

Journal of the African National Congress

MAYIBUYE

February 1992

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

**NELSON
MANDELA**
looking
ahead

EDUCATION

Is there any way out?

PAUL SIMON

"Lekker concert but ..."

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Readers speak out

THE LABOUR PARTY

Dear comrades
It is a bare fact that many comrades in the teaching profession, like myself, have all these years been suppressed and victimised by the Labour Party. The Labour Party's support for the Patriotic Front Conference is simply an opportunistic move.
MJF, Port Elizabeth

Ed: The Labour Party attended the Patriotic Front Conference as an observer. The party says it supports the ideals of the Front.

Technically, it qualified to attend the Conference in that capacity. Politically, the ANC believes it is wrong to chase away a potential ally, even if the issues on which we agree with it might be limited. The correctness of this approach is being borne out in Codesa. However, this does not mean that we should not continue

to challenge oppression and repression wherever they occur, no matter who might be responsible.

HOUSING

Dear comrades
I find your housing articles very interesting. I would like to know what steps can be taken to stop the habit of getting housing only from private developers. Our parents have been refused permission to buy houses. All sites have been allocated to developers and well-known persons such as the KwaZulu Government, the mayors and councillors.

The same thing is happening with Ezakheni Township (Ladysmith) which is under KZG. The only housing available is from developers which is high cost (about R60 000). The Community Councillors must provide us with serviced sites.
STM, Umlazi

Ed: This is a burning issue in most parts of the country. It is your right to challenge such practices as a united community. In many areas communities have formed civic associations to address this and other problems.

It is necessary to assist the people of Ezakheni to form their own association – if it does not exist – or to strengthen an existing one.

ANC members

must take active part in such campaigns.

ETHNIC PROBLEM

Dear comrades
I am a member of the ANC working in Port Elizabeth, originally from Durban. My problem is that since I am Zulu-speaking, the Xhosa's say I am an Inkatha member. I've tried several times explaining to them what is going on in Durban. They even give me the impression that Zulus are not welcome in the ANC.

Do they expect the Zulu-speaking ANC members to break away and form their political party. I don't think I am the only one facing this problem. We should not allow this to happen to us since we are all blacks.

VP, Swartkop Valley

Ed: Your experience is disheartening because it reflects the effect that political violence has had on communities. Those harassing you do not represent the ANC. Even if they might be members, they do not understand its policy: because the ANC is a non-ethnic, non-racial organisation. It has members in all parts of the country, including more than 100 000 in the three Natal regions. In fact, those who carry out violent actions against communities – in the name of the Zulu people – do not represent the interests of the majority of the

people. To respond to this violence in the manner that you describe only strengthens the forces of violence. This is partly what the regime and its allies hope to achieve through this strategy.

WHERE ARE THE WOMEN IN CODESA?

Dear Comrades
South Africa is on the brink of decisive change. But it seems that the power to decide what the new democratic South Africa should be like is in the hands of men. Women are not a minority, and it is time we stop allowing men to determine our future.

The ANC says it stands for a non-sexist South Africa. Let's see that put into practice in the corridors of power, including Codesa!
MS, Dhlamini

GOOD WISHES

Dear comrades
I would like to take this opportunity to wish all the members of *MAYIBUYE*, the leaders of the ANC and all its members best wishes for the New Year. Happy 80th birthday! Keep up the good work and may freedom be ours soon.

JV, Bronkhorstspuit

Ed: Our sincere thanks to all those readers for their kind wishes. Space does not allow us to publish all these letters. But please keep those letters rolling in. ♦



Write to:

MAYIBUYE

PO Box 61884

Marshalltown

Johannesburg 2107

Time is of the essence

South Africa starts the new year poised for great happenings. Exciting times lie ahead as the country grapples with how to move from apartheid to a democratic future.

If the Codesa Declaration of Intent is anything to go by, that we are moving to democracy is no longer at issue. At least in word, the overwhelming majority of political organisations accept the principle of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state. This is a measure of the achievements of the ANC and other democratic forces who have stood by these ideals through thick and thin.

As *MAYIBUYE* went to press, FW de Klerk was about to open the racist parliament. Democratic forces over the years have highlighted the illegitimacy of this institution. Today, this is accepted as fact across the board.

On balance, the tricameral parliament has become virtually irrelevant. The focus, even by the most conservative, is on Codesa: for there is where real decisions about South Africa's future are being taken. Under intense discussion in Codesa's Working Groups are broad outlines of a democratic system and a viable path towards this objective.

The only act of consequence that the tricameral parliament can undertake in its present sitting is to pass Codesa decisions and fold up. This will close a chapter of betrayal of South Africa's real interests.

The negotiations train is in motion. But there are many tracks leading in

many directions. Some lead to a dead end and disaster. It is necessary, in particular, to avoid a situation in which transitional structures like Codesa and Interim Government become an end in themselves, with a glorified momentum of their own. Transition is nothing but transition. And time is of the essence.

The first real step towards the resolution of South Africa's problems will be the emergence of a democratic constitution and government. Progress should therefore be measured in terms of movement towards this goal. Speed is crucial.

Endless discussion in Codesa will only worsen uncertainty within society. The proposals for all kinds of shoddy elections and referenda, and a prolonged transitional government, will perpetuate social instability. Those who oppose the whole exercise will have time to consolidate their forces to wreak havoc. Opportunists of all hues will take advantage of the divisions and bitterness.

In this issue of *MAYIBUYE* we put forward the ANC's vision of how the process should unfold. Emphasis is on a simple process with short time frames. This is not to undermine the possible complications, including the problem of violence.

But precisely because a democratic vote for a Constituent Assembly will represent an exercise of their sovereignty, South Africans must ensure that this is realised before year-end.

Let us grasp the nettle. ♦

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N**MONTY MOTLOUNG
RELEASED**

MK cadre Monty Motlounge, 34, has been released from a Cape Town prison hospital. He was arrested with Solomon Mahlangu after the Gogh Street, Johannesburg, shooting.

Motlounge suffered brain injuries due to severe torture and was unfit to stand trial. He was declared a State President's patient. Solomon Mahlangu was hanged on April 6 1979.

E**ANC REFINES
NEGOTIATIONS
APPROACH**

In its 80th anniversary statement on January 8 1992, the ANC made important interventions on the organisation's approach to the forthcoming negotiations. The statement sets out clear time-frames for the process – the target being elections for a Constituent Assembly this year. Agreement has first to be reached on the constitution-making body before the Interim Government can be formed.

Four areas: security forces, state media, budget and electoral process, have been identified as crucial to fall under interim multi-party control. Negotiations over other aspects of government should be facilitated as much as possible, but should not delay movement towards a Constituent Assembly. (See interview page 7 and chart page 11)

**ANC RESPONDS TO
VRYE WEEKBLAD
ALLEGATIONS**

The ANC denied *Vrye Weekblad* allegations that two ANC intelligence officers "Ricky" and "Mao", were instructed to offer an AWB member R50 000 to assassinate Glory

"September" Sidebe. Sidebe is a former ANC member who defected to the South African Police and was involved in the murder of many ANC operatives.

"The African National Congress unequivocally denies any involvement in a conspiracy to commit murder. As the *Vrye Weekblad* itself admits, the journal does not believe the alleged assassination fee came from the ANC's treasury" says the ANC.

The allegations appeared in the 17-23 January 1992 issue. In a story appearing under Jacques Pauw's by-line, one of the newspaper's senior reporters, it is further alleged that Patrick Lekota, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, was responsible for paying out R12 000 to one Daniel Jacobus Odendaal in return for information on weapons purchases for the far-right.

The ANC said it is in the nature of the assignment that Lekota has been given that he should have occasion to seek sources of information among the far-right. "This is an accepted practice that does not violate any moral code. Neither Comrade Lekota nor the ANC can disavow the need to engage in such activity, especially in the context of the declared intention of the far-right to attack members of the ANC and the democratic movement."

The ANC said it has launched a thorough investigation to uncover all the facts. The findings will be made public as soon as they are available.

**ANC OPPOSES VISIT
OF DUTCH PRIME
MINISTER**

The ANC has characterised the planned February visit to

South Africa by Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers and Foreign Minister Van den Beck as ill-timed and premature. It also found it regrettable that the Dutch government made no effort to find out ANC views on the visit.

According to the ANC, such a visit would confer legitimacy on an illegitimate regime. "There is still time for the government and people of The Netherlands to reconsider and call off this ill-timed and premature visit which, if it goes ahead, can only damage their record as champions against apartheid and fighters for peace and democracy" said the ANC.

**GOVERNMENT'S
POVERTY RELIEF
PROGRAMME**

The ANC says that it comes as no surprise to learn that the Department of National Health and Population Development has distributed merely R14.75m of the R200m relief fund launched last August.

The fund was intended to counter the effect of VAT on the very poor. It charged that the government does not know who the poverty-stricken people are, or where they live.

"Experts claim that the introduction of VAT on basic foodstuffs resulted in a three to five percent increase in the cost of living for the poor. And while the government will collect R420m as a result of VAT on basic foodstuffs, it only awarded R220m for relief, a paltry amount considering the scale of the problem and given that food prices increased by a massive 25 per cent last year," it says.

The organisation reiterates the demands made to Barend du Plessis that basic foods, medicines, medical services, electricity and water must be

roundup

exempted from VAT until proper consultation.

"National Health Minister Rina Venter's statement that she would press for a doubling of the R220m in the next Budget rings hollow. It is essential that organisations of civil society be involved in monitoring both poverty and the relief programmes established to see that the needs of the poor are addressed with the urgency the situation demands," says the ANC.

APARTHEID NOT BURIED YET

Apartheid, we are told, is dead. But it certainly is not buried. In January 1992 there were still at least 14 acts of the apartheid parliament which apply only to certain "races". They extend from the laws concerning who can vote in local elections, to the houses of parliament, homelands, and compulsory national service which excludes all blacks. Pensions and education are racially organised.

The most extraordinary law is the Probation Services Act of 1986 which provides for the rendering of welfare services to white prisoners and their families. It totally excludes other races. The so-called Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983, with its division into "general" and "own affairs" excludes Africans from parliament.

RURAL CONFERENCE

Worcester played host to a major Western Cape rural areas conference in December. This comes after the ANC July Conference decision to pay more attention to the rural areas.

Sixty eight areas were represented. Apart from the ANC, a number of other structures, including advice

offices and development agencies, were represented. Resolutions adopted included:

- sub-regions be created with their chairpersons on the REC and that organisers should have free access to farmworkers;
- Afrikaans/Xhosa should be used whenever addressing rural areas;
- refusing to take part in the Consultative Forums created under the Interim Measures for Local Government Act;
- a commission be established to look into Land Claims and the establishment of a Land Claims Court;
- the ANC's Local Government Commission must develop a comprehensive housing policy; and
- the government must accept its responsibility for housing.

The workshop called upon the ANC to review its policy towards the Independent Development Trust.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT AT LOCAL LEVEL?

The ANC PWV region is against Johannesburg City Council plans to use the army to curb the city's high crime rate. The army has not been trained in police science, and the region fears that "excessive force and violence will be used. In the past when the army was deployed in residential areas this resulted in unnecessary deaths, not only of civilians but also that of police officers."

When violence broke out in the Reef in 1990, analysts pointed out that the country was being pushed into accepting military rule. Is authoritarianism creeping up from local government level? ♦



Former Inkatha Freedom Party member, Mbongeni Khumalo, at a press conference hosted by the *Weekly Mail*. Khumalo insists that Buthelezi could not have been unaware of the payments made to Inkatha by state agencies. "Buthelezi controls Inkatha like his own household," said Khumalo.

Reacting to allegations made by Khumalo that IFP personnel had received SADF training, Buthelezi said they were "a blatant lie". He went on to accuse the *Weekly Mail* editors and staff of being "loyal sycophants" of the ANC.

ANC turns 80



On January 8 1992 the rugby stadium in Bloemfontein hosted a rally to celebrate the ANC's 80th anniversary.

From daybreak, buses churned out toyi-toying supporters from neighbouring townships and other areas. Even the grey-headed were there, hardly able to walk. They were joined by dignitaries from other organisations and countries. The crowd sang, danced and listened to speeches.

When the Isithwalandwe-Seaparankoe awards had been presented, the cake cut and the toast rendered, Blondie, Mzwakhe Mbuli and other musical groups continued to entertain the crowd.

Earlier, ANC leaders had visited the Mangaung house of founder member, Thomas Maphikela, and planted a "tree of freedom".

Around the stadium, curious whites witnessed the event from rooftops. Bloemfontein's deputy mayor summed up the significance of the event at the city hall reception late that afternoon: they were also proud to have hosted the founding of a major player in South African politics. Perhaps Codesa should be held there, he quipped. In reply, ANC Deputy President Walter Sisulu agreed with him.

Other ANC regions held their rallies on January 8 or the weekend thereafter.◆



The process is firmly in our grasp



Interview with Nelson Mandela

MAYIBUYE: In the January 8 statement the NEC asserts that the strategic initiative is firmly in the hands of the democratic forces. What are the facts?

NM: One of the most important political developments in the history of this country is the holding of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). That process is firmly in our grasp. We have the support of the majority of the political parties. No other organisation has enjoyed the support which we have been able to muster for this process.

Secondly, this is merely a culmination of an initiative which we have taken since 1986 when we outlined our positions for a negotiated settlement. We have forced the regime to abandon its ideological position of apartheid – in whose defence they sent thousands of leading activists to jail and even took lives – and to embrace our position of a non-racial society. That is one of the greatest achievements which puts us ahead of the regime strategically.

MAYIBUYE: But the regime still controls huge resources including the army and the police!

NM: It is correct that they control huge resources. But we have grasped this initiative in struggle in spite of the huge resources the

regime enjoys. It is also doubtful whether they actually have control of the SADF and the SAP. It is true that they are paying them but that is something totally different from control. The perception that we have is that the government has lost control of the security forces.

MAYIBUYE: Codesa working groups have just gone into session. Can you briefly outline ANC positions on strategic issues?

NM: We want to use the Codesa platform to create an ideal climate for free political activity. We are confident that we have the support of the masses. It is therefore in our interest as an organisation and in the interest of the entire struggle that there should be a climate for free political activity.

We also have a group on the constitution. We regard the present constitution as illegitimate and discredited. It is therefore necessary for us to have a constitution which will mirror the hopes of the majority of the population in this country. And to have that constitution means that the political process in this country will be normalised.

We are convinced that the present apartheid regime cannot supervise the transition from an apartheid society to a non-racial democracy. That is why, therefore, we have insisted on the setting up of an Interim Government which is going to supervise the transitional process.

We want re-incorporation of the TBVC states. We have fought right from the beginning against the policy of separate development, the dismemberment of the country and, specifically, the creation of independent bantustans. There is a working group to deal with this question.

Codesa also has a working group on time



frames. We can't set dates as far as that is concerned, except to say that we would like the Interim Government to be introduced within six months at the most. We would like a Constituent Assembly to be called before the end of the year. That is the ANC's position.

MAYIBUYE: What are the key differences between the ANC and the NP around which important debates in Codesa will take place?

NM: There are many areas where there is no agreement between the ANC and the NP. Firstly, their constitutional proposals are based on principles designed to prevent the introduction of majority rule. There can be no compromise on that. They just have to accept majority rule.

We are also not in favour of this collegiate in leadership – that there should be three to five presidents or that the presidents should rotate. We are not agreed also on the question of federalism. We know that the regime has always maintained the view of a unitary state. We want that to be maintained. But I must hurry to say that we are not very concerned with labels – unitary state, federalism, regionalism. We want substance.

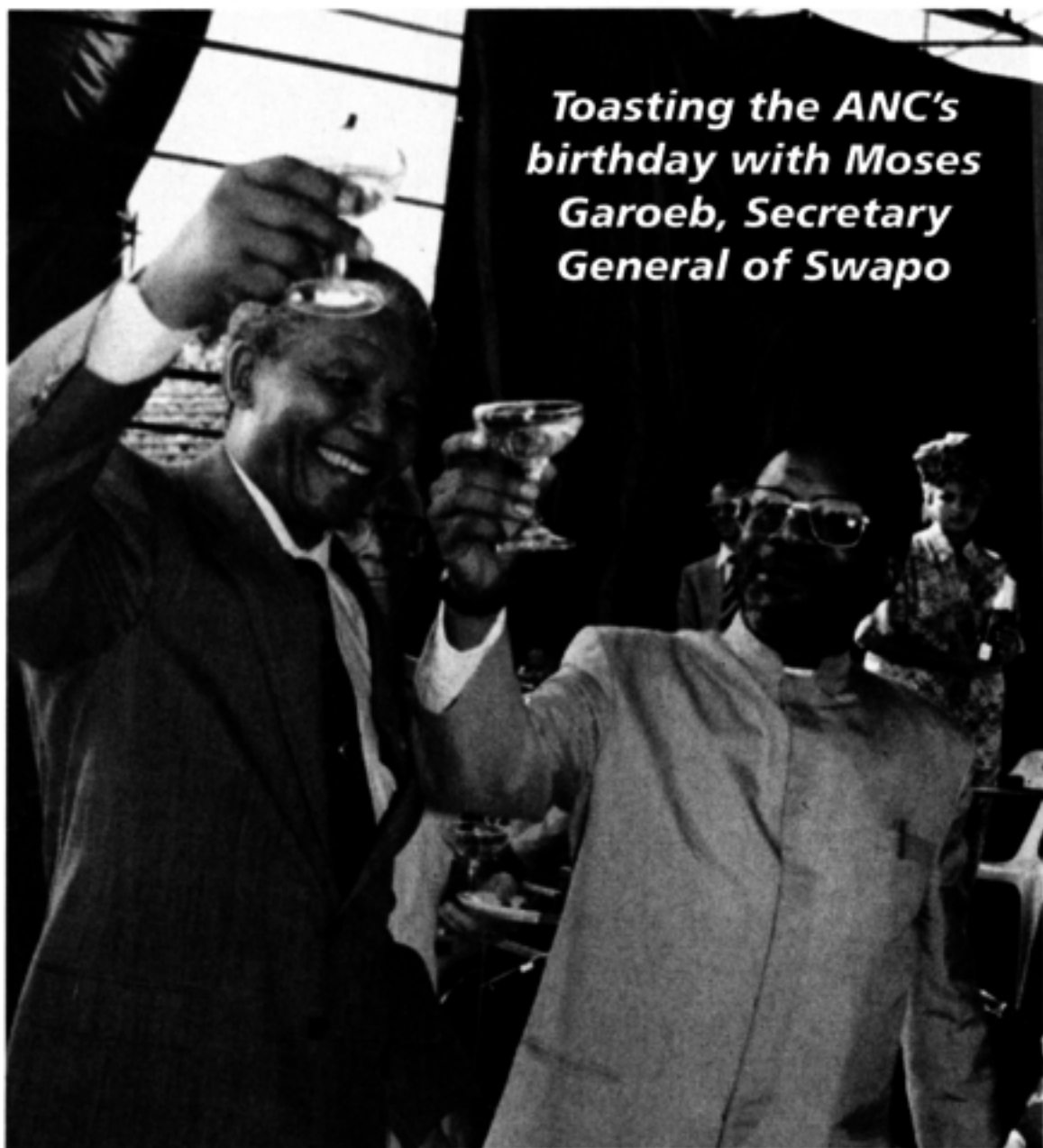
There are also issues like their proposals for an interim government – meant to last many years, and the white referendum. We see this as a cunning trap to delay the democratic process and perpetuate white minority rule.

MAYIBUYE: The ANC has declared 1992 the year of Constituent Assembly elections. Is this possible?

NM: If we did not think that was possible, we would not have made the declaration. As an organisation we are prepared to put aside everything to make sure that Constituent Assembly elections are held this year.

But of course we must work with other political parties, more particularly the regime. We have no doubt that it is the hope and dream of the overwhelming majority – if not all the political parties who have signed the Codesa Declaration of Intent – that a Constituent Assembly should be in place this year. We hope that we will be able to persuade the regime also to take the same position.

MAYIBUYE: In the anniversary statement you identify four areas that an Interim Government must control as well as socio-economic forums. Is the ANC still demanding a comprehensive Interim Government?



NM: No, if you mean that a comprehensive Interim Government should enjoy exactly the same powers as both the existing parliament and executive. We have identified at least the armed forces, state media, budget and electoral processes as areas that should be under firm multi-party control.

These four are absolutely crucial for the transition. We also talk about socio-economic forums to deal with issues like health, education and housing. The details of our position will be addressed in due course.

MAYIBUYE: The ANC rejects the regime's proposals about a transitional government and constitution. Is the ANC in principle against an interim constitution?

NM: Yes. What would be the purpose of having an interim constitution when we can adopt a permanent constitution for the country? If we adopted an interim constitution we would in fact be perpetuating government by the minority. We do not want that. We want a government which expresses the aspirations of the majority of the people in this country.

What this country wants in order to bring about peace and security is a democratic government which has got a broad base. It must be a popular government and not a minority government. That should be done as speedily



as possible. There is no need for an interim constitution. There will of course be amendments to the existing constitution for the transition. But that is a different matter.

MAYIBUYE: Don't you think that the National Party is obliged to seek the approval of its constituency about transitional mechanisms, as they promised in the 1989 tricameral election?

NM: We see no reason for that. What would be the purpose of us entering these negotiations and coming to decisions if those negotiations and decisions can still be undone by a white minority? Why would the government come and negotiate with us in the first place without a mandate? They told us that they had a mandate to do so.

We do not understand at all the reasons why the government would commit itself to a course of action on the basis that they have authority to do so and then go and duplicate the process and ask again for authority. The regime must now stop thinking in terms of the interests of whites alone. They must think in terms of the entire population of the country. Codesa reflects the entire population of the country and there is no need to consult any particular population group.

MAYIBUYE: The ANC says that the tricameral parliament is illegitimate and illegal but it has agreed that Codesa decisions should be passed by this parliament. Why?

NM: We don't recognise this parliament and we consider it as illegitimate and totally discredited. In fact the United Nations Security Council, at our request, declared the existing constitution null and void. We stand by that position.

Nevertheless, it is the highest legal authority in the country today. Decisions of Codesa cannot be invested with legal authority without getting that legal authority from this parliament.

MAYIBUYE: What happens if parliament doesn't pass Codesa decisions?

NM: If the National Party and other parties in the tricameral parliament are committed to the peaceful process – and Codesa is the gateway through which we must embark on the way to the normalisation of the political process in this country – the present parliament will have to give legal effect to Codesa decisions.

MAYIBUYE: What is your response to allegations that the ANC has deviated from decisions of the Patriotic Front (PF)?



Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC Secretary General

NM: Everything that we are doing is consistent with the decisions that were taken at the PF conference. As you know most of the political organisations which were involved in the PF are now in Codesa. There has been no deviation on the part of the ANC and nobody has indicated to us precisely where we have deviated.

The decision to have an All-Party Congress (now Codesa) convened without delay was taken at the PF conference. The conference also called for an Interim Government/Transitional Authority and an elected Constituent Assembly. These are the demands the ANC is pursuing in Codesa. Those who have run away from Codesa are in fact the ones who are violating the decisions of the PF conference.

MAYIBUYE: The Patriotic Conference resolved last October to convene again in six months. What is to happen given the schism with the PAC?

NM: There is nothing that will prevent us from carrying out that resolution of the PF. In fact we are confident that another PF will be convened within the six months from last October.

MAYIBUYE: What is the ANC's approach to the SADF and the SAP in the current phase?

NM: What we demand is an armed force and a police force which are capable of defending the principles on the basis of which a demo-



cratic South Africa will be formed. The present army and police force are so structured and have got such a background that we cannot rely exclusively on them to defend those democratic gains. Therefore they will have to be restructured and re-orientated if they are going to be agencies for the protection of democracy.

In the current phase we call on soldiers and police to observe the National Peace Accord principles and join the march to democracy.

MAYIBUYE: What is your assessment of the danger of the extreme rightwing?

NM: I won't spend any sleepless nights over the threat of military action from the rightwing. They can be of no more danger than the Ossewa Brandwag was during the war years, and that danger the country was able to face.

But the regime must accept the necessity of an Interim Government without delay because, as long as the affairs of the country are run by a white a minority regime, it will be difficult to deal with the rightwing. Ultimately, the rightwing and the problems that its existence raise can only be effectively dealt with by a democratic government, representing the majority.

MAYIBUYE: How will that democratic government deal with them?

NM: If a democratic government is in control of the armed forces and the police, then it is in a better position to deal with the dangers posed by the rightwing.

MAYIBUYE: A military solution?

NM: No, not necessarily a military solution. If you address the grievances of the people and meet their just demands, that is one way of mobilising South Africa on the side of democracy. Any group which is opposed to democracy can easily be sidelined.

MAYIBUYE: In addressing the issue of white fears you recently expressed the opinion that consideration should be given to an entrenched bloc of seats. In view of the rejection of this idea in both the conservative and liberal media, are you reconsidering your views?

NM: What I am concerned with is the importance of addressing white fears. All options must be explored. We have published the most progressive policy in this country and there is no political organisation – either inside or outside parliament – which has a policy that can compare with ours. Despite that



Codesa democracy: handshake after battle

whites still fear majority rule, although we have explained that we are not thinking in terms of black majority rule.

By majority rule we mean that a political party which polls the most votes assumes government. That's what has been happening in white politics in this country. Nevertheless they continue being concerned.

We therefore require as the liberation movement to address those fears. I am not just concerned with the question of bloc seats – that is one option.

We must think of other options as well that will address these white fears.

MAYIBUYE: What is your view on the readiness of the ANC to meet current challenges?

NM: We are ready to meet some and are readying ourselves to meet other challenges. We are now in a position to command very large popular support. At the moment there is no other political organisation that commands the mass support that we enjoy.

We are aware, however, of the discrepancy between the membership which we command and the popular support that we enjoy. We must remove that gap and turn that popular support into membership so that we are in a position to conduct an organised and disciplined political struggle and to have a well co-ordinated programme.

I have already indicated that we are in command as far as the peace process is concerned. We have the support of the majority of parties that are involved in Codesa. Therefore we are in a position potentially to meet the challenges which are posed by minority rule. We are in a position to strive very effectively for the introduction of a democratic government. ♦





NEGOTIATIONS STEP-BY-STEP DRAFT PROPOSALS

STRUCTURE	TASKS	TIME FRAME		
CODESA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working Groups negotiate agreements on free political activity, Interim Government, Constituent Assembly, reincorporation of TBVC territories, role of international community, time frames and implementation • Agreements adopted by full sittings of Codesa • Agreements drafted into Bills by Codesa sub-structures • Bills passed by tricameral parliament 	February 1992 <i>3-4 months</i> April/May 1992		
Interim Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interim Government set up to supervise transition • Starts with immediate implementation of control over security forces, public media, electoral process, budget and finance, socio-economic forums, etc 	May 1992 <i>1 month</i> May 1992		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailed negotiations over any other areas of government continue and implementation as agreement is reached • Campaign for elections • Registration of voters or any other mechanisms agreed on • Elections for Constituent Assembly 	June 1992 <i>4 months</i> September 1992		
Constituent Assembly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elects chair and establishes rules of procedure • Negotiates new constitution on the basis of constitutional principles agreed on at Codesa • Adopts new Constitution 	October 1992 <i>3 months</i> December 1992		
Formation of a democratic parliament and government	<table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; border-right: 1px dashed black; padding-right: 10px;"> Option 1 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constituent Assembly converts itself into the first National Assembly • Election of any other house of parliament • Formation of democratic government • Interim Government dissolves • Election of regional governments </td> <td style="width: 50%; padding-left: 10px;"> Option 2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constituent Assembly dissolves • Election of new parliament • Formation of democratic government • Interim Government dissolves • Election of regional governments </td> </tr> </table>	Option 1 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constituent Assembly converts itself into the first National Assembly • Election of any other house of parliament • Formation of democratic government • Interim Government dissolves • Election of regional governments 	Option 2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constituent Assembly dissolves • Election of new parliament • Formation of democratic government • Interim Government dissolves • Election of regional governments 	Jan/Feb 1993 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <i>2-3 months</i> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <i>3-4 months</i> </div> </div> April/May 1993
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Democratic Government set up	Formal end of apartheid rule	FREEDOM DAY		

Who benefits from violence?

A few weeks ago, the source of political violence was clear: elements within the SAP and SADF and armed groups connected to the state. Today, increased actions of the extreme right-wing and claims by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) have muddied the waters.

Focus on violence

Very few political organisations anywhere in the world condemn violence in principle and for all time. Least of all in South Africa, where massive state repression and armed struggle by the ANC have been a recent reality. Most individuals and political groupings found themselves on one or other side of the political divide.

Therefore at issue today is not just the morality or otherwise of violence as a political weapon. It is also

the political cause being pursued and the usefulness of violence as a strategy in the current phase.

Who benefits from violence?

In the past two years, the major character of the violence in the PWV has been rampant attacks on communities by death squads and armed groups from hostels. In Natal, areas controlled by warlords have been the main source of violence. And in the Western Cape, what started off seemingly as a conflict among taxi groups, ended up with random attacks against communi-

ties. Police and SADF elements have been identified as part of the campaign.

The trend fits the description in Low Intensity Conflict manuals perfectly: destabilisation of communities to prevent democratic change.

By demanding the unbanning of organisations, release of prisoners, repeal of security legislation and so on, the democratic movement sought to achieve a situation in which all organisations could conduct their business without repression. This would also lay the basis for a negotiated resolution of South Africa's problems. The unbanning of organisations created an opening that had to be widened all the time.

FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY

In this situation, saving people's lives, ensuring peace in the communities and achieving free political activity assume crucial importance. The democratic movement is best able to strengthen itself for the task of transfer of power. The ANC's suspension of armed actions should be seen in this light.

On the other hand, opponents of the democratic movement seek to narrow this space by creating havoc within communities and making it difficult for the unbanned organisations to operate.

There are broad common interests between the extreme right-wing, elements within the state and their surrogates. Besides the claims by

Inkathagate: more revelations, fewer denials

Adriaan Maritz and some right-wingers that some of their actions were at the instruction of state security services, all these forces hope to prevent genuine democratic change. They see violence as a political lever to force concessions out of the democratic movement during negotiations. However, they do differ on the form and extent of such violence as well as their long-term political aims.

Where then do the likes of the Azanian People's Liberation Army of the PAC and the Azanian Liberation Army of the BCMA fit in this scenario?

In a situation in which disruption of community life is the counter-revolutionary strategy, to start hurling grenades at a music promotion company is to assist enemies of democracy.

PEACE ACCORD

The Peace Accord lays the rules for free political activity and sets out guidelines which would assist in preventing violence and identifying the perpetrators.

To start a campaign of attacking ordinary policemen in the townships – after the signing of the Accord – not only heightens tensions. It also creates the conditions for those who are bent on repression to undermine free political activity. It assists enemies of democracy to mobilise the police to act against the democratic movement. Supporters and potential supporters of the peace process among these forces can therefore be driven away. (See page 16)

Low Intensity Conflict against genuine democratic change is the strategy of significant elements within the state in the current phase. Though they pursue a more radical political agenda, extreme right-wing groups assist in this strategy.

And with the PAC and BCMA, it is a tragic case of a revolutionary-sounding slogan and action serving counter-revolutionary ends. ♦

A former Inkatha leader has decided to come clean. His revelations are damning both to the regime and Inkatha. A *MAYIBUYE* correspondent pieces the puzzle together.

Mbongeni Khumalo, former organiser of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, says he discovered that in Inkatha he was nothing more than a pawn in a game controlled from the Union Buildings. He decided to quit and spill the beans.

From his revelations, the jigsaw puzzle starts to fall into place.

SADF TRAINING

A few years ago, the SADF started training Inkatha members. Israel and other western countries have, allegedly, been involved. This, it is alleged, included instruction on terrorist attacks, propaganda and organisation. Front companies were used extensively for this purpose.

The training was meant to assist Inkatha in its war against the democratic movement. Inkatha's control



of the KwaZulu Police was seen as inadequate. It was also part of preparations for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners.

Inkatha was seen as a counter-weight to the ANC. Once the liberation movement was unbanned and some formal changes introduced to the repressive system, the political leadership of the National Party would present a clean public face. At the same time, a ruthless war, difficult to pin on the state itself, would be

*Themba Khoza,
accused of being
trained by Military
Intelligence*



continued from previous page

waged against the democratic movement.

The plans therefore did not stop after February 2, 1990. They were meant precisely for this period. The war spread to the PWV, eastern Transvaal and other areas.

INKATHA YOUTH

Khumalo talks about the training of Transvaal Inkatha youth, including Themba Khoza. Remember Khoza's arrest with AK rifles at the scene of the September 1990 Sebokeng hostel massacre? And was it a slip when Central Committee member Musa Myeni threatened last year that Inkatha would deploy hundreds of trained men in the Reef?

Politically, these plans fit the troika "major players" concept ex-

cellently. At the same time, attempts were being made to push the ANC to fumble and emerge as villain.

As the constitutional process unfolds, another spoke is being put into the wheels. Whispers of an independent Zulu kingdom are starting to spread. The National Party seems quite comfortable with someone else playing dirty on its behalf. The Conservative Party feels vindicated: the demand for a Boer "kingdom" will not after all sound that weird.

All this has a long history: the formation of Inkatha many years ago with the blessing of the ANC and what the ANC saw as betrayal in 1979.

Patriots such as Bishop Zulu, Walter Dladla and Reverend Bhe-

ngu tried to stick to the founding aims.

AGENTS OF THE REGIME

Some fell foul of the top leadership. Former agents of the regime say Inkatha was heavily monitored. In time, individuals such as the other Khumalo (MZ), accused of direct links with state intelligence, rose to prominence.

The decision of Mbongeni Khumalo to break ranks shows that the saga is not yet over.

Will other leaders brave pressures to come clean? Will there always be agreement between Inkatha and its sponsors? The interplay between blind ambition, short-sightedness, further exposures and all-round pressure will be crucial. ♦

Right-wing danger: fact

Many factors should be considered in assessing the extreme right-wing danger, argues a correspondent.

It is reported that the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) resolved, at its last conference, to start a Boer War in one-thousand days – that is, slightly over two-and-half years. In case you are relieved that Armageddon is a while away, they also decided to start if an Interim Government is set up before the one thousand days are over.

Their target: the ANC alliance and "reformists" in the government. Regional structures of the AWB have been instructed to compile the necessary lists.

Attacks which came after Codesa seem to confirm the worst, though they have been claimed by previously unknown groups: in the right-wing, "they breed like flies". Most of them see Codesa as the beginning of an Interim Government.

So is the Boer War raging? The choice of tar-

gets – racially-integrated schools, post offices and others – is meant to show their rejection of integration. But there is also an ominous ring: attacks on government symbols as in the pro-Hitler *Ossewa Brandwag* campaign five decades ago.

There is another interesting trend. During 1990, bombs were directed at the black community. When attacks by death squads started in earnest, these actions all but dried up.

There are many possible reasons for this. Firstly, some warriors of the previous campaign were arrested, which might have affected their capacity. Secondly, most of them might have been so involved in death squads that they saw no reason for their own operations. Thirdly, as the AWB resolved, they had to wait for an opportune political moment.

IMAGINED FEARS

The right-wing thrives on real or imagined fears. Some of them derive from blatant racism. Others from declining living standards and "worse to come" in future.

While the Conservative Party polled 31 percent and the National Party 48 percent of the vote in the last white election, the swing to the right is massive. Defections from local NP com-

PAC: reaching a dead-end?

Hardly a day passes without a PAC swipe at the ANC. Its army has claimed attacks on policemen. What lies behind this?

An attempt to trace the PAC's contribution in the years of underground work is a nightmare. A few fantastic claims about attacks with Scorpion guns here and something else there. Most of these events later turned out to be local initiatives or Umkhonto we Sizwe operations.

There were of course some attempts by PAC patriots leading to the Bethal Trial, the arrest of a unit in the 1980s... Try to dig further and you'll draw a blank.

Observers point to objective difficulties which also plagued the ANC. But a trail of divisions, infiltration by state agents and cases of corruption are what many researchers point to.

Today, a Zimbiri claims the killing of black policemen. All this after the National Peace

Accord and as negotiations get off the ground.

Verbal attacks on the ANC have been the hallmark of the PAC's existence. The increased tempo today is perhaps understandable.

A small organisation that it is, the PAC's call for a Constituent Assembly is, by any stretch of the imagination, suicidal. Unless it does one or both of two things: Form a tight Patriotic Front with the ANC and demand equal status in elections and

government; or portray itself as the militant revolutionary organisation.

A new-found capacity to wage armed struggle suits this approach. It also attracts attention to an aspirant "major player".

However, the real danger is that the PAC could continue sowing tension in black communities as well as divert the ANC's attention from the main enemy: the apartheid system. This is what the regime would prefer. ♦

and fiction

mittees and recent by-elections bear this out. The AWB boasts over 40 000 organised wenkommandos.

Groups such as the Afrikaanse Volkswag talk about peaceful methods. The AWB, Boerestaat Party and others believe in violence. But the comparative numbers in both camps and intersecting membership make this distinction almost irrelevant.

According to estimates, 75 to 85 percent of the white police support these groups. When recruits reported for SAP duty in January last year, 80 percent were from rural Orange Free State and Transvaal. In the army, most junior officers and members of the Citizen and Special Forces belong to this camp.

It is argued that the state encourages their actions to force concessions in negotiations. These groups therefore enjoy protected growth, while being closely monitored. An element of this cannot be ruled out; but this does not give the whole picture.

The right-wing danger needs a political solution. Imagined fears of their supporters must be laid to rest. Creative answers must be found to the insecurity among many whites – especially those in the lower rungs of the economic ladder. ♦



Lowveld High School bombed in January by the right-wing for desegregating

What do policemen think?



The attacks on black policemen claimed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) have been questioned by the African National Congress, Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal and the South African Communist Party.

MAYIBUYE spoke to a few policemen in Soweto, members of the anti-apartheid police and prison warders' union, Popcru and some card-carrying members of the ANC. In their own words...

- The problem is, some of our colleagues (SAP) will respond by attacking everything they see as a comrade. *Phela*, some of us can't distinguish among political organisations. *Maburu* (boers) would only be too glad to provide police with the hardware to cause havoc.
- Many of us want freedom. Little white boys tell us what to do. You the ANC have opened your doors to everybody. This gives us an outlet. *Amabhunu* (boers) don't want us all, *gata* (derogatory for policeman) of nie *gata*. I'm a "com-police" – want to see my ANC card?
- *Ndoda*, why are they killing us? Where were they all the time? It's easy to make noise about war. They never fought on the border. They came back legally. MK can speak of combat; not they.

Of course, these are views of a few, many of them converted. Some take part in community activities including self-defence.

There are others, black and white, who need to be isolated. Should the liberation movement assist these elements to keep the rest of the police under their armpit? ♦

Regional conferences



The ANC Northern Transvaal Region, recording a phenomenal 133 percent growth since 1990, held its regional conference on 15 December 1991.

Eighty five of its launched 90 branches were represented by 260 delegates. Ngwako Ramatlhodi, ex-student leader and personal assistant to OR Tambo, national chairperson of the ANC,

was elected chair of the Regional Executive Committee. He replaced JK Netshitenzhe who was elected into the NEC last July. Collins Chabane was elected unopposed as regional secretary.

Some of the key resolutions passed were:

- **on negotiations and transitional mechanisms:** endorsed the position that there should be a speedy move towards a democratic government. Full support was given to the demand for an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly. It was also decided that the ANC structures should work with the Venda administration to phase out the "independent" homelands.
- **on traditional leaders:** relations with such leaders should be improved and it was recommended that they should have observer status at Codesa.

The ANC Midlands Regional Conference started off on a sombre note as delegates remembered the thousands killed in the violence which has gripped that region, reported John Jeffrey who was elected deputy-secretary of the REC. "However, the conference served to unify our forces and delegates went home in a buoyant mood, confident that we will be able to take on the tasks facing the ANC."

The elections, which saw Harry Gwala re-elected as regional chair, produced some interesting results. Chief Zibuse Mlaba, provincial leader of Contralesa, received the highest number of votes in the additional members section. Ina Cronje, wife of Democratic Party MP Pierre Cronje, was also elected onto the regional executive. ♦

This is the second in our two part series on the Indian community. Here we look at how different sectors have been organised in Lenasia, an Indian township near Johannesburg.

Lenasia, to which Indians from other parts of Johannesburg were removed, was once politically arid. In this article, Rash, an ANC and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) organiser, explains how Lenasia was transformed into "an active and proud arena of struggle".

Lenasia: an organiser's report

Lenasia, which is home to some 100 000 people, lies 30 km south west of Johannesburg. "Lenz", as it is popularly known, was established as Indian group area by the National Party Government in the 1950s.

The regime forcibly removed thousands of Indians from the city because of its racist ideology. The Nats also wanted to fracture the solidarity and reverse the culture of resistance which was built up in the preceding years within the Indian community.

Factors which influenced early political developments in Lenasia included:

- the death in detention of Ahmed Timol, an underground operative

- of the ANC and SACP, in 1971;
- the burning of the South African flag in protest against the tenth anniversary of the white republic;
- the struggle against apartheid-created institutions led by Dr RAM Saloojee;
- the initiatives of black consciousness adherents in this period; and
- the widespread arrests of students displaying their solidarity with the Soweto uprising at "The Barn" field in 1977.

CONGRESS MOVEMENT

Thus a new generation of politically inspired young people entered the 1980s with energy and conviction.

They worked to promote the principles of non-racialism, democracy, working class leadership and the unity of the oppressed as well as symbols of the Congress Movement such as the Freedom Charter and Nelson Mandela.

Early in 1980 thousands of Lenasia high school students joined the nation-wide boycott of classes in protest against apartheid education. This brought into sharp focus the repressive nature of the regime, provoking widespread support for the students' struggle.

In 1981 the regime announced its intentions to hold elections for

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

Anger against the tricameral parliament



The campaign against the elections for the tricameral parliament saw thousands of people being mobilised through intensive door-to-door work, huge rallies, powerful street demonstrations, pitched battles with police and in student boycotts. Religious leaders and institutions came out strongly against participation in the racially-based parliament, condemning it as blasphemous. There was a massive stayaway from the polls.

the powerless SA Indian Council (SAIC). A vigorous anti-election campaign was mounted. The Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee was duly launched in June 1981 and was led by a healthy balance of Congress stalwarts such as Dr Essop Jassat and Dr RAM Saloojee and young activists such as Ismail Momoniat and Prema Naidoo.

The anti-SAIC Committee succeeded in mobilising the entire community against the SAIC, revived and strengthened the symbols and support for the Congress Movement.

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

The Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee held a conference in January 1983, attended by a wide range of forces from the emergent democratic movement. Two major decisions were taken at this conference:

- to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress which had become dormant after the suppression of the early sixties;
- to establish a broad front of anti-apartheid organisations.

These decisions expressed a common purpose: opposition both to the tricameral parliament and the Black Local Authorities Act - the "new deal" planned by the PW Botha regime.

ELECTIONS

Elections were held for the TIC on 1 May 1983. A progressive leadership representing a broad range of forces in the Transvaal Indian community was chosen. The TIC launched its largest ever campaign against the tri-cameral parliament the following year.

In the months which followed the regime unleashed successive waves of repression to contain the political activity within the community. Its first salvo in this direction was charging Dr Jassat and Cassim Saloojee with high treason, alongside NIC and UDF leaders. Then a number of activists from Lenasia were detained during the 1985 and 1986 states of emergency.

Although the level of resistance achieved in 1984 was never reached in the latter half of the decade, the regime was unable to stem the con-

sistent political activity in Lenasia. This included commemoration of important dates; protests against repression; anti-election campaigns (parliamentary by-elections and the 1988 municipal elections); and anti-House of Delegates campaigns. The most spectacular success was the visit by prominent leaders of the Indian community to meet the ANC in Lusaka in 1988.

Underground units of the ANC and MK complemented mass work. Graffiti and literature of the ANC were becoming increasingly visible and available. Homes and offices of well-known collaborators were bombed. In December 1989, Lenz MK cadres Prakash Napier and Yusuf Akhalwaya died while attempting to sabotage the railway lines at Park Station in support of a strike by the SA Railway and Harbour Workers Union.

The area derives pride particularly from its thriving ANC and Youth League branches which draw members from the Indian community in Lenasia and Africans in the adjoining squatter settlement. The leadership of the ANC in the area

Mass organisations in Lenasia

Civic sector

Work has been done mainly under the leadership of the Federation of Residents Associations (FRA). The FRA was responsible for the victory during the struggle for better housing in Thomsville; the campaign against high water and light tariffs; and the successful bus boycott of 1985. It also initiated the campaign to demand the opening of a hospital in 1988.

Education

The People's Education Committee, the Progressive Teachers' League and the Lenasia Students' Congress organised in the education sector, led struggles against the education authorities and most importantly, participated in the struggle for a people's education.

Youth

The Lenasia Youth League, formed in 1982, was one of the first progressive youth organisations in the Transvaal. Its activity ranged from cultural and sporting activity to taking up youth struggles in the community.

Women

The Lenasia Women's Congress played a leading role in the organisation of women - against tremendous odds. ♦



Dr Essop Jassat, centre, elected the first president of the revived TIC at its conference in January 1983.

consists of a fine blend of old stalwarts and youth who gained their experience in the uprisings of the

1980s. The ANC branch's activities have also been influenced by the character of its community. Being

largely Moslem, the community responded massively to the ANC's call for an end to the Gulf War. With a large business sector, the area has hosted many successful ANC fundraising events.

The Youth League's sports competition in honour of Prakash Napier and Yusuf Akhalwaya enjoys the support of the majority of youth. However, much more needs to be done to reach out to all sectors and ensure that the ANC grows and enjoys the confidence of the entire community.

Lenasia defied the plans of the apartheid government and became an active and proud arena of struggle.

It enters the nineties with courage and the determination to contribute meaningfully to the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. ♦

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

Guaranteeing human rights

There is, to borrow Codesa language, "sufficient consensus" that a new constitution for South Africa must include an entrenched bill of rights. How is to be enforced? A *MAYIBUYE* correspondent looks at the role of a human rights commission.

Most political organisations support a bill of rights. There is, however, no general agreement on the question of what it must contain. One area of disagreement, for instance, relates to the inclusion of socio-economic rights. It is argued that these rights are not enforceable through the courts.

The Draft Bill of Rights issued by the ANC, on the other hand, makes a strong case for their inclusion: "... we do not feel that it is necessary to make a constitutional choice between having freedom or having bread. We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we want bread without freedom. We want freedom and we want bread."

The modern trend is to include these rights. In South Africa, excluding them would mean leaving the injustices of apartheid intact.

PROBLEM OF ENFORCEMENT

While great care should be taken with regard to what actually goes into a bill of rights, it is equally vital to ensure that adequate mechanisms are set up to guarantee that the ideals in the bill of rights do not remain

mere illusions. Wonderful constitutions and the most progressive bills of rights do not in themselves guarantee good government. Neither do they necessarily prevent tyranny. A major problem is how those rights can be enforced and made meaningful for the individual.

In South Africa the state, though not the only actor on the stage, has a crucial role to play. The ANC Draft Bill of Rights declares: "Parliament shall have a special responsibility for ensuring that the basic social, educational, economic and welfare rights ... are respected." It then proceeds to propose three specific mechanisms for enforcement, namely:

- a specialist Constitutional Court;
- the institution of an Ombud; and
- the establishment of a Human Rights Commission.

Like the Bill of Rights, all three would be entrenched institutions for the first time in the history of South Africa.

LIMITATIONS

The Human Rights Commission presently operating in South Africa is an independent, non-governmental organisation, sponsored by a

number of democratic, voluntary associations. It is not funded or controlled by the state.

However, an institution of this type inevitably suffers from certain limitations. The Human Rights Commission has no official powers to investigate. It has no access to official sources of information beyond what any private individual is entitled to. It has no powers to subpoena anyone, let alone state officials. It does not have the ear of the State President, the executive and the legislature.

It has not been able to challenge human rights violations in the courts nor does it have the machinery to do so. It has relied on its own limited resources to gather valuable information which it has used very effectively.

To be more effective, a human rights commission must be able to speak with authority. Its influence must extend to even the most conservative corners of the bureaucracies of the state.

Enforcement mechanisms must be placed beyond the whims of governments in order to guarantee their permanence and continued effectiveness. Human rights structures



Fighting for human rights is at the centre of the anti-apartheid struggle

This demonstration took place outside the Supreme Court in Johannesburg on International Human Rights Day, 10 December 1991

must be accountable to the people. The community itself must be able to monitor the application of the bill of rights. A constitutionally entrenched human rights commission would reflect a commitment to place the protection of human rights high on the nation's agenda.

STRUCTURE

A human rights commission must be equipped to handle complaints concerning all violations of the bill of rights. Its jurisdiction should extend to the public and private spheres. Structures that represent the demands and aspirations of society must play a part. Civic, community and women's organisations as well as trade unions are essential to enable a human rights commission to identify areas which need attention and to facilitate the enforcement of rights.

SCOPE

Legal equality does not necessarily guarantee actual equality. Special measures will be needed in South Africa, with its vast historical inequalities, to ensure that the letter of the law is translated into reality for the entire population. The human

rights commission's main function will be to serve as watchdog for the public to safeguard their rights and to promote observance of the bill of rights.

To achieve its aims, the human rights commission would set up agencies to investigate violations, receive complaints and bring proceedings to court where appropriate.

Another important function would be monitoring proposed legislation and reporting to parliament on its impact on the rights of the individual. It would also analyse human rights trends and suggest amendments or new legislation where necessary. In this way the human rights commission would play an important part in the development of a human rights culture.

INDEPENDENCE

To be effective, the human rights commission must enjoy the confidence of the public. It must be the product of a democratic process, and must be seen to be independent.

Officials for the proposed constitutional court must be appointed democratically. The human rights commission and the constitutional court complement each other. The

same criteria for legitimacy and credibility apply to both.

These structures should be representative, have expertise and an adequate human rights sensitivity. They should include recognised human rights, professional and community organisations of various interests.

This would be an effective way of avoiding interference by the government. In 1983 in the United States, President Reagan tried to replace members of the Civil Rights Commission seen as hostile to his administration.

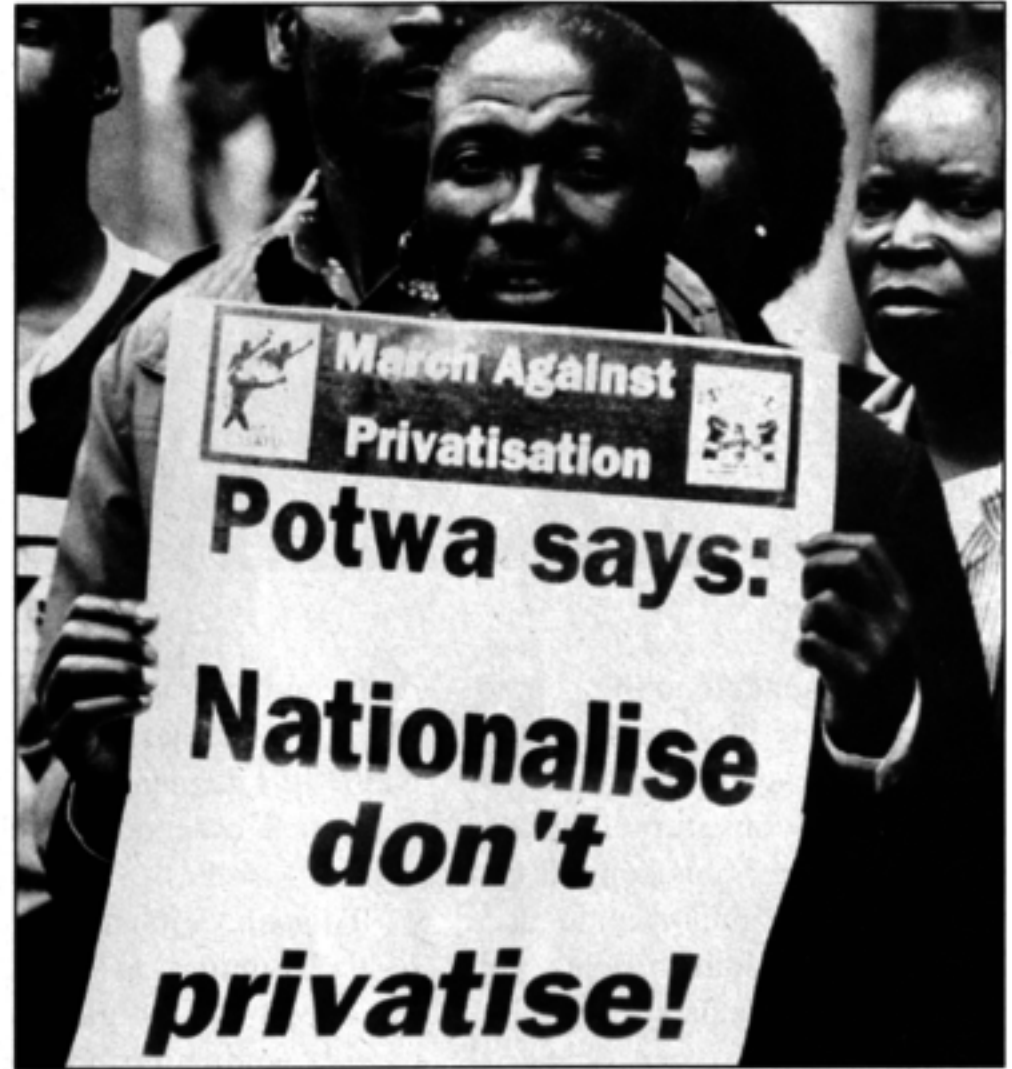
To safeguard against such interference, half the members of the Commission are now appointed by Congress. The statute provides that a member can only be removed when there is "cause". In the Canadian Quebec Charter, the commission has no less than seven members. All are appointed with the approval of two thirds of parliament.

Security of tenure, funding, easy access to parliament and a healthy relationship with social organisations are important to the functioning of a human rights commission. But most important is that it must be guided by the letter and spirit of the bill of rights. ♦

Sharing the spoils before D-Day

government economic restructuring

The government is tinkering with the economy to keep wealth in the hands of the ruling minority, even after democratic change. The democratic movement is challenging this.



Vigorous worker resistance has forced the government to suspend privatisation

Thousands of workers were handed retrenchment notices when factories closed at the end of last year. In the motor industry they were given two months' unpaid holiday.

Christmas tables were bare for many South Africans. In one year, food prices had jumped 25 percent and meat prices 38 percent.

Blame for spiralling unemployment and inflation lies squarely at the door of the regime, big business and the International Monetary Fund.

The government's current economic moves aim to:

- attack the living standards of the poor;

- sabotage future democratic economic policy; and
- concentrate greater wealth and thus power in the hands of big business.

Those opposed to democratic change use political violence to undermine the liberation movement. In the same way, the government is tinkering with the economy to weaken the liberation movement now and a new democratic government in the future.

Some of the major areas of government economic restructuring are:

• VAT

In a letter to the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT, FW de Klerk admitted that VAT was part and par-

cel of the government restructuring programme.

While the poor pay more tax on basic necessities such as food, water and electricity, big business is exempted from paying VAT on capital goods like equipment and machinery.

• Bread and maize subsidy

The government has steadily been reducing subsidies which kept the prices of bread and maize low. Last year it stopped them altogether. This has led to decreasing consumption of these foods – both of which are part of poor people's staple diet.

• Privatisation

When the government began selling

Public hearings on VAT

The democratic process is coming alive. And democracy takes many different forms. The Co-ordinating Committee on VAT (VCC), made up of over 100 organisations, is launching a campaign in February to give the public an opportunity to express their views on VAT.

"Not only do we want to confirm to the government the people's widespread rejection of VAT as presently implemented," said Dr Bernie Fanaroff, VCC Convenor, "but we want to democratise the process."

"Deciding policy on crucial issues like taxation should not only be the preserve of politicians and academics. People from all walks of life need to be involved," he said.

On 14 and 15 February, the VCC will conduct public hearings in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, East London, Pietersburg, Durban and Bloem-

fontein. Members of the public, representatives of ANC branches, civics and Cosatu locals will be able to either phone in or give verbal evidence on the following questions:

1. What problems do you have with VAT?
2. What do you feel about how VAT was implemented?
3. What changes do you propose to VAT?

Written opinions can also be sent to:

The Co-ordinating Committee on VAT
PO Box 260483, Excom, 2023.

A report will then be released just before the 1992 budget is debated in parliament.

Members of the public and democratic organisations are urged to use this opportunity to take part in policy-making. ♦

off state corporations a few years ago, most people realised that they wanted to prevent a future democratic government from having the resources to reverse the inequalities brought about by apartheid.

The resulting mass action forced the government to officially suspend privatisation. However, they have begun bringing privatisation in through the back door by so-called "commercialisation" and "contracting out".

The SA Transport Service, Sats, is now divided into different companies – all waiting to be sold off to big business at the opportune moment.

In public health and local gov-

ernment, services are increasingly being contracted out to the private sector, eg refuse removal, catering and medical tests.

As a result services which should be people's rights become a privilege for those that can afford them.

• Tariff policies

The government has been unilaterally changing tariff policies in an attempt to bring South Africa into international markets.

This has led to large numbers of retrenchments. For example, in the clothing industry more than 20 000 of the 117 000 jobs have been put on the line.

Opposition from clothing manufacturers and the textile and clothing union, Sactwu, has forced the government to suspend its measures. A committee of workers, government and employers has been meeting to look at more workable solutions.

• Worker rights

Despite the Laboria Minute which commits the government to a process of consultation before introducing labour legislation, many changes are being made which undermine workers' rights to organise.

This is accompanied by an offensive to prevent centralised bargaining in the chemical industry, Barlow Rand and other big corporations.

• Mineral rights

In the past, the state had the right over minerals which it would then cede to individuals or companies. It has now passed legislation which hands over this right to private owners.

Because of apartheid, the majority of South Africans have not been able to own land. So they will be prevented from getting mineral rights.

This move also denies mineral rights to a future democratic government and instead entrenches them in the hands of existing mining companies. ♦

The government's economic strategy

The government's Economic Advisory Council published a five year economic strategy proposal in February 1991. The proposal gives us a good idea of government and big business thinking on restructuring the economy. They include:

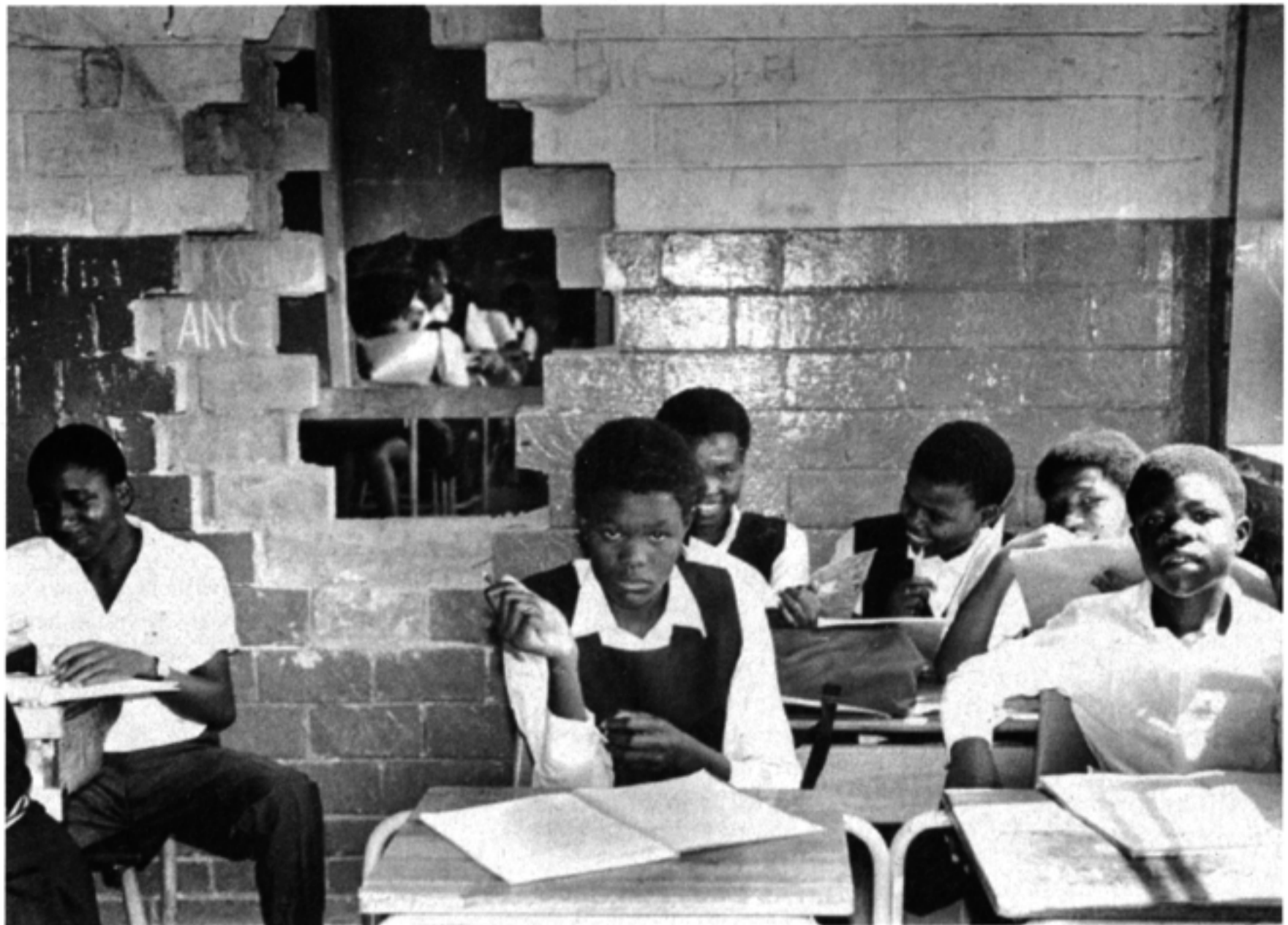
- lowering company tax;

- reducing, through privatisation, the government's role in the economy and in providing services;
- granting workers less legal protection, thus reducing the role of trade unions; and
- linking wage increases to productivity. ♦

The national education crisis



The 1991 matriculation results are rightly cause for concern. Yet to confine ourselves to discussing the results is to treat only the tail end of the problem, argues a correspondent from Wits University.





There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above certain forms of labour ... Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of a European society in which he is not allowed to graze.

Dr Verwoerd, the "mad scientist" of Bantu Education, deliberately set out to underdevelop black education in South Africa.

Back to school, but do these students at Morris Isaacson High really have any chance to learn effectively?

There is a view that both teachers and students are responsible for the disastrous matric results. Teachers are blamed for their "chalks down" strikes, and pupils for boycotting classes. There is an element of truth in this view. But a fuller picture of the situation shows that both students and teachers had genuine grievances on the one hand, and acted with great restraint on the other. They did so in the face of a decades-old legacy of apartheid education, which is designed to be separate and unequal.

The expenditure per scholar for blacks and white in 1987 was R476,95 per African pupil as opposed to R2 508 for a white child. In 1989 it stood at R764,73 and R3 082 for Africans and whites respectively.

CULTURE OF LEARNING

The government has failed to provide the textbooks, classrooms and other facilities so desperately needed. This has caused deterioration of the educational environment: overcrowding, teacher overload, a deepening shortage of facilities, as well as the decline in the morale of both teachers and students. This is the main reason behind the collapse of the culture of learning.

This problem is reinforced by the impact of other sectors on secondary schooling. Firstly there is limited space in tertiary institutions and thus fewer adequately qualified teachers are available to schools. Secondly, the private sector attracts many qualified teachers away from state schools, because of better working conditions. In 1986 58

percent of teachers in African schools did not have post-matric teachers' certificates or diplomas. At the same time, figures show that in the African schools each teacher had 40 pupils compared to 16 for each white teacher.

Enrolment at private schools has increased significantly, while state schools have gone into steady decline. The drop-out rate for Standards 9 and 10 remains above 40 percent for Department of Education and Training (DET) schools, and the corresponding pass rate remains below 40 percent. The number of those who obtain full exemption is even smaller. This is in sharp contrast to a pass rate of between 80 and 90 percent for white schools, as well as their higher proportion of full exemption.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Many private schools have been getting better results than state ones, especially DET schools. Does this mean privatisation is the answer? These schools are fast becoming the main feeders of tertiary institutions. Thus they can contribute to recruiting more trainee teachers and producing black professionals.

But they cannot be a replacement for mass public schooling. This is because they are expensive, and accessible only to a tiny elite. All-round privatisation would undermine the important principle of the right to education. It does not address the problem of transforming and democratising government schools to benefit the majority of students.

A recent study by Clifford Masilela of Wits university shows that the partial desegregation of schools in the PWV mainly benefits middle class pupils. It is yet to be shown that there are cases which differ from this finding.

SELECTIVE DESEGREGATION

The present government programme of selective desegregation of schools is grossly inadequate. Admission is still racially determin-

ed in most cases, and the age restrictions that govern entry into certain grades discriminate against pupils from DET schools. These restrictions ignore the fact that the education crisis has delayed the progress of vast numbers of pupils.

The level of illiteracy in South Africa is currently estimated at over 50 percent of the total population. This is unlikely to improve since the shortage of teachers, books and the drop-out rates are worsening.

There is a double bind of primary school drop-out rates and high levels of adult illiteracy. Add to this the fact that in 1989 there was a shortage of 1 782 classrooms at primary school and 2 730 at secondary school. Unless these problems are dealt with, illiteracy will deteriorate further.

In addition to this, the Bantu Education system, despite some modifications, continues to churn out vast



Students have always rejected apartheid education as inferior

numbers of functionally illiterate pupils. This combines with high unemployment levels to marginalise these youth in both education and the economy. The structural inequalities in the education system between black and

white present problems which cannot be resolved within the existing, segregated system. We should therefore have no illusions about what teachers and students can achieve within it.

DEMOCRATISATION

A solution to the national education crisis is central to the democratisation of our country. In its January 8 statement, the ANC calls on students to use existing educational facilities. At the same time, ways of transforming the education system should be worked out.

The education crisis should be tackled in two related ways:

- exploiting the capacity of the present education system; and
- struggling to achieve effective and lasting solutions.

In spite of the problems that students and teachers face in the schools, the response to calls by the ANC and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) for pupils to return to schools has been relatively positive.

This new tide started in the late eighties. By the end of last year it was possible to ensure school attendance during the anti-VAT strike. The turnout at the 1991 examina-

Illiteracy: a nation paralysed

Nine million adult people in South Africa cannot read and write properly. About six out of every ten black people left school before passing Standard 3.

What does this mean for the millions of South Africans who are illiterate?

- They have less chance to take part in the process of democratic change because they do not have access to written information;
- They cannot develop other skills which require literacy. So they are also restricted to the worst-paid jobs; and
- The contribution they can make to the economy and development of the nation is limited.

What is the best way to eliminate adult illiteracy?

The Freedom Charter declares that "adult illiteracy shall be ended through a mass state plan". This approach could be the way to begin. If it is successful, it will increase the demand for post-literacy learning. Adults want to acquire a wide range of skills and areas of knowledge. So to deal effectively with the education backlog, a national system to provide adult basic education needs to be established as well. Cosatu is already spearheading discussions to decide on a suitable system.

A democratic government must in future provide the necessary resources for literacy work and adult education. Meanwhile, valuable work can be done by existing literacy organisations and in trade unions, churches, community and other organisations.

In the next issue of *MAYIBUYE*, a literacy worker will take a more detailed look at the issues involved in this crucial area of education.◆

tions shows students' determination to revive the culture of learning.

In an attempt to find comprehensive solutions to the crisis, ANC president Nelson Mandela led a delegation of educationists to negotiate with the regime.

Reports indicate that the regime is not interested in resolving these problems. Instead it has unilaterally put forward proposals on the restructuring of education.

All these issues need to be addressed urgently in broader negotiations for the setting up of an Interim Government.

EDUCATION TRUST

The following are some of the pressing problems that need to be addressed:

- Creating sufficient places to absorb pupils by, among other things, integrating all schools, and in particular using schools that are standing vacant.
- Resources to sustain attendance must be provided. It makes no sense to expect pupils to heed the call to go back to school if the necessities for effective learning are absent.
- The process of teacher training must be improved and their working conditions should be made attractive.
- Problems with the examination system must be tackled: the setting of papers, invigilation, marking and so on.
- The community should take part in mobilising and managing resources and assisting in the administration of schools. This could be done through Parent Teacher Student Associations, for example.

None of the above problems can be addressed without mass participation.

The NECC initiative to set up an education trust involving parents, teachers, students and business is a step in the right direction. During the course of the year, major conferences will be held to address the education crisis and work out programmes to open the doors of learning to all. ♦

Government refuses to budge

The sooner we shift decision-making powers from the present government to an Interim Government the better. These words by John Samuels, head of the ANC's education department, sum up the frustrations of members of the education delegation which was negotiating with the regime. The negotiations came to a dead end late last year.

However, educationists warn that the capacity of transitional structures to redress historical inequalities should not be over-estimated. They can deal with such urgent issues as provision of text-books, availing classrooms and technical facilities and addressing problems in squatter areas. They can at most also freeze implementation of apartheid policies and perhaps start restructuring.

LIMITED ADVANCES

The delegation, led by ANC President Nelson Mandela, tabled some of these issues for urgent attention. Limited advances were made, amounting more to broad declarations. But the overall result was disappointing.

In the main, the government presented excuses for the current state of things. The Minister of white education did not take part, thus undermining discussion on the question of empty white schools. On the immediate delivery of text-books, the government resorted to the common wisdom of pleading lack of resources.

Members of the delegation are particularly angered by the decision of the government to unilaterally restructure the education system. This came in the form of the Curriculum Model

for Education (CME) released by the government late last year. Delegation members say the government chose what it liked from their proposals in the negotiations. In other words, it picked their brains for its own political gain.

MASS ACTION

The regime also used the fact of negotiations to try and discredit mass action. Yet, had it not been for these actions, it would not have been possible, for instance, to have some of the empty white schools opened to black children.

However, CME, with its many weaknesses, represents a departure from the government's racially-based approach, says John Samuels. Universal primary education, vocational training and recognition of African languages are some of the positive signs.

But secondary education would remain largely inaccessible. Vocational training would not be integrated into the academic courses. Afrikaans, and not African languages, is made compulsory at senior primary level. And behind the cloak of "decentralisation" apartheid will be perpetuated.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Unless an Interim Government is set up soon, the regime will continue to retreat to new lines of defence. Education will remain a mess for the majority of South Africa's children. Selective and well-planned mass action is also necessary to force the regime to meet people's demands.

But the problems will only be effectively dealt with when a democratic government is in place. ♦



Language and democracy

Is democracy only for the English-speaking elite, ask Khetuwe Marais and Robin Trew of the Afrophone Translation Services.

In South Africa today national leaders of trade unions and political organisations mostly make their speeches in English. Without any conscious decision, English is emerging as the central language of national political and economic life.

This role of English could be seen as promoting national unity. But it excludes the majority of South Africans (those who cannot easily read the pages of *MAYIBUYE*), from following and contributing to national debates. In future it could also exclude the majority from equal access to power, knowledge, wealth, and public services. Language is not just a matter of culture.

It will prove very difficult to redistribute other forms of power and wealth unless we redistribute skills in languages. The morning after liberation, when all the constitutional barriers to democracy have been removed, language barriers will still be difficult to cross. It will only be

possible to cross them if the new constitution guarantees new language rights. What new language rights do we need? And how can they be practically developed?

For a long time, discussion of these issues in the ANC was mainly guided by a single reference in the Freedom Charter - "All people shall have equal right to use their own languages". In March 1990 an ANC Language Workshop was held in Harare, and the debates which emerged have contributed to the new language rights proposed in Article 5 of the ANC's draft Bill of Rights.

LANGUAGE RIGHTS

The Codesa process has begun. Now is the time to prepare for supporting new language rights so that we can actually start removing the linguistic obstacles to democracy. Any new rights will depend on provision of extensive facilities which do not yet exist.

No matter how ambitious the language policies which may emerge in future, some basic facts about the present are already obvious.

It is already obvious that English is playing a central role, and that it will continue to do so for quite some time. This excludes millions of South Africans. If we don't do something about it, they will not be able to take part in the democratic process. There are three ways of attacking this problem.

1. Replace current standard English with some other, less exclusive, national linking language or lan-

guages: a different kind of English or Afrikaans? Swahili? Standardised Nguni + Standardised Sotho? All of these have been suggested at one time or another, with varying degrees of realism;

2. Redistribute skills in English by guaranteeing a right of access to English through education;
3. Develop use of the African languages by extending rights to good translation.

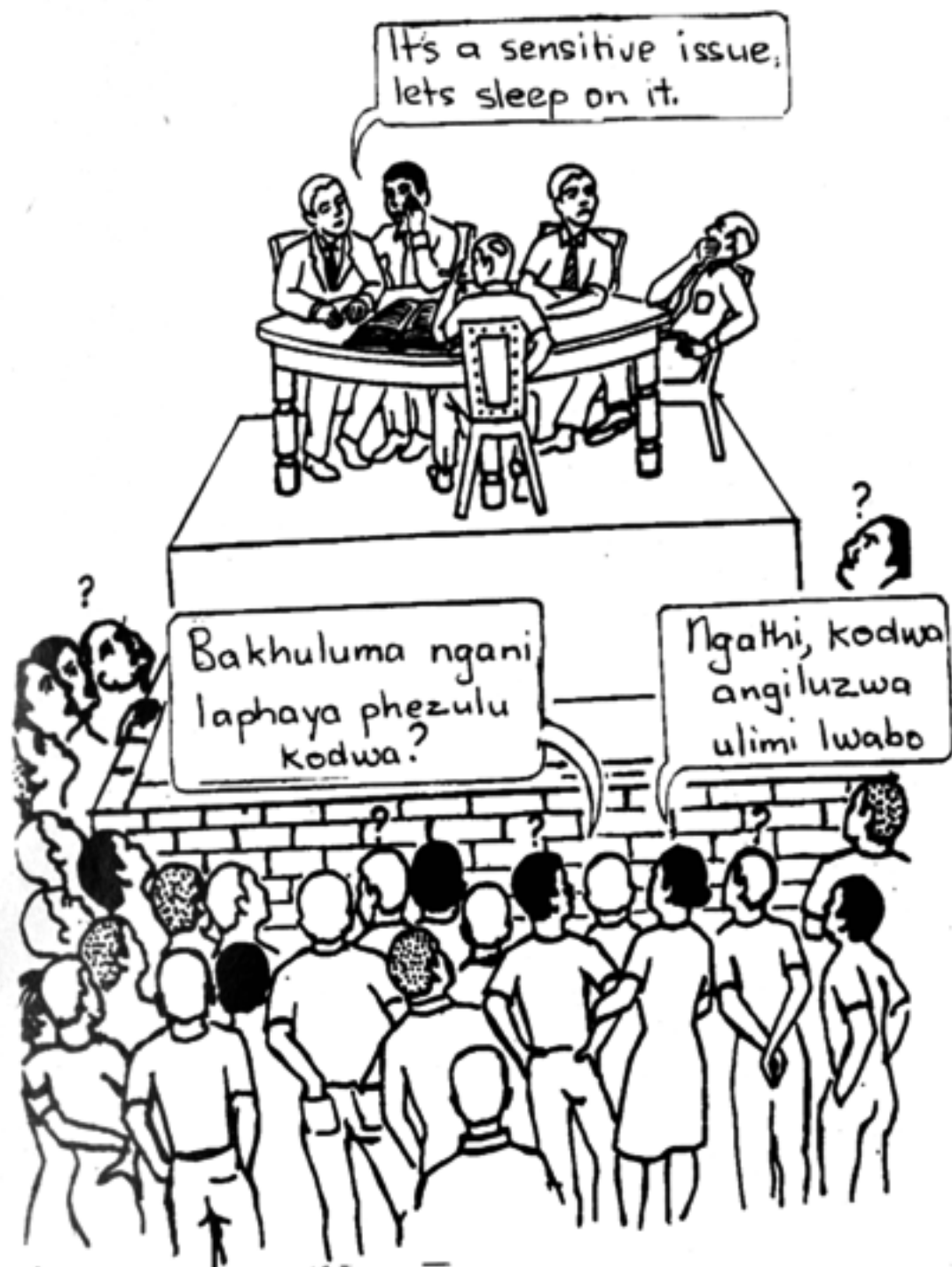
Given resources and determination, replacing standard English might be possible in the longer term. It's unlikely to empower South Africans who have already been born.

A right of access to English will contribute to gradual empowerment in the medium and the longer term, if we succeed in transforming the education system. At the moment we simply don't have enough teachers to provide universal and equal access to English. So this approach will mainly help those who have yet to go to school.

TRANSLATION

Good translation will provide some empowerment in the shorter and the medium term, until education is able to create a fully multi-lingual South Africa.

Any new right to use a language means the right to expect competent translation. In practice, however, such rights couldn't be guaranteed immediately. There has been very little training or professional recognition for translators in the African languages. The lack of good dictionaries and accepted words makes



translation slow and difficult.

BARRIERS

In recent months political organisations on the left and the right have actually abandoned some projects to translate material into African languages and popular Afrikaans, simply because it was too difficult to do.

None of these three ways of grinding down the barriers of language will work very quickly. It is not yet clear whether replacing current standard English is on the agenda. But the extension of access to English and developing language services in the African languages must begin immediately.

This work is urgent because the right to know the national linking language and to good translation will depend on facilities which at present are simply not available. Providing these facilities, like other

forms of social transformation, will take energy, imagination, time, and resources.

If we don't provide them, we will be failing to build practical democracy on South African soil. If at times we feel a little relaxed about such issues, we might ask ourselves on which side of the language barriers we are working. Are we members of an elite formed by knowledge of English?

We already know a part of what needs to be done.

Let us begin to do it! ♦

Contact **AFROPHONE Translation Service** at:

P.O. Box 283 WITS 2050

Tel: (011) 339-2084

Fax: (011) 339-2920

3rd. Floor, Sable Centre

41 De Korte Street,

Braamfontein, Jhb.

Overcoming obstacles to translation

Outside South Africa, "translation" usually refers to written work, while verbal translation is known as "interpreting".

Many South Africans informally interpret or translate between African and other languages in the course of their work. Few have ever received recognition, training, or proper pay for this work. There are people who are used as clinical interpreters in hospitals, but who are paid and regarded as tea-ladies.

This kind of informal and unrecognised work will have to be improved through training, accreditation, professional recognition and proper remuneration to support new language rights with good translation and interpreting.

Nationally accessible training and appropriate qualifications are necessary for those who regularly interpret or translate in African languages. This would include full-time interpreter training courses and the introduction of African languages into existing translator training courses. To provide incentives for training, the new qualifications must lead to better pay.

Another obstacle to good translation services is the lack of generally acceptable translations for particular terms. This is partly because of a "purist" approach in state language agencies. Words widely used in speech have been excluded from approved lists, and replaced with committee inventions, simply because they were derived from other languages.

But loan words make a constant and crucial contribution to the development of languages all over the world. In Japanese and English they account for over 60 percent of a typical modern text.

The privilege of adapting loan words to meet new needs has not been denied to English or Japanese. Why should it be denied to African languages? Which is of greater value: "pure" language, or language that permits communication. ♦



Organising the masses

The legitimacy of the liberation struggle is in danger if the ANC does not draw the masses into its structures, argues MJ Mokobi in this response to the article *Where have the masses gone?* which appeared in the October 1991 *MAYIBUYE*.

The *MAYIBUYE* article *Where have the masses gone?* pointed out that ordinary people are no longer central to our thinking and that mobilisation by decree has become a norm. The article raises an important point: the ANC is increasingly seen as interested only in obtaining political power for itself while doing very little about the day-to-day problems of the people.

Without being insensitive to the workload and financial constraints facing the ANC at this crucial stage of our struggle, I tend to agree with the article. I believe that these problems arise from structural and organisational weaknesses in the ANC.

CONSULTATIVE STRUCTURES

Activists who worked within the UDF suggest that consultative structures like sub-regional and regional councils be established. This would help to develop a common approach to problems. It would also provide forums for leaders (at national and regional levels) to brief members and get feedback from them.

Members will use the forums to make recommendations, seek clarification, give mandates and ratify decisions taken by the leadership prior to consultation. The constitution should provide that the chair and secretary of a branch be automatic members of the sub-regional committees and the secretary and chair of the sub-regional executive committee be automatic members of the regional executive committee (REC) as it is with members of the REC who automatically belong to the NEC.

This may help recapture the mass consultative tradition of the congress movement.

CIVICS

It is common knowledge that the working relationship between ANC branches and civics is complicated. ANC branches wrongly decide to leave matters like housing, sewerage water and electricity provision to local civic associations. A problem

also arises where branch members entirely dominate civics, which are more visible than branches at the local level.

To avoid duplication, comrades in branches normally limit their

The ANC is increasingly seen as interested only in obtaining political power for itself while doing very little about the day-to-day problems of our people.

work to political programmes of the movement. It is precisely this approach that creates the view that the ANC is concerned with political power more than bread and butter issues.

Looked at the other way round, civics continue to occupy the political space they occupied when political organisations were banned. A broadly discussed working guideline from the ANC Local Government Commission and the National Civic Co-ordinating Committee should be worked out, rather than leaving individual branches to decide on this crucial matter.

Programmes to develop disadvantaged African communities have become common throughout the country. Most civics and white town councils have structures to look at issues ranging from service provision to the establishment of non-racial and democratic local government.

DEVELOPMENT FORUMS

A few ANC regions have regional

development forums which appear not to have filtered down to the grassroots.

There is an inherent danger that the regime, through its NP councillors, will frustrate and undermine the democratic movement's demand for genuine non-racial and democratic local authorities. The ANC should be heard on these important questions of local transformation which have a direct bearing on the life of the mass of people.

The Metropolitan Chamber is one example of an initiative without direct ANC involvement. We seem to have fallen into the trap of state strategy to depoliticise social problems which are in fact a result of racist policies.

Through a number of independent trusts and projects the regime can be seen as the saviour of homeless people. Suddenly the regime's structures are seen to provide houses, recreational facilities and clinics – services they could not provide in more than 40 years of NP rule. What is at issue is not simply the obligation of the state and parastatal institutions to provide these services. The state is manipulating these issues to create the impression that the incoming democratic government cannot deal with the apartheid legacy, but the incumbent apartheid state can.

HEARTS AND MINDS

The ANC has to enter this war for "hearts and minds". It has to assist local civic leaders to manage development projects in such a way that the state's ulterior motives are exposed. This will prevent the regime from becoming a possible political choice to desperate and unsuspecting communities.

The importance of consultation and communication between leadership and membership cannot be overemphasised. As the October article says ordinary people are the bedrock of our revolution. Their action must support the negotiating arm of our political leaders. Otherwise the legitimacy of the entire liberatory process will be placed in jeopardy. ♦

An alliance of about 40 women organisations is hoping to make a decisive input into Codesa deliberations by putting forward the Women's Charter.

The Women's National Coalition, formed on 21 September 1991 at a meeting hosted by the ANC Women's League, has agreed on the need for a special document setting out women's constitutional and other demands.

An ANC Women's League workshop on 11-12 January underlined the importance of the Womens' Charter. Attended by representatives from all 14 regions of the League, it assessed progress made in the campaign.

NEGOTIATIONS

In her opening address, Deputy President of the League, Albertina Sisulu, expressed concern about the small number of women involved in the negotiations process. Baleka Kgositsile, Secretary-General of the League, said that the Charter must be seen in the context of the negotiations process.



The Women's Charter campaign

An ANC Womens' League correspondent reports on the Womens' Charter campaign which will stake out greater recognition for womens rights.

Delegates agreed that whilst most countries have women's rights written into their constitutions, it has not meant much in reality. The problems of women in South Africa are worsened by the apartheid system. Our society is extremely male-dominated and has reduced the role of women to certain categories only.

Active struggle led by women and supported by all democrats will ensure that true equality between men and women is reached.

SEXIST ATTITUDES

Sexist attitudes were condemned as undemocratic since they prevent more than 50 percent of South Africans from participating fully in all spheres of society. The workshop decided that the Women's Charter Campaign should be used to raise the awareness in both men and women of gender issues.

The Women's Charter will embody the aspirations of society for an end to male domination while

protecting and promoting the rights of women. It will contribute to the Bill of Rights and its provisions should be entrenched in the new constitution.

The workshop concluded that work on the campaign was not satisfactory. This was because:

- some women's organisations reluctance to join a campaign with the ANC-linked term "Charter";
- difficulty in mobilising women;
- the League's poor relationship with the Tripartite Alliance on the campaign.

Regional structures were called upon to put more energy into the campaign while showing respect for the traditions and organisational cultures of other women's structures. It was also decided to enter into talks with the PAC and Azapo about the campaign.

In the next issue we will look at the proposed structure of the Charter Campaign and the content of the Women's Charter.♦

The Party is not over

A participant at the 8th Congress of the SACP explains why communism continues to appeal to the underprivileged of South Africa

The excitement about the so-called demise of the Soviet Union will take long to die down. Yet, the need for a socialist solution to the socio-economic problems created by colonialism, capitalism and its apartheid version continues to appeal to many people of South Africa.

Why? The answer to the question may be that the charisma of the SACP leadership continues to mesmerise the people. However, this is a simplistic answer.

The fact of the matter is that apartheid has created mass destitution in the spheres of housing, education, transport and others which are the critical areas of the South African problem. There seems to be no better recourse than a system which addresses the problem of the



Joe Slovo, Chris Hani and Charles Nqakula

poor. Socialism which is based on consistent democracy and government action to ensure equality is the answer, delegates at the SACP Congress resolved.

The extreme destitution within the black community cannot be solved by profit-orientated privatisation. It requires a concerted effort by a government which is concerned more about the needs of the poor than flying a new flag. The Party is the only organisation which goes further than others in addressing this question in al-

ANC Youth League launched



Peter Mokaba, the newly elected President of the League

The ANC Youth League held its long awaited conference in grand style in KwaNdebele. It was the 17th in the existence of the League which was formed in the 1940s. With the regime acceding to the demands of South Africans by lifting restrictions on political activity the Youth League was able to reconnect with its past.

It was a long process with several detachments such as the Young Lions and June 16 Detachments having to hammer out common ground. The formal launch of the Youth League occurred at a rally in October 1990. It took more than a year of painstaking organising before the League could hold its conference.

The new executive, fresh with clear mandates, has set out with earnestness to implement conference resolutions. MAYIBUYE will bring you more details in the next issue. ♦

Media in the transition

The ANC has taken the lead in placing the crucial issue of the media on the agenda of negotiations, especially during the transition. *MAYIBUYE* looks at some of the responses.

The ANC's draft Media Charter has succeeded in initiating crucial debate on media policy in the transition and the future. Some of the responses – especially from editors, writers, media owners and politicians – were predictable.

Even Ken Owen's Sermon on Sunday, incomprehensible as it may have been, was predictable. The ANC was applauded, the ANC was criticised, the ANC was dismissed as being naive or as manipulative.

The Media Charter was seen by some as a form of control. Their argument goes as follows: since apartheid meant control of all aspects of life, the solution is to leave everything intact. Changes through laws, organisations, the constitution or a Bill of Rights is seen as wanting to impose new controls.

Stephen Mulholland of Times Media Limited is a well-known defender of the right of monopoly capital to print what it wants to in every major paper in this country and ex-

plot their journalists at the same time. He says that the Charter relied on coercion to redress the evils of the past. Both Ken Owen and Mulholland support of the US constitutional protection of the freedom of the press – more as a criticism of the Media Charter than in support of such protections.

MEDIA CHARTER: KEY PRINCIPLES:

- commitment to the free flow of information and a culture of open debate. "An ignorant society cannot be democratic," insists the Charter;
- basic rights of the media to publish, broadcast or disseminate opinion and information should be guaranteed. Institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or impose censorship must be prohibited;
- media must be accessible to all. According to the Media Charter, the "[lack of] skills, language policy and social deprivation have undermined access to information for the majority of the population." This means raising the levels of literacy, supplying villages with the necessary power (political and electric) to take part in debates – not giving away the Sunday Times free as some ridiculous comment implied.

Press freedom can only be seen in the context of attaining a fully democratic constitution and the development of our country as a whole. "It has to be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender the cul-

ture of open debate," says the Charter.

Thus the Media Charter is both a political statement and a contribution to the issue of development.

REACTION TO THE MEDIA CHARTER

- **diversity of ownership in the media field** (production, distribution etc) is an important means to democratise the media. This has already elicited resistance from the SABC and some of the privately-owned media. Will the proponents of US-style democracy please step forward and declare their support for US-style Anti-Trust Legislation!
- **public media should be used to strengthen and promote democracy.** Would Mulholland, Owen and Co please point out how insisting that the public media should be independent of the ruling party and be governed by structures representative of all sectors of society is "undemocratic".
- recommendations for the **protection of media-workers and improvement of education and training facilities** (which till recently have served white middle class interests solely) were overlooked by the critics of the Charter.
- **mechanisms to promote the freedoms and development outlined in the Charter** have been dismissed as mechanism of control. These include codes of conduct agreed to between different sectors of society – including journalists and media-owners – and the appointment of ombudspersons.◆

"People mumble because money talks," quoted Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, in his closing address to the ANC seminar on media policy. "Our media policy must ensure that people are empowered to the point where it is the people, and not money, that talks."



The right to hear and be heard

What do we mean by "control of state media by an interim government?" How do we ensure that the media - both print and broadcast - contribute to guaranteeing free and fair elections? How do we transform the SABC into a public broadcaster?

These questions discussed at the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity workshop in November last year. It was urgent that some of these positions be worked out before Codesa so that the ANC could table its demands for the impartiality of state media during the transitional period.

The main focus was on continued party political control of the SABC. For elections to be free and fair, it is crucial that the state broadcaster does not dance to the tune of one party.

The workshop resolved that there must be a moratorium on unilateral restructuring of the broadcasting sector by the NP or the TBVC administrations. It decided that an Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee should be appointed "to control and regulate broadcasting in the interim period." The IBCC would appoint a representative Board of Control for the SABC to ensure impartiality.

Given that the SABC is not the only vehicle the NP government uses to manipulate information, the workshop resolved:

- that Codesa places the control of state information services like the South African Communications Service, the HSRC and Comops under "appropriate mechanisms of Interim Government with a view to rationalisation and review";
- to encourage the establishment of an independent monitoring structure to prevent bias and distortion in the media during the transition.

Other issues discussed include democratisation of the film industry, and the need for Radio Freedom to initiate the establishment of community radio stations.

Many of these proposals will feature in Codesa working groups like those on the Interim Government and free political activity. They will also be taken to a conference on the role of the media in ensuring free and fair elections, at the beginning of the year. The conference is organised by the Campaign for Open Media and the UWC Centre for Development Studies (CDS). ♦



Democracy demands participation

In the previous article in this series, we said that democracy in the ANC depends on accountability, collective leadership, mandates and self-criticism. In this article, we are going to look at some of the problems that hinder participation by members at branch level.

Democracy depends on the active participation of the membership. For the ANC to be democratic, the membership must not only have the chance to participate in making decisions. It must actually participate in the running and activities of the organisation.

When members don't take part in meetings and activities of the ANC it is not only an organisational problem. It is also a problem that affects democracy in the ANC.

What are some of the problems that stop members from participating? Most members at some time or other have sat in branch meetings and wondered why the meeting is taking so long, why a particular issue is discussed in that forum or why only a few members are participating in the discussion.

Many branches face the problem that most members are prepared to assist when asked to do particular tasks, but do not want to attend meetings.

Many branch meetings have become forums for a few very committed activists, but are considered boring by the majority of the membership.

If the ANC wants to democratically represent the views of its membership, and the wider community, then these problems have to be solved.

SOLUTIONS

In looking for solutions, we can identify two main causes of these problems.

Firstly, because the ANC is the leading political force in the country, it has to develop policy on virtually every issue facing the people. At branch meetings comrades are called upon to discuss a multitude of issues related to the policies of the ANC.

The need for communication and co-ordination within the movement means that branches are continuously called upon to send representatives to various meetings and committees.

Every week piles of paper – letters, reports and documents – are

sent by the regional and head offices to the branches.

BUREAUCRACY

Being caught up in endless meetings and administrative work is described as bureaucratisation. The effect of being swamped by bureaucratic procedures is that little time is left for political discussions and activities of the branch.

This can kill branch meetings if the branch executive does not prepare for them and provide leadership and guidance to the membership. Members will be forced to sit through hours of boring reports and discussions. And if they are bored by a meeting the majority of members will probably not attend the next meeting.

This problem can be solved by the branch executive giving direction to the branch about what needs to be discussed by the whole membership and what the executive alone can deal with. The executive

also needs to give direction on what decisions it thinks should be taken on particular issues.

This leads to the second major cause of these problems. Often branch leaders do not have the skills or experience to run meetings in an interesting way that encourages participation. Lack of planning and badly chaired meetings result in bureaucratic items taking up too much time at the expense of political issues.

By providing leadership and direction, the branch executive makes the working of the branch more efficient and assists the building of democracy in the branch. It also makes meetings more interesting and purposeful.

When members feel that they have gained something from a meeting – be it learning something new in a political education discussion or agreeing on a campaign around problems in their community – they will be committed to attending the

next meeting and participating in the activities of the branch.

This does not, however, mean that the executive must steam-roller its decisions through the branch.

Democracy, leadership and organisation are all linked. Without leadership and good and efficient organisation, democracy is not possible. It is the task of the leadership to ensure that a branch works in a way that allows the greatest possible participation and democratic control by the members.

The leadership needs to find ways of making meetings and activities of the branch as interesting and exciting as possible so that members will be keen to participate in ANC activities.

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION

Discuss what can be done in your branch to involve more members in participating in branch meetings and activities. ♦

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Middle East:

tentative steps towards peace



Israel is being dragged kicking and screaming into negotiations. First in Madrid and now in Washington, it is meeting its Arab neighbours and Palestinians to hammer out a settlement. How long Israel will stay in the talks is a moot point, however.

The main reason for the Israeli government to join the talks is that the previous unity of purpose with the United States is not as strong as before. In US thinking, alliances

with Arab countries should be pursued more vigorously. With the end of the Cold War, an approach that emphasised positioning against a so-called Soviet threat is being abandoned. At the same time, the proliferation of weapons in the region, including missiles, would not guarantee Israel security for long.

The US hopes the Palestinians will be prepared to give more than they take because of a perceived lack of diplomatic options. It is argued that the Palestinians backed the

wrong side in the Gulf War - Saddam Hussein's Iraq - and found themselves at loggerheads with many of their Arab allies.

OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Lebanon, Syria and Jordan come to the talks to regain territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 and 1973 wars. Israel seized the West Bank from Jordan, the Gaza strip from Egypt and the Syrian Golan Heights. In the 80s, Lebanon lost the self-proclaimed Israeli security zone in the south. Some of these Arab countries calculated that an alliance with the US in the Gulf War would persuade the Americans to put pressure on Israel to talk real peace.

In an attempt to unblock obstacles, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation earlier acknowledged Israel's right to exist within secure borders. But Israel's drive to expand and its deep mistrust of its Arab neighbours are the major obstacles in the negotiations.

By one of those historical twists, the drive towards peace has coincided with changes in the Soviet Union, leading to a flood of Soviet Jews to Israel.

This in turn gives the Israeli far right the perfect justification to demand the expansion of settlements in the very territories needed for a Palestinian state.

The main element of the old Soviet Union's Middle East policy

Hopes for comprehensive peace in the Middle East are now higher than at any time in the past. *A MAYIBUYE*

correspondent in London argues that there are many factors complicating the process.

was a regional peace conference. This was bitterly resisted by Washington and Israel. At that time, the US Jewish lobby's views and Washington's interests matched perfectly. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, all previous alliances become fluid.

Washington also perceives a future threat to its own social fabric if the Middle East tension continues. In US politics, the Jewish lobby is defending Israel's intransigence and the steadily more influential Afro-American lobby calls for a comprehensive settlement.

BRIBES

But the US administration has been quite half-hearted in bringing pressure to bear on Israel. Where such pressure is exerted, it has had to be sweetened with political and financial bribes. For instance, President Bush has promised that if Israel toes the line, it will get up to US\$10-billion in loan guarantees to finance further immigration of Soviet Jews.

Meanwhile, the Yitzhak Shamir government has used the threats of far right-wing cabinet members to convince US public opinion that it is willing, but constrained. These right-wingers are demanding the complete take-over of occupied territories. They have threatened to quit the cabinet if the Israeli delegation discusses autonomy for Palestinians. Prime Minister Shamir would be left with 59 seats in a 120-member parliament.

The forces opposed to progress in the talks have used various acts

of provocation to precipitate a breakdown.

- The far right has organised demonstrations in the occupied territories with the connivance of the Israeli army;
- The Israeli government decided to deport a number of Palestinians a few days before the Washington talks;
- It is reported that far-left Palestinians have shot dead a number of Israelis since the talks started; and
- Israeli raids into refugee settlements in Lebanon continue.

The PLO, however, has acted with a cool nerve. But it is faced with the

difficult task of maintaining unity among the various political trends. It must also be seen to be making gains in the negotiations if it is to strengthen its legitimacy among the people.

Washington's ideal solution would be a degree of autonomy for the Palestinians. This would draw the bitterness from the dispute and cement the regional alliances it put together during the Gulf War. For the Palestinians, however, autonomy can only be a step towards full statehood. Without this, conflict will continue to simmer in the whole region.

LIMITED CHOICES

The US administration's fear of a "radical" Palestinian state is an added inhibition to the positive role it could play. However, given Palestinian resilience and Arab unity on the issues at stake, its choices are limited.

The reasonable approach of the Palestinians has earned them the respect of many forces internationally. However, the issues are so delicate and the tempers so high that they will have to struggle all the time to be seen to occupy the moral high-ground. ♦

About the Palestinians

- There are around two million Palestinians in Palestine and over three million displaced.
- Of the two million within Palestine, 650 000 or so live in Israel and the rest in occupied territories.
- Of the 280 000 employed, about half work in Israel, though there have been cuts since the Intifada began.
- Many expatriate workers in other Middle East states are highly skilled Palestinians.

POLITICAL CULTURE

Palestinian society already presents a very different kind of politics in the region, with a popular democracy arising from mass struggles. The Intifada, in particular, has changed every aspect of Palestinian life.

The increased role of women, popular democratic committees and vibrant trade union organisation are some of the developments which will help make a Palestinian state quite different from others in the region.

This may be a long way off, but visitors to occupied territories say an optimistic belief in the future has gripped the communities. Even if negotiations fail, the quest for statehood will continue. ♦

How the Treason Trial was won

In 1956 156 leaders were arrested and charged with promoting communism by preaching and circulating the Freedom Charter. This was viewed as treason and could carry the death penalty and long prison sentences.

Serious and momentous meetings – legal, political and financial – were taking place everyday. The movement was geared to gain support from the millions of the oppressed to ensure that the legal costs were met and to enable everyone of the accused not only to be fed daily but also to receive sufficient allowance.

It is in this atmosphere of intense political and legal fervour that those old stalwarts: William Letlalo, Hosiah Tshehla and “General” China enter into the picture. I was working at *New Age* at the time. William and Hosiah were our best sellers; General China a leading agent of our Xmas hampers. William had possession of the keys to the sales office.

I had decided to come into the office much earlier than usual. I entered upon an incredible sight. There were these three comrades sitting on the floor throwing bones. They explained that they were involved in casting a spell upon the enemy so as to ensure the release of our leaders.

William took me aside and confided that they had been gathering at the office early every morning prior to the journey to Pretoria. After throwing the bones they would take the first bus or a cadge a lift with the

first car to the capital so as to implement daily the second phase of the ritual. This entailed walking seven times round the court before the trial began. These were the walls of Jericho which had to fall down!



“Don’t you worry,” whispered old William into my ear. “You’ll see, we will make Rumpff (the senior judge at the trial) bring in a verdict of not guilty.” What he “forgot” to tell me about was the third phase of their operation in which he alone, with the consent of the other two, was involved.

I found out about this quite by accident one morning when I was asked by our manager to attend some sessions of the trial. The court was in session. Upstairs the gallery was crowded. The trial court was down below with three judges seated above on a raised platform and clearly in view of both the court itself and spectators above.

As I took my seat and gazed around, my eyes alighted on old William sitting in the front row facing the judges. The sun threw strong beams of light through the window and as I gazed a little more intently at the old fighter, I was startled to see a glint of metal shining from the sleeve of his jacket and ending in his half-clenched hand resting on the rails. I noticed that it seemed to be aimed at Rumpff.

I thought that comrade William had taken leave of his senses and was concealing a revolver with which to shoot the Judge-President. I had to move quickly without disturbing the silence of the court. I was in a deep, agitated sweat as eventually squeezed silently onto the bench beside him. He looked at me, smiled and immediately resumed his vigil.

“Comrade William,” I hissed through the side of my dry mouth, “are you mad? Put that weapon away immediately.” He took no notice, so I had a closer look at the object and discovered it was part of a spoke of a bicycle wheel reaching up his sleeve and with the sharp edge protruding between two fingers of his clenched fist. It was pointing very definitely at Rumpff and whenever the judge moved, so did the spoke in unison.

During the next break in the proceedings comrade William very patiently explained: “You see comrade, I keep this pointing at Rumpff’s heart all the time. So when he moves I must still keep it pointing at his heart as well. Then one day, when the verdict comes, this, together with the other two things (phases), will change his evil heart and force a right decision from him.”

At every stage thereafter when more and more of the accused were released, I’d get an excited phone call at *New Age* from William saying: “You see comrade, it is working.” This continued right up to the final day when the last of the accused were released. ♦

Department of Human Resources

Aims

For a people who have been deprived of the opportunity to develop their full potential, the creation of a department to develop human resources is essential. For the ANC Department of Human Resources Development, this challenge means setting itself the following objectives:

- To promote the development of skills among members of the African National Congress.
- To assist in the procurement of means of employment and training for the returning South Africans.
- To co-ordinate human resources activities in South Africa.
- To conduct research in order to establish human resource needs of the country.
- To be a resource centre as far as human resources matters are concerned.
- To promote the development of skills by assisting organisations and individuals in the country.
- To strive to involve all people's organisations in the development and the planning of human resources strategy in South Africa.
- To direct students through counselling to professions that are of strategic importance in the development of the economy.



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1 For those holding degrees and diplomas – 6-12 months in: accounting, management, electronics, computers, banking, post management, public administration, local government.

2 For those with matriculation level passes – studies in carpentry, plumbing, building, textiles, secretarial.

3 For those with a junior certificate – training in rural craft, agriculture, fish and poultry farming and handicrafts.

Home at last

My mother arrives late at the airport. It turns out the car had had a puncture. My God, she's greyed and is a full blooded granny. The huggings take longer. My sister, brother-in-law, my brother, nephews, my wife's sister and my daughter.

I get into my mother's battered car and we drive straight to Mabopane where my mother has trekked. There some relatives are gathered to welcome me. It's touching. No music. I suppose this is because my uncle (my father's twin brother) has passed away and is not yet buried.

All the characters are present, well almost all – Gog' (Granny) Sarah, short and a bit stoutish and possessing a stamina for talking far exceeding that of my talkative mother. She always walked out on my mother when she felt hurt by somebody's words or lack of supportive statements from my mom when engaged in a bitter argument. Of course we would go out hunting for her in the East Rand until we found her. They would reconcile and she'd brighten our house once again for a few days.

Mankopi – it is purported that she was once insane, which partly explains why she swears like a sailor and is equally strong. She is the expert advisor to my mother, even though Ma seldom takes heed because of her stubborn character, until it's too late or there is no option but to comply with the dictates of my incorrigible auntie Mankopi. Why I single these two women out is because they, says my mother, have been a shoulder to cry on when the going was spiritually tough.

The evening is emotional, many dropping a tear or two, some with ready handkerchiefs in case emotions took the better part of them. All in all everybody seems pleased to see me.

Then the real thing. My mother has invit-

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ed ntate Tau to deliver a short prayer in thanking the good Lord for having kept me in one piece throughout my 14 years in exile.

Ntate Tau takes his time. He mixes politics with his short sermon. Some of his facts are not entirely correct. I let it pass. He makes us sing church songs. The crowd is meek. They oblige and my auntie Mankopi leads the songs by reciting every line before we join in. My brother is not pleased. He lets it be known in a loud voice that the whole thing is taking too long. Ntate Tau is unrepentant. He says a good long prayer. Then he calls for a song, after which he calls on my mother to mount the stage.

She stands in the centre of the room and says a few words. Like ntate Tau she's got some of her facts mixed up, and true to herself, spices some of the episodes she is relating. I let it pass. She's just great. Priscilla, my sister, is wide eyed. She can still recall the day when we left and can hardly contain her disbelief at hearing a different story about our departure. Instantly she realises that I understand because by then I'm communicating through the eyes with my younger brother and we are all smiles. Life is great.

As if to stop it all, ntate Tau orders me to stand in the centre of the room so that everybody should have a good look at me. Goddamnit, I'm going to refuse. No, this will break my mother's heart. I oblige. He asks me to turn round and round so that everybody should satisfactorily feed their eyes on me. I feel like a sheep, or to be exact, 'n skaap. And maybe I am.

Another religious song is belted, and then another. My wife is getting a kick out of the whole show. Ntate Tau says the last prayer and it seems it is from the bottom of his heart. He calls on God to have mercy on me and to shower me with blessings. In supplication he implores the good Lord to defend me and my family. A true gentleman, he does not forget to ask the Almighty to help us attain peace in South Africa sooner than later, lest in our anger we lose sanity and the country goes bust and our children inherit nothing but a wasteland. He really goes to town with his unusually long prayer until finally he says a melodious Amen.

The mingling with relatives and well wishers begins while Gog' Sarah calls on all to partake in the delicious food prepared. Included is sour porridge prepared from

sorghum and I attack it with the ferocity of a hungry lion. I mean, I haven't tasted it for years. But before I can masticate further, some young men engage me in a lively conversation. Of course they have their set views on Iraq and Saddam Hussein, on the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC, on negotiations, on violence, on the crisis in Black education. I answer as best as I can. Yes, there certainly is movement in all directions.

After about 40 minutes my sister advises that we concentrate on our food, and she is right because mine has grown cold. More relatives and friends pour in and I engage in the ritual of hugging and kissing and explaining where the hell I have been, and what I have been doing and what I have been eating and whether they have been treating me well and why I should be going back and don't I look good and healthy. The last question is nagging me because I may look healthy but I am far from my old self.

Time is on flight.

The guests depart and my brother drives me to Hebron where my auntie Dinah stays. We enter the yard and her daughter receives us. She is beyond herself with happiness and promptly directs us to the room where her mother is mourning my uncle Michael. In her sorrow my auntie brightens for a moment. The reunion is dramatic, what with all the other women relatives, some very old, marvelling at this long lost bearded creature.

Auntie Dinah is beset with problems. She hasn't got a car and she needs somebody to run some errands in the run up to Saturday, the day my uncle is to be buried. She's a bit panicky and is not sure whether the arrangements will run smoothly. We are not of great help in that score because my mother's car is not in the best of conditions. She understands and we promise that we shall be coming to lend a hand where we can. After our wait at auntie Dinah we shoot back to Mabopane.

My brother is not the tactful type. That's an understatement. He is provocative and Gog' Sarah is the vic-



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tim for the evening. In turn Gog' Sarah's cup becomes full and she wrongly directs her anger at my mother who takes it with dignity. Whenceforth I give the best speech of my life to soothe Gog' Sarah and show her that we love her just like before, and that she has been a rock of support for my mum throughout the years that we have known her. In the process she breaks down and Refiloe, who was about ten when I left follows suit. I can't hold back my tears as my voice quivers while relating the poignant story of our life-long relationship with Gog' Sarah.

My other auntie, United, arrives in Hebron. She is toothlessly delighted to see me and she shows it with her gums.

Saturday morning. The body is brought in from the mortuary. After auntie Dinah, I am given the preference to view the body to my full. At 0700hrs the German priest arrives and we proceed to the graveside. My uncle is lowered into the grave and I see many faces that I haven't seen for years. Memories attack with the fury of veld fires. I sob softly but unashamedly. The realisation that I am back at last hits home.

Saul Pelle.
(Kwena)

PEOPLE'S POWER FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

THE ANC'S 48TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE VIDEO

This video is a record of the historic ANC 48th Conference held in Durban, at the University of Durban-Westville from 2-7 July 1991. It was the first national conference that the ANC has been able to hold inside South Africa in 30 years.

Attended by almost 3 000 delegates and 500 international guests, the conference debated crucial issues facing the people of South Africa.

Negotiations, violence, strategy and tactics and the emancipation of women are some of the debates covered.

The election of a new National Executive Committee, including President Nelson Mandela and National Chairperson O R Tambo, is one emotional highlight of the video.



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**How close is South Africa to democratic change?
How should a new constitution be negotiated?**

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*January 8 Statement of the NEC***

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"The total onslaught exists in that there is, under Marxist guidance, an onslaught against our institutions which, if they were to be destroyed, would cause havoc in this country. It is in view of this that I advocated a total national strategy"

**PW Botha,
House of Assembly, 1981**

And indeed Botha's "Total Strategy" was to unfold with a ruthlessness that was to eventually startle even his own supporters. Both Vines and Pauw's books are concerned with a particular aspect of this "Total Strategy" period - the use of SADF's Special Forces regiments and the SAP's hit squads to eliminate, divide and neutralise democratic opposition to apartheid.

Both books differ considerably in terms of style. Vines' book is a detailed academic analysis of the genesis of Renamo. Pauw's book is an eminently readable, precise and journalistic account of the CCB and the SAP death squads. Yet, despite these superficial differences both books retain interesting similarities in terms of their subject matter. Vines illustrates how the SADF's deliberate and calculated use of its Special Forces machinery and its Military Intelligence structures succeeded in accomplishing a specific regional goal - the almost complete economic and social destabilisation of Mozambique.

Pauw's book illustrates how the very same structures and personnel attempted to achieve a similar goal within the country - the political and military destabilisation of the democratic forces within the country. As stated in an SADF Special Forces manual, the goal was: "To inflict the

Who are the real terrorists?

BOOK REVIEW



Alec Vines • *Renamo Terrorism in Mozambique* • James Curry, London, 1991.



Jacques Pauw • *The Heart of the Whore* • Southern Books, Halfway House, 1991.

maximum disruption on the enemy of the state by means of special actions."

Vines further observes how Renamo continues to function within Mozambique despite the election of De Klerk and the shift in the balance of regional and international forces. A myriad of shadowy "front" organisations and interest groups conspire to make this possible. Similarly Pauw's book explores the continuing legacy of hit squad assassinations despite the supposed disbanding of the CCB in 1990.

SADF SPECIAL FORCES

Similarities are evident elsewhere and they provide chilling portends for the future. Renamo is no longer simply a surrogate force, a military extension of the former Rhodesian and present SADF Special Forces Division, argues Vines.

Through a compound of economic failures, ethnic divisions and political uncertainty Renamo has managed to base itself within Mozambique and, to a limited ex-

tent, within certain sectors of the population.

Although Pauw does not state so explicitly, the prospects of a similar scenario emerging in South Africa remain stark. Disaffected military and police personnel, previously based in the structures of the SADF, the SAP and certain homeland police forces, may well find support from marginal political and social groupings in society. Herein lies the perennial fear of all peace loving South Africans - the possibility of these elements constituting themselves as a self-sustaining 'third force'.

Both books will shock the complacent and anger the committed. However, there remains a potent and viable symbol of hope for South Africans and Mozambicans: the yearning and determination to achieve an equitable peace. It is a vision that both authors express in their respective books and it is a vision that the reader will surely share as well. ♦

- RW

Paul Simon

Lekker concert, but ...

It's already been dubbed the "Yawn at the Right Time" concert. I don't think this criticism is too harsh. Paul Simon's concert just wasn't loud enough. It was also very hard to see Paul Simon, his Napoleonic stature somewhat detracting from his already demure stage presence.



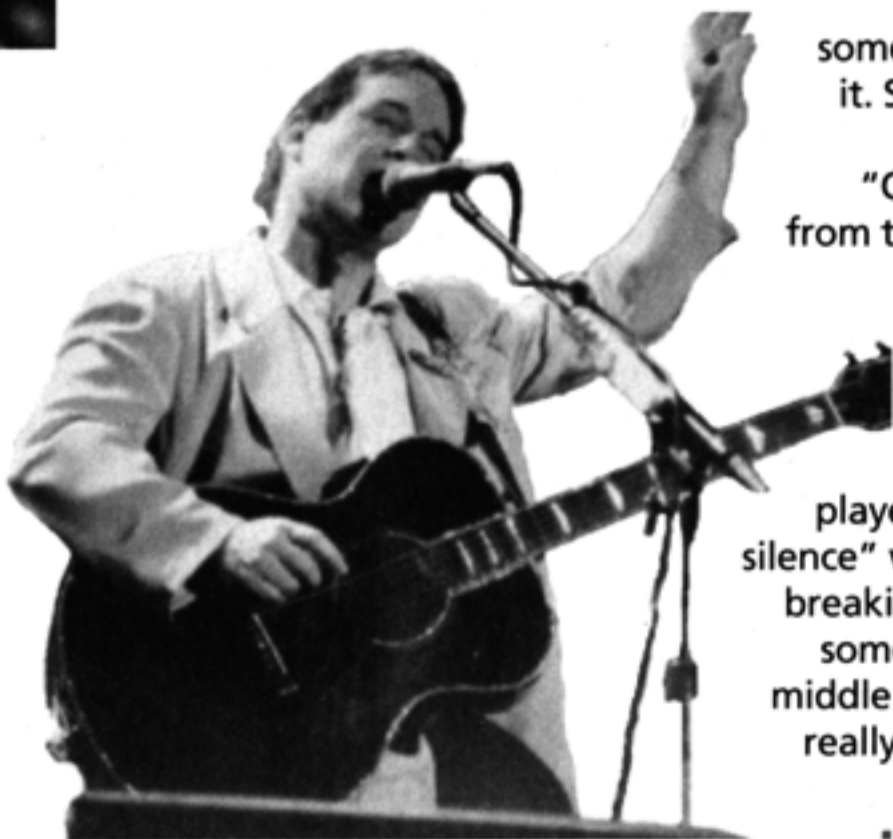
Photo: The Star

Simon and Tshabalala of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, January 1992

Then there was the four-hour wait for him to arrive on stage, the tedium relieved only by the appearance of Doctor Victor and the Rasta Rebels. Oh, and Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Lekker a cappella. Stimela, I'm afraid, are a little too technical for my liking. And, of course, there was Azayo's protest, if you're into that sort of thing.

I was astonished at the low output of a bank of speakers that looked like the flaps on the Battlestar Galactica. The light display was efficient, and for once, we weren't dazzled by lights camouflaging dicey musical ability. What about Paul Simon?

"Rhythm of the Saints" aside, I'm an unrepentant Paul Simon fan. A frothing-at-the-mouth, washed-out-hippy, bell-bottomed, sandal-footed disciple of the mas-



In concert, Ellis Park, 11 January 1992

ter. And he sang the songs that made the whole damn place sing, if not jump (the Rasta Rebels did that with their Eddie Grant covers).

Oh yes, the old songs were still there, and I'm sure the people around me couldn't hear them because I was singing along in a voice usually restricted to the bathroom. "Bridge over troubled water", "Homeward bound" and "Sounds of silence" had me believing for more. When he played "Still crazy" I could barely hold onto the fragile grip I have on the definition of decent behaviour.

"Call me Al" had a nice mix of fans jiving about, as did "Diamonds on the soles of her shoes" from Graceland. Graceland, you'll remember, was the album that got everyone's knickers in a knot when Simon recorded it with little regard for the cultural boycott. He subsequently apologised and then it was all cool again, (at least I think that's what happened).

You may have noticed that I have little regard for "Rhythm of the Saints" (Eurocentric bastard

that I am) but

some people liked it. Simon opened

his set with

"Obvious child" from that album. I'll

tell you another

thing. The

only reason

Paul Simon

played "Sounds of silence" was my heart-

breaking pleas from

somewhere in the

middle of the pitch. I

really put my heart

into it.

"Sounds

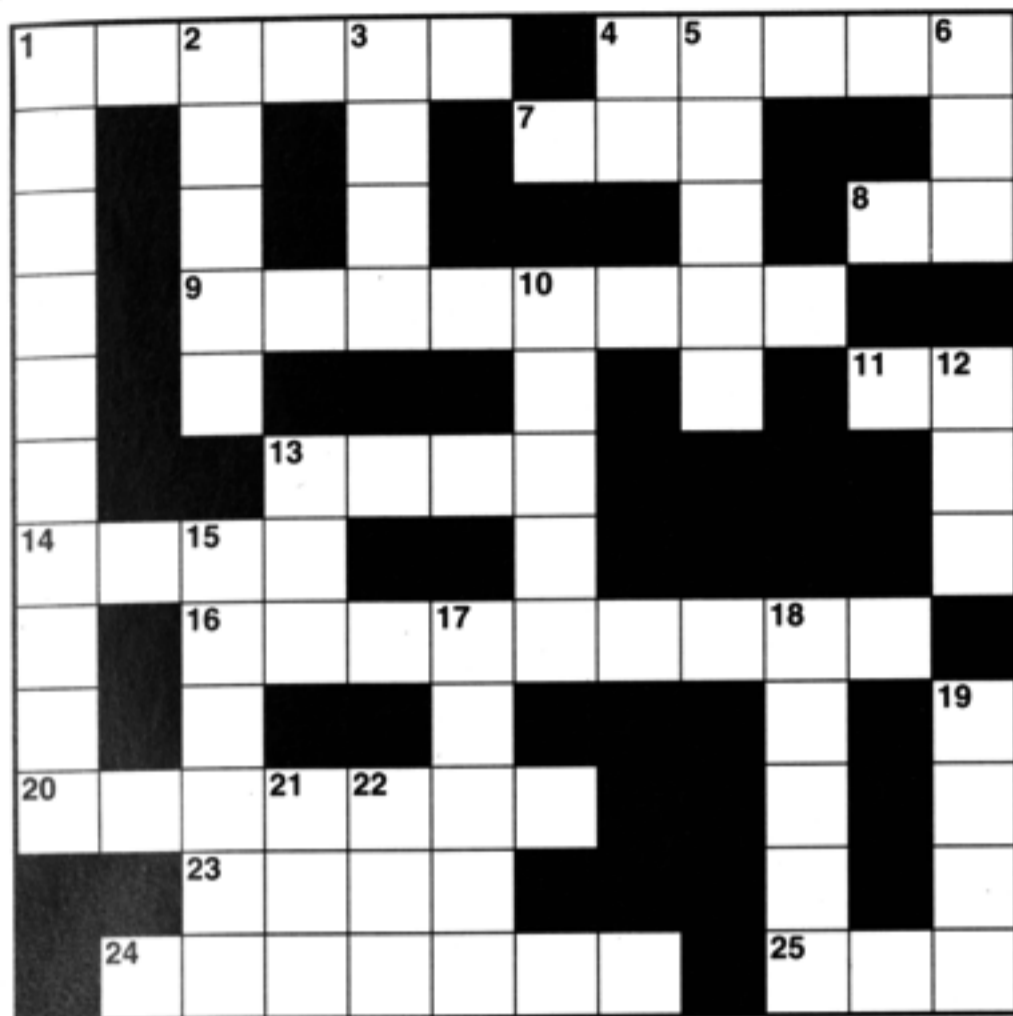
of silence,

"Sounds of silence," I yelled, transported in time to the reunion in Central Park. Oh, and another

thing, the Sowetan was right. There weren't many black people there, but I don't know why. ♦

- LG

MAYIBUYE XWORD Competition No 6



Name:

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- Across**
- Convention for a Democratic SA.
 - Head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs.
 - The punches of boxer Muhammad Ali were said to sting like one.
 - Led by Treurnicht.
 - One of the Rivonia Trialists.
 - Blood pressure.
 - Led by Gogotya.
 - Dead.
 - Dealer in herbs as medicines.
 - South Africa's arms manufacturer.
 - Make reservation.
 - Said at the end of the Rivonia Trial "I am prepared to die" for the ideals of non-racialism.
 - National Executive Committee.

- Down**
- Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA.
 - Musical instruments.
 - Organisation of musicians.
 - Pronoun.
 - ... Alexander is the PAC's Secretary General.
 - Its members have been trained by the SADF's Military Intelligence.
 - SACP leader in Natal Midlands.
 - Short for popular music.
 - What pupils must pay to go to school.
 - ... Khoza is the leader of the Transvaal Inkatha Youth Brigade.
 - Having no money.
 - American singer who performed in SA in January.
 - National Education Co-ordinating Committee.
 - Male child.
 - Cash on delivery.

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ABOUT THE ANC**

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is Tsheko Modutwana
of 1311A White City
PO Jabavu 1818
There is no winner for
MAYIBUYE XWORD No 4

Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 4



RULES

- The first correct entry drawn wins.
- The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- MAYIBUYE**, DIP, DPE and Movement Enterprise staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
- Send answers to: **MAYIBUYE** XWORD No 5, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
- Closing date: 15 March 1991.
- See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, Vol 3 No 2 March 1992.

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002	ANC T-shirt	12.00			097	Small ANC tr/st/b	72.13		
003	Andy cap	13.65			098	Big Spearman sw/tp/b	40.00		
004	Magnum cap	9.38			099	Small Spearman sw/tp/b	40.00		
005	Super golf cap	12.73			100	Big logo sw/tp/b	40.00		
006	Lumber jacket	165.60			101	Small logo sw/tp/b	40.00		
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018	A5 letter pad	3.15			113	ANC metal badge	2.40		
019	A6 pocket book	1.77			114	Logo metal badge	2.40		
020	Large travel bag	33.46			115	Spearman metal badge	2.40		
021	Small travel bag	23.87			116	Youth Lgue metal badge	2.40		
022	ANC 1991 diary	1.00			117	People Shall Gvn badge	2.40		
023	Gold ANC keyring	7.14			119	Seat/walking stick	22.40		
024	Logo lapel badge	2.80			120	Men's pad. takkies	62.38		
025	Greetings cards	0.43			121	Men's pln takkies	53.18		
026	Pack greetings cards	1.70			122	Lumber jacket kids	135.60		
027	Tambo poster	0.85			123	Ladies takkies	35.26		
028	Peace poster	1.60			124	Kiddies takkies	26.94		
029	Logo earrings	12.79			140	Video Mandela's Release	50.00		
030	Flag earrings	12.79			141	Video Fruits of Defiance	50.00		
031	Africa cufflink	15.18			142	Video The comrade king	50.00		
032	Flag lapel badge	4.80			143	Video Isitwalandwe	50.00		
033	Logo cufflink	15.18			144	Video No Mdle Rd to Fredm	50.00		
034	Conference poster	2.61			145	Video Sophiatown	50.00		
035	Leather keyring/red	4.05			146	Video A Savage War of Peace	50.00		
036	Leather keyring/brn	4.05							
037	Leader card	0.46							
038	Chequerboard card	0.41							
039	ANC woolen belt	2.02							
040	Grey stripe tie	22.08							
041	Blue shield tie	22.08							
042	Blue flash tie	22.08							
043	Shield white scarf	25.58							
044	Grey stripe scarf	25.58							
045	Flash white tie	25.58							
046	ANC table flag	8.28							
047	Paper flag	1.04							
051	Liberation cloth badge	1.56							
052	ANC logo cloth badge	1.56							
053	Spearman cloth badge	1.56							
054	SACP cloth badge	1.56							
055	Umsebenzi	1.00							
056	African Communist	5.00							
057	The Red Flag	5.00							
058	Mayibuye	3.00							
059	Bill of Rights	5.00							
060	The New Constitution	7.20							
061	Women's Rights	7.20							
062	Path to Power	5.00							
063	ANC logo T-shirt	6.96							
064	Govern T-shirt	12.00							
065	Mass Action T-shirt	13.57							
066	Equal Rights T-shirt	6.96							
067	Spearman T-shirt	6.96							
068	Peace/Freedom T-shirt	12.00							
069	Nylon tracksuit	81.36							
083	ANC flag belt	38.88							
084	ANC logo belt	38.88							
085	ANC belt	38.88							
086	Big Spearman tr/st/w	72.13							
087	Small Spearman tr/st/w	72.13							
088	Big logo tr/st/w	72.13							
089	Small Logo tr/st/w	72.13							
090	Big ANC tr/st/w	72.13							
091	Small ANC tr/st/w	72.13							
092	Big Spearman tr/st/b	72.13							
093	Small Spearman tr/st/b	72.13							
094	Big logo tr/st/b	72.13							
095	Small logo tr/st/b	72.13							

Total of the above purchases _____
 Plus postage (if order less than R50.00) _____
 Contribution to the work of the ANC _____
 Total enclosed _____

Mayibuye

NOTE

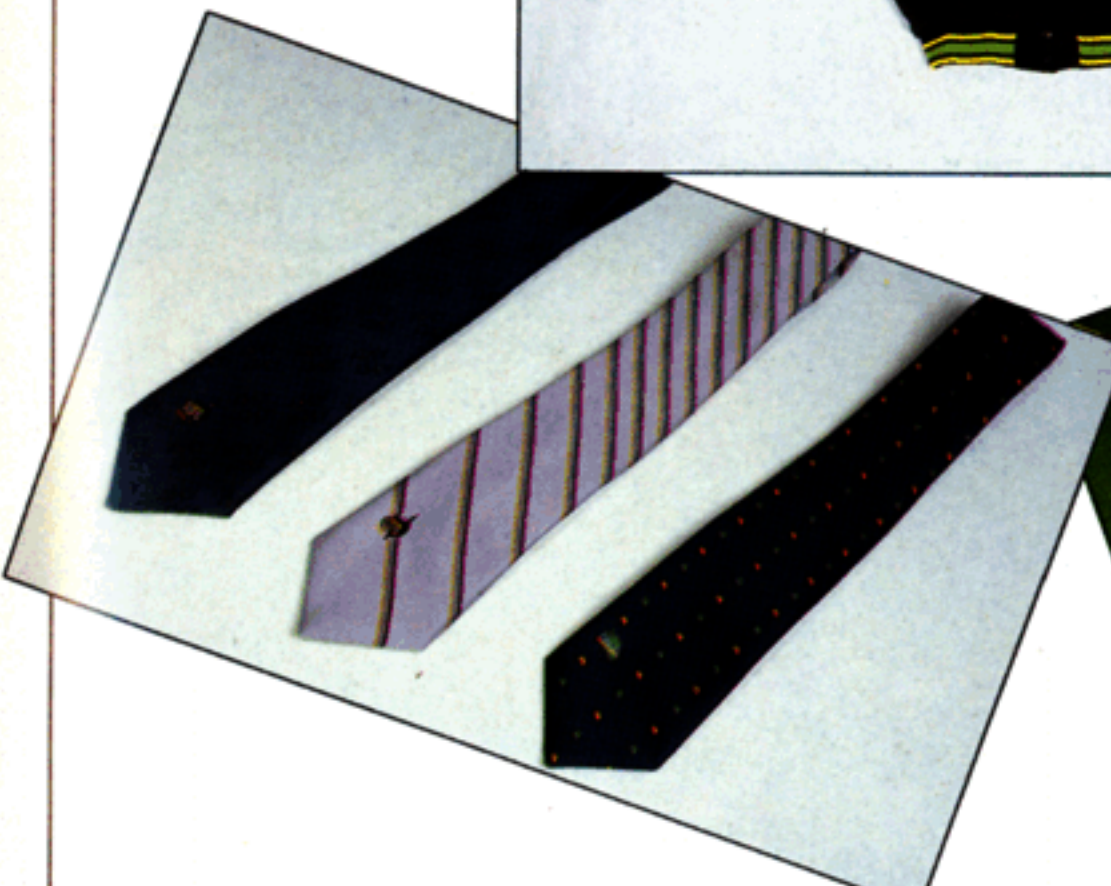
1. If you are ordering a single item than add R3.00 for postage.
2. If you are ordeing items for up to R50.00 then add R6.00 for postage.
3. For orders above R50.00 postage is free.
4. For orders outside the republic please add R5.00 for clearance of foreign cheques and an additional R15.00 for postage.
5. Unfortunately, we cannot accept COD orders.
6. All prices include GST.
7. Please allow 4 (four) to 6 (six) weeks delivery.
8. Cheques must be crossed and made payable to Movement Enterprises (Pty) Ltd.
9. For more information please phone (011) 29 3032/5.
10. Please indicate which size t.shirt you require.
11. A full colour catalogue will be sent to you.

**Please
send your
orders to:**

**Movement Enterprises
PO Box 1092
Joubert Park, 2044
Johannesburg
South Africa**

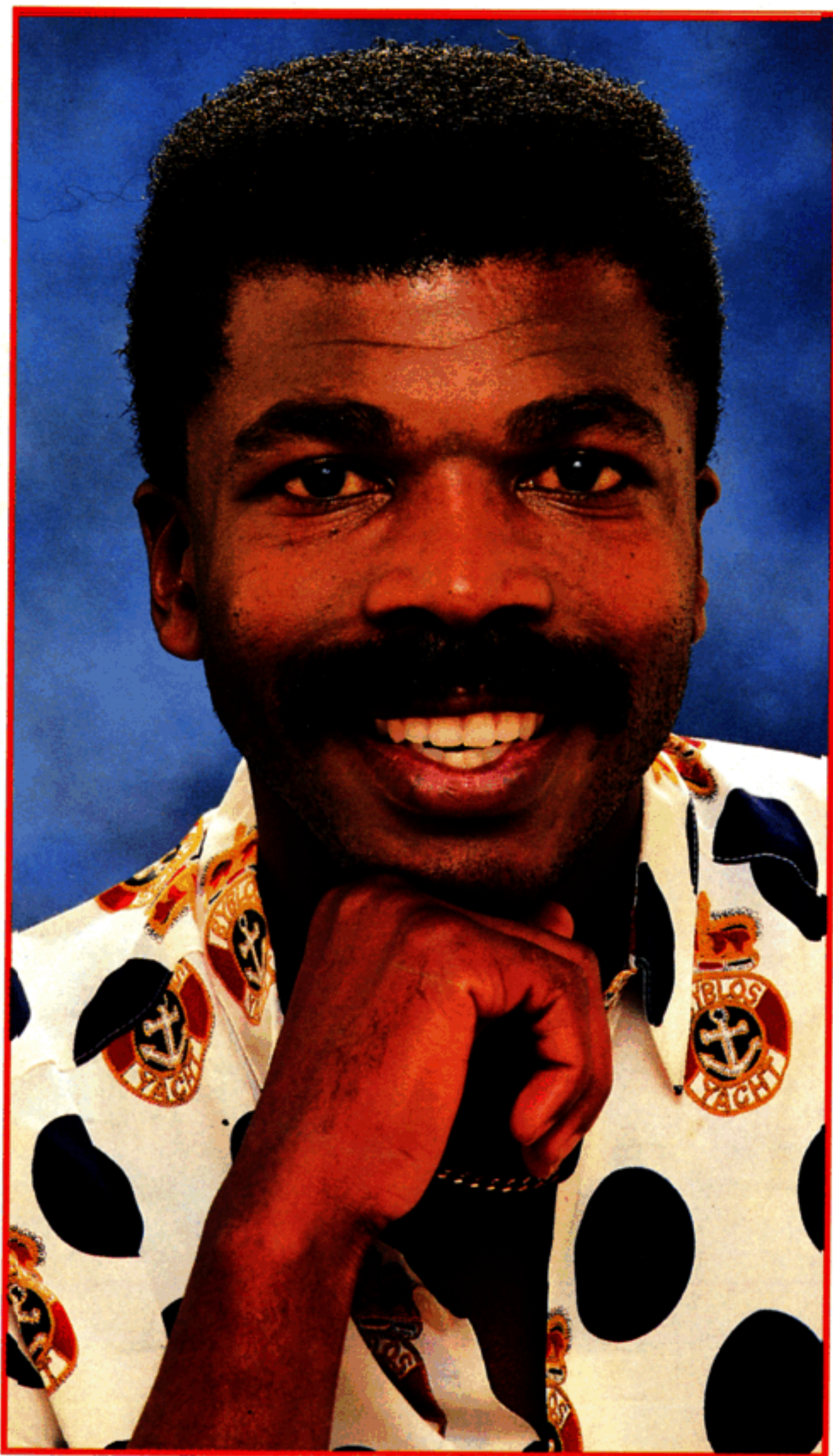
I enclose crossed cheque/postal order for
 R..... made payable to the ANC
 Name:.....
 Address:.....

Now available...



**These and much more ...
See order form opposite**

We asked Alex about our new So Curl



Alex Molokoane is a classical example of black success against all odds. From humble beginnings, with one Hair Salon in Soweto, he is now the proud owner of a Chain of Hair Salons in and around Johannesburg.

We at Mashmol Laboratories, salute the likes of Alex. As a black Company we are proud to be associated with success, black success that is. We asked Alex to try our New So Curl for long lasting Curls. His response was overwhelming, "Spot on brothers ... Spot on" he said with enthusiasm.

We are inclined to agree with Alex. After months of research we have developed a Product to match the best. A no drip Spray and Gel that gives hair a wet look yet maintains hair curly and dry looking.

You can ask Alex about our New So Curl or better still try it yourself. It is available at all leading Hair Salons country-wide.



So Curl for long
lasting Curls from...

BLACK
Like me