

JUNE 1990



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

ANC DELEGATION TO CAPE TOWN MEETING



Back row from left: Archie Gumede, Ahmed Kathrada, Joe Modise, Beyers Naude, Thabo Mbeki. Front row from left: Ruth Mompoti, Alfred Nzo (Secretary General of the ANC), Nelson Mandela (Deputy President), Joe Slovo, Walter Sisulu, Cheryl Carolus.

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The above are South African times

THE DOOR OPENS A CRACK

"In so far as gaining citizenship rights and opportunities for the unfettered development of the African people, who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly, at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation?"

The passage above was contained in the text of a public statement in 1952 by the late President-General of the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli. He was responding to the racist government's dismissal of him as a chief because of his refusal to resign from the ANC. The last 38 years have seen that door continue to be barred to the ANC, except if it would abandon its principles and vision of a democratic and non-racial society.

On May 2 this year, that door was opened a crack. It was opened after that moderation had turned into anger and a determination to respond to the violence of the successive apartheid governments with violence.

F W de Klerk and his government have broken with the past and decided that that door so violently slammed in the face of the oppressed people must now be opened, albeit a crack, to see and know the persons who are outside. That is a brave step for which they must certainly be congratulated. We extend these congratulations knowing full well that this is only the beginning and that the pressure will still have to be maintained in order to speed up the process of change in South Africa.

The meeting was about removing the obstacles that stand in the way of any meaningful negotiations on the future of South Africa. What this means is that for the ANC the decisions made by De Klerk to unban it and release some of its leaders were not enough. They did not create conditions for free political activity for the ANC and a host of other organisations which are opposed to the government's apartheid system.

High, therefore, on the agenda of the meeting

were issues which the ANC felt should be dealt with in order to ensure that a process of negotiations is entered into in which all parties involved will not be shackled by any laws, regulations or decrees. The De Klerk government, of course, had its own views about what the major obstacles are to genuine negotiations taking place.

What emerged as an important factor in this meeting, right from the first day, is that the regime had come to accept that it cannot deal with the ANC in any way other than as equals. As the Deputy President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, stated at the beginning of the meeting, there was going to be no master and no servant in the talks.

While the leaders of the ruling Nationalist Party and the ANC met, thousands of political prisoners remained locked behind prison bars; the State of Emergency, which interferes with political activity and gives the police and army the right to "crack down" on anti-apartheid demonstrators had not been removed; laws such as the Internal Security Act which allows detention without trial remained an instrument to be wielded by the security organs at will; political exiles could face prosecution if they came back to their own country. More than all this, the violence against opponents of apartheid from the regime's police and its surrogates in the bantustans and the community councils had not stopped, and had instead increased.

The De Klerk group, on the other hand, wanted to pile all the reasons for the violence in the country on the ANC's refusal to stop advocating armed opposition to apartheid. The ANC memorandum on violence which was produced and circulated before the meeting points at the apartheid system as the primary cause of the violence. We only have to look at Natal, at what Chief Buthelezi's followers are doing to those who oppose him, to realise how fundamental violence is to the apartheid system. We have to observe the actions of the white racist vigilante groups that roam the streets of some towns, brutally beating up black

people, really to understand to what lengths those who defend the apartheid system will go.

The results of the meeting represent a leap forward. They reflect that it is possible to cross the barriers that have kept South Africans so far apart. Despite the differences of views about how the future South Africa should look, agreement was reached on the necessity to continue the talks until the correct climate exists for real negotiations on the constitutional future of the country.

There was also agreement on both sides that they should commit themselves towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as make a commitment to stability. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation; on issues related to political prisoners; immunity to those facing political charges, both those inside the country and outside the country and other related matters, is an indication that we have moved significantly forward in terms of beginning to remove the obstacles that stand in the way of negotiations.

In addition to the working group, the South African government has granted temporary immunity to certain leaders and functionaries of the ANC based outside. It also undertook to review existing security legislation "to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activity." It also said that it is committed to work towards the lifting of the State of Emergency and called on the ANC to do its best to help to resolve the climate of violence existing in the country. Last but not least, efficient channels of communications would be maintained between the two parties to speed up the process which has been set in motion.

Most South Africans saw a ray of hope for the future of their land which has never known peace, security and prosperity for all its people since it was colonised in 1652. It was an opening for all those who are concerned about the future to give encouragement to those who sat in Cape Town to make speedy progress to a Constituent Assembly in which a new, non-racial and democratic constitution would be worked out. The peoples of the world also focused on South Africa

and prepared to support all positive moves that would come out of the meeting.

Clearly, there are positive moves. But those moves will not bear fruit if the process towards their achievement is not speeded up. The media that has sympathised with De Klerk since February 2 when he unbanned the ANC, was quick to try and portray him as having gone further than the ANC in what he promised to do after the Groote Schuur meeting in Cape Town. The truth is that all the keys that can lead to free political activity and an end to the violence are held by his government.

He has to take the power away from the bush tyrants that the apartheid system has created. He has to address the question of the racist lunatics who are buying guns in preparation for what has been called the "right-wing backlash." In learning lessons from the Namibian situation he has to recall that that was the scare-tactic that was used to try and halt the peace process in that country. And today Namibia is moving on the path of reconciliation and no whites have been victimised for being part of the previous colonial system.

There are also those who profess to be against the apartheid system but stand on the edge and oppose the history-making process that has been set in motion. They offer no solution to the situation either than that there should be no talks, even about creating a climate of free political activity. It is not too late for these people and organisations to join the ANC and the rest of the mass democratic forces in broadening the front for democracy that years of struggle have created. Now it is urgent for all the oppressed and democratic forces to unite.

To the majority of the white people who have not allowed themselves to be swayed into armed preparations in defence of white minority domination, we restate the call of the ANC at the beginning of the talks, "All those who are hostages of the past must transform (themselves) into new men and women who shall be fitting instruments for the creation of the glorious South Africa which it is possible and necessary to realise. Accordingly, we must deny the past its attempts to enslave us. The vocabulary of the old society should find no place in our dictionary."

ANC MEMORANDUM ON VIOLENCE

PREPARED ON THE EVE OF THE TALKS ABOUT OBSTACLES

This memorandum is an attempt to summarise the extent of the violence and its significance as an obstacle to negotiating a peaceful settlement in South Africa. Our perception is that violence is an aspect of apartheid and it has been used with varying degrees of ruthlessness to maintain the status quo. We refer here in particular to the actions of the security forces in Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga, Soweto, right up to Sebokeng.

Five types of violence can broadly be distinguished:

- a) Massacres and other violent actions by the security forces;
- b) Covert killings by agents of the state;
- c) Deaths in police custody and detention;
- d) Vigilante violence;
- e) Violence against perceived symbols of oppression.

The first four types are directed exclusively against those seeking a transformation of this society. Put crisply, it is violence designed to perpetuate apartheid oppression. We perceive vigilante violence as being perpetrated by people with an identical interest to that of the present regime, namely, to crush democratic opposition to the government's policies.

For instance, on election day — September 6th 1989 — alone there were 55 deaths throughout the Republic through police action. Nineteen of these occurred in the Western Cape alone where a further 200 people were injured. In one month, from August to September 1989, 46 meetings were broken up by security forces; in 28 of these violence was used.

Vigilante action against democratic organisations of the people have assumed frightening proportions. We have masses of documentation which is available indicating the almost shameless way in which elements sympathetic to the government and its policies have given

themselves licence to attempt to crush political opponents of the government with brute force. We have seen this in Crossroads and other townships throughout South Africa. Then there is the type of vigilante action which is waged by homeland administrations, for instance, KwaNdebele and other homelands. A particularly sinister face of this species of violence currently has Natal in its throes.

A particularly disturbing feature of this last-mentioned type of violence is the perceived collusion of the police with the perpetrators of the violence. This collusion manifests itself in two ways:

- a) By passively allowing the vigilantes to do almost as they please. A most frustrating aspect of this is failure to disarm, arrest and prosecute the offenders.

We are in possession of affidavits, photographs, reports and other documentation to prove this;

- b) By security forces actively assisting the vigilantes in their attacks or actually carrying out the attacks themselves.

So far we have made no distinction between homeland police forces and the security forces in general. Obviously, where a homeland is involved any lack of impartiality on its part confronts the victim of the attack with a desperately frustrating situation where he has virtually no choice but to himself devise ways and means to protect his life, limb and property. In Natal, several calls have been made for the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry. This was precisely because of the need to establish the causes of the strife and the role of the security forces in it. These calls have been rejected. It is no secret that there is a crisis of confidence

in the ability of the security forces to maintain the required impartiality, particularly in Natal. There have been very loud calls for the KwaZulu police to be withdrawn from some townships. These calls have so far gone unheeded.

In relation to the KwaZulu police, our submission is that the ultimate responsibility for the protection of the lives and property of all the citizens rests on the government of the Republic of South Africa. The power to police in respect of areas falling under KwaZulu has been conferred on the homeland government. This power can be taken away. It is certainly inappropriate for a party in the "war" to be armed with the exclusive right to maintain law and order and to be entrusted with the protection of life and limb of members of the opposing party in the "war." We have documentation wherein the Minister of Law and Order pleads a lack of jurisdiction to interfere with illegal activities carried out by KwaZulu police against members of the community. We submit that this cannot be the final word, particularly where the officer in overall charge of KwaZulu police is seconded from the South African police. We therefore make a crisp submission that the powers of the department of police should at least be recalled from the KwaZulu government to be exercised by the central government. In this connection it is relevant to note that the KwaZulu Minister of Police is also the President of Inkatha, an organisation which considers itself engaged in a bloody physical conflict with members of ANC/UDF//COSATU.

We are in possession of sufficient documentation to prove the allegations made in the previous paragraph; this documentation is available. We believe it is within the power of this government to end the violence in Natal and elsewhere. Certainly a climate for negotiating a political settlement cannot exist while this violence continues unchecked. We make the point which is made elsewhere in the documentation in our possession that the pillars of the violence in Natal are the "warlords" and the perceived involvement of the police. The allegation has been made before by various groups, including members of the South African parliament, that certain people who have been iden-

tified are allowed to be at large and to continue operating as "warlords." Again this documentation is available to this conference.

We have not dealt in detail with massacres and other violent actions by the security forces. These should be common cause. We have also not detailed covert killings by agents of the state. We refer here to the "assassination" or "hit" squads. The subject is topical enough at the present time to need no comment from us. It will be noted that we likewise have not amplified on the sub-heading "deaths in police custody and detention." All these are aspects of violence which are being perpetrated by people in the employ of the state against our people. All these activities certainly constitute the violence which negates a climate conducive to negotiations.

Against the background we have already sketched, the fifth type of violence can certainly be seen as a reaction to continued harassment and oppression.

In areas where our people have been engaged in conflict, our role has been to attempt to de-escalate the conflict as far as possible. Examples of this are Uitenhage and Ciskei. We mention that increasingly our people are being given no option but to defend themselves, precisely because of the failure and/or refusal of the security forces to exercise their functions with impartiality.

We stand for the following:

- a) Peace in the area;
- b) The right of every citizen to free political expression and freedom of association;
- c) The duty of law enforcement agencies to protect the life, liberty and the property of the people; the duty to be exercised with impartiality and in such a way that the confidence of the community is maintained.



THE UNLAMENTED FALL OF HATED LEADERS

By M Nkwanyana

One of the most fundamental breaks with the South Africa of the past 40 years is the sudden and irreparable crumbling of its pride, the **bantustan system**. Created in 1951 through the Bantu Authorities Act, and developed through various Acts of Parliament throughout the sixties and the seventies, it was regarded by the Nationalist Party as the ultimate solution to African political aspirations.

It formed the most important pillar of apartheid rule while at the same time constituting one of the weakest links of the system. For it to work for the apartheid rulers there had to be blacks sufficiently unpatriotic and greedy enough to be prepared to sell their souls for their own personal gain. That meant, for the racists, reliance on an external factor and, therefore, no full guarantee of the success of their scheme.

This was nothing new. It has happened all over the world where colonialism once reared its ugly head. The colonial masters, whenever they were faced by a mounting movement for national liberation, found it politically expedient to change their tactics and begin to use local forces to keep the system intact. As history would have it, these ploys have very seldom succeeded. Where such a leadership, appointed by the colonial rulers, remained unchanged after independence, it has been because it had some patriotic feelings and was not sufficiently committed to maintaining the colonial system. It had to bow, at some stage, to popular demands and actually play an important part in the national liberation struggle. Otherwise, it would be swept out of power by the force of the anti-colonial struggle.

South Africa is no exception. The bantustan system cannot be described in any way other than to say that it is on its way off the South African

political map. Malan, Strydom, Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha (the previous racist heads of state) accelerated its growth in the belief that the black people would forego their birthright to political freedom and land. Today, even Nationalist Party supporters cannot but lament the folly that led their leaders to believe that countries and nations could be created at the stroke of a pen.

It is necessary to state that the bantustans or homelands (as the Pretoria regime prefers to call them) did not always exist. They were created by the apartheid system and people were moved in to populate those areas. It is the careful propaganda of the racists that has given the world the impression that these bantustans always existed as they do at present. The term "homeland" was created and carefully planted everywhere — into history books, official documents, newspapers, etc. The thinking was that no-one would ever deny any one the right to go and stay in his or her "homeland." But these "homelands" consisted of 13 per cent of the land for over 78 per cent of the people and there was already overcrowding and landlessness among the people who were already staying in those areas. Therefore, right from the start, those who were appointed to administer these areas faced opposition from the people they found there already and also those who were removed from elsewhere in the country and made foreibly to stay in them.

The last two years have been years of very intense struggles in the bantustans. One bush tyrant after another has been swept out of office because of popular demands. Their departure from the political scene is lamented by no one but their closest friends and masters because the social and political experimentation they engaged in, in accepting the bantustan system, has led to untold

misery for millions of people and led the country deeper into an economic and political crisis.

The Matanzima brothers of Transkei, the Sebe family of Ciskei, and Ravele of Venda have gone the way of other dictators. They have been removed from power by the very military forces they created to oppress the people. The military people that have taken over have promised to heed the demands of the people and reincorporate



Soldiers and people celebrate the fall of the Sebe family in the Ciskei

into South Africa their territories which were cut off from it by legislation in the all-white Parliament. The concept of independent bantustans has gone to rest and, with it, a very sad part of our history in which thousands were murdered by these bush dictators; the deaths were not even reflected in South African statistics as they were deemed to have taken place in another country.

In another corner of South Africa, in the so-called independent bantustan of Bophuthatswana, a murderer — turned devout Christian — continues to be in power. At least, nominally, because he cannot with authority direct the events in his area. To the anger of many of South Africa's Christian community, it is reported that Chief Lucas Mangope wakes up every morning and prays for no less than three hours for God to keep him in power. He does this with hands dripping with the blood of his unarmed opponents. He was put in power by evil men and

not by God. He should turn against these evil forces but his own past draws him closer to and reliant on them. He turns to them for guns and turns to God for strength. He knows that no amount of fire-power can keep him in power against the tidal wave of change that sweeps across the country. It is only just a matter of time before he goes the way of his brothers-in-crime.

In the so-called non-independent bantustans the situation has also reached a point of no return. None of them can become "independent" like the Transkei, Ciskei, Venda or Bophuthatswana. They cannot also continue to exist as "self-governing" areas. For some patriotic leaders, that knowledge long ago sank in but some have just come to realise and accept it. They all agree that the future of South Africa has got nothing to gain from a divided country and ethnically-oriented politics. They say that apartheid must go and, as leaders of the bantustan territories, they must throw in their lot with the rest of the patriotic and democratic forces seeking to create a new non-racial and democratic South Africa.

On April 5th, De Klerk expected all the leaders of the "self-governing" territories of Qwa-Qwa, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and Gazankulu to turn up for consultations with him. It was an event meant to undercut the significance of the meeting with the Deputy-President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, who was to meet him on the same day. The response was very depressing for De Klerk. Only two bantustan men turned up — Chiefs Gatsha Buthelezi of the KwaZulu bantustan and Kenneth Mopeli of the Qwa-Qwa bantustan. The others had decided not to come and, in that action, they were siding with the forces of national liberation.

It was a significant loss of support by the racist regime. Its hopes of having a section of the oppressed black people on its side had been severely dashed by this unexpected stayaway. It clearly was a signal that South African politics have entered a new phase in which the politics of co-option are no longer going to be easy to conduct. Only tried and tested leaders, who act in the interests of, and are guided by the people, can still command a following among the South African oppressed and democratic majority.

The ANC has always demanded that the ban-

tustan system should be one of the institutions that have to be abolished in order to clear the way forward for the creation of a new society. The battering it has received, and continues to receive, has resulted from an unrelenting struggle by the people. It does not come out of any relaxation of the intent to accelerate its development by the De Klerk regime. If this regime were able to pursue its wishes, it would follow in the footsteps of its predecessors and strip more black South Africans of their citizenship and condemn them to diseases and poverty in the economically-unviable areas in which the bantustans are situated.

The Pretoria regime has given no undertaking to bring to an end the bantustan system. In fact, in its group rights concept, it sees the different ethnic groups, as defined by the bantustan system, to be central to its escape from the otherwise inevitable rule by the majority of the whole people of South Africa, black and white.

As in many other areas of the struggle, it has become clear that the act of finally putting to an end the bantustan system in its entirety, rests with the liberation movement. The people must still be mobilised into action against this system. As I have stated at the beginning of this article, this system is at once a main pillar of apartheid and at the same time one of its weakest points.

Without a 'system' to show, in which the African section of the oppressed people can 'exercise their political rights,' the racists cannot convince even their friends that there should be anything to stand in the way of rule by the democratic majority. Leaders like Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, continue to support people like Chief Buthelezi because they still have hope that he may get a stake in a future government, that is, from a bantustan platform.

They prefer the bantustan system because it would allow them to maintain the super-exploitative system from which transnational companies from their countries have reaped super profits. Therefore, our effort to do away completely with this system has two dimensions. It encompasses both the attainment of political rights for the African people as well as doing

away with an exploitative system.

Of course, the bantustan system does not exist alone as a scheme to rob the African people of their political and economic rights. There is the community council system which aims at governing their lives in the areas outside the bantustans. It, too, has fallen into disarray. Its political centre, the United Municipal Union, has declared that it wants to align itself with the rest of the anti-apartheid opposition that fights for one person one vote, for a united and democratic South Africa.

The Coloured and Indian people, on the other hand, long ago expressed their rejection of the tri-cameral parliamentary system, in the 1984 and 1989 elections. The paid Members of Parliament who have defied the will of the people have begun to retreat. The heat has become too much to bear and the treachery too glaring. Any claim that they participated in this parliament because there was no other way to express themselves, cannot convince anyone at the moment. Their bluff has been called and they must march with the majority or openly admit their commitment to maintaining the apartheid system.

The ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement do not force anyone to accept their way of thinking. They only seek the right to oppose any system they do not agree with. For this right, the people of Natal are living in terror of some sections of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, or, in other cases, have been murdered by De Klerk's police in the townships. But this cannot stop the struggle against all government-created structures.

In the final analysis, there can be only two choices — a vote for a democratic and non-racial system or for a retention of the apartheid system in one form or another. And, as we have stated before, the decision to vote one way or the other does not depend on any persons's colour but on that person's interests. The long history of violent opposition to the anti-apartheid forces by some bantustan and local authorities' leaders leaves us convinced that in any negotiating process, they will sit on the side of the present rulers. And if they were ever to be miraculously elected to the envisaged Constituent Assembly, they would vote for the status quo.

On the other hand, all those who turn their backs on the apartheid system and join the broad front for a democratic and non-racial South Africa, are welcomed by the ANC and all democratic forces in the country.

The destruction of the bantustan system has been on our agenda ever since the system was created. We can therefore say that the present crisis facing the regime on the future of this system is a fulfilment, in part, of the call made by our President, Oliver Tambo in January 1984, when he said:

"You are aware that the apartheid regime maintains an extensive administrative system through which it directs our lives. This system includes organs of central and provincial government, the army and the police, the judiciary, the bantustan administrations, the

community councils, the local management and local affairs committees. It is these institutions of apartheid power that we must attack and demolish, as part of the struggle to put an end to racist minority rule in our country. Needless to say, as strategists, we must select for attack those parts of the enemy administrative system which we have the power to destroy, as a result of our united and determined offensive. We must hit the enemy where it is weakest.

The goal we are setting ourselves today is dictated by the logic of our revolution. Its realisation is made possible by the fact that in our millions, we have already laid the basis for its accomplishment."

We have the power to destroy the bantustan system.



Buthelezi's men on the warpath against anti-apartheid forces

WE HAVE RETURNED!

An ANC delegation from outside South Africa arrived in the country in the last week of April. The event was as momentous as it was expected to be. People turned up in large crowds to meet the delegation at the airport. On Sunday April 29th, thousands braved the cold and wet weather to go and listen to Comrades Alfred Nzo and Joe Slovo on the Cape Flats in an "ANC Welcome Home Rally." Following is the full text of the address made by the Secretary-General of the ANC, Alfred Nzo.

Comrades! Friends! Compatriots!

We have returned. From far-flung corners of the globe we have come on a mission: a mission to bring even nearer the goal of freedom and justice to our land.

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress greets you the people of Cape Town. We greet all the people of South Africa, at this moment of great promise and great challenges.

We bring you militant greetings from your brothers and sisters in exile.

We convey warm regards from Comrade President Oliver Tambo, who has made remarkable progress since he took ill last year. He promises to join you as soon as he has fully recovered, and wishes you even greater victories in your efforts.

We bring you fraternal greetings
— from the rest of the NEC;
— from all members of the ANC abroad; and
— from the heroic cadres of your army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

All of them desire to be here today; and they

join your hands across the miles.

The moment when they shall be here without fear of apartheid retribution must be achieved. The time for a complete climate of free political activity must come. The hour at which the ANC in its entirety can start to operate fully, and to freely consult with you, the people, must strike. All political prisoners must be released now and with no conditions. The State of Emergency must go, in each and every corner of the land.

The ANC demands this not as a favour. It is an inalienable right of all the people of our country. South Africa needs the fresh breath of free thought and free speech, freedom of association and all the rights its people deserve. Our beloved land needs all these freedoms, if the ideal of a negotiated settlement has to be turned into a reality.

This is the gist of our mission here. The NEC decided that it will meet the South African government to clear the obstacles to negotiations. Your movement felt it necessary that such a meeting should take place not anywhere else, but on the soil of South Africa. We did not want to talk to them cut off from the heroes of this struggle, but as part of and in consultation with you the people. As we go into session on May 2nd, 3rd and 4th, we shall be reinforced by your heroic struggles, your support and your dedication to the cause of freedom and justice.

Comrades and friends!

We have returned. And our presence here today is a reflection of the changed and changing situation within South Africa. The release of our

leaders — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others — represents such change. The unbanning of the ANC and other organisations is testimony to the fact that South Africa shall never be the same again. Ours is a society in transition to a new order.

The ANC welcomes these changes. Small steps indeed they are. But they must point in one direction and one direction only: the creation of a society free of the crime of apartheid. We appreciate the apparent boldness of FW de Klerk.

But it is your struggles that have made the government see some reason. In the bowels of the earth where you dig for minerals; in the factories and farms; in the schools and universities; in the communities; in the church, mosque and temple, you have brought our country to where it is today. Apartheid is in the throes of a crisis from which it cannot recover. Its time has come to pass. Its days are truly numbered.

We pay tribute to all the struggling people, whatever their precise role and mission.

We salute:

- COSATU and the rest of the anti-apartheid trade union movement;
- SAYCO and the heroic Young Lions of the land;
- South African women in all your democratic and anti-apartheid organisations;
- the communities in the ghettos, organised under your civic associations;
- the patriotic and land-hungry masses in the bantustans and rural areas;
- CONTRALESA and all patriotic traditional leaders; and
- the religious leaders and communities of all faiths.

The people of South Africa as a whole are greatly indebted to the heroic democrats within the white community. The day shall soon dawn, when you will not have to be referred to as a special species of democrats, classified according to colour. Your heroic efforts, while you were persecuted and despised within your community, have helped create the foundation for consistent non-racialism within the anti-apartheid movement. The roots of racial harmony in a future South Africa have firmly embedded themselves in the efforts of the Cape Democrats, JODAC,

the Five Freedoms Forum, the End Conscription Campaign, the Black Sash and many other white democratic organisations.

We salute the fighters of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the heroes in the ANC's underground formations. You have kept the torch alight and the voice of the movement resounding in the hour of need. We commend the international community which has rendered help to the oppressed people so generously, and dealt the upholders of the crime of apartheid such deadly blows.

All these efforts, within South Africa and abroad, have helped bring apartheid to its death throes. The power of the people is rising confident and robust.

Many have fallen in the cause of struggle: Ashley Kriel and Nkululeko Njongwe in battle within the country; Joe Gqabi and Ruth First — victims of apartheid's death squads; Solomon Mahlangu and Vuyisile Mini condemned to the gallows; Basil February and Patrick Molaoa on the plains of Zimbabwe on the way home; Matthew Goniwe and Stanza Bopape — put to death in circumstances whose mystery is now coming to light. Many more have been killed and many maimed; and many have suffered untold miseries in the countries of Southern Africa. Apartheid stands accused of all these crimes. It must go.

Through struggle and through sacrifice, we have brought South Africa indeed to the threshold of a major breakthrough towards a united, non-racial and democratic society. But the hour of celebration has not yet come. Victory is in sight but not yet grasped. The struggle has yet to be won. The question is not whether this will ever come about. The point at issue is when and how. All of us, together, must answer this question in concrete struggle.

Some changes have taken place, yes. But what change is this when you in Mitchell's Plain, Soweto and Merebank cannot vote except for "toy telephones." What change is this when you in Bophuthatswana are not recognised as a South African citizen and you are subjected to the tyranny of a puppet gone mad.

What change is this when the wealth of the country still resides in a few white hands and you are paid low wages. What change is this when

the people cannot own land and they are herded into barren patches. What change is this when you, dear student, are still the victim of gutter education. And what change is this when the people live in hovels; when rents are unaffordable and prices too high.

South Africa needs fundamental change. We must build a society free from racism, oppression and greed. We must build a country in which the people shall govern. Equality before the law; people's education; sharing of the land and its wealth; equal human rights; abolition of discrimination against women; social security for all — all these and other civilised norms must form the foundation of the new society. We must build a South Africa not despised and hounded by the world community of nations; but a country standing tall and respected for the harmony among its people. This is what the ANC demands and will always fight for.

Comrades and Compatriots!

We have returned. But the bigger mission has yet to be fulfilled. Much more needs to be done to bring into being the kind of South Africa we all want. To this end, all necessary forms of struggle must be pursued. Without struggle, our hopes will remain pious wishes; our dreams will remain nightmares.

The ANC recognises the fact that new possibilities have emerged for a political resolution of our country's problems. We are here because we seek to nourish this possibility and to turn it into reality. To do so does not mean that we should abandon our principles. We must hold firm to the goals we cherish while exercising maximum flexibility in our day-to-day work. To nourish the possibility of a negotiated settlement does not mean that we should cast aside the armed struggle when conditions for its suspension and final abandonment have not yet been created. To do so would be to desert the brutalised masses and give further licence to those whose mission has always been to detain, to imprison, to kill and to maim the people.

Our humane vision and our morality dictate that we seek the least painful path to a new South Africa. But it is precisely this path that has been

blocked for decades and indeed centuries. Those in the corridors of power who promise otherwise must back their statements with actual deeds. The climate for a peaceful settlement must be created, not in bits and pieces; but as an integrated whole.

We, the people know too well from our experiences, that the ideals we cherish shall not come as a gift from Tuynhuys or from the apartheid House of Parliament. Our actual strength as a struggling people will ensure that what we desire is indeed achieved.

Only through active struggle can we compel the government not only to create the conditions for negotiations; but also to negotiate in good faith. Wherever we are: on the factory floor and in the mines; in the villages and townships; in the schools and universities, we must act as a united force to achieve our demands. The issues that we have put forward for a transition to a genuinely new order must feature high on the agenda of our mass actions.

★ *Let us all demand an impartial Interim Government to oversee the transition to a new order. It would be asking too much of the oppressed majority for them to have faith in the present government and all other apartheid institutions to suddenly become agents of change.*

★ *Let us in action ensure that the body to work out a new constitution for our country is a democratic one, elected and mandated on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a common voters' roll.*

★ *Our demands for low rents and better housing, a democratic educational system, a living wage and many more cannot be postponed. We must assert them in action and link them with the goal of a new and democratic South Africa.*

For all these struggles to have a clear purpose and to be disciplined, requires strong organisation.

We must build the ANC into a powerful organisation. We must join it in our millions. Every democrat must become an ANC member. Every ANC member must be an organiser and staunch fighter for the people's freedom. We must build the mass democratic organisations of the ANC: the Youth and Women's Leagues. Let us ensure that the courage and verve of our mothers,

sisters and daughters and of the young generation course through the veins of the ANC.

Within our communities, street, area and other people's committees must take firm root. And it is the task of all residents to ensure that these committees operate on a democratic basis, representing the will of the people. Crime and hooliganism must be uprooted by the people themselves. People's "law and order" must reign.

Democratic organisations of workers, students, professionals, religious communities, traditional leaders, business-persons and all other sectors of the population must be strengthened. Broad anti-apartheid unity as achieved at the Conference for a Democratic Future must be consolidated.

The ANC welcomes the decision by many forces and individuals within the apartheid machineries to break ranks with the old and dying system. By rocking the apartheid boat, patriots such as Gregory Rockman and General Bantu Holomisa have significantly weakened the enemies of the people and advanced the democratic cause. The people are ever ready to accept, with open arms, all those who abandon apartheid and, in actual practice, mend their ways. The more such forces break with the past, the faster and less painful will be the transition to a democratic order.

The murder and mayhem being sown in Natal are a terrible blot in the history of our struggle. Certainly, it is not the forces which believe in a democratic South Africa who would like to see this civil strife continue. Certainly, those who demand an atmosphere of free political activity would not engage in acts which not only go against the grain of peaceful political engagement, but which also have the effect of delaying such a process. Indeed, it can only be defenders of the old order and selfish dictators-in-the-making who benefit from war among the people.

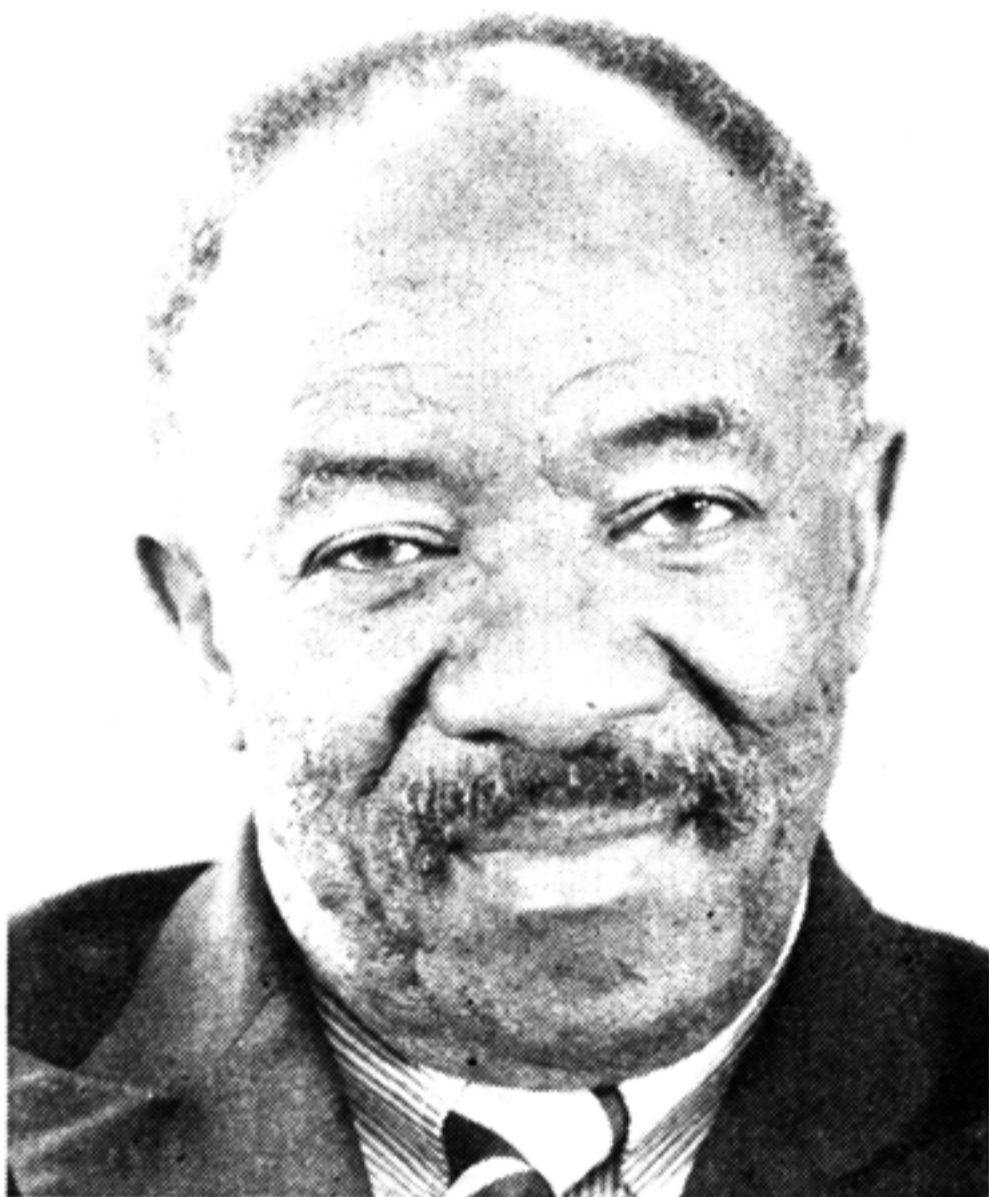
All efforts must be made to bring this strife to an end. But repeat this wish as many times as we can, this will not resolve the situation. What we need is a movement of peace among the people, uniting patriots of all political, social and religious formations. Such a movement, firmly embedded among the people can isolate and sweep aside those who worship and rejoice at the smell of human blood.

Comrades! Compatriots! Friends!

We have returned. It has been a long time since we have been home. So many things have changed since we left our dear motherland. Some of us will find our loved ones no longer there; our homes demolished; the sign-posts which used to guide us around all gone. But the most vital factor is that we find you the people determined as ever to bring to its shameful end this system which drives patriots out of their country.

We left to fight. We have returned to fight, using whatever necessary means are at our disposal. When the business we have come for is over, we shall report to you.

But soon, we must return to stay.



Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC

VICTORY IN OUR LIFETIME!

"As sure as the sun will rise tomorrow, we will end the misery of apartheid. The cry everywhere is freedom now. Our homeland is not in the bantustan backyards, it covers every inch of territory from Cape Point to the Limpopo River."

Joe Slovo, at the ANC Welcome Home Rally.

COMRADE BROTHER MICHAEL LAPSLEY

By Cedric Mayson

Father Michael Lapsley was opening his post in Harare on April 28th, 1990 when a parcel from South Africa, ostensibly containing two books, blew up. The explosion tore off his right hand and most of his left hand, removed his right eye, badly damaged his left eye, and impaired his hearing. Friends rushed him to hospital where doctors and nurses spent the night saving his life from imminent death.

Within hours the whole world knew that Comrade Mike had been attacked by the enemies of liberation. The news flashed to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka; to South Africa where F W De Klerk and Nelson Mandela and their teams were preparing for talks about talks; and to London, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Lesotho and Europe, for Fr. Lapsley is the best known and most widely-travelled of all priests in the ANC. Born in New Zealand four decades ago, Michael became an Anglican priest of the Society of the Sacred Mission. The experience of studying in South Africa forced on him a total re-examination of the meaning of Christianity. He wrote:

"I had to rethink my whole understanding of God, of Jesus Christ, of the message of the Gospel ... South Africa made me feel I had been robbed of my humanity, that apartheid forced me to be a white man and stopped me from being a human being."

As a university chaplain he became involved in the struggle, and after Soweto 1976 was expelled from South Africa. His Order moved him to Lesotho, and then, fearing for his safety but against his will, to Britain. Returning to Africa, he worked in township parishes in Zimbabwe, and then taught under the auspices of the Lutheran World Federation. He was moving to a new parish in Bulawayo, and had just returned from a farewell function when the bomb was waiting for him. Comrade Mike has been in much demand as a speaker throughout the world, and spelt out some of his beliefs in a recent in-

terview in *Sechaba* (October 1989).

"From our perspective as Christians, every human being is a child of God, is made in the image, the likeness of God. So, for us, the people of South Africa are being crucified today, and it is an issue of faith for Christians throughout the world to stand with all the people of the land of apartheid who are being crucified because of their sacrifice for liberation, and for the cause of justice, which is the cause of God in South Africa."

Lapsley believes that God is not a neutral God but takes sides with the oppressed, and expects more and more people to participate in the struggle as an expression of their faith. A growing majority in the church accepts, not only that apartheid does evil things to people, but that the regime itself, in a moral sense, is illegitimate ... The regime seeks the solution to its problems with ever more repression. It unmask itself even further as being both un-Christian and anti-Christian ... and as the regime becomes more desperate to survive, it keeps crossing the threshold of what it is willing to do against the people of South Africa and against the churches.

No one knows the extent to which Pretoria's death squads are operating, or the psychological and material encouragement they have given to militant racists who will kill for their creed and lie round the world like unexploded time-bombs. Only the total removal and replacement of the regime can lead to a victory over these evils.

Touring Canada in March and April Comrade Mike repeatedly called for 'the people of the world to stand as never before with the people of South Africa, and to help the churches know that it is precisely because they do what is just and right that the regime attacks them.'

Three days after the blast which attacked him, lying sightless and handless in hospital he said to a visitor:

"The Boers didn't win this one, did they?"

CULTURE AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

A discussion article by PW de Goede

A culture of resistance, a culture of commitment, a culture for a democratic future, are some of the expressions we have used to describe the cultural protest heritage of our past and the assertive anti-apartheid culture that has come to the fore over the last 15 years.

When we talk of culture, we talk of particular forms of communication and the expression of life. These forms include a number of disciplines such as the fine arts, writing, drama, music, dance, film, cookery, architecture, fashion and language. Historically all of these forms have been used by the oppressed to resist colonialism, apartheid and repression. Since 1976 however, cultural resistance took a new and advanced turn. Cultural workers began to discover the power of union and organisation. In so doing, culture was forged as a weapon against apartheid.

The international cultural isolation of the apartheid regime through the cultural boycott, was able to be intensified while the peoples' culture was popularised more widely to effectively participate in the assault on apartheid on this new front. Furthermore, we are now in a process of also becoming more aware of culture as a tool of construction, a celebration of democratic achievement and an expression of the broader multi-dimensional experiences and energies of the new liberated nation which must emerge, a nation envisaged by the Freedom Charter and the ANC's draft Constitutional Guidelines.

Freedom Charter: All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs ... The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; ... All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contacts

with other lands.

ANC Constitutional Guidelines:

It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

Life-blood of the nation

The vision of the Freedom Charter and the Constitutional Guidelines, takes us beyond culture as a resistance form. These documents see culture as the enhancing life-blood of the nation. It is seen within South Africa as being a celebration of life and the cement which binds us as a people in activity and bares our collective expression of the South African experience to each other. When our culture is projected abroad it gives the world a peep into the make-up or way of life and psychology of South Africans. This therefore, moves far beyond the trials and tribulations of South Africans under apartheid tyranny. It takes us beyond our expressions of opposition to apartheid. The natural progression of resistance culture therefore constructively moves forward from anti-apartheid culture to assert a national culture which rightfully takes its place amongst the cultures of the world.

After the 1976 student uprisings, cultural workers began to seriously address the question of united action and organisation. The Soweto uprising and the brutal repression used to crush it had given rise to a new wave of cultural expression. In that same year South African cultural workers held a conference in Amsterdam. They grappled with the burning question of culture as

a force in our struggle and took the first steps to giving our culture of resistance organisational form. The next major development took place in South Africa, first with the emergence of the Market Theatre in 1976 and then later with the appearance of Staffrider in 1978, a cultural magazine for writers, artists and photographers. These initiatives went further, encouraged collective work and became a rallying point for exposing peoples' culture.

Artists and the struggle

Four years later, in 1982, the first broad South African cultural conference took place in Botswana, organised by MEDU arts ensemble. It was called the 'Culture and Resistance' conference and brought together the most representative gathering ever of South African writers, artists and musicians. It was here that the description 'cultural worker' was widely accepted for the first time. Participants forged a common identity, learning that artists indeed were not above the struggle for change, nor observers, but part of it. The conference called for a new calibre of cultural worker, and 'organisation' was put on centre stage inside South Africa. A follow-up conference took place a year later in Amsterdam, called the 'Cultural Voice of Resistance Conference'.

This took place against the backdrop of the emerging United Democratic Front (UDF), an umbrella body made up of around 600 constituent organisations. Amongst these organisations were the first fruits of cultural organisational forms, born out of the initiatives started in Botswana. Between 1983 and 1986 cultural activity multiplied in the climate of mass mobilisation and organisation around political issues. The need for cultural organisation around the various disciplines began to be met in embryonic form. This was given a boost by the establishment of cultural desks by the UDF and COSATU. This was a much-needed move to complement the ANC's already existing Department of Arts and Culture.

In December 1986 the biggest Arts Festival in South African history was planned under the

slogan, 'Towards a Peoples' Culture,' which was to unite 600 artists, writers, actors, dancers and musicians in festival activities which would have drawn thousands of people. At the last moment the regime, sensing the tremendous power and confidence it was engendering amongst the people, stepped in and suppressed it. This did not hold back the cultural juggernaut from riding over apartheid. In 1987, exactly a year later, 300 South African cultural workers travelled to Amsterdam and held the 'Culture in Another South Africa' (CASA) conference and festival, which can be said to have been the most definitive cultural conference in our history. Delegates represented grassroots organisations and reported back to them. The resistance culture had reaped the fruit of its first aims and began to determine the way forward at the CASA conference.

Reference point for action

The preamble and resolutions of the conference read like a manifesto on culture that will go down in history as an evergreen reference point for action. It touched on all the points that South Africans engaged in culture needed guidance on. It also exposed to the world a united response to all the questions they were asking about the role of culture in South Africa, not least of all, the cultural boycott.

CASA was the blade, well sharpened, at the end of the spear shaft which goes back deep into our history. It did our heritage proud. One could imagine the cultural ancestors in the shadows of the delegates. Songwriters like Caluza who in 1913 composed the popular song called 'Land Act,' protesting against the law that robbed Africans of their land ...

We are the children of Africa
We cry for our land
We are mad over the Land Act
A terrible law that allows sojourners to deny
us our land.

Choirmasters like Dan Poho, who back in the 1950s led the peoples' choir at rallies, in the songs such as the SACTU song ...

WEMBLEY STADIUM — BRITAIN
NELSON MANDELA SPEAKS TO A BILLION PEOPLE
IN BRITAIN AND ALL OVER THE WORLD

The reward the people of South Africa, of Southern Africa and the rest of the world seek, is the end of apartheid and the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy. That prospect will only become reality as a result of struggle, including the struggle represented by the international sanctions campaign. All of us must therefore refuse to be demobilised, even if those who seek to demobilise us plead that they are doing so out of a new-found concern for the oppressed and out of the goodness of their hearts.

Our first simple and happy task is to say thank you. Thank you very much to you all. Thank you that you chose to care, because you could have decided otherwise. Thank you that you elected not to forget, because our fate could have been a passing concern.

We are here today because for almost three decades you sustained the campaign for the unconditional release of all South African political prisoners. We are here because you took the humane decision that you could not ignore the inhumanity represented by the apartheid system.



I would like to take advantage of this occasion to extend our special thanks to the artistes of the world who have, for many years, lent their talents to the common effort to end the apartheid system.



Do not listen to anyone who says that you must give up the struggle against apartheid. Reject any suggestion that the campaign to isolate the apartheid system should be wound down. It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken, such as our release and the unbanning of the ANC and the other organisations.



Let us continue to march forward together for the realisation of (our) glorious vision. It will be a proud day for all humanity when we are all able to say that the apartheid crime against humanity is no more. Then shall we all converge on the cities, towns and villages of South Africa to celebrate that moment when by ending the system of white minority domination, humanity will have ensured that never again shall the scourge of racial tyranny raise its ugly head.

You will all be welcome to attend those historic victory celebrations.

EXCERPTS FROM NELSON MANDELA'S SPEECH AND PICTURES FROM THE NELSON MANDELA TRIBUTE CONCERT

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Knock, knock we are the workers
Here in Africa
United workers
We are taking our land.

The apartheid regime has distorted and suppressed the history and cultural heritage of all South Africans, for the purpose of domination. The people have now risen up and organised themselves, challenged and thrown off this domination. Culture of resistance, furthermore, has also played a major role in uniting the different national liberation groups in South Africa into one nation. The forces of national liberation accept that history has brought together on the territory of South Africa, people who trace their roots to Africa, India, Indonesia, Europe or all of these together. To quote Pallo Jordan of the ANC National Executive Committee ...

"The Liberation Movement has consistently held on to the view that it is not only impossible, but also undesirable to unscramble this historical omelette. The very fact of sharing a common territory has set in train an irreversible historical process — whose consequences are black and white engaged in a common economy and therefore creating a common society. This is the true meaning of the preamble to the Freedom Charter ... that South Africa belongs to all who live in it."

Non-racial South African identity

The culture born out of the united resistance of South Africans, black and white, to apartheid has also been a most important part of the midwifing process that is giving birth to a liberated, non-racial South African identity.

Oliver Tambo, who recognises the singularly important position which struggle on the cultural front has occupied, some time ago exhorted cultural workers to ...

"Use their craft to give voice not only to grievances, but also to the profoundest aspirations of the oppressed and exploited. In our country a new social and political order is being born. Our artists have to play an even big-

ger role as midwives of this glorious future ... Let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt amongst the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage."

Culture in South Africa has been completely bound up with resistance, but not exclusively so. Nor is it just about stereotypes and sloganising, as is pointed out in a recent paper by Frank Meintjies of the Congress of South African Writers ...

"Art is born through experience, through grappling with issues, through working over perceptions and thoughts and feelings. Sloganeering soon becomes a barrier to depth and genuine expression. It stifles creativity and reflection, replacing it with a mechanical incantatory approach which severs the organic link between the work and the artist and community he/she is trying to serve. And when the drum-beating drowns out the needs and interests and doubts of ordinary people, it becomes an obstacle to the building of a democratic ethos."

People's culture

To understand culture as resistance and construction, one has to understand what we mean when we talk of peoples' culture, as this is more than just a slogan. South African people are not shy to express themselves. While eurocentric cultural élites do exist and have the backing of the state or affluent white establishment, this cultural expression is by far overshadowed by what we call peoples' culture which has its roots in the initiatives and talent springing from cultural expressions to be found in the streets, factories, schools, churches, community halls and entertainment clubs; amongst all strata of people in the townships and suburbs of South Africa. It has developed and set itself high standards of achievement, while at the same time does not stifle that wonderful manifestation in our society, where everyone, regardless of formal education, status, wealth and class, tries their hand at

writing, acting, craft, design, music and dance. Although the lot of our struggling people has been extremely difficult and depressing, it never pushed us into a grey existence because peoples' culture became the standard for the expression of our aspirations and the certainty that we would rise above the misery which we faced.

Father Mkhathshwa, a Catholic priest active in the MDM, provides a political evaluation of this culture:

"Peoples' culture embodies peoples' values, those aesthetic and moral qualities they consider basic and important in their contact and interaction with one another and the universe. A culture embodies a community's structures of values, the basis of their world outlook and how they see themselves and their place in the universe and in relation to other communities. It is the value that people have that is the basis of their collective and individual image of self, their identity as a people, since culture is an ideological expression of the totality of their activities."

Thus peoples' culture in South Africa, our culture of resistance and construction, conveys the totality of our experience and in its newly-organised forms such as writers', artists' and musicians' unions, or ANC, UDF or COSATU cultural desks, becomes a pillar of peoples' power.

Culturally active nation

There are however, a lot of misconceptions about peoples' culture which lead to a simplistic assessment and a patronising approach. This is an approach which does not employ criticism and places the cultural manifestations of the people in one mould, regardless of standards, and then places it on a pedestal like a holy idol. It does a great disservice to the development of a culturally-active nation, and a culture of criticism which is a backbone to creativity.

To illustrate, I want to cite the following: On April 1st, an exhibition of South African posters of resistance opened in Brixton in London. The exhibition was opened by Albie Sachs,

who took the audience on a critical tour of the exhibits. His critique, while appreciating the posters contextually, and as an advancement on the South African poster form of the 1950s, pointed out those qualities which they lacked as well. Albie drew on the Mozambican and Latin American experience to query whether there was anything uniquely South African about our poster form. He questioned the lifelessness of many of the exhibits — their unimaginative use of colour, the dullness of some of the colours, how text and screened pictures were employed, and so on. He looked to the future where South Africans would have unrestricted use of equipment and materials, and counter-posed aesthetic and technical aspects of the art of capitalist advertising to our approach. He pointed out how seductive and alive such advertising was in comparison to the sombre approach that our posters had.

In a nutshell, his message was much in the same vein as a debate which once took place in the churches, over music, where a preacher got up and said, 'Why should the devil have all the good music'? The response of quite a few from the floor to Albie, was similar to what that preacher experienced. 'Scandalous! How can you compare the peoples' art to advertising? How can you criticise the people? How can you criticise (what were claimed to be) African colours'? The responses were sincere, but patronising, placing peoples' art on an unassailable pedestal. Albie's critique was one which constructively called on the people to put more thought into their work, experiment more, draw on our own traditions more, look beyond euro-centrism, look toward Africa, Asia and Latin America for inspiration, assert ourselves, be more joyful, break free of victim art, show strength and empowerment and so on. Through critique we move forward. Criticism is not disrespect and is definitely not something which denies value. The end result of some of the approaches from the floor at that exhibition, would be to ghettoise peoples' culture. This is not what we want. On the other hand what we also do not want is that concept of 'being up to standard,' that stifles peoples' participation in culture and creates élitism. Cultural participation must not

rely on wealth and education. How do we keep the balance?

Organisation

For an answer to this question we must again go back to that 'key' which emerged from the various culture and resistance conferences. Organisation! But we must go further. We must think bigger. Organisation has been slow in materialising and still does not meet the needs of peoples' culture. The balance is still in favour of culture as an élite activity. And here we should note that élitism is not something that progressives are immune to. The only way to combat this is through popular and democratic structural forms in the cultural arena. Those which do exist are still only embryonic in relation to that which is required. To go forward we need to structurally clear up some confusion which exists over the term 'cultural workers.' This would be a starting point.

In South Africa we use the term 'cultural worker' to cover four different categories of cultural participants with different needs. Cultural entrepreneurs, cultural employees, professional artists and writers, and non-professionals who earn their living by other means while having cultural pursuits. It is important that people who earn their living through cultural work, where they are employed by theatres, hotels, clubs, radio, film and television, should be organised in a trade union and affiliate like any other to the trade union federation, COSATU. In addition all categories of cultural workers should also have their own bodies and unite in a single national cultural association. Structural means should be employed to ensure non-domination in such an association by any of the four streams. Each of the categories of cultural workers may have different sub-associations or clubs who nationally join together in free association. These may take the form of a professional writers' association as found in many countries, or on the other hand, something like the Nicaraguan peoples' poetry workshops, or the British federation of worker writers. Such a national cultural association should see its first

task as the establishment of cultural education programmes and neighbourhood cultural centres. Such structures from grassroots level to national level are still lacking. This is the challenge facing us. It is only through organisational forms that we will also ensure that cultural activity does not fall into the trap of élitism.

We are on the threshold of a new era in South Africa. Peoples' power is exerting itself in new ways every day. As cultural workers participating in this process we must be self-critical, engage in honest debate and create democratic, accountable structures. In so doing we will achieve both the standards we seek and mass participation in cultural pursuit. Culture of resistance will thus give birth to the culture of a liberated South African for which we have fought so long and hard.



THE MEDIA OF THE ANC AND THE NEW SITUATION

A discussion article by Sello Maqetuka

Since the substance of the media, in relation to its functions and effectiveness, can only be analysed concretely and historically in the hands of certain class(es) or strata, its role in society can only be linked to the role of the classes concerned. The role of the media also changes with the role of the classes it serves, which is determined by the conditions under which the classes are operating.

The unbanning of the ANC has ushered in a new era in our struggle. The South African people are looking to the future with more confidence however great the obstacles in their path and the persistence needed to overcome them. South Africa is in transition. How long that transition will take to reach its finality depends to a large extent on the subjective factor, that is, on the ability of the vanguard movement to guide and mobilise the masses of our people for the final victory. The media of the movement, if properly utilised, can be one of the most effective weapons in advancing that cause. Therefore, under the present conditions a serious look into the information policy of our movement cannot be overemphasised. The absence of a systematic information policy or the lack of knowledge of the potential and correct usage of the media in the national liberation movement, may be one of the factors that has been reducing the efficacy of the media.

An information policy is an embodiment of the strategy and tactics of a class or classes and of social organisations(s) or states respectively, for collecting, planning and dissemination of social information, which is geared towards the realisation of class interests in the struggle and which should help in guiding social life. What is derived from this definition is that the information policy covers the form, as well as the content of the media, which is reflected in its functions and

tasks. This article intends examining these elements of the media in relation to the new situation in South Africa. It analyses these under the following points:

- ★ the conditions under which the ANC media is produced and its products are disseminated;
- ★ the structure of the media;
- ★ the class content of the media;
- ★ the political interests which the media serves;
- ★ the realisation of the control function over the media and
- ★ the functions and tasks of the media.

The conditions under which the ANC media is produced and its products are disseminated

Since the banning of the ANC the propagation of its strategy and tactics via its journalism has been hampered by various laws and regulations people in South Africa were not allowed to read its publications or to receive its radio programs. Being detected by the racist regime in the act of reading or listening to ANC media was a punishable crime. Closely connected with the banning was the driving of the ANC into exile, from which locations its publications and broadcasts were and are still produced. The move created enormous problems for media production and dissemination. Associated with this was the "smuggling" of the publications into the country. The task to collect, disseminate and, especially, to distribute the information in South Africa, demanded from the media workers of the movement knowledge of underground work and the courage to do this type of work. Another problem confronting the media sector of the movement was the diversity of our languages. To write

a publication in different languages requires a considerable financial, technical and personnel investment. Although Radio Freedom is in a better situation as it broadcasts daily and, to a certain extent, in different languages, it is also handicapped by the short broadcasting time allocated to it by the different countries which host it. The shortage of qualified, experienced journalists is another factor militating against the effectiveness of our media.

With the unbanning of the ANC this situation has radically changed in favour of our media workers. Time has come for the writing, the producing and distribution of the information of the movement right inside the country. In brief, now, the media workers of the movement can operate under the conditions of legality. This situation has far-reaching consequences for our media organisation. The media has to be structured in such a way that it corresponds to the needs of the present political organisation.

The ANC media's adherence to the political organisation of our society remains the precondition for its politico-ideological efficacy. The structural differentiation of the ANC's media in relation to the political organisation of the society is of prime importance for the following reasons: when the leadership of the movement works out an all-round strategic conception for the development of the struggle, the media organs also receive a uniform politico-ideological orientation for their propaganda work. Guided by the overall strategic conception, representatives of the specific fields of social life like the workers', women's, youth and religious movements work out their own concrete functions and tasks. These in turn constitute again an important basis for fixing the concrete place and role of each media organ attached to the social group and social organisation.

The current media of the ANC is integrated into the organisation of the political forces of our society in the following way: the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) explains its main function as follows: "the primary functions of the DIP are within the movement." It supplies the movement with topical and correct information. Its function is to disseminate information to the people of South Africa, to the international

community and to its friends and allies. The DIP orientates its information policy first and foremost towards informing the national liberation movement extensively and regularly. This is for the following purposes:

- to facilitate the formulation of the ANC's policies;
- to select burning issues around which mass actions can be organised;
- to make it possible for the functionaries of the movement both inside and outside the country to operate successfully.

In order to meet these goals, the movement disseminates (or was disseminating) the following press organs:

★ *Sechaba*. It is a monthly publication. Its editorial board sits in London, while it is printed in Neubrandenburg, in the German Democratic Republic. Its audience is the international community as well as the ANC members and supporters in exile and inside South Africa. *Sechaba* has a circulation of 20 000.

★ *Mayibuye*. It is written and printed as a bi-monthly in Lusaka. The documents of the DIP understand *Mayibuye* to be designed for the organisers and activists of the movement inside the country, who are expected to mobilise and organise the oppressed and exploited masses of our country for the aims and objectives of our struggle.

★ *Phakamani*. The publication came into being in 1987. It is produced by the Department of Religious Affairs of the ANC. Its intention is to address and mobilise the religious community on issues related to our struggle.

★ *Rixaka*. It is the cultural magazine of the ANC produced by the Department of Arts and Culture. Its potential readers are the South African artists and cultural workers. It handles the place and role of arts and culture in our struggle and propagates the engagement of artists in the struggle by means of their creative cultural instruments and skills.

★ *Voice of Women (VOW)*. It is written by the ANC Women's Section for the mobilisation of the South African women.

The Youth Section of the ANC used to give

out *Forward*. It has now been integrated into the structures of *Mayibuye* in column form.

★ *Dawn*. This is the oldest publication of the movement. It was established in 1964, as a publication of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. It was meant to raise the political consciousness of the military cadres.



POWER ON THE IMMEDIATE AGENDA

After the submission of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, South Africa shall enter for the first time into a definite society of transition. The movement as a new order is required for the development of a new society. The movement as a new order is required for the development of a new society. The movement as a new order is required for the development of a new society.

A GIANT RETURNS



The ANC has not only been the first to give the people a voice, but also to give them a voice. The ANC has not only been the first to give the people a voice, but also to give them a voice. The ANC has not only been the first to give the people a voice, but also to give them a voice.

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In addition to these publications, Radio Freedom plays a very important role in our propaganda. Its history can be traced as far back as June 1963, when the former Secretary-General of the ANC, Walter Sisulu, addressed the people of South Africa by means of an underground ANC radio broadcast explaining the reasons for embarking on armed struggle. Today, the ANC broadcasts from Tanzania, Angola, Madagascar, Zambia and Ethiopia.

Surely, the above presented structure of our media cries out for imaginative changes if the media is to meet the serious challenges confronting it. I would like at this juncture to make some proposals on the structure of the media for the current stage of the struggle. It must, however, be stated that the structure of the ANC's media will depend on the structure of the ANC itself. Presently that is an issue that is under intensive discussions within the liberation movement. The regions the ANC is to be structured into, its branches, zones, etc., the organisation of the youth,

womens' and military structures, are some of the questions that will influence the structure of the ANC media. There are however, tentative suggestions that can be made at this point.

It is incumbent on the movement to produce a national newspaper which will be the ANC's leading publication. The most ideal venture would be a daily newspaper. When one takes certain factors into consideration, this indeed becomes a realisable goal. These are that the interests of the oppressed and democratic forces, which are served by the alternative press, are not different from the interests of the ANC, that is, the liberation of all our people from the inhuman system of apartheid. The contradiction between the oppressed black people and the racist white oppressors determines the role of progressive journalism in South Africa. Therefore, some of the powerful weeklies like *NEW NATION* and *SOUTH* can be phased out to merge into the structures of an ANC daily. Needless to say, this cannot be automatic, nor can it be imposed. This is an issue that can be discussed by the comradely forces involved. The author considers the existence of other weeklies like *New African* and *Vrye Weekblad* to be necessary, precisely because of the uniqueness of the audience they are writing for. It goes without saying that the ANC daily, as well as other media organs must have a completely new concept. Our paper when it operates inside the country, competing with other newspapers, cannot be restricted to the analytical genres. The information to be disseminated by our journalists will be dealing with objectively topical issues. In journalism, topicality is a must. Products of journalism are said to be topical when they are suitable, in the given situation, for influencing the actions of the masses to contribute to the political direction or objectives enunciated by the movement whose interests the journalism is serving. This, therefore means that the topicality of the products of journalism is not just adjusted by their timeliness or staleness, but also by their usefulness to society. This nevertheless does not rule out the dissemination of sensational news or information when it is of interest to the public.

This approach draws attention to the following: firstly, journalism fulfills its mission as an

intellectual activity. This activity is carried out by the journalists and the audience. While the former has the bigger part to play, the latter must also digest the information it receives. The audience can only accept or reject the information as the process of an intellectual exercise. Secondly, what the journalists are disseminating is not only restricted to topical events, **but also relates to the strategies of the editors of the various organs.** Journalism reflects objective reality in relation to the worked-out strategy and tactics of the class(es) it is serving. Thirdly, exactly because the recipients do not play a passive role, the journalists must study their situation, i.e. their level of education, their interests, level of thinking, party affiliation, nationality, etc. It is only on the basis of the knowledge of the recipients' situation that journalists may know how they (the recipients) may react to the information.

Each regional structure of the ANC shall be in need of a publication, even if it is in a newsletter form for a start. Because of the enormous tasks facing the movement in mobilising the youth into a powerfully organised and disciplined political force, the establishment of a weekly by the ANC-Youth League is also imperative. The new situation also cries for the establishment of *VOW* inside the country.

I also consider a quarterly theoretical journal of the ANC to be vital. A periodical of this nature, to deal with strategical and tactical issues of the ANC, can play a big role in developing an ANC strategy and tactics appropriate to the requirements of the day. We should guard against making such a publication a platform that is a monopoly of the leadership and outstanding social scientists, as it was the case in many socialist countries. This tends to make this task a prerogative of élitists rather than an inalienable right of the people. In order for such a publication to maintain its scientific character on the one hand, and its popularity on the other, it will have to be in the hands of both the political and publicity offices of the movement.

A quarterly journal of the media workers is another project we should look into. This can be under the control of the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ). Its writers should be the journalists, media scientists and students.

Its task would be to research into media issues such as the content, structure and history of our journalism. Such a publication would play a very important role in increasing the efficacy of our media and of other democratic media organs. It would also contribute to the formulation of a sound information policy for the movement.

An understanding of the structure of our media can be deepened by an understanding of its class content. **The media of the ANC has a specific class content.** It is a product and an instrument of the patriotic forces drawn from various classes and strata organised in the ANC. The largest sector of the decisive forces within the ANC and its media are the working people and the revolutionary intelligentsia. The dominance of the working people stems from the fact that South Africa's developed capitalist system has produced a working class which is not only the most revolutionary force in the coalition of the class forces, but also numerically the strongest. Conversely, the bourgeoisie has played a restrained role in the liberation movement and in its journalism. Because of the sharp racist-national oppression and socio-economic exploitation of the black people, a solid capitalist class has not developed within the black community up to this day.

The major journalistic activities of the ANC are organised within the DIP, which is under the movement's leadership. In this way the journalists can easily receive the guidance of the leadership in their media work, ensuring that they function as an integral part of the organisation's overall work. This principle, under the conditions of legality, must not just be maintained but it must be improved to suit the new conditions. Properly done, by means of such a structure, **the politico-ideological harmony between the ANC and its media can be guaranteed.** This does not mean harmony only in relation to fundamental and questions related to the programme of the movement, but also to other documents such as the Freedom Charter, the Constitutional Guidelines and its topical and current resolutions. All these reflect ANC policy and should take pride of place in the ANC propaganda. **The politico-ideological starting points of ANC media are based on these**

documents.

A proper structure of the media is designed to serve the objective interests of the recipients the media is meant for. **The media of the ANC represents the objective interests of the black people and of those social forces that are interested in their struggle.** Given that the process of social differentiation among the South African people has progressively developed, showing features of a modern class society, and that the national liberation movement is not only struggling for the national liberation of the black people but also strives for the social emancipation of the entire South African people, it is only logical that our media must take into account the different levels of commitment among the forces engaged in the struggle. It goes without saying that in the coalition of class forces the media is expected to show great concern for the winning over the most downtrodden class, the workers, to the popular cause.

Because of the racist-colonial relations in our country it is necessary to differentiate between black and white workers. The majority of the white workers is up to this day more interested in the continuation of oppression than in its destruction. On the other hand, black workers have everything to gain from the eradication of the system. The fact that black workers constitute the numerically the largest and most revolutionary force should at all times be given attention in our propaganda work. Needless to say, this by no means suggests that the winning over of the white workers, and white people in general, should not be given attention in our propaganda.

By accommodating aspects of national liberation and socio-economic emancipation, our media provides support for the resolution of both the national and class questions. However, this explanation by no means implies that we are dealing with a communist media. The ANC media does not execute the politico-ideological functions for a Marxist-Leninist working class vanguard. It is not its task to instil into the proletariat the working class theory, nor to project the seizure of power as entailing the transformation of South Africa into a socialist state.

The ANC can only be satisfied that its media

is playing its historic role as expected when it has control over it. **The ANC can exercise its control function over the media by guaranteeing that the harmony between the media and its strategy and tactics not only exists but is effective.** It has already been stated that the



subordination of the media to the ANC leadership enables the latter to achieve political and ideological conformity of its media with the ANC positions. This is facilitated by the regular contacts between the journalists, and the ANC leaders so that they receive continuous and thorough updating and briefing on policy. This relationship is maintained via the following principles:

★ Institutional relations. These cover the relationship between the movement's structures and the media organs. This principle promotes the subordination of the journalistic organs of the movement to its leadership.

★ Personnel relations. These cover the relationship between the movement and the staffs of journalistic institutions. The journalists working in the movement's media structures are encouraged to be in the movement, so that they can abide by the movement's discipline. But at no stage should those who are not in the movement be forced to do so.

★ Economic relations. These cover the rela-

tionship between the movement and the economic institutions of media work, especially on the material-technical basis. The principal emphasis is that an organisation can only guarantee sound reliability and effectiveness of the media when it is in possession of adequate economic resources. Economic dependency in relation to media production can lead to the deformation of the content of the media. But this must be understood in this respect, that an organisation like ours, which is depending on international solidarity, is compelled not to follow the normal precedures in terms of operating but at the same time, through out its existence, it has ensured that it is politically and ideologically independent from its donors.

These principles which have been briefly explained above are closely associated with the most controversial issue in journalism, freedom of speech. It is not my intention to handle this aspect in this article. However, I feel obliged to stress that in no way are these principles an attack on freedom of speech. When we guarantee harmony between our media and our positions, does not suggest that anything opposed to the positions of the movement shall not be accommodated. Our media must be made a platform for exercising democracy, **but that democracy must serve the country and its people as a whole.** And indeed, as we shall see, the functions of this media are designed to serve our people and their country.

The Functions of the ANC media

The functions of journalism, just like its form and substance, are determined and shaped by the socio-economic formation in which the journalism is operating. Moving from this premise, it is impossible not to conclude that the functions of journalism are inseparably linked with the role of the social classes operating in that society. As the social purpose of journalism is to instil in society, a certain quality of social consciousness and politico-ideological relations which will regulate the social activities of the people in accordance with the needs of the society.

In relation to the media of the ANC, the main

function consists in imparting to the South African society a quality of social consciousness which will help to regulate social activities in harmony with the demands of our revolution. All the functions of the media are integrated into the following major categories:

★ politico-ideological relations. The political function dominates in the media of the ANC. It is preoccupied with the development of the political consciousness of the oppressed and exploited so that their political activities can be channelled in accordance with the political interests which are served by the media.

★ the cultural relations. This function exposes the oppression, suppression and exploitation of the art and culture of the oppressed black people. It also educates the target groups of the media about the value of art and culture as an important weapon of resistance against oppression.

★ the educational relations. Our media must be text books for people's education. It must educate the people of South Africa about their true history and that of their country. Social and natural subjects must have a place in our propaganda. The media must also contribute in the struggle for combating illiteracy.

In the light of the new developments in South Africa the question as to whether there is any need for a readjustment of our strategy and tactics, also relates to the media. The basic functions of the ANC-media remain valid. The oppressive system which the media has been fighting is still intact. The media is expected to carry out the following functions:

— to show that we are waging a just struggle, that the oppressed black people of our country are entitled to the right to self-determination just like any other nation;

— to portray the national liberation movement as the true representative of the people of South Africa as a whole;

— to instil and develop a deeply-rooted hatred and rejection of the racist-colonial system among the oppressed people, in particular, and the South African people, in general. This is done by exposing the brutal racist-national oppression, suppression and exploitation of our people. At the same time our people must be made aware of the

power they possess for the elimination of oppression;

— to make the aims, programme, strategy and tactics, principles and various forms of the ANC struggle known to the people;



— to convince the recipients of the media about the need for an active participation by our people in the struggle;

— to uphold the importance of unity in the struggle. It is to be explained that the unity, especially of the oppressed, is a basic prerequisite for our victory over the forces of reaction;

— to contribute in neutralising and winning over to our side those forces that are supporting the racist regime;

— to contribute in deepening the contradictions and differences in the present ruling class, party and the government;

— to counter the propaganda of the racist regime and its allies directed against the ANC and the liberation struggle in general. This does not mean reacting to each and every piece of the enemy's propaganda, as this will put us on the defensive. It is expected of our journalists to judge if the propaganda of the enemy has or does not have an effect on the activists or the masses before reacting to it;

— to explain the aims and interests of international imperialism in our country;

— to contribute in raising the morale of the fighting people. To make them aware that progressive people the world over are on their side, while the racist regime is isolated like never before;

— to engage in the struggle for the total international isolation of the regime. To show the importance and need for the diplomatic, cultural, military and economic isolation of the regime;

— to analyse the change of strategy and tactics in the enemy's camp and advise on the best way to react to it; For instance, in the current phase of our struggle, we cannot afford to address the issue of negotiations simply through broad formulations or react to moves by the enemy. If we do that we shall be overtaken by events and the regime will seize the strategic initiative. We must develop new ideas and respond boldly to new challenges. Our people must be thoroughly educated about the politics of negotiations.

This, therefore, means that while the basic functions of our media are still valid, there is nevertheless a need for tactical readjustment. The struggle for the peaceful resolution of the South African question, which has always been our duty, has to be waged under the conditions of South Africa and the world of today.



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade,

A response to an article written by P M Mtshaulana about electoral systems for a democratic South Africa. The article appeared in the February 1990 issue of *Sechaba*.

As we all know, for decades the vast majority of our people have been denied the democratic right to elect their leaders. But thanks to the democratic practice that prevails within the liberation movement, democratic procedure will not be a new thing. That is why I find it imperative to stress that "which way" in the case of the liberation movement is improperly used, as if we do not know which way to go to find an electoral system. Nevertheless, I find it correct to use the methods our people are used to, rather than trying to copy models that might create complications for us. I must add that flexibility is also required from our side to adapt certain models which will suit our conditions.

Universal franchise or one person one vote is for me, the most important tenet of democracy because for us in South Africa, it is imperative to define who is eligible to vote and who is not. We can lay out rules about issues such as age, but not on the right to vote and be voted for, irrespective of sex, colour or creed.

Regarding proportional representation, I think we must be very careful. We find ourselves in a unique situation, namely, that the minority rules the majority. This means that we must ensure that proportional representation does not mean that every racial group must be proportionally represented. For example, in Parliament, we should not find that blacks have a certain number of members of parliament because the blacks who voted are, say, 10 million and therefore Parliament must be proportionally dominated by blacks. Today, we have five million whites in South Africa, and according to proportional representation principles they have a right to claim a certain number of representatives equal to their population. That is not democratic at all. However, this system of representation can be applied after the elections, meaning that after the various political parties

have campaigned and won their respective constituencies, there will be the right for every political party to be represented in Parliament according to the number of seats they have won and not race or ethnicity. First and foremost it is imperative, that all previously-registered political parties must have access to the media, be it print, electronic or other. They must have freedom of movement during the election campaigns in order for them to articulate their policies to their followers. However, in South Africa it must be said that no political parties will be allowed to propagate perverse racist attitudes. This must not be regarded as undemocratic, but more as a democratisation process to eliminate racist tendencies.

Banning such political parties is not an ideal solution. A democratic solution would be to politicise such parties, but that process would be hard and protracted. After the elections have been conducted it is usual that contested parties be represented in parliament, provided they have reached the required percentage. Here again a model must be established in advance, e.g., that all contesting parties reach a certain percentage in order to be represented in Parliament.

In South Africa the question of a coalition may be problematic. From the side of the liberation movement it would not be a problem for the ANC and SACP to form a government. Of course, there will be other political parties — white or black or mixed, which would not agree with the ANC policies. Given that situation, the question of a coalition crops up. Who is going to work with whom. In fact, the question of coalition depends squarely on the politics of the day and the politics affecting the country.

A country like ours has been subjugated for years. Naturally, we are bound to have discrepancies in this complex process of democratisation. But all in all, I have confidence in our leaders and the masses, who despite the massive state oppression have clung to the principles of democracy, be it within the ANC, MDM, street committees and so on.

Linda Khumalo (ANC Student)

SOUTH AFRICA: TOWARDS A POST-APARTHEID ECONOMY

By a Sechaba Correspondent

The issue of a post-apartheid economy is a very prickly one. In all the meetings that have been held by the ANC with various groups from inside and outside South Africa, the almost overriding concern has been the ANC's perception of the future economy of a democratic South Africa. And, ever since the in-house seminar of the ANC which first discussed the ANC Constitutional Guidelines drawn up by its Constitutional Committee, the issue of a post-apartheid mixed economy and exactly what is meant by it, have been discussed widely by economists and politicians.

From April 29th to May 1st, in Harare, Zimbabwe, a consultative workshop on the post-apartheid economy for South Africa was held. It was attended by about 60 delegates drawn from the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Economic Trends Group, Economic Research on South Africa, the Centre for Development Studies, the Industrial Strategy Group and other organisations.

Each of the groups present has been engaged in economic studies aimed at looking at the various options open to the liberation movement. Therefore the major objective of the workshop was to begin the process of supporting the liberation movement with various policy options for a post-apartheid mixed economy. It must be stressed, however, that the workshop was not intended to produce any comprehensive manifesto or blueprint about a future economic order.

The most broadly-debated issues revolved around the questions of economic growth through redistribution, and the appropriate paths to follow out of the present apartheid economic crisis. Discussions also focused on certain immediate issues such as the building of a mixed economy, the financing of such an economic reconstruction and other current developments

in the economy. There was special focus on certain areas which were regarded as critical. Briefly stated, these areas were the following:

- macro-economic policy; macro-economic balance, industrial restructuring and planning, agriculture, the land question and nationalisation;
- international economic relations;
- the question of labour and labour relations, centralised bargaining and the relationship of working-class organisations to the future democratic and non-racial government;
- social welfare, health and pensions and the provision of basic goods and services to the people;
- local government and its financing;
- gender, and the mixed economy;
- sound monetary and fiscal policy.

Out of the heated debates on the issues raised above, there was consensus on a number of areas, particularly on the gross inequality that characterises the present South African apartheid economy. It was noted with serious concern that the present South African economy is dominated by a handful of conglomerates which wield tremendous power and influence on the political economy of South Africa. It was also noted with grave concern that the apartheid state is currently implementing a series of policies which will seriously inhibit the ability of a future non-racial government to achieve its objectives. These measures being undertaken now by the apartheid regime include privatisation, deregulation, the introduction of the Minerals Bill among others.

In the ensuing discussion, the immorality and the unacceptability of these measures was emphasised and it was felt that they needed to be reviewed and, if needs be, reversed. This was particularly the case with privatisation which the

present government is implementing and speeding up in order to shape the future South Africa's economy.

There was agreement also on the following areas:

— that there will be a crucial role for the democratic state to play, both as an active economic agent and a creator of the broad environment within which economic life will take place;

— that the private sector will also have a role to play in our future economic life;

— that the organised workers will play an important role in our economy and society;

— that growth should take place through redistribution;

— that a number of immediate issues should be

taken up as part of the process towards a post-apartheid South Africa. These include campaigns around the issue of privatisation, deregulation and the Minerals Bill;

— that future policy-oriented research should be encouraged in order to further give substantive meaning to the broad political and economic objectives of the masses of the people;

— that the final policy decisions will be taken by the organisations and their constituencies within their constitutional structures.

This is but a brief report on the workshop. A fuller report is going to be submitted to both COSATU and the ANC. In future issues, *Sechaba* will carry articles based on certain aspects of the discussions as a whole e.g. on the question of growth and redistribution.

NOTE TO OUR READERS

Constitutional Question

Sechaba sincerely apologises that it cannot publish in this issue, the second instalment of the draft of a paper by Albie Sachs in which he discusses the constitutional future of South Africa. The first instalment appeared in the May issue of *Sechaba* and the next will be in the July issue. We once again wish to apologise for the irregularity that has occurred. It was brought on us by factors beyond our control i.e. the situation in our country that is so eventful and changes continuously.

In the next issue of *Sechaba* we will also carry an interview and discussions on the forthcoming Zabalaza Festival which has been aptly dubbed "Celebrating a New Dawn in South Africa." This is a come-together of many of South Africa's artists — many of them unknown but important to us because they represent a new culture of struggle. It will take place in London from 2 - 15 July, 1990. Inquiries concerning this festival should be made to: The Co-ordinating Committee; the telephone numbers are: 071-284-3380 or 071-482-3753 (London).

BOOK REVIEWS

Angola and Namibia — changing the history of Africa, edited by David Deutschmann, Ocean Press, Australia, 1989.

Since World War II, the South African army has faced two major defeats — the retreat from Luanda in 1976 and the defeat at Cuito Cuavale in 1988. The effects of these defeats were far-reaching, for they showed that the racists were not invincible.

This book provides valuable evidence from this crucial period in Southern African history. It focuses on the Cuban involvement in Angola,

through historical interviews and speeches. Although published before the recent Namibian elections, it does include the New York agreements between South Africa, Angola, and Cuba which made those elections possible.

What is apparent throughout this compilation is the strength of the revolutionary spirit that motivated the Cuban action. Based on their own struggle for freedom and independence, they immediately identified with the Angolans' struggle against their Portuguese imperial masters. Knowing full well the difficulties they might face, Cuba nonetheless committed large numbers of troops

to the battle when Angola appealed for help against South Africa. That commitment never flagged over a period of 15 years.

A speech by Fidel Castro explains why Cuba was prepared to make this internationalist sacrifice:

"Let no-one think that a people loses something when it helps another ... Instead our country gains a great deal. Our revolutionary awareness and our political development gain from it ... That is why the imperialists are always wrong about Cuba, because they don't have the standards with which to measure such moral issues."

When the South Africans invaded in 1975 in an attempt to destroy their hard-won independence, the Cubans responded immediately to their African brothers' call for help. The rest is history — the retreat of the SADF, the dirty war in southern Angola through the 1980s and finally the decisive actions around Cuito Cuanavale. Those developments and their impact on the subsequent negotiations provide a tactical lesson for all revolutionaries — how to turn a bad situation to your advantage, and inflict a defeat on your surprised enemy.

Cuba, and Fidel Castro in particular, understood throughout these difficult years just how significant this area of struggle was. Had the South Africans been successful in their plans, they would have replaced the former colonies with compliant puppet-regimes. Instead, the Cuban effort has preserved Angola's sovereignty and contributed substantially to the independence of Namibia. Today, just 15 years since they so nearly took Luanda, the racists are confined within their own borders and facing the prospect of their own defeat in South Africa.

Interesting and little-known facts are presented about Cuban involvement at that time, including Che Guevara's work in Africa. The actions around Cuito Cuanavale are discussed by Castro in detail, and he confirms other reports that it was largely their loss of air superiority that led to the South African racists' defeat. An interview with Jorge Risquet provides further insight into how the Cubans analysed their enemy:

"These troops don't have high morale ... If

they had taken all the white troops to Namibia, blacks would have taken power in South Africa. In reality, South Africa is a military power with political feet of clay."

In December 1988, Fidel described to a public rally in Havana the events at Cuito Cuanavale in detail. Firstly he describes how FAPLA advanced on Unita without anticipating SADF intervention. When the SADF did intervene, it was on a large scale and aimed at pursuing and defeating the FAPLA force. At this point the Cuban government acted — sending substantial reinforcements of men and equipment. Then while the joint FAPLA-SWAPO-Cuban Force held their ground at Cuito, they launched an offensive from the southwest. The arrogant SADF were caught napping, and were entrapped — negotiations swiftly followed!

The material in this book touches on humanitarian aid provided by Cuba to many countries in Africa, but the emphasis is on the decisive military struggle in southern Angola. Perhaps now there will be more time to devote to the tasks of development and recovery, and to document Cuba's role in these aspects more fully.

Our fighting forces in Umkhonto we Sizwe have fought shoulder to shoulder with their Cuban brothers in some of those recent battles. We have witnessed what revolutionary internationalism means in practice, and how in the end it smashed South Africa's grip on Angola. Having learnt those lessons, we repeat the words, of Che and Fidel:

"Fatherland or death!"

"We will win!"

—Edgar

SUBVERTING APARTHEID: Education, Information and Culture under Emergency Rule. Published by IDAF Publications Ltd. (a publishing company of International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa), Price £2.00 London, 1990.

The message that consistently emerges from this book is the resilience of the South African people and how they cannot be crushed by the apart

heid regime. This IDAF publication, comprising three studies by authors working in education, culture and the media respectively, reveals how the State tried to squash the vision of a new South Africa by suppressing information and ideas that contributed to resistance. The book explores how these areas continued to develop despite the convoluted and draconian regulations the state used to consolidate its powers.

Ideas and information play a crucial role in the liberation struggle. The declaration of a nationwide State of Emergency in South Africa on June 12, 1986 — a few days prior to the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising — marked the beginning of a new attempt by the Pretoria regime to impose on people a new constitutional scheme preserving apartheid through the denial of full constitutional rights to the black majority. In order to conceal the brutality of what its police and army were doing, the regime imposed wide-ranging restrictions to limit access to information and its dissemination.

The fact paper admits that as it has focused on the struggle for information and ideas, the reports cannot fully convey the intensity of the violence with which the regime acted against those trying to bring about change in South Africa. In the period since September 1984 over 5 000 people were killed. Over 40 000 people were detained without trial. Many of the victims were children. The restrictions imposed on the media at this time were part of the regime's information offensive, integral to its "counter-revolutionary" strategy. Although permanent censorship laws already stifled the media, the restrictions imposed by the Emergency greatly affected the flow of information about resistance and the police and military reaction to it. The regime did not stop there. Journalists were harassed, attacked, detained and deported. The regime tried to keep out of South Africa journalists it suspected might be unsympathetic to its cause by refusing to issue or renew visas. Passports were refused to certain journalists wishing to travel overseas.

The apartheid government's efforts to smash 'People's Education' was just as brutal. At the time the Emergency was declared, the education struggle had entered a new phase — linking

education with the struggle for national liberation. 'Peoples Education,' according to the *Declaration on People's Education* adopted at a meeting of the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC) in 1985, enabled the oppressed to understand the evils of apartheid and prepared them for participation in a non-racial democratic system. The regime had other ideas. It believed that education could be used to create political compliance amongst black workers and the middle strata and help stimulate economic growth. It hoped to achieve this by halting political mobilisation in the sphere of education and attempted to implement this through detaining students and teachers, invading schools and classrooms, teargassing and beating pupils and killing children on the streets. Defiance grew and by mid-1989 the strategy of the education struggle had developed a new coherence, bringing together some of the themes that had developed under the State of Emergency. Despite the severity of repression under the State of Emergency, the regime failed to destroy organisations mobilising in the education sphere.

The same applied to culture. Despite the State of Emergency making certain forms of popular culture illegal, people's culture flourished. The singing of political songs, toyi-toyi dancing, graffiti with political slogans and 'people's parks' (which use the content, symbols and images from political posters) have become methods of political resistance when other organised activities are banned and silenced.

This is a well-researched and accurate fact paper that charts the regime's attempts to crush popular resistance through the State of Emergency; however, there is one gripe ... Pretoria's bumbling and infamous Bureau for Information is referred to variously as the Department of Information, the Bureau of Information and the Bureau for Information — an irritating inaccuracy that detracts from the impact of the publication.

—DMS

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