used in this operation were PMN 977 T, an Opel Kadett; PBV 984 T, also Opel Kadett; and a new Toyota Venture, CB 263865. MAYIBUYE unravelled that the first number plate was registered under a box number which, in May 1982, was discovered to have belonged to a security police network in the Vaal. The second number plate is registered under the name of a black-owned filling station in Thokoza, although entrepreneur Philemon Ndaba sold the vehicle in 1991. And, as a result thereof, his life may be at risk. The last CB number plate, according to the Port Elizabeth licensing department, is non-existent.

When asked to comment about the results of investigations which showed that one of the number plates was traced to KwaZulu and the vehicle belonged to a KwaZulu cop, he said: "How do you expect a policeman to give away his cover ... I cannot tell you whether it is our vehicle or not."

He continued: "When police want to infiltrate drug organisations and other parties, they use false number plates."

The SAP's Logistics Department spokesperson Lieutenant Scott Snyman said such information was confidential and may not be com-

# **Police false car number plates – it's official!**

It is not a secret that the SAP sometimes officially use false registration numbers on their vehicles, a MAYIBUYE correspondent has learnt. This came up in a case where cars with false registration numbers were used by an officer trying to recruit a youth to spy against the ANC Youth League.

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municated telephonically. He said it was possible, however, that the number plates referred to might have been issued by his department for undercover work.

### **NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD**

On the other hand, SAP's PRO directorate Captain R Bloomberg said police recruited persons from all walks of life to give police information, but steadfastly said he was not prepared to comment on the number plates referred to.

The National Peace Accord states: "All official police vehicles shall have an identification number painted on the side, and all military vehicles acting in support of the police shall display an identification number on the side and no such number may be removed for as long as such military vehicles are used in support of the police, provided that this shall not apply to police vehicles which are required for official undercover work."

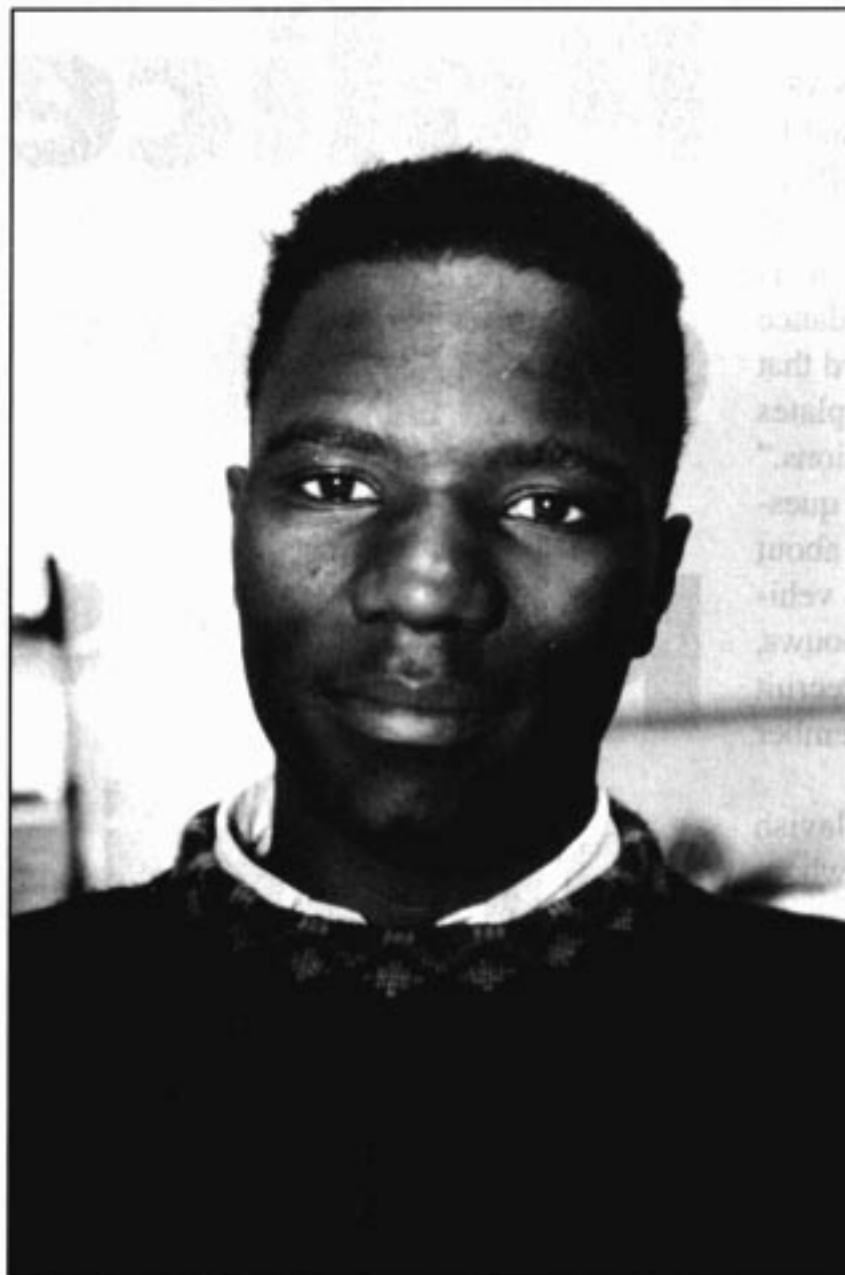
In the light of daily massacres of innocent residents by faceless

killers driving in vehicles which are untraceable – coupled with allegations of police complicity – this clause needs to be reviewed urgently. Otherwise the clause licences the police to do what they like. Who is to decide whether a job is undercover or not, and is it undercover work to illegally spy on the ANCYL?

### VAAL MONSTER

In addition, allegations about “Vaal monster” Khethisi Kheswa having driven around with policepersons and the IFP’s KwaMadala hostel residents are galore. And, in the recent massacre of 19 Sebokeng residents, a vehicle believed to have been used by the assailants was set ablaze. It is not yet clear under whose name, company or organisation the vehicle was registered, or whether indeed it had registration numbers.

Since police may use false number plates, and as a result of allega-



*Thabo Ziya, ANCYL's Moroka branch member, fears for his life.*

tions of police complicity in violence, the killers might have been the police. Because they may use false number plates, it would be expensive

life: “How will my family know my fate if Det W/O Gouws were to arrest or abduct me while using false number plates?” ♦

and difficult, if not impossible, to unmask them.

### COMPLICITY

As was reported in the *New Nation* (July 16-21), police reportedly confirmed to the ANC that a Casspir had followed one of the Vaal killers’ car but added that this was in an attempt to apprehend the suspects and not to assist them. Now the question is: were the police out of their senses that they could not think of writing down the registration number of that car or did they know that it was of no use as it was false?

There are countless cases of activists being fired at from speeding cars, strangers in unmarked cars keeping surveillance on their homes, while others disappear into thin air. Now, Ziya, who offended the police by refusing to work for them, fears for his

## DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION DIRECTORY

**A publication of the Development Contact Network - a development resource and networking agency in Durban, Natal. The Development Education Directory facilitates the sharing of information by providing an accessible listing of development organisations in the Durban Functional Region. These are arranged in special interest categories such as Education Action and Policy Groups; Early and Special Education, Student Tuition, Training, Literacy, etc. The particular focus is on those organisations which empower people through imparting skills and developing individual abilities.**

**ORDER FORM:**

**NAME/ORGANISATION:** \_\_\_\_\_

**ADDRESS:** \_\_\_\_\_

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# Hold it, this process is flawed

**H**arry Gwala said in one *Sunday Nation* column: "We have conceded far too much in negotiations and that it will take a lot of hard work to convince the people that the National Party is not embarking on a double agenda."

Most people, particularly those that are at the receiving end of continuing counter-revolutionary violence, will agree with him and further doubt that the process will eventually deliver. This doubt is compounded by the sporadic delaying tactics by unrepresentative spoilers in the negotiation process and the government getting cold feet as 27 April 1994 gets closer.

## **LOSING SUPPORT**

For my part I agree that the ANC has conceded much more than any other party at the World Trade Centre. The organisation is even running the risk of losing support from its members as in the public eye the ANC is retreating on fundamental positions in the likes of the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, democratic majority rule vis-a-vis Government of National

**By conceding a bit too much, the ANC is demonstrating its ability to to put the national interest well above its own, something that all parties worth their salt will have to copy, writes Jack Mokobi, a freelance political journalist.**

Unity, the re-incorporation of nominally independent states, impartial control of security forces in the run-up to elections, the powers of the Transitional Executive Council as opposed to those of the tri-cameral parliament during transition.

There is a perception, founded or otherwise, that the state machinery

will remain, to a large extent, intact during transition and that this will impact negatively on the depth of democratic transformation of South Africa.

Returning to the question of the ANC concession, I believe that once again the organisation is demonstrating its ability to put the national interest well above its own. Something that all parties worth their salt will have to copy if this country stand a chance to resolve its problems as speedily and peacefully as possible.

## **ULTERIOR MOTIVES**

The ANC cannot afford to be seen to be stalling the process simply because other parties do not agree with its positions. Intentions of those bent on delaying the process to buy time for their own selfish ulterior motives at the expense of the majority of South Africans must be exposed.

Our patience has been too stretched and we cannot afford to sit and watch as those that fear the advent of democracy game with the future of our country.

We cannot begin to debate and finalise the form of state at the World Trade Centre. Only rules of the game should be the subject of



*At the World Trade Centre: "The ANC has conceded more than any other party... demonstrating its ability to put the national interest well above its own".*

negotiations at this stage. It is absurd for parties like Inkatha, NP, DP and Bophuthatswana mini government to attempt to impose a federal form of state on the country without testing the feelings of the people on this matter and continue to make noise about democracy.

#### **MANDATE**

I must also put it clearly to the parties at the World Trade Centre, all of them without any exception, that they have not been mandated by the people of this country to draft a constitution for this country. In fact most of them have, with respect, such pathetic following that they will not come any closer to be elected into a constitution-making body for a new non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The point I am making is that negotiators at the World Trade Centre have no moral right and authority to dictate the future of the country. Only elected delegates in a non-racial democratic, free and fair election will have this exclusive right.

What we now see is a fervent attempt to entrench existing privileges. To steer the process in such a way that some self-appointed homeland leaders will retain their fiefdoms and an attempt by the National Party to maintain leverage during the transition as well as in the next government after 27 April 1994.

#### **APARTHEID BENEFICIARIES**

South Africans should not allow negotiations to be abused by erstwhile beneficiaries of apartheid. The negotiation process should be inclusive, but serve only to set the stage for transition and prepare for elections to a constitution-making body. I believe this should be the main, if not the only brief of the Negotiation Council.

To attempt to bind an elected sovereign constitution-making body with pre-negotiated agreements by an unrepresentative body is a gross indication of how flawed the present negotiation process is. I am not sug-

gesting, however, that it should be abandoned. The alternative is unthinkable. All that can be done is to soldier ahead, leave spoilers behind and stick to the April 1994 election date in the best interest of the country as a whole.

#### **CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY**

Let me in conclusion respond to a question common in both the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and Inkatha Freedom Party camps in their reaction to the setting of an election date. "What are the elections for? What are we going to vote for?" They often ask, emphasising though that they are not opposed to elections in principle.

Apart from the question of labels attached to the structure, there is common agreement not only at the World Trade Centre, but outside as well, that the elections are for a structure that will sit down and draft a constitution for South Africa, call it a Constituent Assembly if you so wish. ♦



# The materials revolution

**T**he adaptation of natural materials such as stone, clay, wood, animal bone and skin for economic uses is closely linked to human development. These humble beginnings in the use of materials have led us to a stage where an understanding of the basic structure of physical matter allows us to develop a material for a specific application by building it up atom by atom.

Advances in materials science have had dramatic effects on the world economy. In addition to meeting the needs of a specific application, materials science creates opportunities and provides society with new ways to address such problems as the scarcity of resources and the maintenance of economic growth.

## IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

It is therefore important for government, industry and financial bodies that the definition and implementation of strategies that maximize opportunities created by materials science is brought about. The indirect effect of advanced materials is just as important as the direct one in that, generally, advanced materials are not an end product in themselves but are components of products such as cars, electronic goods and aircraft.

The multiplier effect of advanced materials is therefore very significant in that they can give birth to new industries and breathe new life into existing ones, thereby increas-

Ignoring the materials revolution would be extremely detrimental to the country, writes **Raven Naidoo** of the ANC Western Cape Science and Technology Group.



ing the possibility of job creation. While the advantages of high-tech materials to the consumer is abundantly clear, it is not surprising that, as a product themselves, advanced materials have a high value-added proportion and are good revenue earners. For example, high-temperature, high strength plastics and coating materials such as Teflon are expensive commodities themselves.

## COMMUNICATIONS

An especially important aspect of advanced materials is the ease with which they are replacing conventional raw materials. An illustration of this is provided by copper. While

there is still a fair amount of demand for mined copper-ore, increased efficiency of usage and recycling of copper has dropped the demand substantially. In addition, copper's use as a conductor is being challenged by other metals and the development of high-temperature superconductors. In communication applications copper is almost obsolete, having been replaced by optical fibres.

These aspects are particularly important in South Africa's economic development as extreme pressure will be exerted on the economy as advanced materials continue to replace the demand for natural materials. Advanced materials can assist South Africa to leap-frog the issue facing many developing countries. This is especially true in the rapid construction of low-cost housing, the development of transport and communication network and the provision of renewable energy sources such as solar powered electricity and wind and water power system.

## ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

Increased production and consumption of advanced materials, however, is not a panacea. It brings with it new economic and environmental challenges that are likely to engage us in debate for many years to come. But it is nevertheless widely acknowledged that the materials revolution is a key factor shaping the global economy. To ignore this revolution would be extremely detrimental to the well-being of our country. ♦

# The PWV Women's League saga

**T**he Women's League National Executive Committee (NEC) decided to suspend the PWV Women's League REC after a plan by a few members of the REC to mobilise innocent women to demonstrate against the ANC. The main purpose of this action was to bring the organisation into disrepute to promote personal interests, incite members of the ANC to protest, not in a constitutional manner, and to discredit members of the National Working Committee in the eyes of the public.

A sub-regional meeting that took place after the demonstration decided to suspend the whole REC so as to facilitate inquiry without interference from any of the members. Winnie Mandela was chairperson at the time and at the head of the controversy.

## COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

A draft report of the commission of inquiry stated that there was ample proof that the group exploited the deep support for the ANC amongst the squatting community to their own advantage and persuaded these people to protest on a false pretext. Asked about the demonstration, some of the

So much has been said about the ANC Women's League suspension of the PWV Women's League Regional Executive Committee that most people have lost track of the main reason for the suspension.

More disturbing is the fact that the battle was actively taken up by the media, which unfortunately centred the issue around Winnie Mandela. **MAYIBUYE** spoke to **Getrude Shope** and **Baleka Kgositsile**, respectively the President and Secretary General of the ANC Women's League.

women said they were demonstrating against the government's interference with ANC matters and Winnie Mandela.

The League NEC discussed the matter and decided to uphold the suspension pending an inquiry. "We felt strongly that the demonstration was a serious political transgression," Getrude Shope said.

Before announcement to the public, the ANC NEC was informed of the decision. The group to be suspended was also informed. Organisers of the demonstration were called to a meeting but chose to ignore it.



## SUSPENSION

During the suspension, the League noted with concern that some REC members, mainly the organisers of the demonstration, were very defiant, expressed their grievances mainly through the press and were not willing to attend meetings called by the League to address and resolve their problems. They continued to call separate meetings, confusing some women.

A meeting to review the suspensions took place in May and resolved that the suspension be lifted



on all members of the REC except five. These were Winnie Mandela, Nompumelelo Madlala, Gwen Mahlangu, Marjorie Nkomo and Sally Peterson.

The reasons for their further suspension were that the five had, in the intervening period, behaved in a way that has put the ANC and the Women's League in disrepute.

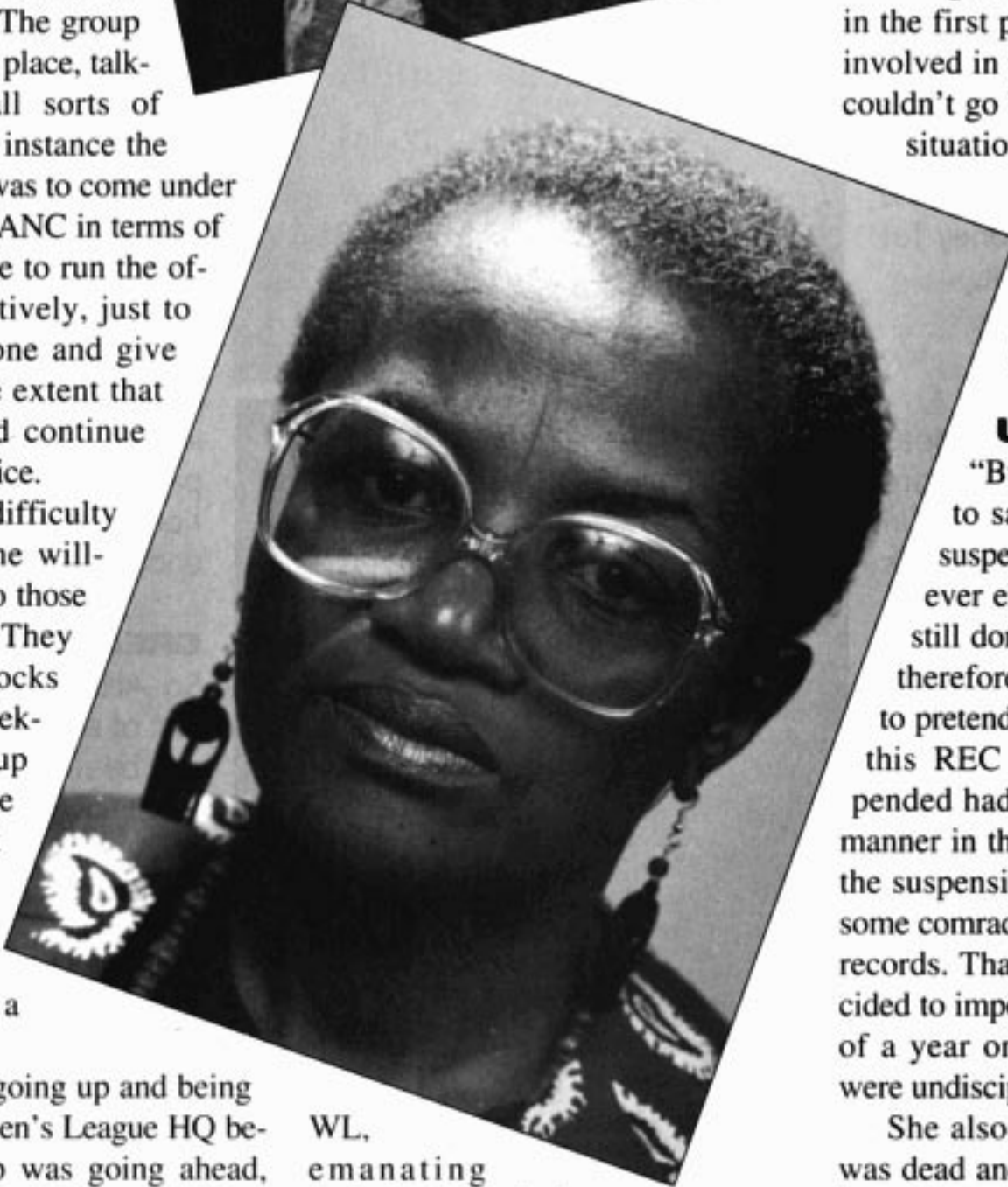
Baleka Kgositsile, Secretary General of the League, outlines some of the problems: "The group was all over the place, talking, making all sorts of statements. For instance the regional office was to come under the NEC of the ANC in terms of finding someone to run the office administratively, just to answer the phone and give guidance to the extent that branches would continue phoning that office.

"They had difficulty finding someone willing to move into those offices. They changed the locks but over the weekend the group changed those locks and put theirs. They used the office and the phone, and ran a high bill.

"Bills were going up and being sent to the Women's League HQ because the group was going ahead, printing T-shirts and all sorts of things in the name of the WL. Our Treasurer kept on paying and paying. In fact one time she ended up in court because we were being sued. So there were a lot of inconveniences of that sort to the

WL, emanating basically from the fact that the comrades had told themselves that they were defying," says Baleka.

Their activities cost the ANCWL a lot financially and politically. Also, their utterances can



**Getrude Shope and Baleka Kgositsile,** respectively President and Secretary General of the ANC Women's League.

only be described as not coming from loyal disciplined cadres.

Says Baleka: "We decided to lift the suspension of the others, especially in as far as it had immobilised very good and loyal cadres who, in the first place, hadn't even been involved in this demonstration. We couldn't go beyond a year with this situation in the region, with elections coming and no proper structures to supervise and guide the work of the League.

#### **UNDISCIPLINED**

"But the meeting went on to say that you can't lift a suspension and rush to whatever else and pretend that we still don't have a problem. We therefore said we are not going to pretend that all 20 members of this REC which had been suspended had behaved in a uniform manner in the past year and just lift the suspension. We then instructed some comrades to look through their records. That was done and we decided to impose a further suspension of a year on those comrades who were undisciplined," says Baleka.

She also points out that not all was dead and everything quiet during this period. An August inter-branch meeting of the League appointed a sub-committee, which operated from HQ. "It did a lot of work, going to the sub-regions, launching branches, etc." ♦

# Review

# Artistic graves

by Hein Grosskopf, Ravan Press

**H**ein Grosskopf's political thriller *Artistic Graves* therefore promised something new and exciting. At last! Someone who's not so serious! Someone who wants fear and suspense to grip me late into the night while the rest of the household sleeps oblivious of the intense drama unfolding in my head.

The protagonist of *Artistic Graves* is Ben Benadie. From the shadowy origins of a poor and unhappy Afrikaans family, Ben took up the career that seemed natural to him: housebreaking and theft. And then for reasons which go back into his deep and dark past, and which aren't fully explained, Ben's life takes an unexpected turn and he begins to steal money for the liberation movement.

## MILITARY OPERATIONS

Ben is good at what he does and becomes more and more involved. After training in Angola, he gets politics and is trusted with some daring and serious military operations. But his life and those of his comrades in the underground are threatened by a high level security problem. Running scared and forced to kill to stay alive, Ben begins to track the source of the problem, against all the rules of survival in underground work.

The book undoubtedly draws on Grosskopf's own experiences of the underground, and it is difficult not to wonder whether Benadie is Grosskopf. Grosskopf, I'm sure you recall, was once the regime's most wanted man. Although the details of his guerilla activities as an MK combatant have never

been disclosed either by himself or the government, the desperation with which he was sought made him a hero to millions. Very likely, he too was good at what he did!

Apart from this curiosity about Benadie's character, there is also a more serious weakness in the book. Benadie is not believable. The protagonist of a thriller must spring to life. Benadie lacks depth. We are told he is not an intellectual – but he is an

intellectual. We are told he is a low-life criminal – but he is too aware and conscious of his tarnished surroundings to be really at home with them.

These contradictions worried me – and I don't like to feel worried when I'm reading a thriller. Even less do I like to be bored. In the first 50 pages or so the stage is set for the entrance of Benadie's character and we learn his sketchy past. But the pace is slow and gets too serious, too reflective with not enough action.

## GREAT THRILLER

So *Artistic Graves* fails the test of a great thriller – it cannot be read in one sitting. In fact, if the truth be told, I had to read the middle before I could read the beginning.

But even if it doesn't succeed in some important aspects, it is still a book you must read. The plot does pick up momentum and succeeds in creating suspense.

And apart from this, *Artistic Graves* is about a slice of reality we all experienced and a perspective of that reality that is completely new, refreshing and previously unexplored. ♦ CP

Few South African thrillers have been written. Our writers have been more concerned with serious literature rather than writing for purposes of popular entertainment.

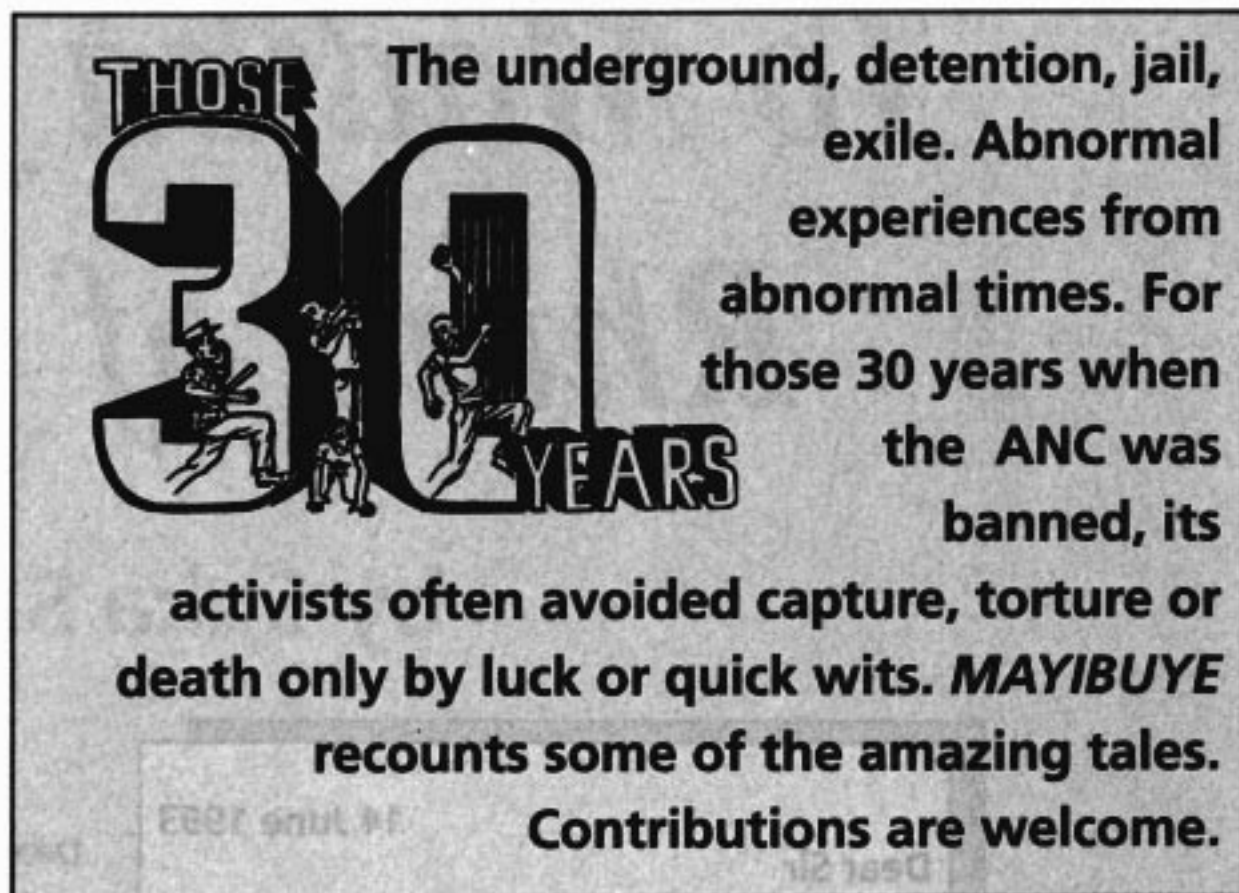
## ARTISTIC GRAVES



Hein Grosskopf



# “Die heksman”



For years my colleagues referred to me as “Die Heksman” which, loosely translated, means the wizard or magician.

And for a long time they – and some security policepersons – believed that I had supernatural powers. I used to chuckle in private, knowing that it was only sheer luck and good timing that earned me the reputation.

The post-1976 era was one of the most trying times in the lives of a lot of activists.

With constant police raids and detention without trial, a lot of us who had to operate inside the country had to leave our homes and go into hiding.

But we still found time to address meetings, making a hasty entry onto the stage and leaving soon thereafter.

I was returning to “base” after addressing a meeting at the University of the North. With me in the car were two comrades who were not as hot as I was. As we approached Johannesburg I felt this uncontrollable urge to pay a fleeting visit to my family in Chiawelo. I had not seen them for months and on this particular evening I decided to take a chance.

As our battered Volkswagen Beetle neared Uncle Charlie, it stalled. Nothing we did could get it on the road again. We decided to leave it there and hailed a taxi. As we neared Baragwanath Hospital we drove straight into a roadblock. Our taxi was waved through without much ado.

I abandoned the idea of going home for safety reasons. The following day a colleague went to pick up the car and he got it started without any problem.

Later I learnt from contacts at John Voster Square that the police set up the roadblock because they had been tipped off that I would be driving to Johannesburg in a red Beetle. All they were

looking for was a red Beetle, hence they waved our taxi through. My colleagues believed I had used magical powers to stall the car and to let the police wave us through.

The following incident, about two months later, only served to fuel rumours that I was a magician.

I arrived home one evening and my parents told me that the police had not been there for more than six months. It seemed they had accepted the fact that I was not living at home.

I retired to my bedroom and duly took off my clothes. Just then a sixth sense warned me to leave. I went out of the house through the kitchen door and jumped the fence into the house next door. Nobody in the house saw me leave.

In a flash there were police vans screeching outside as heavily armed men surrounded my home. I watched all this from the safety of the kitchen window next door.

When the police asked my mother if I was home, she said “yes”.

Now that they had landed the big fish they wanted to make a dramatic entrance. I learnt that the police had positioned two men to guard my bedroom door and two to guard the window outside. They went to the cars outside to inform the officer in charge and John Voster that I would be spending the night there.

They allegedly burst into the room, guns at the ready, and couldn’t believe their eyes when they found that I was not there. They checked the burglar proofing on the window and questioned the police at the door and the window.

One cop was overheard saying: “Hy was hier. Sy broekie is nog warm. Ek dink hierdie man is ‘n heksman” (He was here. His pants are still warm. I think this man is a witch.” ♦

# To Madiba from the Rhino of Ulundi

by Suka Sambe

The Rhino Lodge  
PO Ulundi

14 June 1993

Dear Sir

With the boisterous seas of the South African political scene colsing in on him, the bespectacled "rhino of Ulundi" has got one thing left for him to do: give Madiba a ring and discuss future job prospects. Now the "rhino" literally lives in the Bermudas, as the saying goes, considering the fact that the reincorporation of the self-governing bantustans is a matter of months. But if the NP government's intended step is going to push the rhino of Ulundi over the cliff, he has been standing on it.

It is reported that the rhino has even acquired the services of an image-maker experienced in sprucing up and marketing the remade faces of the feudal lords, dictators, and a salmagundi of political scoundrels. What brand of scalpel this good Samaritan hopes to use to peel away many years' layers of cosmetic cream from the rhino-of-Ulundi's face, is the devil's guess. Only time will tell.

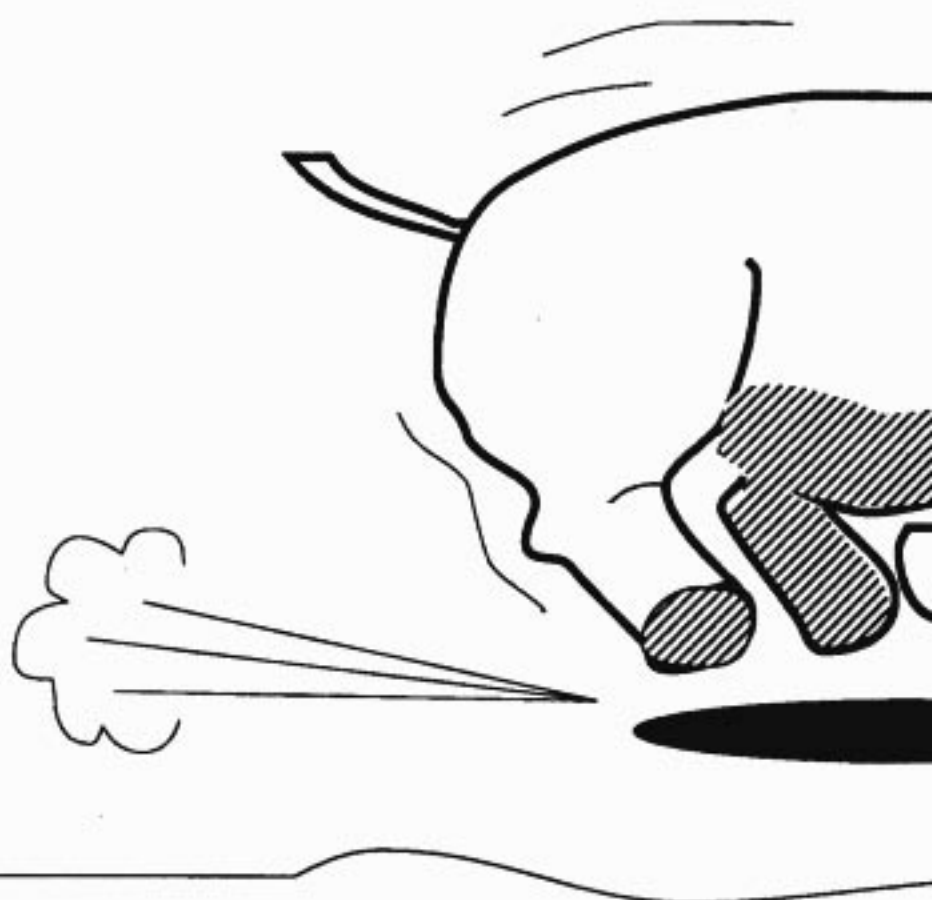
Coming back to the rhino's phone call to Madiba: before Madiba can even consider to lift his handset, he needs the ANC's NEC to consider matching the NP government's bold step with that of thier own, namely, by considering drawing up the *Reallocation and Assignment of Bantustan Dicators and Feudal Lords Within the Democratic Movement Bill*. "Nyet," counters the victims of bantustan reign of terror.

But let me abide by the democratic principles and imagine that the rhino is prepared, alternatively, to put his case in writing:

Dear Madiba,

**APPLICATION FOR REALLOCATION AND ASSIGNMENT WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT SEEING THAT THE IMAGE-MAKER HAS RECOSMETISED MY FACE**

**B**etween you and me, Sir, I realise now that I am trapped within the troubled waters of the Bermuda Triangle. The NP government seems to have left me in the lurch, seeing that the sun is setting on my career. They only advise me "take the pain". They say that





not only have I become a Frankenstein's monster but I also become a cog in the machine of their plans. The thugs that I am alleged to have trained and regimented to go out and execute officially-sanctioned pogroms against the oppressed masses have gone out of control.

But as your fellow compatriot, Sir, I crave to beat my spears into ploughshares. Let us forgive and forget. Let us allow the dove of peace to settle on the bloody spear.

(Perhaps Madiba may wish at this juncture to interrupt the rhino's incantation and warn him, on a point of order, to behave, because the rhino must first reveal the details of the sins which he wishes the masses to forgive and forget. Madiba may also wish to remind the rhino, suppliant as he is, that the dove of peace can no longer settle on the ruby-bladed spear because it is already dead: pangas and other cultural weapons hacked the living lights out of it.)

I am a renegade former ANC Youth League member who was led up the garden path, and agreed. But now, Sir, the unfolding historical process has helped remove the cobwebs from my eyes. Now I can see clearly that the ideologists of apartheid reconstructed my ethnic identity and politicised it in such a way that I found myself going right against the grain of the liberation tradition.

Please, Sir, reply as soon as possible to my application because, as I write this letter, my lieutenants have become disillusioned and are jumping up and down. They can't wait to jump the queue and join you before I do so myself because they realise that "Now is the time, vote ANC!" (Notice the opportunism.) They threaten to maroon me on an island surrounded by shark-infested sea waters. Ever since you pointed out at Madadeni that your party is a government-in waiting, things are in such a state of flux this side that I am beginning to take my lieutenants' threats for what they are.

Forgive my clumsiness, Sir, I have to jump backwards and forwards between my points. I have to refer back to the scalpel surgery of the image-maker which, no doubt, resulted in my new-found glasnost and perestroika, I beg your pardon, I mean Ulundistroika. At last Mdladlane was politically free to lead his Sadtu delegation into the corridors of the so-called lion's den.

There ain't no lions here, Sir. Who said there is no free political activity in my fiefdom? It's a fiefdom of democracy, Sir! (Watch the contradiction characteristic of the feudal lords' statements.) Now Natu and Sadtu can can walk side by side. But wait, Sir, my lucidity occasionally evaporates and I have a relapse of the same old disease of intolerance. Who said I am about to recognise Sadtu? We didn't discuss the question of recognition!

Sir, forgive my ramblings, I am becoming politically senile but wish to spend my last few sunset years in your bosom contributing to the struggle for liberation. I hope I am proving my honesty, Sir, I am not like those racist white farmers who flog their farm workers and expect us to sing: "God save the Boer, the farmer!"

I am rambling again, Sir.

Sorry, Sir, I am applying for a post but please first accpet me and I will then specify which post it is.

(Again, Madiba may have to warn the rhino of ULundi that the days of dicating the terms of employment are gone. The days of chicanery "is weg".)

Yours faithfully, Sir  
The Rhino of Ulundi  
(With a sharp horn) ♦



# African National Congress

51 Plein Street  
Johannesburg 2001  
PO Box 61884  
Marshalltown 2107



Tel: (011) 330-7000  
Fax: (011) 333-4509  
Telex: 421252

## OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The Children of Soweto Action Centre (COSAC) Drama Academy is a project being run in the needy township of Soweto. It is a project serving the congested township through which many young people of our deprived community can find their cultural worth. Without assistance by donors from sympathetic countries this valuable initiative will be lost to the community.

The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, after assessing the project, and the services which it provide to our people, hereby requests that the project should be rendered any assistance – material, financial, or any other – which will be deemed necessary to ensure its continuation.

Yours in the struggle for democracy

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read 'N. Mandela'.

NELSON MANDELA  
PRESIDENT

African National Congress  
Johannesburg  
02 December 1992

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**The People Shall Govern!**



# "I am a child of the ghetto and I am going to dance"

*"My name is Lerato. Lerato Xaba.*

*I am 8 years old and I am a pupil of  
the Children of Soweto Drama Academy.*

*I have many interests - singing, laughing, acting,  
but I love dancing most of all.*

*I dance all the time, everywhere. I dance to school, in my  
mother's little kitchen, and I dance as I play.*

*Even as I sleep, I dance. Some day,  
I am going to dance on stage."*



## COSAC

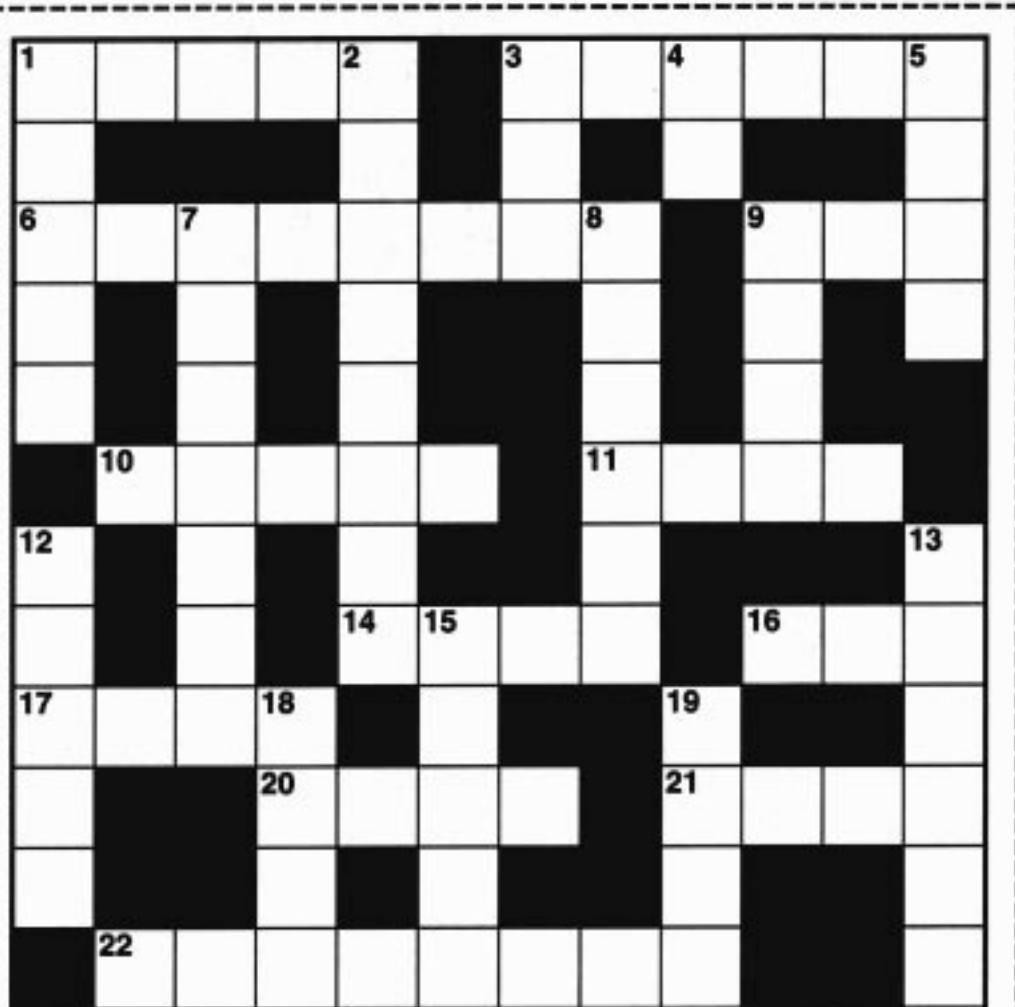
EDUCATIONAL AND ARTISTIC TRUST

*You can help make Lerato's dream come true  
by donating generously to the Children of  
Soweto Drama Academy in Newtown. Lerato  
and many other children receive lessons in  
drama, singing, dance, etc. in temporary  
quarter in the Market Theatre area.*

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COSAC Trust,  
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# MAYIBUYE XWORD No 24



Name: .....

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Postal code: .....

👉 **WIN R100 AND A MAYIBUYE T-SHIRT**

👉 **TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ANC**

## Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 22



### Across

- Union for taxi drivers.
- Yusuf Dadoo was one by profession.
- Numsa and Sanco leader.
- Bloemfontein is its capital.
- Group of Southern African languages.
- Longest river in Africa.
- Follow instructions.
- US intelligence service.
- Feeding intravenously by liquid.
- Not written.
- Eastern Cape ANC and trade union leader executed in 1964.
- Set for 27 April 1994.

### Down

- Led the recent strike by municipal workers.
- ... we Sizwe is popularly referred to as MK.
- Eduardo ... Santos is President of Angola.
- Member of Cosag.
- To lay to ...* means to bury in a grave.
- Secretary of the ANC Western Cape.
- Town in the Western Transvaal.
- Egg-shaped.
- Led the recent strike by teachers.
- Visited Taiwan recently.
- Blow up with explosives.
- Head of the Catholic Church.
- Was Ugandan dictator.

**WINNER!**

The winner of **MAYIBUYE XWORD No 24** is **Simon Ndlovu**  
**31 Victoria Road**  
**Woodstock**  
**7925**  
**CONGRATULATIONS!**

### RULES

- The first correct entry drawn wins.
- Only originals and hand-drawn facsimiles will be considered.
- The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- MAYIBUYE**, DIP and DPE staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
- Send answers to: **MAYIBUYE XWORD No 24**, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
- Closing date: 15 October 1993.
- See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, November 1993.



# Exciting new competition



**Enter the MAYIBUYE Landscape Competition and Win a mountain bicycle!**

## SACP TICKETS TO CHINA COMPETITION

**AND THE WINNER IS!  
RODERICK COWIE  
FROM UTENHAGE IN  
THE EASTERN CAPE  
CONGRATULATIONS!**

### QUESTIONS

1. How many Airscape competitions did **MAYIBUYE** run up to now?  
• Four      • Five      • Six
2. To receive all issues of **MAYIBUYE** in a year you need to send:  
• R 36      • R 18      • R 33
3. Where do you buy your monthly copy of **MAYIBUYE**?  
a. CNA      b. Street corner news stands  
c. Cafe      d. House to house sellers  
e. Place of employment      f. Subscription
4. Name three articles which appeared in the issue of **MAYIBUYE** in which you found this competition.

### RULES

1. Only one entry per person.
2. Send your entry to **MAYIBUYE Airscape Competition No 4**, PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
  - Print your full name, address, phone number (if any) and answers on a separate sheet of paper or postcard.
  - Cut out from the cover the triangle containing the words "WIN A MOUNTAIN BICYCLE" and send it with your entry.
3. Closing date 15 September 1993.
4. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
5. Employees of the ANC and their immediate families may not enter.
6. Winner to be announced in the October 1993 issue of **MAYIBUYE**.

**Sponsored by Shereno Printers**

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*The course prepares candidates for entry requirements for National Diploma courses at Peninsula Technikon in the following fields:*

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- 2. Clothing Design
- 3. Photography

## C. SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

- 1. Higher Diploma in Education (Commerce)
- 2. National Teachers' Diploma (Workshop)
- 3. Further Diploma in Education (Commerce)
- 4. National Higher Diploma for Post School Education
- 5. National Higher Diploma in Science and Mathematics

## D. SCHOOL OF SCIENCE

### 1. DEPARTMENT OF PARA-MEDICAL SCIENCE

- 1.1 National Diploma in Medical Technology
- 1.2 National Diploma in Radiography

### 2. DEPARTMENT OF DENTAL SERVICES

- 2.1 National Diploma in Dental Technology
- 2.2 National Higher Diploma in Dental Technology
- 2.3 Certificate for Dental Chair Assistants

### 3. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

- 3.1 National Diploma in Public Health
- 3.2 National Higher Diploma in Public Health
- 3.3 Diploma in Community Nursing Science

### 4. DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

- 4.1 National Diploma in Food Technology
- 4.2 National Higher Diploma in Food Technology
- 4.3 National Diploma in Horticulture
- 4.4 National Diploma in Parks and Recreation Administration

### 5. DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL SCIENCES

- 5.1 National Diploma in Analytical Chemistry
- 5.2 National Higher Diploma in Analytical Chemistry
- 5.3 National Diploma in Chemical Engineering

## E. SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, CIVIL ENGINEERING AND BUILDING

### 1. DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ENGINEERING AND SURVEYING

#### 1.1 Surveying

- 1.1.1 National Diploma (Surveying)
- 1.1.2 National Higher Diploma (Surveying)
- 1.1.3 National Diploma in Technology

#### 1.2 Civil Engineering

- 1.2.1 National Diploma (Civil Engineering)
- 1.2.2 National Higher Diploma (Civil Engineering)
- 1.2.3 National Diploma in Technology

## 2. DEPARTMENT OF BUILDING AND ARCHITECTURE

### 2.1 Building

- 2.1.1 National Diploma (Building Surveying & Construction Supervision)
- 2.1.2 National Higher Diploma (Building Surveying & Construction Supervision)

### 2.2 Architecture

- 2.2.1 National Diploma (Architecture)
- 2.2.2 National Higher Diploma (Architecture)

## F. SCHOOL OF ELECTRICAL AND MECHANICAL ENGINEERING AND COMPUTER DATA PROCESSING

### 1. DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

#### 1.1 Heavy Current

- 1.1.1 National Diploma (Electrical Engineering)
- 1.1.2 National Higher Diploma (Electrical Engineering)

#### 2.1 Light Current

- 2.1.1 National Diploma (Electrical Engineering)
- 2.1.2 National Higher Diploma (Electrical Engineering)
- 2.1.3 National Diploma in Technology

### 2. DEPARTMENT OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERING

- 2.1 National Diploma (Mechanical Engineering)
- 2.2 National Higher Diploma (Mechanical Engineering)

### 3. DEPARTMENT OF COMPUTER DATA PROCESSING

- 3.1 Diploma in Computer Data Processing

## G. SCHOOL OF BUSINESS STUDIES

### 1. FULL-TIME COURSES

- 1.1 National Diploma in Company Administration (N.A.M)
- 1.2 National Diploma in Cost Accounting (N.C.A)
- 1.3 National Diploma in Internal Auditing (N.I.A)
- 1.4 National Diploma in Management (N.D.M)
- 1.5 National Diploma in Personnel Management (N.P.S)
- 1.6 National Diploma in Marketing and Sales Management (N.S.M)

## HOW TO APPLY

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## Selection

Selection will be done through written assessment exercises on communication skills, numerical skills and functional mathematics

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Applications must reach us not later than 11 October 1993 for 24 January 1994 intake, and not later than May 1994 for July 1994 intake



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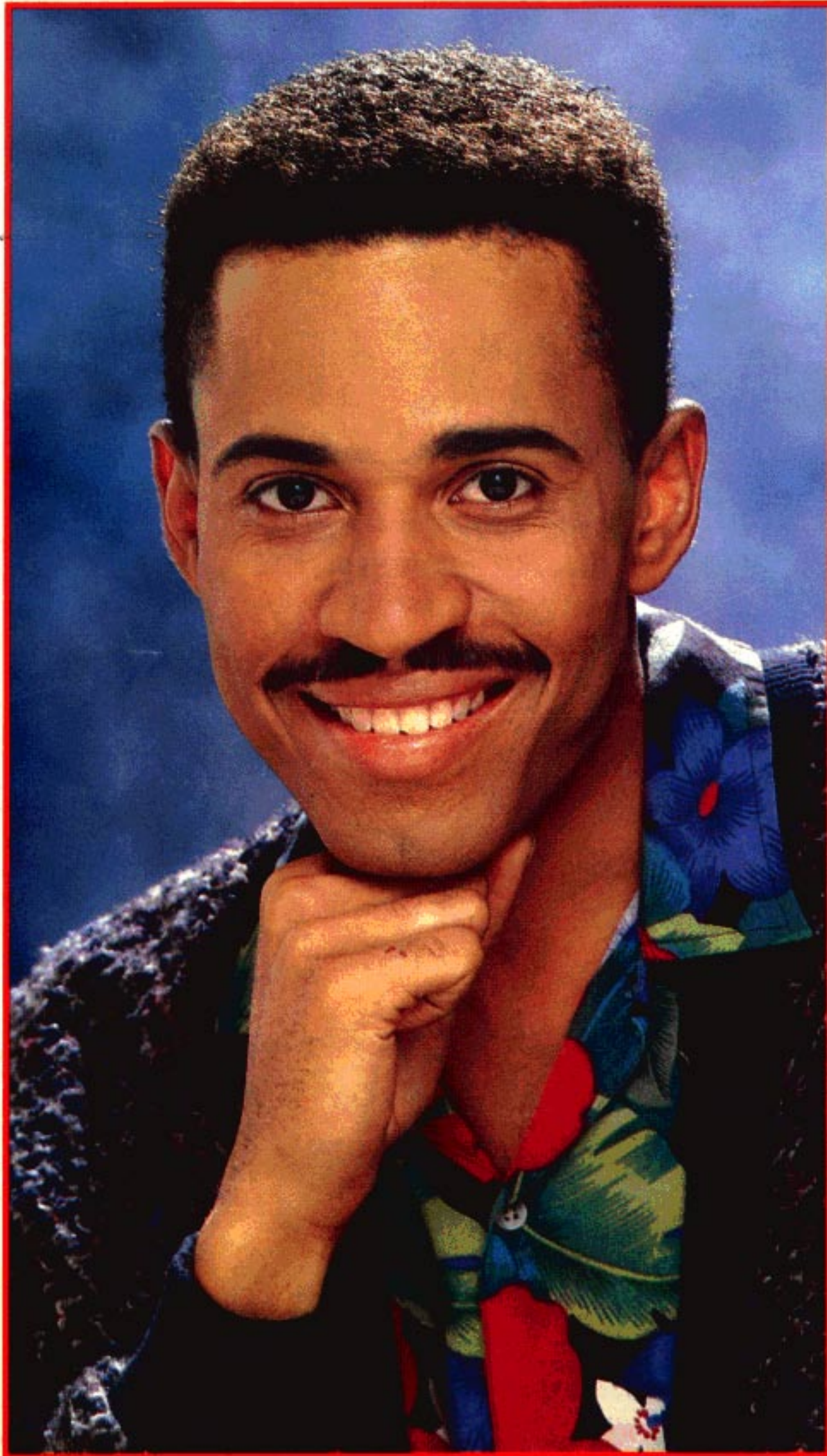


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# Proof that So Curl is best



Anthony Smith is a reputable African American businessman. His home is in Pasadena, Los Angeles, California, USA. He is a well travelled man with contacts in both Europe, Asia and Africa. His knowledge of black cosmetics, hair care products in particular, is beyond doubt.

During his recent visit to South Africa we asked him to try our new So Curl for long lasting curls. His response was overwhelming, "Right on brothers . . . Right on . . . You compare with the best in America. I mean you are the best," he responded with enthusiasm.

We are not surprised by Mr Smith's endorsement of our products. Our new So Curl is another example of our commitment to product quality. A designer sculpting Gel and a no drip Spray that gives hair a wet look yet maintains hair curly and dry looking.

After Mr Smith's overwhelming endorsement of our new So Curl need we say more about our wide range of hair care products? Yes, one final word, "Thank you Mr Smith."

You can ask Anthony Smith about our new So Curl or better still try it yourself. It is available at all leading hair salons and retail outlets countrywide.



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