

### AYIBL

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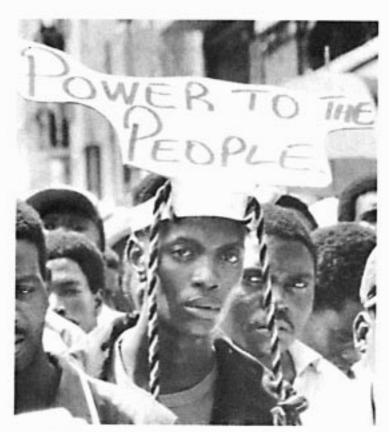
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Guy Adams. SADF's Shaun, known to have worked for Military Intelligence, at the Inkatha march in Durban



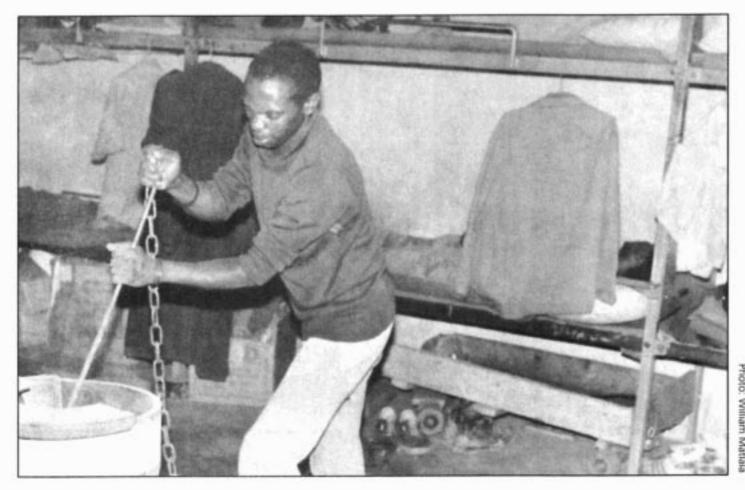
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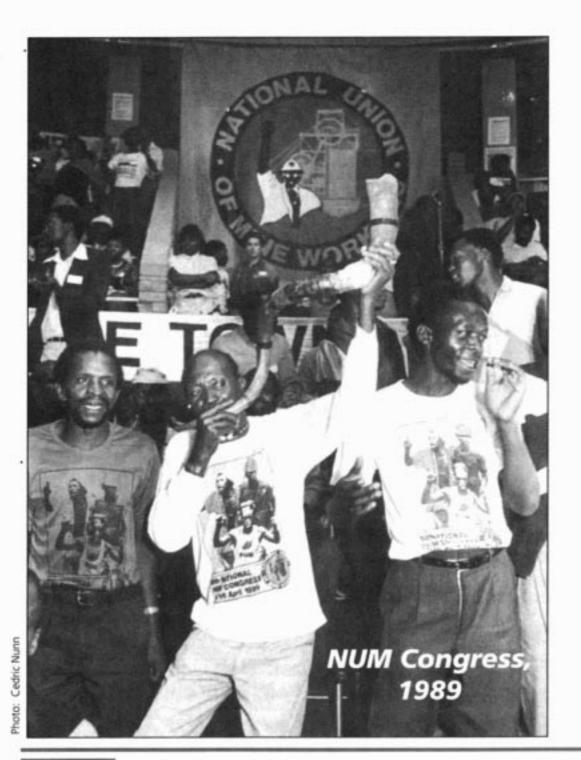
> The editorial team of MAYIBUYE wishes our readers well over the festive season. There will be no January issue. See you in February!

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Mineworker cooking in his sleeping quarters at Kinross No 1 hostel

10th anniversary of the National Union of Mineworkers
December 1992



Miners wait for buses home during the 1987 strike at Leslie Gold Mine



Photo: Anna Zieminski

# A tip of the ice-berg

he Goldstone Commission emerged from SADF Military Intelligence operational headquarters with five files containing information about a plot to discredit the ANC and MK.

Hundreds of other files were left behind. And FW de Klerk has refused to give the Commission the necessary powers to scrutinise them. Instead, he has appointed an internal investigation.

For the public, the focus is narrowed to former CCB operative and killer, Ferdi Barnard and Lt General Badenhorst already retired with a fat pension. Needless to say, the psychopaths relish the limelight. What with SABC extensive coverage of Barnard's self-justification and Lester Venter's characterisation of the whole saga as real power politics!

There is certainly much more than meets the eye.

The Commission's breakthrough came after a Mozambican mercenary revealed his MI-funded murderous missions to Natal. There was the project to kill former hit-squad operative, Dirk Coetzee, in Britain. In both instances, the stock-in-trade became: "projects to discredit MK". Of course, the usage of public funds to discredit the regime's opponents is itself a big scandal. But this is just a tip of the iceberg.

The more MI reduces every exposure to "a plot to discredit" (and therefore "notso-bad-after-all"), the more society should be worried. For we might be witness to one of the biggest cover-ups in history.

Clearly, FW de Klerk is unwilling to deal with the real issues. His is a pathetic act of damage limitation. And the reasons are not difficult to find.

If indeed it was the state president's intention to address earlier accusations against MI, would his government not have thoroughly checked its operations?

In July, MAYIBUYE published details of Operation Thunderstorm – run by MI – to weaken the ANC, not merely by means of discrediting it, but mainly through violence against black communities. Of course, senior politicians are privy to this plot, but they would have been really dumb not to have a system of cut-outs in the event of exposure.

The Goldstone Commission has seemingly come to the realisation that there are many more skeletons in the cupboard. "For the Commission to continue to multiply its enquiries would amount to an attempt to treat the symptoms and not the disease of violence in South Africa," it says in the 16 November statement.

In the same vein, individual peace efforts are important but not sufficient.

The state, or at least those within it with some modicum of discernment, must be made to realise, through a variety of measures, that violence does not pay. The negotiations process must be speeded up so that the apartheid regime, the real obstacle to peace and democracy, is removed without delay. •

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# Readers speak out

#### US ELECTIONS

Dear editor

The fall of Bush is a victory for the entire African continent, especially Angola. The war that has taken more than ten years in Angola was due to the Reagan and Bush administrations. They have assisted Savimbi with money and weapons.

Their involvement in Angola has led to the killing of thousands of people. The war has made Angola agriculturally poor. Despite the election results, Savimbi refuses to sit with Dos Santos to discuss their differences.

We in South Africa hope that the Clinton victory will bring peace to Angola.

TP, Bethlehem

#### ZINZI'S WEDDING

Dear editor I have recently joined the African National Congress because I believe it to be the only organisation capable of leading the "new" South Africa, I spent 34 years in Europe in a sort of self-imposed exile.

I left South Africa not only because of the iniquitous apartheid laws which made me feel ashamed of being white, but also because of the very stunted and superficial attitudes of my own racial group. The excessive importance they placed on money and wealth; their ostentation; their priorities; their indifference to anything other than their own comfort.

I believe that the excessive nuptials of Mandela's daughter personified these very values at a moment when South Africa needs extremely strict guidelines on which to base its future development. Whereas I wish the young couple every happiness for their future, let's try to do things in a simpler, less showy and more stately manner in the future. It would have been far more in keeping if they had destined this money to a foundation for further education.

ZAM, Johannesburg

#### CABAL

Dear editor I wish to discourage the existence of the so-called cabal within the ANC leadership. These opportunists within the liberation movement are deplored. Side-stepping Cde Mandela is undemocratic and very criminal. His socalled blunders in negotiations will never tarnish his image. Dr Nelson Mandela deserves to be president of the ANC.

The struggle shall continue with or without the cabal.

MJMM, Elandskraal

Ed: The ANC has dubbed the so-called cabal document the work of the enemies of the ANC and the democratic movement. Various slips in the document reveal this. Investigations are continuing.

#### LOST CITY

Dear editor I think Sol Kerzner's Lost

City is a ridiculous excess. The workmanship is no doubt exceptional, especially taking into consideration the place where this outrageous monstrosity has been built. But let us not be overawed by these disgusting edifices spotted all over the country.

Consider rather the megalomania which prompts Mr Kerzner to construct these horrendous monuments and which have nothing at all to do with the "new" South Africa.

The argument that such places bring riches to the people is false. It may provide some jobs for some people for some time. But given the world economic crisis one tends to be pessimistic about the survival of these gigantic gambling joints in the future.

Consider rather the poverty of thought which urges people to sit in front of a jingling machine pulling a lever for hours on end in the hope of "getting rich quick". AM, Parkwood

#### PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Dear editor The PWV region receives preferential political treatment from the African National Congress. This region is receiving first class treatment while the rural areas are ignored. This kind of centralisation is uncalled for and deplored in very strong terms.

Mass action, workshops and voter education programmes are only organised in the PWV and to some extent in Natal. The National Working Committee's task should

not only be to entertain national issues, but should also be to ensure that regions operate effectively.

The organisation has failed to mobilise rural areas. These are apartheid's dumping grounds which are being ignored by the liberation movement.

The functioning of branches should be overseen by regional working committees. Branches, like regional offices, should be financed. Branch officials should be trained on how to administer their respective branches.

The national leadership should start visiting rural areas. Nelson Mandela should stop wasting his time going to talk with the PAC about the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe. He should revive his own organisation in the rural areas. The PAC will not vote the ANC into power, it is the ANC members who will do so.

I think that there should be strong regional government in the future so that rural people are not ignored.

MJM, Marble-Hall

#### **GAY RIGHTS**

Dear editor BM's letter (MAYIBUYE November 1992) was a direct insult to the gay and lesbian community. He was also expressing fear of homosexuals while engaging in gaybashing. No one but BM will ever think of gay men fearing to penetrate because they will lose their sexual organs.

I agree with BM that a phobia is a terrible disease and homophobia is a social disease. People suffering from this kind of disease are the ones

that should undergo extensive psychological counselling, not lesbians and gays.

Gay men and lesbians are not heterophobic, and we've got no right to be. We are very thankful to the heterosexual community for creating more and more lesbians and gays. Imagine if it was not for our heterosexual parents (of course some of our parents are gay) many of us would be struggling to get lovers.

SN, Yeoville!

Dear editor
A gay person is somebody with that personality.
Nobody can change him or her. We are the type of people interested in people of the same sex. I can satisfy a man and a woman similarly. This did not happen to me when I was nine or ten, I was born like that.

Further, I can be a man but have a woman's features, voice or character. Parents with gay children are blessed because that child will be able to help them a lot. When s/he earns money s/he is going to buy the mother a beautiful dress and the father a good suit which he would like his boyfriend to wear. JD, Klerksdorp

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Dear editor
I refer to your article by
Raymond Suttner "Bond
with People Strengthened"
in the October issue of
MAYIBUYE. In particular
I refer to section
"Assessment ..." in which
is stated "There are no
limits to the 'liberal'
Democratic Party's unprincipled behaviour."

Now nowhere in this article is any reference made to the Democratic Party, nor is there any attempt made on the part of the writer to justify this fatuous statement presented as fact.

I would appreciate a reply, justification or a repudiation, as this is clearly a piece of meaningless propaganda as it stands at the moment.

GMK, DP Parktown

Chairperson

Ed: The main article, not the accompanying boxes, was written by Raymond Suttner. On your specific concern, the author responds:

The comment refers to the DP's attacks on the ANC and its allies for leading the march on Bisho despite warnings that the Ciskei security forces would shoot. This the DP did before and after the killings.

In their frantic attempts to occupy the moral high-ground and portray themselves as gentlemen with clean hands, the DP leaders unwittingly encouraged the slaughter.

Afterwards they underplayed this violation of human rights by the Ciskei administration and its Pretoria backers; and instead blamed the victims. This desperate bid for a niche in the broader political market in preparation for elections is unprincipled in the extreme.

Lack of space prevented this elaboration.
GMK is right that such information should not be assumed, even (or especially) among the DP's leaders and members.



#### ARMED STRUGGLE

Dear editor

The ANC should resume the armed struggle and topple the racist government before all of us die. If we were white citizens then the violence would have been stopped immediately. De Klerk is buying votes with our blood. Let us act now before it is too late.

MS, Bloemfontein

Youth at a rally in Sebokeng after the Boipatong massacre

Write to:



MAYIBUYE

PO Box 61884 Marshalltown Johannesburg 2107











#### Dirty tricks

More skeletons have come tumbling out of the NP's cupboard over the past few weeks, as the security force's dirty tricks department tell tales on one another.

The most striking revelation is that Military Intelligence (MI) blatantly hired the CCB's Ferdie
Barnard – a double murderer – to try to undermine the ANC.
Barnard's main task was to link
Umkhonto we Sizwe members with criminal activities. He sought the help of drug dealers, prostitutes and rebel MK members to do so.

MI's dirty tricks were exposed by Goldstone Commission members, who raided an MI base after being given a tip-off. Barnard says he believes the National Intelligence Service (NIS) could have been behind the tip-off.

Meanwhile, during the inquest into the death of Bheki Mlangeni, Ml documents exposed that the army's head, General George Meiring, had approved a secret operation to discredit the ANC. The campaign, called Operation Echo, tried to link the ANC and the IRA.

MI also claimed the SAP's Vlakplaas unit's commander, Colonel Eugene de Kock, had instructed MI agent Leon Flores to assassinate renegade hit squad member Dirk Coetzee in London. De Kock has since offered to reveal all his secrets to the NIS in exchange for indemnity.

Meanwhile, CCB agents have also threatened to reveal top government secrets if the SADF fails to pay their pensions and other benefits. One of these secrets is the role Magnus Malan played in the CCB.

#### Land sales

The ANC has demanded a moratorium on the transfer and sale of all state land until an Interim Government is in place. However, the government says it will not halt its handover of more than 800 000 hectares of land to bantustan governments. KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa will benefit the most from the planned land transfers.

ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa described the transfers as "nothing more than a rather crude and very transparent attempt to purchase or reward support for the NP government's attempts to retain its hold on power via its 'regional/federal' programme".

Land has a vital role to play in "the programme of national reconciliation and reconstruction", and it should not be used "for the promotion of a party political programme", added Ramaphosa.

### Preparing to govern

A national local government institute is to be set up very soon within South Africa to prepare for a democratic government. The main aims of the institute are to train people to run local government, formulate policy and do research. It is aimed at bringing together people from the government, the private sector and the progressive movement.

The institute was launched after an urban sector mission involving international experts and South African leaders, mainly from the ANC and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC), a Canadian organisation, facilitated the mission and has agreed to support the institute.

According to the IDRC's chairperson and former Canadian cabinet minister, Flora MacDonald, the
mission was "struck by the extent
of the urban crisis in SA and the
enormous task facing any new
government in addressing the
need for urban transformation and
reconstruction". To address this
crisis, the mission advised the
democratic movement to "establish a coherent strategy for the
urban sector".

ANC President Nelson

Mandela said there was an urgent
need for "well- trained professionals to manage local government". These people had to be
bound by "professional ethics

that transcend narrow party politics", he said.

Mandela expressed his appreciation to the IDRC for its involvement and urged those in the local government field: "The challenges and possibilities are daunting. Begin your work now!"

#### Women raise their voices

Women need not hold their tongues any longer. The Women's National Coalition (WNC) recently announced the start of their "Campaign for Women's Equality", which will involve 100 fieldworkers going out into communities to collect women's demands.

The end product of the campaign, explained WNC co-ordinator Frene Ginwala, is a Charter of Women's Equality, which the coalition hopes to have included in the country's new constitution.

The WNC's campaign is expected to last for a year. A number of international organisations have pledged support for the campaign, including the Canadian-based International Development Research Centre.

#### Bop executions

Massive pressure from the ANC, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and other organisations has won a temporary stay of execution for three Bop prisoners on death row.

The three were due to be hanged last month after being sentenced to death for murder. After protests, the three were given a 90-day stay of execution. Protestors have threatened to call a boycott of various international events at Sun City, including the opening of the Lost City if the executions are carried out.

#### ANC meets AVU

Whatever that means, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) "agreed to consider ways and means of ensuring that Afrikaner nationalists would be defenders of





"I am not to blame!" In the wake of the De Meyer report on corruption in Lebowa, the bantustan's Nelson Ramodike (left) and the NP's Stoffel van der Merwe tried to outdo each other in protestations of innocence.

#### Bantustans of scandal

The stench of corruption in the bantustans finally reached Pretoria recently, prompting the government to release two reports. The De Meyer report documents vast abuse of taxpayers' money in Lebowa, while the Parsons report described abuses carried out by the KwaNdebele cops during the reign of the previous pro-independence government. It has also been discovered that 700 Ciskei government cars have "disappeared". The response from the government ministers has simply been: it wasn't our fault.

Gerrit Viljoen, the minister implicated in the Department of Development Aid scandal, was in charge of bantustan policy in the 1980s. But he will not accept blame. Stoffel van der Merwe, who took over from Viljoen, also denies any responsibility. Van der Merwe resigned a few days before the reports were published.

The present minister in charge of bantustans,

Jacob de Villiers, says he will not initiate similar enquiries into other bantustans. Nor will he ensure that the officials implicated in the two reports are charged.

The De Meyer report found that millions of rands had been lost in Lebowa through salaries and pensions being paid to dead people, fancy cars bought for officials and unnecessary and expensive equipment being bought. In addition, many officials – including Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike – illegally awarded themselves liquor licenses.

The Parsons Commission, which took three years to complete its report, found that the KwaNdebele cops had been brutal, inefficient and under-qualified. It also mentioned "serious mismanagement" in the bantustan's department of law and order.

About R1-billion has been lost in Lebowa and KwaNdebele, while the bill for Ciskei's "lost" cars runs into millions.

the new order". This was said in joint press statement issued by the two organisations after a meeting on 19 November at the ANC Headquarters in Johannesburg.

Especially since the AVU leader, Andries Beyers, said in his opening address: "We are talking to you as Afrikaner nationalists. We regard it as a historic event when for the very first time Afrikaner nationalists are talking to our historic foe, the ANC ... We regard the ANC as our most important adversary in our striving towards self-determination."

According to the press statement, both parties acknowledged the significance of the meeting, and agreed to meet again, as well as consider the possibility of establishing a joint committee to discuss detailed constitutional questions.

"The parties agreed on the need for negotiations between all parties to resume as soon as possible in order to ensure an early political settlement."

The meeting comes in the wake of a number of bilaterals the ANC has held with Bop, the Democratic Party, Ximoko People's Party and others.

This is part of the organisation's preparations for what has been dubbed "the mother of all bilaterals" between the ANC and the NP government, billed for early December. •



# Get the people to vote

As the country begins to gear itself for the first ever elections, there are serious challenges which the nation has to face.

MAYIBUYE looks at the issues which all parties will confront.

he ANC's election strategy can be captured in three words: "Vote! Vote ANC!" The task of getting people to vote for the ANC will have to be preceded by the task of getting people to realise that they have the vote and they must exercise it.

It is critical that the elections are conducted in such a way that there can be no questioning of their legitimacy. The extent to which they are free and fair will determine how readily the results will be acceptable to the majority. For the elections to enjoy credibility and legitimacy they must:

- occur in conditions in which the playing field has been levelled and a climate of free political activity exists;
- be comparable with international standards of election processes;
- be professionally managed and administered;
- ensure that all parties have been afforded the opportunity to participate fully;
- register a high poll as in Angola and Namibia.

But the process of democratisation has to contend with the following conditions:

- Over 40 percent of the adult population is illiterate. Illiteracy is higher among women, who constitute more than half the electorate.
- We inherit a country in which a vast number – over seven million – live in the poverty of urban squatter settlements and unserviced rural areas. Access to electricity in these areas is virtually non-existent. This reduces access to media such as TV.
- Violence has gripped the country for the past few years. The level of violence depends on the nature of political events of the day.
- There are vast sections of the country which are administered by bantustan tyrants and racist farmers

who are making access to the population difficult.

- The commercial and state media cannot be relied upon to be non-partisan and to meet the information needs of the public generally. Thus fair media access will have to be fought for every inch of the way.
- There is a boycott tradition because elections and voting have always been for toothless bodies.
   Research indicates that some people do not intend voting in the elections because they associate them with the government.
- The NP's very well-oiled electoral machine, experience in election work and access to state and other resources already pose a serious threat to having a fair election.

It will take a democratic state to seriously address these legacies of apartheid. But the first elections are about whether a democratic state will be realised at all. Therein lies the Catch-22. A number of responses have been developed, with mixed success.

#### **VOTER EDUCATION**

Voter Education, for example, has become a growing industry. There are about 70 agencies involved.

Ketso Gordhan of the ANC Electoral Commission, commening on the effectiveness of the current



programmes, said: "There is no Electoral Act which has been accepted and which will govern the Constituent Assembly elections. Thus it is difficult to imagine what kind of voter education programme can be implemented.

"Some programmes, for example, are arguing that when people cast their votes, they must make a perfect cross in the allotted box. The ANC would argue that any mark in that box should be sufficient – even if some one writes 'Viva ANC'.

"Most of these programmes claim to be politically neutral. But each one of them begins with the question 'What is democracy?' which makes them ultimately biased because of the different definitions of democracy. The Nats used to say that South Africa had a democratic system – the reality is far from that. This should not divert us from the severity of the problem.

"Angola, for example, with a voting population of four and a half million, had 500 000 spoilt papers. Of this 300 000 people did not make any marks on their ballot papers. This indicates that even when people go to the polling booth, they find the process so intimidating that they simply do not do anything."

The time has arrived for the democratic forces to define "the people" in the Freedom Charter clause "The people shall govern".

#### WHO VOTES?

The ANC, having led the struggle for the extension of universal franchise to all South Africans would want as many as possible to have the right to vote, without leaving loopholes for manipulation.

This could include those who are South African by birth, by marriage, through being resident for some time, TBVC citizens and contract workers who have been here for some time and would like to make South Africa their home.

One of the issues being debated is whether the voter age be brought down to 16 – which the ANC Youth League, in particular, has been arguing for. They point out that, given the history of political involvement of South African youth, it makes sense to extend the vote to them.

There is limited international precedence but the lobby points out that Joan of Arc was 17 when she took Orleans from the English. Nicaragua did lower the age to 16. "But this was for expedient reasons," says Ketso Gordhan.

"Nicaragua has a population of three million. Fifty thousand people were killed in the war. They had to lower the voting age so that they could conscript 16-year-olds into the army."

But how is an eligible voter identified and should there be a voters' roll? Many in the ANC argue that many different types of documents should be acceptable for identification/proof purposes.

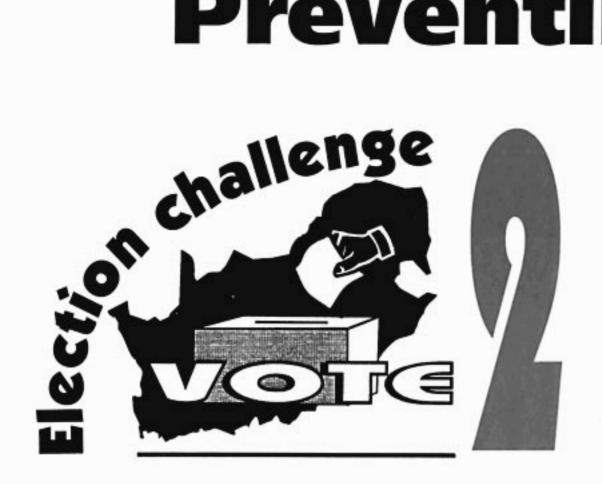
Related to this is the question of registration. Should all potential voters be required to put their names on a voters' roll prior to the elections? The bureaucratic work which this will entail makes this task difficult to complete within the coming year.

The other option is to go the Zimbabwe way: a voter would have to complete the necessary documentation on voting day. If this is accepted then the person is allowed to vote.

#### **PROFESSIONALISM**

Answers to all these questions will not come easily. But the basic consideration should be to ensure that those eligible to vote are not excluded by sheer dint of a complicated, intimidating and costly process. On the other hand, efficiency and professionalism will enhance the integrity of the whole process and undercut those who, like Savimbi in Angola, are waiting in the wings to shout "foul" when the electorate will have put them in their place.

# Preventing fraud



Craig Charney, a Research Fellow at Wits University Sociology
Department, warns about the possibilities of electoral fraud. He has been a poll-watcher of US elections, witnessed the 1988 Mexican elections and studied elections in Zimbabwe, Senegal, Nicaragua, Namibia and South Africa.

overing the Mexican elections I learnt of one town whose residents had done their civic duty so well that over 600 votes were cast ... even though 125 people lived there!

Other times, the results of vote fraud were less amusing. In 1988, Mexico's opposition presidential candidate clearly won two thirds of the polling stations where opposition poll watchers could monitor the results. But where there were no such monitors the ruling candidate recorded so many 100 percent votes that he won – rather stole – the elections.

The need to prevent loss of votes is particularly urgent under the circumstances likely to confront the ANC, which may well have over 50 percent of the vote in a proportional representation system.

Irregularities involving a small share of the vote – just a couple of percent – could cost the ANC a majority and the chance to rule.

It is necessary to guard against fraud at every step of an electoral process. The following four key factors are crucial:

- publicity and documentation;
- multi-party control;
- judicial review;
- international monitoring.

The following is a list of some of the dangers of vote fraud at different stages and possible safeguards.

#### DRAWING UP THE VOTERS ROLL

(If parties agree that voters should be registered.)

Dangers:

- allowing ineligible people to register;
- registering deceased or nonexistent people;
- refusing to allow eligible people to register;
- failing to delete voters who have died or moved;
- deleting voters who are eligible from the poll.

#### Solutions:

- requiring ID document, passport, or UN refugee document for registration and recording number and address;
- having numerous voter registration bureaux, including mobile ones or designating party representatives as registrars;
- publication of voters rolls way ahead of elections to allow for examination by party officials in each locality and, if necessary, challenges;
- administrative procedures for challenging unjustifiable inclusions or exclusions, with the possibility of judicial review;
- election day procedures for voters who have been excluded to file on-the-spot affidavits and vote.

#### NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

#### Dangers:

- excessive requirement for candidates to qualify for the ballot (high deposit, large number of signatures, etc);
- restrictive registration requirements for political parties:
- prohibitions on joint candidacies of election alliances.

#### Solutions:

- reasonable qualification requirements for candidates;
- no registration requirements for parties or very liberal ones;
- no power for electoral authorities to bar alliances.

#### CAMPAIGNING

#### Dangers:

- intimidation of opponents;
- denial of access or unequal access to TV and radio;
- smear campaigning or reporting;
- huge inequalities in campaign resources, including large foreign funding.

#### Solutions:

- all-party monitoring/reporting committee on campaign;
- · publicity campaign: "Your vote is your secret";
- disqualification procedures for intimidatory campaigners, with provision for judicial review;
- procedures for postponement of vote in areas where intimidation is so severe as to prevent campaign/vote;
- guaranteed time for parties on electronic media;
- televised debates with agreed format;
- use of press council to combat unfair reporting;
- · campaign spending limits or public financing;
- · limits on contributions to candidates;
- · public disclosure of all contributions;

#### **BALLOT DESIGN**

#### Dangers:

 reflecting proposed party symbols, or accepting ones likely to confuse illiterate voters;

#### Solutions:

rigid provisions on acceptability of symbols, with judicial review of rejections.

#### **POSTAL AND SPECIAL VOTES**

The danger of filing fraudulent postal or special votes can be neutralised by publicly listing names of those who cast such votes and appropriate procedures for challenging.

#### **BALLOTING ON ELECTION DAY**

This is the day when most dirty tricks can be expected.

#### Dangers:

- choice of inconvenient locations for polling stations;
- · last minute moves of polling stations;
- members of government party chairing all polling stations;
- stuffing of ballot boxes;
- · intimidation or violence;
- stealing of ballot boxes;
- absence of polling booth to allow secret voting;
- "helping" illiterate voters to vote for ruling party;
- repeat voters and flying squads of voters.

#### Solutions:

- multi-party control and judicial review of designation of polling stations;
- procedures ensuring polling station chairs of different parties and all-party participation in challenge decisions;
- guaranteed right of every party to poll-watchers with electoral register at every polling station, with right to challenge unqualified or repeat voters;
- inspection and sealing of ballot box at start of vote by all-party representatives;
- limiting number of ballots sent to station to number of voters on register, and multi-party verification of number;
- · tallying total ballots in box against recorded voters;
- security force (domestic or UN) presence at every polling station, with stepped up patrolling on elections eve and day;

- ban on campaigning close to polling stations;
- absence of polling booth (for casting secret ballot) grounds for disqualifying polling station result;
- no helping of illiterate voters, or requirement that all pollwatchers verify correctness of result;
- marking voters thumbs with indelible ink after voting;
- re-running vote at stations where ballot boxes are stolen.

#### COUNTING THE VOTE

#### Dangers:

- disqualification of valid votes;
- incorrectly counting vote totals;
- loss or alteration of ballots or tally sheets between polling place, and regional/national electoral office.
- falsification of aggregate totals at regional/national level;

#### Solutions:

- participation of all parties' poll watchers in count at polling station immediately at end of voting;
- multi-party control of ballot acceptance, with judicial review in instances where decisions could alter outcomes;
- poll-watchers of very party receive tally sheet for their station at end of count there, signed by all of them;
- publication of results for every polling station, not just the whole constituency;
- various party representatives present while ballots and tally sheets are transported to regional/national levels;
- requirement that regional/national offices disclose all polling station result when received, and declare totals promptly after all votes in;
- alterations to tally sheets or conflicts between totals of polling station results and officials totals grounds for annulling vote if discrepancies could affect outcome.

#### **ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION**

#### Dangers:

- control of elections administration by ruling party;
- control of appeals or acceptance of results in hands of elected legislature (effectively, ruling party).

#### Solutions:

- multi-party participation in decision-making;
- provision for judicial review of key decisions.

#### INTERNATIONAL MONITORING

International monitors should verify all stages of the electoral process, not just the balloting.

On election day, they can play a key role in verifying the accuracy of official results through a "quick count". This serves as a deterrent to fraud and a means of demonstrating it if it happens.



# Sunset debate:

### Conflicting opposites produce a synthesis

ne senior member of the NWC, emerging from the marathon meeting where the original draft was thoroughly scrutinised, looked haggard, but had a twinkle in the eye. "The most searching and frank debate I have attended in years," he mumbled.

It was not plain sailing for any school of thought. Reminiscent of the heated reviews of strategy on Robben Island; major NEC meetings in exile after turning-points like Soweto; UDF planning meetings prior to the Defiance Campaign...

The views were often contradictory. Sparks were flying. But there was a sense of history: the ANC had to firmly take the responsibility of leadership.

The De Klerk government is in disarray and does not mind the rudderless drift as long as it can cling to power.

Many years ago, the Zimbabwean liberation movement had the same experience during the Lancaster negotiations. Namibians, too, when they were presented with a fait accompli, first by the UN Security Council, and later after the agreements between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Yet in our situation there is no Lord Carrington or the Gang of Five to blame it all on. The liberation movement itself has to weigh the realities and take responsibility for any compromises.

Like the heated debates of the days gone by, there were no losers or winners. It was a struggle of opposites which produced a synthesis representing the collective wisdom. In this era of glasnost, perhaps honour was also at issue. But in the end the The ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) has adopted a document on the movement's negotiating perspectives. This was after heated debate ...

ANC emerged the winner: a deserving leader of the democratic process.

Authors of the first document concede that there were many weaknesses in the original draft. These revolved around creating the impression firstly, that the movement entered negotiations cap in hand; secondly, that compromises would not
be underpinned by thorough-going
changes in the structure and content
of the state machinery. This was
merely assumed.

On the other hand, while the critics correctly identified the weaknesses, most were particularly unhelpful when it came to concrete solutions.

#### SHIFTING THE BALANCE OF FORCES

In the event, consensus was reached that the movement needed to identify its options, given the current balance of forces and possibilities of shifting it.

It was agreed that negotiations constituted a victory for the ANC and a strategic retreat on the part of the regime. And, since 1990, many changes have taken place, including the adoption of the Declaration of Intent at Codesa I. The ANC has established itself and is capable of effective mass mobilisation. The

regime's crisis of legitimacy and internal contradictions continue to intensify.

However, as much as the liberation movement has strengths, so does the regime in the form of military and other resources arising from the fact that it is in power. It continues to consolidate its hold on power and to undercut future democratic transformation through unilateral restructuring.

#### OPTIONS

What then are the options?

Firstly, a return to armed struggle and insurrection. This had already been rejected by national conference as currently being neither viable nor preferable.

Secondly, a protracted negotiations process combined with mass action and international pressure until the regime surrenders on each and every demand for full-blooded democracy.

Thirdly, a swift transition that combines negotiations, mass action and international mobilisation; plus efforts aimed at uniting the nation against counter-revolution and capturing beach-heads in power structures in order to, in the longer term, effect thoroughgoing transformation.

The NWC identified the latter option as being in the national interest. But it emphasised that this might have to be reviewed depending on the regime's behaviour.

What does this option entail?

The ANC's strategic perspective remains the transfer of power to the people as a whole. This should be accompanied by fundamental socioeconomic restructuring.

To achieve this will also require a restructuring of the army, the police and the civil service. They must be competent and accountable, represent society as a whole, serve the interests of democracy, and be trimmed in keeping with national needs.

The transition must be swift and democratic.

#### POWER MONOPOLY

This also entails urgently dealing with the NP's monopoly of power. "So that," as one negotiator put it, "we do not have to rely merely on Goldstone to raid an MI headquarters suspected of involvement in the violence." In other words, the transition itself should be one of the major means of shifting the balance of forces.

In this process, it will be necessary to consider:

- a Government of National Unity even after the adoption of the new constitution – with a decisive role for the majority party and no veto powers by those who have lost elections;
- packages for civil servants and security forces who will be retrenched – also taking into account the position of military formations which fought against apartheid;
- a general amnesty which will be underpinned by transparency, impartial assessment of the crimes, reparations, etc; and
- an understanding with the NP and other parties on regional policy which the parties will pursue at the Constituent Assembly.

This will help to undermine counter-revolution by undercutting those forces which seek to exploit the fears of these sectors. This applies as much to the future



**Above:** Nelson Mandela greets Sibongile Hadebe at the funeral of her husband, assassinated Natal Midlands ANC Secretary, Reggie Hadebe.

Can reconciliation and the demand of the masses for the transfer of power to the people be achieved through sunset clauses?

as to the current period: to ensure that these forces do not block the transition.

In this regard, multi-pronged engagement is necessary:

- with the NP because it is in power;
- with other parties to ensure national unity; and
- directly with the civil service, army and police themselves.

"Unpalatable as they might be, the proposals are quite logical on paper," says one critic of the first draft. "But there is no guarantee that compromises will make these people play ball."

This is a legitimate concern. Unlike in Zimbabwe, there is no major international power with direct leverage on the regime.

The process must therefore be mass-driven, and the package translated into international consensus. Those who resist must be thoroughly isolated. •

### **Defining policy on regions**

The ... powers and

functions of regions

should be properly set

out in the constitution.

And national

through procedures of

amending the

take away these

rights.

government, except

constitution, cannot

The ANC has issued a discussion document on regional policy which argues strongly against over-simplification of the issue, writes a correspondent.

nderpinning the ANC's proposed regional policy are three watchwords: freedom, democracy and equitable development.

To achieve this, argues the ANC Constitutional Committee, the adoption of all aspects of the constitution should be democratic. Firstly, the constitution should be drafted and adopted as a whole, not as a mechanical assembly of spare parts. Secondly, this should be done by elected representatives of the people in a Constituent Assembly.

The ANC therefore rejects attempts on the

part of the NP to have regional policy adopted by an unelected body such as Codesa.

"Federalism" and "Unitarism" are being bandied about as magic words. "In some instances this is a result of ignorance", says a constitutional expert. "In others it is a political strategy to win allies at home and abroad. Yet in others, it is a chauvinistic attempt to further divide the country along ethnic and racial lines."

The issues are quite complex. "Every unitary state has

federal features and every federal state has unitary ones....", the document explains.

The starting point should therefore be to identify national tasks and then define the relationship among various tiers of government – national, regional and local. In our country, non-racial unity, democratic government, redressing socio-economic injustices and preventing over-concentration of power are among the most crucial principles. To realise them requires the same set of democratic tenets, including a Bill of Rights, throughout the land. At the same time, flexibility on institutions and policy details is required.

The document proposes that central government should have exclusive powers on such issues as foreign policy, defence, internal security and administration of justice. However, when it comes to delivering services such as education, housing and traffic control, regional and local structures are better able to handle them. While the national government can set out broad policy on these areas, regions can pass their own supportive laws and decide on implementation mechanisms.

These powers and functions of regions should be properly set out in the constitution. And national government, except through procedures of amending the constitution, cannot take away these rights. For instance, it can overrule a regional government if the latter goes against national policy; but it cannot dismiss it. Where there is a dispute, a non-party Constitutional Court will arbitrate.

On the critical issue of policy on finance, the document proposes that:

- central government should set and collect income tax, VAT, company tax and so on;
- it will have a claim on all this revenue, and ensure its redistribution among all regions on an equitable basis;
- regional government can tax, for example, fixed properties within certain defined parameters, etc.

The aim is to ensure local control and usage of finances while at the same time seeing

to sound and balanced national economic management.

Regions will also work out regional language policies within the national framework.

A regional council headed by a regional administrator with an executive will constitute regional government. As at national level this will be based on multi-party democracy and regular elections. There is still debate around the number of regions: 10 or 16; the latter separating out metropolitan areas such as Witwatersrand-Vaal, Durban and Cape Town as regions in their own right.

The document has generated exciting debate. "Let the other groups ... present the whole question in terms of how best they can cling to power," it says. "Our task is to help determine how ... a democratic society can be realised." •

#### MAYIBUYE: How is free political activity being restricted in Bop?

**GM:** Free political activity is restricted by an act of parliament. Bannings and expulsions from schools and the University of Bophuthatswana are some of the methods used. Recently, the Bop administration passed a law prohibiting mass protest.

Pensioners and civil servants are forced to join Mangope's Christian Democratic Party. Pensioners have R5 deducted from their pensions for the party.

MD: Several people have been arrested in Kuruman on suspicion that they were holding a meeting. Even "tribal" meetings have been disrupted. A chief was arrested in Dryharts because they suspected him of promoting the ANC. In fact he was addressing his people at the kgotla.

#### MAYIBUYE: What is the strategy of the region to create free political activity in Bop?

**GM:** We feel we have to pursue negotiations with the Bop administration to ensure that the ANC can organise freely. But the administration doesn't want to meet with the ANC. We also engage in actions of defiance and protest. As I speak, we are launching three branches underground in the area.

MD: Hunger strikers at Rooigrond put free political activity as one of their demands. In the Kuruman area we have had open marches. We organised a consumer boycott of the businesses of Bop ministers.

# MAYIBUYE: Has the region held any meetings with the Bop administration and what has been achieved?

**GM:** A month ago Dr Gildenhuys of the National Peace Secretariat was asked to liaise with the Bop government to set up such a meeting. The



"Rona re na le lona [We are with you]", Mangope (right) is fond of proclaiming. The people in Bop are not impressed, but fellow tinpot dictator Oupa Gqozo looks quite receptive!

# Bop: the people reject Mangope's Rona re na le lona

MAYIBUYE spoke to ANC Northern Cape chair,

Manie Dipico (MD) and Western Transvaal

Secretary, George Mathuse (GM), about
repression in Bophuthatswana and the campaign
for free political activity in the bantustan.

Bop administration agreed at first, but later pulled out.

MD: The region has not initiated any meeting with the Bop regime. We did hold a meeting in Kuruman with the Governor who falls under the Bop regime to discuss repression and free political activity. The Governor kept insisting that the ANC should register as a political or-



The Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum takes the protest to the puppet master in Pretoria in July

ganisation in Bop. We could not reach an agreement on this and everything deadlocked.

#### MAYIBUYE: Why not register?

MD: Firstly, we do not recognise the so-called independence of Bop. Secondly, a political movement does not have to register in order to operate anywhere in the world, including in the rest of South Africa. Thirdly, other laws in Bop, which prohibit free political activity and characterise so-called noncitizens as foreigners not allowed to operate in the area would disqualify many national leaders as well as local cadres who have rejected Bop citizenship.

#### MAYIBUYE: How have the National Peace Committee and the UN monitors assisted?

MD: Recently all ANC regions that include Bop met with the Peace Secretariat and the UN monitors led by Angela King. We proposed a round-table meeting with Mangope and the South African regime to address the planned march on Mmabatho. After Mangope's threats, we felt that we did not want to repeat what happened at Bisho. We were subsequently informed that Mangope was not keen to meet us.

#### MAYIBUYE: Are there also problems of repression and lack of free political activity in right-wing controlled towns?

MD: Several townships in our region have been subjected to water and electricity cuts by right-wing local authorities. Attempts by the civics and the ANC branches to negotiate with these authorities have been futile. In fact councillors have accompanied members of the security forces to issue summonses to residents fully armed. White right-wingers have also assaulted workers in retaliation

for boycotts organised by the communities. Some employers have even closed their businesses and dismissed workers and then moved to other areas.

#### MAYIBUYE: How is the ANC organising in Bop: branches, campaigns, meetings, etc?

**GM:** The ANC has overwhelming support of the people in Bop. We are organising home-based underground cells and launching branches secretly in the bush. We have done that in Moshaneng and Dinokana.

In October a 16-year-old youth was killed by the Bop police for wearing an ANC T-shirt. ANC Women's League members working on projects in Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte have been arrested. The ANC organiser can only visit branches at night. He has been threatened that if they see him during the day, it will be finished with him.

MD: The ANC enjoys immense support in the region. The key support comes from mineworkers who commute to their residential areas in Bop. They have politicised the people in rural villages, laying a good foundation for building ANC branches.

#### MAYIBUYE: What is the relationship between Bop police and army and the SAP and SADF?

**GM:** The SAP and SADF are fully aware of the atrocities committed by the Bop security forces. We get documents confirming that the South African and Bop security forces exchange information. In Phokeng a joint military exercise involving the SADF, SAP and Bop Defence Force (BDF) was recently carried out.

Mineworkers displaced during the uprising at Impala Mines last year were arrested at SADF roadblocks and handed over to the Bop police. Koevoet members were also involved in the roadblocks. It is common practice for the SADF and SAP to carry out joint operations in the area.

MD: In Kuruman, 32 Battalion members have been placed within the community. They have continually harassed and raped women in the village. We have taken this up. Charges have been laid, but there is no progress because the charges were laid with the Bop police. Despite the chiefs protesting against the presence of this Battalion, the Bop regime has never intervened. We suspect that some may have been taken into the BDF. In fact notorious security policemen from Vryburg and Kimberley have been seconded to the Bop Intelligence Unit.

#### MAYIBUYE: Is there evidence of SADF Military Intelligence involvement in repression in Bop?

MD: People who have returned from exile were visited by SADF Military Intelligence. They in-

#### MAYIBUYE: What is the region's view of Bop's alliance with KwaZulu, Ciskei and white right-wing groupings?

**GM:** In March this year the Bop government met farmers in the Klerksdorp/Potchefstroom area. They formed an organisation called Satswa. They said that there are Afrikaners who can be Tswanas. Then Bop Minister Rowan Cronje said the Bop government had clinched a deal with the Afrikaners who will not allow their farms to be used as springboards into Bop.

Gqozo, Mangope and Buthelezi know that they don't have any constituency. Mangope can't deliver the goods to the people. The only way to consolidate his position was to merge with these anti-democracy forces. The result is that the people have started to fear Mangope more. Everybody knows that Inkatha is a group bent on violence, Gqozo is a murderer and the AWB has a history of violence.

MD: This alliance is aimed at creating no-go areas for the ANC in the bantustans and to destabilise us in the conservative small towns. The recent conference between the Regional Services Council and Bop in Vryburg discussed a strategy to weaken the ANC which they consider the main obstacle to their federalism option. It is a marriage of convenience through which they hope to retain their separate fiefdoms.

#### MAYIBUYE: What is the importance of marching on Mmabatho?

**GM:** The regime of Bophuthatswana was imposed on the people. It is based on repression. The march would show that the people reject this state of affairs and demand free political activity. The people have no other way of registering this.

MD: It will offer the people the opportunity of combining their isolated actions against Mangope into a massive force to create conditions conducive to free political activity. This will destroy the myth that the people of Bop support Mangope's rule. It will show that his slogan of Rona re na le lona [We are with you] has dismally failed to win him acceptability and popularity among the Bop people.

#### MAYIBUYE: Any comments about the opening of Sol Kerzner's Lost City under current conditions?

**GM:** Sol Kerzner has made another pond of exploitation by creating the Lost City. The people do not benefit from this and other Kerzner hotels in Bop. They cannot afford to go to these hotels. Sun International claims it is a non-political organisation. We have applied many times to use the Super Bowl for big ANC meetings, but we have been rejected. Sol Kerzner is silent about the dictatorship of the Mangope clique.

MD: Kerzner's hotels have generated funds for Mangope, allowing him to buy more ammunition to repress our people. He has never come out in support of the views of the people for democracy. He must take a stand against repression.



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Strange bedfellows! A white SADF member. known to have worked for Military Intelligence, with spear and shield and a Zulu "warrior" with a pistol tucked into his leopard skin! The man on the right is Shaun or Mehlwemamba (eyes of the mamba), pictured here at the Inkatha march in Durban in November



# Behind the renewed violence in Natal

Natal is again gripped by violence similar to that of the 1980s, and much worse. There is a history as well as new trends, writes **Dumisani Makhaye**, the ANC Southern Natal Publicity Officer.

ontinuing and escalating violence has wreaked havoc in Natal. It is therefore important to trace the origin of this violence and who benefits from it. Certain false conceptions and myths have to be dispensed with. For instance, black people, like all sections of our society, are not an undifferentiated and homogeneous mass.

The overwhelming majority, who are subjugated by the apartheid system, are prepared to lose life and limb in order to destroy it. But there are those few who owe their high political and economic profiles to the apartheid system. They are products of apartheid and are prepared to use violence to maintain the status quo.

The current violence in Natal started in the 1980s after the formation of the UDF and Cosatu. All along Inkatha had regarded the province of Natal as its own terrain. This was at the time that the SABC and most white newspapers used to refer to Gatsha Buthelezi as the

continued on page 20

### Zulu tradition:

# King Shaka's heroic commoner or the Savimbi option?

In Natal's valleys and a thousand hills, Inkatha (IFP) seeks to hide behind the shrubs of "Zulu culture". But the SADF connection is more visible, writes a correspondent.

After Nelson Mandela's call to the Zulu King at the funeral of Reggie Hadebe he was lambasted in the media by IFP leader, Walter Felgate, for flouting "Zulu culture". Felgate was particularly incensed with this "commoner" for showing no respect by calling on the King to "lead us".

S'bu Ndebele, Regional Secretary of the ANC in Southern Natal, is at pains to set the record straight. "It is not necessary to go into Felgate's description of

Mandela", Ndebele says, "but historical facts are historical facts."

During Shaka's reign, a Nongalaza Kanodade Biyela took the bull by the horns at a crisis moment, explains Ndebele. Shaka's mother, Nandi, had died, and in his sorrow the King declared a period of mourning that seemed to last forever. People were not allowed to eat, till or harvest. Many started to die. Shaka also ensured that anyone found flouting the royal decree was killed.

The King's councillors saw the tragedy but dared not challenge the monarch. Biyela, a commoner, decided to go to the royal palace, and after the traditional *izibongo*, said bravely to the King: "You are a King because of the people; but the people are dying. Can't you stop this!"

Shaka declared Biyela a hero

with the accompanying reward of cattle – the only hero during his reign without military accomplishments. The councillors were then taken to task, King Shaka-style: what were they indunas for, if they failed to give wise counsel?

Says S'bu Ndebele: "This example should lay to rest Felgate's pathetic foray into Zulu history and culture. But broadly, it is a reflection of Inkatha's growing problem: a mish-mash of right-wingers snatching at the last straw to stay afloat."

The driving force in this strategy is the white state,

particularly the SADF's Military Intelligence (MI). False perceptions of "Zulu nationalism" are being used to pit ordinary people against their own kith and kin.

"Through special operations expose the myth of the ANC/SACP alliance ... Ensure that it is not possible for a one-man one-vote (sic) election for between three to five years." This was a plan Bruce Anderson, former IFP leader and delegate to Codesa, worked out in consultation with Military Intelligence's Commandant PJ van den Berg in anticipation of the ANC's unbanning.

Arms galore were supplied to Inkatha by SADF Military Intelligence. When these stocks dried up,

those supplied to Renamo in Mozambique were smuggled back. Hundreds were trained in terrorist warfare in Caprivi, Mkhuze and other places. They were deployed in the hostels and communities to sow mayhem.

The Goldstone Commission reached MI operational headquarters after a former Mozambican soldier spilled the beans about his mission to kill in Natal townships. The credit cards used to pay for his lodging pointed to the head of the hydra: SADF MI.

Does Inkatha care any longer? Otherwise how does one explain the appearance of one Shaun, lily-white, at the Durban "Zulu march", clad in the closest he could tolerate of "Zulu garb": a vest and shorts with matching head-band, spear and shield? Shaun has been with MI for 11 years and still serves in the SADF.

Then there are the likes of Phillip Powell, IFP leader in Pietermaritzburg and ex-policeman; Mortessagne, a police reservist ...

Those who know history see nothing strange in this. Even in the olden days, there were sell-outs who contributed to the people's defeat. There were indunas who, for reasons of cowardice or self-interest, did not give the King wise counsel.

There were ambitious men, too, who aped schemes in far away lands. Today, it is called the Savimbi option. •



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"leader of seven million Zulus".

But with the emergence of the UDF and Cosatu that myth was shattered. While the ranks of the democratic movement kept on swelling, the social base of Inkatha kept on shrinking.

That presented a crisis for Inkatha. Its impis were bussed into the strongholds of the UDF and Cosatu to curtail support for these organisations. Warlords emerged. Traditional leaders were forced to toe the Inkatha line. Those who refused were vilified, deposed or assassinated, as was the case with Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

#### TOTAL STRATEGY

These activities were from the very beginning carried out with the collusion of the apartheid security forces. They dovetailed with the total strategy of the Pretoria generals.

The Trust Feed massacre, involving the SAP and senior leaders of Inkatha, was the first in a pattern that would be followed from that time on. The aim was to dislodge the ANC and open a bridgehead for Inkatha.

The violence can be divided into three phases, each with its own objective. The first phase aimed to terrorise the people into submission and isolate the national liberation movement when it was still working underground.

The second phase came into operation after the unbanning of the ANC. Its purpose was to counter the growth and influence of the ANC. The third phase became operational with the advent of Codesa. The goal was, and still is, to stall progress towards a negotiated settlement.

#### **TOO FAST**

It will be remembered that Buthelezi, Gqozo and Mangope not so long ago complained that the negotiations process was moving too fast for them. Was it a coincidence that state-sponsored violence was immediately stepped up and finally stalled progress at Codesa?

Wherever attempts have been made to end the violence in Natal, the IFP has frustrated the formation of Local Dispute Resolution Committees. Where they were formed, it withdrew from most of them.

There are also other factors that have fanned violence in the province. The SAP and the KwaZulu Police (KZP) unilaterally decided that, as from 1 July, the SAP would operate in KwaZulu-administered areas only at the request of the KZP. This was followed by an unprecedented escalation of violence, with the KZP playing a central role.

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The IFP has added forced removals to the general terror in the region. The targets are those communities that refuse to toe its line. This is the case in Mzinyathi, Folweni, Nyandezulu and Richmond. The number of internal refugees in Natal has increased as a result. When the refugees try to return to their areas they are either forced to join the IFP or killed – the fate of the four ANC youths in Folweni at the beginning of November.

#### PARAMILITARY

For all practical purposes, the IFP has ceased to be a political party and become a typical paramilitary organisation like its ally, the AWB. It no longer cares about its political image and has openly embraced the verkramptes of white kragdadigheid. Its strength lies not in its political support but in its military clout.

It is also noted that the covert funding of the IFP by Military Intelligence and the SAP was not aimed at boosting the IFP politically, but at enhancing its military strength in order to disorganise and dislodge the ANC.

Not long ago Buthelezi appealed to IFP members to apply for firearm licences from the KZP. He promised them that they could approach him directly should they encounter any problems. No doubt, as Minister of Police of KwaZulu, he would have no difficulty in assisting.

Reading this together with Musa Myeni's call to IFP members to store weapons and Buthelezi's "bugger the ANC" speech, the war is no longer a hidden agenda.

This violence is accompanied by intense psychological warfare against the ANC, unleashed by the IFP, NP and the security forces. The hullabaloo about the so-called MK infiltration into Natal from the Transkei is part of this warfare.

Is it not surprising that, with fresh evidence from Bruce Anderson, deported IFP leader, the organisation is colluding with Renamo to smuggle weapons from Mozambique, De Klerk and his generals rushed, with much fanfare, soldiers and police instead to the Transkei "border"?

#### **NATIONAL CRISIS**

It is impossible to come up with the exact figure of ANC members, supporters or sympathisers who have been killed in this province, partly because the ANC has not looked at the killings in terms of a head count. The IFP, however, in its rush to claim dead bodies, has in most instances claimed ANC members or unaffiliated persons killed in the violence as its members.

The violence in Natal has become a national crisis. Unless every peace-loving person stands up against it, it will engulf the whole country. That is what all those forces that are afraid of national democratic elections want. They should not be allowed to drag the rest of the country into this quagmire with them.

# Mafemane Rikhotso: freed political prisoner

I don't trust De Klerk, but I trust the oppressed masses ...

Mafemane Rikhotso, a member of the SA Railways and Harbours Workers Union, is one of the political prisoners released in September.

mongst the striking SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhwu) workers who were arrested at Cosatu House on 28 April 1987 was Mafemane William Rikhotso, a Sarhwu member employed at Booysens Station as a cleaner. Rikhotso came to Johannesburg from Gazankulu. He was employed by the SA Transport Service (Sats) from 1978 and joined Sarhwu at the beginning of 1987.

More than six months after his arrest, Rikhotso and 15 others were brought to court on charges of murder, attempted murder and kidnapping. All were Sats workers except for one union official. The case started on 4 November 1987 and dragged on until 10 March 1989 when they were all found guilty as charged.

#### SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

During detention they were kept in solitary confinement. "The interrogation I was subjected to was rigorous and brutal. This started from the day I was detained and continued on an almost daily basis until a few days before we appeared in court. The solitude was enough torture on its own over and above the beatings, interrogation and the continuous humiliation and deprivation of rights we take for granted outside prison," he said.

Four of the accused were sentenced to death. Rikhotso and Bongani Sibisi were sentenced to eight years, one to five, another to 12 and eight others were fined.

Rikhotso says he arrived at Leeuwkop Maximum Security prison with co-accused Phineas Netshitungulwane. "Our immediate struggle was to fight for status as political prisoners," recalls Rikhotso. "There were 14 other prisoners who were also being treated as common law prisoners even though their 'crimes' were of a political nature."

The 16 prisoners submitted a memorandum to the head of the prison demanding the right to be treated like political prisoners and the right to exercise in the

prison courtyard as a group. After seven days of solitary confinement on hunger strike, they won these demands.

#### JOINED THE ANC FROM PRISON

Rikhotso and his comrades heard on the radio about the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela and his fellow Rivonia trialists. They joined the ANC from

prison shortly thereafter. He was released on 26 September this year, following the Record of Understanding between the ANC and the government.

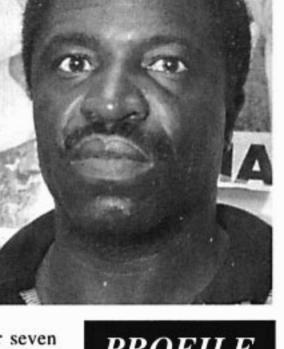
Rikhotso feels terrible that he has left some of his comrades in prison. "But if De Klerk does not renege on the agreement, they should all be released by 15 November."

Does this mean he trusts De Klerk? "I don't trust De Klerk, but I trust the oppressed masses of South Africa. After all, it was through mass action that De Klerk was forced to enter into this agreement."

Rikhotso insists that nothing has changed since his imprisonment. "There is still no free political activity in the country, especially in homelands like Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu. Only when an Interim Government is in place and there is free political activity will I say there is change."

Currently he is involved in organising and addressing meetings with Sarhwu members to get an understanding of what the union's strengths and weaknesses are. "I will continue the struggle to mobilise workers and participate in the liberation movement to the best of my ability," he says.

Rikhotso is married with two children, aged 10 and 12 years. •

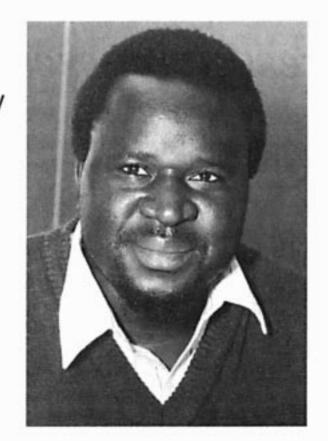




# To get out of the mess won't be easy

Tito Mboweni of the ANC's

Department of Economic Policy outlines the nature of the economic crisis and how it can be solved.



MAYIBUYE: What are the key indicators of the economic crisis and how serious is it?

TM: There are key economic indicators which show the nature of the crisis. Over the past decade, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has actually declined, indicating that there is something terribly wrong in the economy. In 1990 and 1991 real GDP declined by 0,5 percent.

Gross fixed domestic investment – investment in new plant and machinery – has declined by 1,7 percent in the same period. Where there is no investment, clearly there can be no growth. For the period 1989-1992 total fixed investment declined by 19 percent.

There is also a general decline in the gross domestic level of savings. This means that there is little available for investment. Unemployment has continued to increase and is estimated at 40 percent of the economically active population. Where there is no investment or growth, the economy is not able to absorb new employees.

Government consumption expenditure has been increasing. This year the government deficit before borrowing is estimated at R28 billion. This is around 8,5 percent of GDP. The government regards three percent as an acceptable level for the deficit, and yet has exceeded this by more than five percent.

## MAYIBUYE: But doesn't the government have a solution to the deficit?

**TM:** The government's solution is borrowing. The burden of debt is very heavy. Something radical will have to be done to control the level of government expenditure. What is more worrying is that about 80 percent of borrowed funds are used for current expenditure, not investment or capital expenditure.

MAYIBUYE: What is the role of international factors and how does South Africa compare with other countries? TM: South Africa's negative growth rate compares very unfavourably with other countries. Japan had a growth rate of 5.7 percent in 1990; Malaysia, 10 percent; South Korea, nine percent; Australia, 1,2 percent.

The world economy generally is in a recession. Financial sanctions imposed because of apartheid exercised a very severe constraint on the South African economy. Capital no longer came into the country. The capital account of the balance of payments was negative because there was no capital coming in and there was a lot going out. This has sometimes been underestimated as a major factor in the crisis.

# MAYIBUYE: Is the very structure of the economy not the primary reason for the crisis?

TM: Yes, the reliance on primary commodities, in particular gold, and on cheap labour is also a crucial element. When there was a shift from primary production to manufacturing, there was a focus on goods demanded by a very small percentage of the population. South Africa has to import some of the machinery required for manufacturing. This has caused a major structural problem. South Africa's commodities are consequently not competitive on international markets.

The current crisis requires a major change in the production system. There is no longer cheap labour. There is a union movement which is not going to accept cheap labour. Increasingly, gold and other primary commodities are less important than they were. South African manufactured goods are not competi-



This Daggafontein mother shares grinding poverty with millions of voteless black South Africans. The corruption, militarism and wastefulness of white minority rule has meant privilege for a few and misery for the majority.

tive and therefore cannot be used as exports.

#### MAYIBUYE: A new democratic government should be able to resolve these problems!

TM: To get out of the mess will not be easy. The political question can be resolved. That component of capital flight which was related to politics will stop. The ratios of capital inflows and outflows will begin to balance. But there may be other reactions resulting from a democratic government doing things which the international capitalist world doesn't like.

According to the 1991 annual report of the Bank of International Settlements, the international capital available for investment is around 177 billion US dollars. About 155 billion of this is invested in Western Europe, the US, Mexico, Canada and the Far East That leaves little for the developing countries. Therefore major capital inflows into South Africa cannot be expected.

The productivity of both labour and management must become a major focus. This will offset some of the cost factors in production. South Africa's productivity levels are falling, while those of her major trading partners are increasing. That also makes it difficult for South Africa to compete.

#### MAYIBUYE: Can the industrial base be changed?

TM: An industrial policy must be formulated to address problems in the manufacturing sector. Most critical is the development of South Africa's own capital goods sector. This would mean less reliance on the import of intermediate capital goods. A higher level of investment in research and development is needed. Markets in which South Africa could over time gain competitive advantage should be identified.

We have to decide what we are going to do about the military-industrial complex. It has developed some elements of competitiveness. This is a political question.

While we have to continue producing primary commodities, the focus must be less on exporting the raw materials and more on adding value and selling the finished products. For example, why should we buy gold rings from Italy, when the raw material comes from here?

Restructuring of incomes is important to shift from producing for a very small local market. This will enable people to buy commodities. Hopefully investment growth and the labour absorptive capacity will increase and the rate of unemployment will fall.

# Diagnosing the

#### Neva Seidman Makgetla

looks at some of the causes of the economic crisis and future priorities.

he South African economy today faces the worst crisis since World War II. Production has shrunk for three years. Up to half-a-million people may have lost their jobs. Meanwhile, nine out of ten young people cannot find stable work when they leave school.

Other economic problems have been around for much longer. A handful of conglomerates own the bulk of South Africa's resources. Go to almost any gathering of big business: even in a meeting with hundreds of managers, there will be few women and virtually no blacks. South Africa still has perhaps the most unequal distribution of income in the world. On average, too, white incomes come to at least six or seven times black incomes.

The issues facing the democratic movement around the economy are complex. They relate to the current economic crisis; the National Economic Forum; and how to ensure that political democracy brings economic benefits to most South Africans.

#### THE CRISIS

Two factors underlie the current economic crisis.

First, since the early 1980s the gold price has remained low. Yet, for a hundred years, South Africa depended on gold exports for tax revenue and foreign currency. Today, the gold mines supply under one per cent of government revenus and only a quarter of total exports.



Women gather to do their washing in Al Most South Africans still don't have basic services, while

Second, the delay in the transition to majority rule has greatly worsened the crisis. The government admits it has lost control of spending, while capital flight has reached new heights.

The De Klerk government has continued to pour money into white communities, corrupt homeland rulers and golden handshakes for retrenched civil servants. Meanwhile, bureaucrats who fear for their jobs are tempted to put aside a nest egg, from corruption if necessary.

Derek Keys, the Minister of Finance, argues that high government spending represents a critical structural weakness in the economy. He agrees that the only solution is to redirect spending from the comparatively rich to the poor. But the NP government cannot carry out such a policy. Thus, Keys has not demanded an open investigation of inefficiency, corruption and misuse of funds.

The only way to make the state more efficient is to ensure transparency and accountability. Government accounts must be published in ways that clearly show how and why money will be spent. Then people can see where the government is spending money wrongly, or where civil servants have become inexcusably inefficient. The state has too much to hide, from overemployment of whites to secret funds for the intelligence services to the transfer of money to buy the support of homeland rulers. Unless there is a democratic government, we cannot expect efficiency in gov-

The stalled transition also fosters capital flight. Many businesspeople fear democratic rule as much as continued conflict. Indeed, having imbibed apartheid propaganda for most of their lives, businesspeople often wildly exaggerate the social and economic costs of mass action, even

# economic crisis



ra township. enjoy the highest standard.

as they underestimate the impact of state-sponsored violence.

Steps to deal with the violence and real progress in constitutional negotiations are crucial to help create the necessary climate for economic recovery.

#### THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC FORUM

The establishment of the National Economic Forum provides an opportunity for the democratic movement, represented primarily by Cosatu, to put a brake on unilateral restructuring by the state. It lets organised business and labour negotiate on policies for the economy as a whole.

Yet in its current structure, the NEF harbours dangers. It has a tripartite structure, with equal representation for the state, organised labour and organised business. Presumably, in the future, elements within an Interim Government would represent the interests of those left out by big business and labour.

Yet currently, it follows that key economic decisions could arise out of negotiations between the unions, big business and the NP government. The unions can represent the disadvantaged – but they have only a third of the seats in the Forum. In any case, they can only indirectly express the views of, say, the unemployed, farmers or unorganised workers.

Despite these problems, the NEF represents a step forward for South Africa as a whole. In the light of the stalled transition to democracy, however, some reorganisation to permit the direct representation of other parties seems desirable.

#### **FUTURE POLICIES**

Among the most critical areas of policy formulation in the future are democratisation, unemployment and the budget.

A democratic government must restructure the economy to ensure that it benefits the majority. Yet even if it wanted to, it will certainly lack the skills to control most companies. In other African countries, governments often nationalised companies – and then had to hire back the original management to run the new firms.

A democratic state must establish policies that will effectively place the economy on a more equal and labour-demanding growth path, without overstretching its own limited resources.

Setting up democratic control and negotiating mechanisms at local and company level seems particularly important in meeting this challenge. The central government should not give up so much power that it cannot bring about the reallocation of resources and opportunities to benefit the poor. Still, many decisions could be made in a democratic

way by those most directly affected. For instance, we could explore the establishment of representative boards to allocate funds for roads and electricity; or rules to make management share more information on their profits and plans with unions.

The development of an appropriate industrial strategy forms another possibility. This could result from negotiations between major stakeholders, with organised labour and capital necessarily playing a central role. It would have to ensure that investors consider criteria besides immediate profits – above all, the longrun generation of employment. Through such a strategy, a democratic government could try to shift the economic structure gradually toward greater efficiency and employment levels.

Finally, the reallocation of the budget represents a central challenge. South Africa probably cannot afford to meet demands for improved services by spending more money. That would almost certainly raise inflation and foreign debts.

By international standards, the government currently spends enough on education and health, although too little on housing. The problem is that the money goes to maintain an inefficient administration and the privileges of the white minority.

It follows that a democratic government must improve the position of the poor by rigorously redirecting spending. That means, on the one hand, that it must resist political pressure from the already prosperous for unacceptably high standards of services.

On the other hand, it must impose stringent conditions of transparency and accountability on the civil service. Otherwise the current levels of inefficiency and duplication will continue to rob the poor of the resources they need.

# Job creation through the ANC

Movement Marketing Enterprises (MME), formerly the ANC Business Unit, has launched an innovative job-creation scheme which goes under the title "Hawker Training and Development Scheme".

ME General Manager Peter Roussos says working with hawkers became necessary in order to distribute ANC products that many commercial shops refused to carry. ANC members in need of work were recruited to sell ANC T-shirts, caps, magazines and so on in their townships.

"Initially we had 20 to 30 hawkers selling goods worth in the region of R30 000 every month," says Roussos. The scheme then snowballed and soon branches and regional offices from all over the country were requesting goods on credit. MME was not able to meet this growth in demand for credit. This prompted MME to develop the hawker scheme.

Left: Miriam Ncalo, graduate of the Informal Business Training Trust (IBTT), which trains hawkers in the scheme.

**Below:** a group of graduates at the IBTT, with Pete Roussos and Steve Umlaw standing.



The first step was to raise credit finance for the hawkers. After a year of tough negotiating, the Small Business Development Corporation together with First National Bank put together a financing package which provides the hawker with a R300 overdraft facility, increasing to R500 in the first six months.

To qualify for the scheme, hawkers have to be appointed by their ANC branches and approved by MME and the bank. The hawkers receive a week's free training organised by MME under the auspices of the Informal Business Training Trust. This focuses on skills like using a calculator, costing goods, keeping stock and financial records and repaying loans.

MME also offers the advantage of bulk buying. A range of commodities have been sourced by MME specifically for this programme. Goods have been donated by the Chinese, Taiwanese and other governments in the Far East. Local companies are also being approached to supply goods at competitive prices.

Strict performance criteria are set by the scheme. A hawker has to buy a minimum amount of goods from MME every month and the bank requires regular payments into the account.

#### A HAWKER IN EVERY ANC BRANCH

"The long-term aim is to develop the hawkers into spaza shop owners and eventually into fully-fledged retailers in their townships," says Roussos. The scheme has been launched in the PWV region. Already negotiations have started with a broader consortium of financial institutions to spread the scheme countrywide.

Within the next 18 months, a hawker will be appointed at every ANC branch around the country. Hawkers will contribute a percentage of their earnings to the branch.

The monthly sales target for each hawker within three months is goods worth R1 000. With 2 500 hawkers in the field (one per ANC branch) the total monthly sales potential is a quarter of a million. This will raise one and a half million a year for the ANC.

The scheme will start with the ANC, but the intention is to spread to other community organisations. The scheme focuses on building the relationship between the individual and the community organisation. Without the organisation, the individual cannot get access to finance or training to start a business. The organisation provides the necessary security and in turn receives a percentage of the profits. •

Any ANC banch that is interested in finding out more about the scheme can contact Peter Roussos at MME at:

Tel: 011-293032 Fax: 290050

# Taming the beast: Coming to grips with South Africa's arms industry



Armscor hosted South
Africa's first ever public
arms exhibition in
November. The Defence
Exposition of South
Africa '92 (Dexsa '92)
appeared to be aimed
at two key audiences:
the international
community
and the ANC.

**The G6** – proof that South Africa's arms are battle proven – even if not in "our" wars. The G6, used by Iraq during the Gulf War, occupied pride of place at the Defence Exhibition of South Africa (Dexsa 1992)

rmscor hosted South Africa's first ever public arms exhibition in November. The Defence Exposition of South Africa '92 (Dexsa '92) appeared to be aimed at two key audiences: the international community and the ANC.

The international community because it would be required for an export-driven strategy. The ANC because, as a key part of a future government, it would have a big say in the future of the arms industry.

#### **ARMS EMBARGO**

It thus becomes important for the democratic community to understand this critical sector of the economy – a sector which has remained cloaked in a myriad of laws and regulations in the face of the mandatory arms embargo.

The issues are complex. They straddle the political and philosophical; the economic and technological; international relations and our understanding of defence and security.

#### **BIGGEST SPENDER**

They are made even more complex by the very nature of the sector. Throughout the world it is regarded as the biggest spender of public (and private) finances. Hence it is surrounded by intrigue reminiscent of the worst James Bond movies.

As of this writing, the Minister of Justice is set to release a report on alleged corruption in Armscor.

Where does one begin? If we can agree that the conclusion we

want to reach is whether we want an armaments industry in South Africa or not, then we can work our way backwards through the following questions:

- How should this industry be controlled to serve the South African public?
- What type of armaments industry does South Africa possess? How does it rate internationally? Does it meet the security, defence, economic and political needs of South Africa?
- If we do not need an armaments industry how can we restructure it to produce non-military products?
   In this first article on the future

of the arms industry, MAYIBUYE looks at the state of the industry today and the process of restructuring underway.

# Armscor: tracing the links

Armscor has restructured itself to meet the challenges of an increasingly demilitarised world and the prospects of a democratic government in South Africa, concludes **Dr Rocklyn Williams** of the Military Research Group, an independent group of researchers and policy analysts.

egional and international demilitarisation has reduced Armscor's access to previous clients. There is also a real process of demilitarisation within the South African state which goes against keeping a large and ultimately expensive state armaments industry.

Armscor, hitherto responsible for both production and procurement of arms, has been restored to its original role as a simple procurement agency.

The original Armscor divisions have now been subsumed under a commercial holding structure known as Denel.

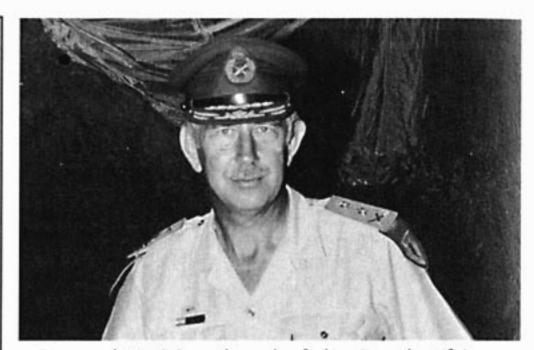
The name comes from Dentron (DEN), meaning 23 – ie the 23 divisions within the Denel family – and electronics (EL). It was formed on 1 April 1992. It remains a state-owned structure which, according to Johan Adler, Armscor Public Relations Director, has been "commercialised, not privatised".

Eighty five percent of Denel's production is reported to be of a military nature whilst about a third of this is exported. Denel projects that about 70 percent of its production will be aimed at the commercial market by 1997/98.

Despite the stated objective that all Denel divisions should be profit-oriented, it is clear that a certain degree of state protection and support would be necessary to make many sectors of the industry viable.

#### ARMSCOR AND SADF

With the separation of Armscor from Denel, the latter now resides under the Ministry of Public Enterprises, while Armscor and the SADF fall directly under the Minister of Defence (MoD). It remains responsible to both the SADF and the SAP for procurement of munitions and military technology. Given the nature of its relationship with the Ministry, it is invariable that the MoD will exert substantial influence over the operations of Armscor.



General Meiring, head of the South African Army at Dexsa 1992. Should "end users" hold sway over the arms industry?

The Defence Planning Commission (DPC) represents an important interface between the SADF and Armscor. The SADF will, for instance, formulate a particular requirement and forward it to the DPC for approval and Armscor will then determine the best approach to secure the particular product.

The SADF may, however, disagree with a particular feature of an armaments product and motivate for its amendment, reconsideration and, on rare occasions, its cessation.

#### ARMSCOR STRUCTURE

Armscor is managed by a Board of Directors appointed by the State President. It consists of representatives of industry, commerce, defence and Armscor itself. The Board is responsible for the strategic and policy framework within which Armscor operates. Armscor's Board of Directors remains a formal expression of a broader alliance of individuals and corporate interests that emerged as influential within the "Total Strategy" era.

Its 11-member Board includes the following representatives: Chief of the SADF, SADF Chief of Staff Finance; Chair and Managing Director of Armscor; president of the Atomic Energy Corporation; and six leading industrialists and financiers.

Prior to PW Botha's demise, the relationship between the different actors on the Board of Directors was mutually supportive and intimate. Nurtured by high levels of internal and external conflict and sheltered by the extensive patronage afforded it by the Botha administration, Armscor and the private sector could be assured of regular contracts and preferential treatment within the civil service. Events in the post-1989 period, however, witnessed a shift in the balance of power that militated against the alliance. Testimony to Armscor's insecurity has been the decision of its Board of Directors to commercialise the industrial and Research and Development (R&D) functions, previously under the Armscor umbrella.

This decision, taken in consultation with the Cabinet, was also motivated out of fear that a future state arms industry could become the property of a democratic government. Arms industries in the private sector will prove more difficult to appropriate, restructure and/or deconstitute than public properties.

The possible approaches which Armscor can adopt with regard to the procurement process are basically fourfold:

- It can attempt to get the product from overseas via its External Procurement Division;
- It can sub-contract it to the private sector (in the case of R&D functions or production programmes);
- It can motivate for its retention within the Armscor fold (increasingly unlikely as Armscor becomes more of a conventional procurement agency with a vastly reduced production and R&D capability);
- It can award a contract to a research establishment (HSRC, CSIR, universities, etc).

Armscor's capacity to influence a particular procurement programme is facilitated by the executive restructuring which has occurred within the Armscor hierarchy. Middle management structures within Armscor have been depleted as a result of the grouping of the Armscor facilities under the Denel umbrella. A concentration of power thus exists within the present Armscor top executive echelon, avoiding middle management's inability to implement policy decisions.

Armscor is restrained by the following factors:

- its status as a procurement agency and not a manufacturing sector. It thus relies on Denel and private contractors.
- SADF representation on the various committees created for particular projects. The SADF's considerable sway over the di-

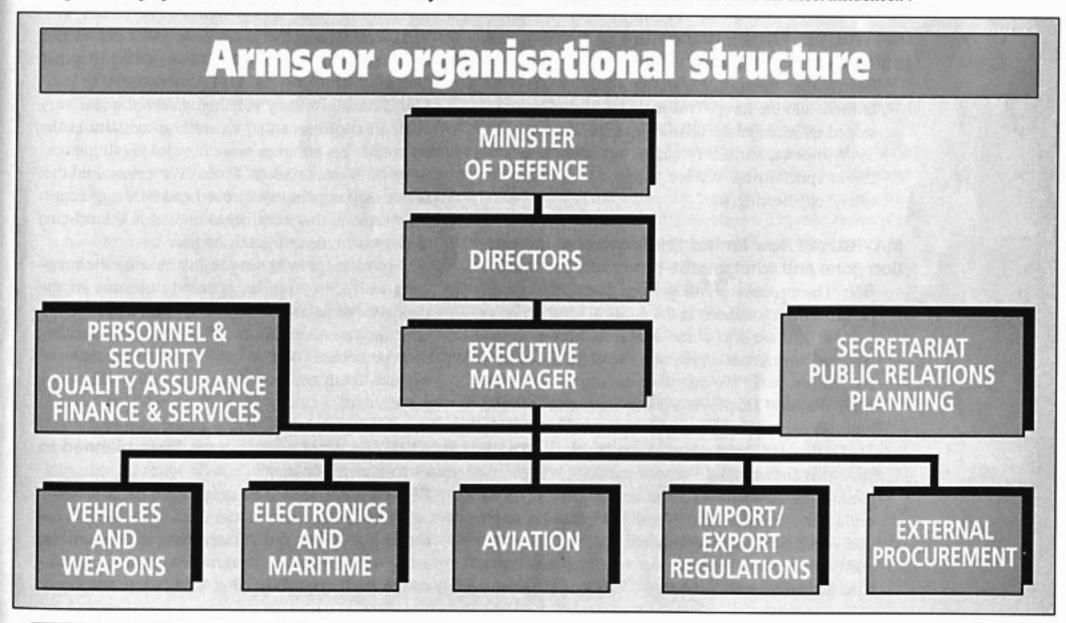
rection of the project, because they will be the "end users", has resulted in real tensions within certain key project committees. For example contradictions have developed in certain areas of the Air Force procurement programme. This is due to Air Force criticism of certain design and instrumentation features within aircraft modification.

#### DENEL

Denel is simply the former Armscor divisions operating commercially but remaining state-owned. The group managers of the four Denel groups (Aerospace, Chemical, Mechanical and Engineering Services) possess considerable leeway over the implementation of a particular project. Three variables are important in this regard: the personality of the Group Manager; the background of the Group Manager; and the relationship between the different Divisional Managers within a particular group. It is with the latter that a degree of decentralisation occurs.

Power relations in the Denel Group tend to be more decentralised than Armscor. Power is not necessarily located in Denel HQ or the Group HQ structures. Certain groups – Simera and Kentron within the Aerospace Group for example – remain disproportionately influential in the Denel community. A certain degree of infighting does tend to occur within and between these groups, particularly when similar R&D functions are located in different divisions. A degree of overlap in R&D functions has already occurred between the structures of Simera and Kentron, for example, and it is frequently accompanied by corporate jealousy and intrigue.

Recent events have shown that Armscor, like a number of other state institutions, has decentralised its power and influence through a complex system of dislocations and displacements. Today the real power and influence within the commercialised sectors of the arms industry do not reside in its executive structures. It is the divisions themselves which have the most influence...



# The future of MK

December 16 is the 31st anniversary of MK. *MAYIBUYE* asked Siphiwe Nyanda (Ghebuza), the chief of staff of MK how he sees its future.

#### MAYIBUYE: What is the future of MK?

**SIPHIWE NYANDA:** We see our future in terms of the transition and the integration. We see MK as one of the building blocks for a future defence force in a democratic South Africa.

It has been generally agreed amongst all the parties that the future army will be non-partisan and uphold the constitution of South Africa. It will not interfere in the politics of the country.

MK is a guerilla force and we are transforming ourselves into a conventional army. Officers are being trained so that we can make an impact in that future defence force.

#### MAYIBUYE: What is the nature of training MK officers are undergoing?

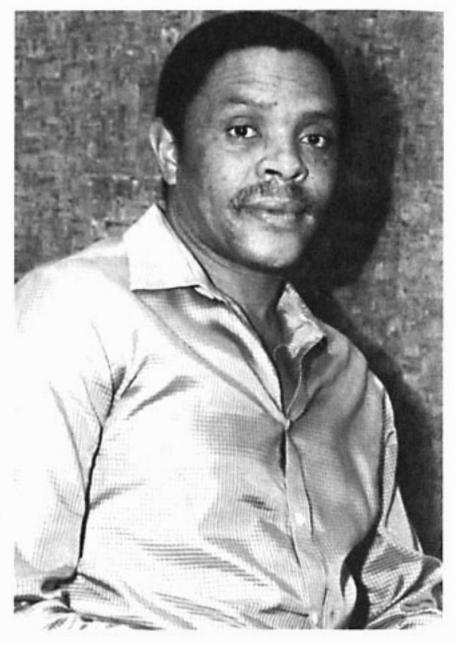
**SN:** We are training officers for a regular army, the airforce and the navy. This includes None Commissioned Officers, junior officers up to senior ranks.

Within the various forces we are training in different specialities. We are training officers in artillery, engineering, etc.

#### MAYIBUYE: How far has the process of integration gone and what are the prospects for that?

SN: The process of integration is dependent on progress in negotiations at the political level. Prior to Codesa II there was some contact with the South African government which was interested in our proposals as to what we intend doing as the ANC and MK. We see MK playing a facilitating role in the transition.

To this end, because we demand that the SADF and other forces should be non-partisan, we recommend that they should come under some form of multi-party control. They should fall under a structure set up by Codesa and should not interfere in the political process leading up to elections for a Constituent Assembly.



We are willing to subject MK to the same kind of scrutiny and control. We see ourselves, in this transition, therefore, as being bound by any decision taken by multi-party structures. It all depends on what happens at the negotiating level. MK will take instructions from the national leadership.

## MAYIBUYE: Given the problems MK cadres are facing, as reported in the press, what is your message to them on its 31st anniversary?

SN: This anniversary is being observed under very difficult conditions and circumstances. But at the same time we are even more hopeful about the outcome of events in South Africa. We are assured that democracy is going to succeed and MK is going to play a role in this transformation and in the defence of the constitution of South Africa.

My message will thus be that despite the problems we face currently, primarily because of the slow pace of negotiations, and because MK does not have the resources to see them through, comrades must persevere. We are confident that the dawn of the new South Africa will come and they will be key players in it.

#### MAYIBUYE: What events have been planned to mark this anniversary?

SN: There are several events planned for both inside and outside the country. Members of the ANC's national leadership and commanders of MK will be going to address the camps and regions on December 16, Heroes' Day.



Right-wingers Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP), Gqozo (Ciskei) and Mangope (Bop) are the type who fancy federalism to protect them from democracy!

# The federalism debate

ince the breakdown of Codesa, the federalism debate has gathered momentum. The pro-federalism position has dominated the debate as presented in the media.

Healthy and constructive debate is an essential ingredient of democracy and should be encouraged. The ANC has expressed its belief in a unitary state.

The media are creating the impression that a federal arrangement is the best option. This propaganda should not be viewed as a setback, but rather as a challenge to the democratic movement to step up political education in the run up to non-racial elections.

The pro-federalists are in De Klerk's camp and have an unfair advantage to manipulate public opinion on a massive scale. The democratic movement has to respond with the limited resources at its disposal. It has survived vicious state propaganda in the past because of the moral correctness of its policies.

Perhaps there is a grain of truth in the argument that most successful economies are to be found in federal states. The US is the prime example cited. But constitutional models from countries with radically different social, economic and political conditions cannot be mechanically imported.

The legacy of decades of apartheid misrule should be remedied by a democratic government immediately, where possible. Those who cast their vote for democracy, peace and justice are rightfully entitled to feel a qualitative difference in their lives after apartheid.

#### UNDERDEVELOPED

The Far Northern Transvaal, for example, is underdeveloped, while the PWV is economically developed. If these regions were to be federal states with autonomous budgets and economic policies, it would be almost impossible for central government to intervene to relieve the poorer region or distribute foreign earnings from gold (mined in the PWV).

Uneven growth and development will not make economic sense. South Africa is not highly industrialised. The economy is over-dependent on the mining industry which is concentrated on the Reef. The ANC's belief in a unitary state is not driven by lust for absolute power (as claimed by the regime and its cronies), but by the need to address existing socio-economic imbalances created by apartheid. A strong central government with effective regional governments will allow for this and also bring government close to the people.

The pro-federalists want Codesa (or its successor) to agree on a future constitutional model. This pre-empts the work of a Constituent Assembly (CA). The participants in Codesa, most of whom represent only themselves or a tiny fraction of our people, cannot impose a constitutional

Jack Mokobi, a freelance journalist in the Northern Transvaal, argues that federalism is an issue that can only be decided on by a democratically elected Constituent Assembly.

model on the majority. Only a CA should decide on the constitutional future of our country without being bound by pre-negotiated unpopular constitutional principles from an unelected body like Codesa.

The different positions should be put to the electorate in the campaign for the very first democratic, nonracial elections. Popular principles and policies will win the votes.

#### DEBATE

Debate on the issue is, however, both welcome and essential. This will allow people to make informed choices rather than follow political personalities and organisations blindly. The media must give both sides an equal and fair break. It is imperative that a democratic or joint SABC control board be established as soon as possible.

From now until elections to a CA, the federalism debate should remain just that: a debate!

# We need restrictions on private broadcasting

A Johannesburg ANC media worker wonders if someone in the group which drafts ANC media policy is trying to do for Stan Katz of 702 what the NP is doing for Sol Kerzner.



ill the real ANC media policy please stand up?According to the document Ready to govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa published after the 28-31 May ANC National Policy Conference, the ANC believes that "mere declarations of media freedom are not enough ... these freedoms must be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender a culture of open debate. This requires policies of affirmative action to redress the inequalities in our society."

#### NO RESTRICTIONS

That, at least, is what it says on page 60 of the document. A page later, slipped in as the last paragraph of "Basic rights and freedoms", the document declares: "There shall be no restrictions on private broadcasting initiatives beyond the accepted constitutional constraints and technical regulations arising out of legislation governing the media."

These statements are mutually contradictory. A policy of no restrictions on private broadcasting initiatives will mean, inevitably, that those with the necessary financial resources will inevitably dominate the private airwaves, crush local attempts at community broadcasting, and erode the financial base of public broadcasting.

#### **MONOPOLIES**

With no restrictions on monopolies, cross-ownership and the like, the cartel which already controls the print media and M-Net will simply move in and gobble up the rest.

And, with no limits on the amount of foreign garbage they can broadcast, we will be subjected to 24 hours a day of Loving and similar drivel.

Local productions and local content are recognised as essential elements in maintaining national cohesion even in countries such as Australia where the national identity and culture is solidly entrenched. In South Africa, where common national identity and culture have barely begun to take root, local is imperative. Local must not only be *lekker*; it must be given priority.

Yet ANC policy as outlined in Ready to govern proposes removing even those limited requirements currently in place for a portion of local content.

That is what "no restrictions" means.

#### **FOREIGN ACCENTS**

It means that private broadcasting, because it cares only for the market and those who can afford the com-

modities it advertises, will continue to broadcast only in English and Afrikaans.

And it will continue to broadcast only in foreign accents of the northern hemisphere, or minority accents of the wealthy suburbs. It will entrench the situation we have today in which M-Net and Radio 702 in Johannesburg continue to treat anyone who speaks with the languages and accents of our country as inferior, denied the opportunity to work as a broadcaster.

Both acknowledge they are happy to employ black people - as long as they sound like white people. Thus Alice Chavenduka ... a black woman recruited from Zimbabwe, not because she sounds like a Zimbabwean, but because her accent comes from upper-class England.

This situation daily reinforces to the vast majority of South Africans

the message that their culture, their norms, the way they speak, what they are, is not good enough. To succeed, to be normal, they have to ape a foreign accent.

Of course we need restrictions on private broadcasting initiatives: to prevent monopolies developing, to ensure diversity, to ensure local content (and the common nationalism it engenders).

#### LIMITED RESOURCE

Most democratic countries impose obligations (and thus restrictions) on private broadcasters. Britain does, so do France, Australia, Sweden, Holland ... the list is endless.

They do it because the electromagnetic spectrum within which radio and television broadcast is a limited resource and should, they recognise, be used to benefit all their people, not simply those with

white skins, nice accents, the money to attract advertisers or some other claim to privilege.

Opinion South Africa should do likewise - and not via the rather silly fall-back of what the document meaninglessly calls "accepted constitutional constraints and technical regulations".

Or is someone in the group which drafts ANC media policy trying to do for Stan Katz of 702 what the NP is doing for Sol Kerzner? I think we should be told.

The ANC Department of Information and Publicity will respond in the February issue. Readers are welcome to contribute to the debate.

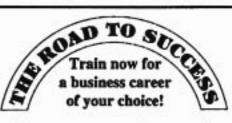
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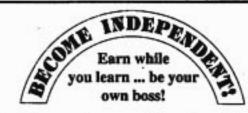
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Mayibuye December 1992

# The beginning of constructive engagement?

Africa did not feature much in the US presidential candidates' policy platforms.

Naturally, with the victory of Bill Clinton, the entire continent is keenly watching to see if there will be any departure from the Reagan/Bush policies, writes a correspondent.



President elect Bill Clinton engages his wife Hillary constructively after defeating President Bush. Will he adopt the same attitude to the peace process in South Africa?

eagan ironically called his policy on South Africa "constructive engagement", and it dovetailed with Botha's "constellation of states". In essence it meant support for the apartheid policies of the white minority regime. The state and local sanctions, the diplomatic pressure on the regime, and the few restrictions on South Africa's access to international financial institutions that the Reagan/Bush administrations maintained were due, mainly, to congressional over-ride of Reagan's veto and pressure from the American public.

In the subcontinent, Angola and Mozambique wouldn't have experienced such misery, and Unita and Renamo wouldn't be the monsters they are without US support. Unita and Renamo would also not be boldly flouting as they do the democratic processes underway in the two countries. Elsewhere in Africa, US aid bolstered the regimes of dictators like Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire.

#### NEW PRESIDENT'S THINKING

Whilst no official policy toward Africa in general and South Africa in particular has emerged from the administration-in-waiting, Bill Clinton's statement in Africa Report, Sept-Oct 1992 gives some insight into the new President's thinking, and a glimmer of hope that there may be policy shifts which could have a profound impact.

"A revolution is underway in Africa. From South Africa to Ethiopia – from Kenya to Zaire – Africans are struggling to achieve political and economic freedoms that we Americans often take for granted. We have a strong interest in helping them to translate those freedoms into a better life for themselves and their children," he said.

"Throughout this campaign, I have called for a new strategy of American engagement to encourage the spread and consolidation of democracy abroad. Such a strategy cannot be pursued selectively - or half-heartedly. If we are to lead a global alliance for democracy, we must be willing to work as hard in Africa as we are working in other parts of the world. That means putting the same kind of energy into helping South Africans overcome the legacy of apartheid as we do into helping the peoples of the former Soviet Union overcome the legacy of communism."

#### TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

He acknowledged the great strides Africa has made towards democracy in the past three years, citing the democratic elections in Zambia, the then oncoming elections in Angola, the scheduled ones in Nigeria and Congo, and the release of Nelson Mandela and the beginning of negotiations to end white rule. But he hastened to warn Americans not to allow this progress to lull them into complacency.

Clinton accused the Bush administration of tepidness when it should have been decisive in ending aid to dictators like Mobutu, reacting to the crisis caused by escalating violence in South Africa, and responding to the human tragedy in Somalia. "I believe we can do better," he said.

#### **SPECIAL ATTENTION**

He promised to devote special attention to the struggle for democracy in South Africa. Seeing the stakes here as being very high, and that what happens in the country will inevitably affect prospects for democracy and economic growth in the rest of the continent, he identified three ways for his administration to encourage the transition to democracy.

"First, we must work to help end the violence that has ravaged black townships and threatened the Codesa process. We must firmly insist that the De Klerk government investigate and prosecute those responsible for the violence, target some of our assistance toward strengthening local peace-keeping structures, and support Nelson Mandela's call for international monitoring.

"Second, we should maintain all remaining state and local sanctions, as well as diplomatic pressure, until there is an irreversible, full, and fair accommodation with the black majority to create a democratic government with full rights for all its citizens. We should also continue the current restrictions on South Africa's access to international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, until this goal is reached.

"Finally, when the transition to democracy is assured, a Clinton administration would begin to develop a programme of aid and investment incentives that can be used to help a democratically elected government overcome the bitter legacy of apartheid."

#### CONTACTING MANDELA

Nelson Mandela was among the first people Clinton contacted after winning the US elections. Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC Chief Representative to the US, says: "People are already saying it was sensitive of him to include our president Nelson Mandela on his first day of contacting world leaders. It indicated a certain orientation toward what is happening in the world. Contacting Mandela, instead of NP leader FW De Klerk, says he knows what is happening in the world."

On the growing marginalisation of Africa following the recent events in Eastern Europe, Lindiwe Mabuza kindles some hope: "The fact that for the first time in 12 years we have a Democratic president working together with a Democratic Congress – a Congress that has a large African-American component – means that Africa will get more attention. The African-Americans are saying there is a continent that needs as much assistance as Eastern Europe."

# Angola: still on the edge of the cliff

ngola is still on the edge of the cliff, with Savimbi boasting of having the capacity to give it the push into another decade in the abyss of war and destruction. Heavy fighting around Luanda in early November – what has been dubbed the "weekend war" – left more than 2 000 dead, including Savimbi top aide Pena and Unita vice president Chitunda.

Details of SADF involvement in Angola emerged again with the revelation that senior personnel from Military Intelligence (MI) and troops from the infamous and supposedly disbanded 32 Battalion have recently been deployed in southern Angola. More than 50 South African Air Force flights are reported to have been made to the Angola/Zaire region. Also, Savimbi flew secretly to South Africa and met Pik Botha and top military personnel.

#### DEEPLY INVOLVED

The build-up to the Angolan elections provided the SADF with the opportunity to organise with greater freedom within Angola. Military Intelligence personnel entered the country either as members of the official South African delegation or as individuals in private capacities. Prominent among these is Sean Cleary of Strategic Concepts, an MI front company. An advisor to Savimbi, he is a former Special Forces commander and was deeply involved in MI's propaganda campaign against Swapo during the elections in Namibia. He was expelled by the Angolan government.

And Pik Botha's role? The media hailed him as a hero when he intervened, completely disregarding South Africa's role in arming, training and assisting Unita in the 16-year war. Pik Botha pushed for a power-sharing deal which ignored the election results, giving the "major players" equal power. He argued for equal Unita and MPLA representation in the government. He also spoke of the need for a government of national unity in Angola as an example for the region and for us "down here". He was declared persona non grata by Angola a few weeks thereafter.

#### MERE OBSERVERS

Whilst it was desirable for Angolans to be left alone to solve their own problems, hindsight suggests that the UN should have had a more hands-on approach, similar to Namibia, rather than being mere observers. As MAYIBUYE goes to press, a multi-party conference of parties elected to parliament in Angola was due to convene, and Unita had agreed to take part. But it had not met the government demands yet, which include withdrawing from two provincial capitals it occupies.

The Angolan experience, especially given South Africa's role, casts serious doubts as to whether the NP and its allies will accept the results of free and fair elections in South Africa. If Savimbi has his way in Angola, and Dhlakama (who has already seriously violated the recently-signed peace accord) in Mozambique, our Savimbis: the Buthelezis, Mangopes and Gqozos won't allow themselves to be outshone.

# Fiddling while the Aids fire spreads?

n January a group of organisations met with the government and the ANC to discuss organising a national Aids conference. Calling themselves Nacosa – the National Aids Convention of South Africa – they formed a Steering Committee, consisting of representatives from the ANC, the Chamber of Mines, the Department of National Health and Population Development, Cosatu, Nactu, Nafcoc, the SACC, Sacob and Sanco.

Stacey Stent of the Industrial Health
Research Group criticises the October
National Aids Conference for failing to come
up with an effective programme to tackle
the Aids crisis in South Africa.

(Note: the views in this article are those of Stacey Stent and not necessarily those of the Industrial Health Research Group)

An Interim Conference in August designated the Steering Committee to produce a draft policy document based on material from the conference and existing international Aids policies. This was to be presented at a National Aids Conference in October.



In September, the Aids Consortium (a network embodying about 50 Aids active organisations) expressed some concerns regarding a report of the Interim Conference issued by Nacosa.

Two of these concerns were that:

- The report contained no reference to a draft policy;
- The Progressive Primary Health Care (PPHC) Aids Network had not been included in the October conference programme.

Ralph Mgijima of the ANC Health Department and chair of the Steering Committee responded on behalf of the Committee:

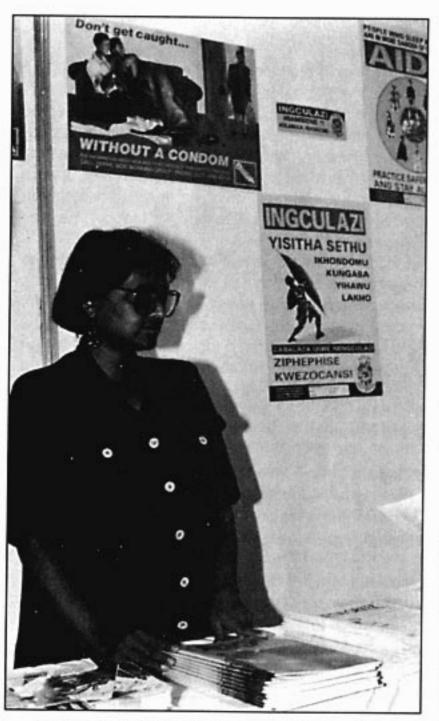
"A draft policy document would not represent the views of the majority." The conference should be "community-based" with participants expressing "opinions and desires" rather than being a "technical" conference. Surely a community-based conference is the ideal place to discuss policy making. The Steering Committee was asked to submit a draft policy. This could be accepted, rejected or modified by such a conference. One wonders for whom the Steering Committee is reserving the "technical" task of making policy.

Commenting on the exclusion of the PPHC Aids Programme, they stated that the selection of organisations was too complicated to solve democratically.

So the progressive movement, after years of developing democratic structures in the fields of health, education, religion, labour, etc, hears, in the name of democracy, that it is better to have randomly selected, unaccountable and, in some cases, uninformed individuals speak to a "community-based conference".

## DISSATISFACTION

The Nacosa conference took place on 23-24 October. On the last day, report-backs from group discussions openly confirmed substantial dissatisfaction with the Steering Committee. Valid representation, accountability and proposed disbanding were among the main questions.



A range of literature and posters displayed at Nacosa

Lunch intervened. Ralph Mgijima chaired the next session and presented the resolutions. These included the retention of the Steering Committee with the inclusion of a Rhosa representative. He had to explain who Rhosa was – a government Department of National Health-sponsored co-ordinating body of health organisations for the independent homelands, the Regional Health Organisation of South Africa.

### **ANOTHER RESOLUTION**

The conference erupted with questions about the validity of the resolutions. Dr Mgijima rejected proposals for the immediate activation of another resolution – to broaden the Steering Committee with (Aidsbased) NGO representation.

Dr IJ Fourie (from the Chamber of Mines/Saccola and Steering Committee member), clearly anxious for a prompt closure, reminded us that the rugby match was due to start soon. While hands were still up for questions, Dr Mgijima announced closure of the meeting with no amendments or additions to the resolutions.

There was a mixture of relief that the chaos was ending, and frustration and anger from many who felt that NGO participation on the Steering Committee, despite being included as a resolution, was being blocked.

Seconds after Dr Mgijima closed, Edwin Cameron (Aids Consortium) proposed that the conference officially nominate the PPHC and the Aids Consortium to jointly organise a meeting of NGOs. Dr Mgijima ruled him out of order.

## **IMPOSED LIMITATIONS**

Did this conference progress from the interim? There was an effort to extend organisational representation but a very similar agenda imposed limitations. The cost of the conference alone should have obliged us to go further, but it did not happen. Nelson Mandela, in his opening address, called for collective effort and speedy implementation. Can we afford to inch along on endless fivestar catered Aids conferences? Economically I wouldn't think so. In terms of time, I know we cannot.

The article by Stacey Stent is misleading in its account of events prior to and during the Aids Convention, says **Dr Ralph Mgijima** of the ANC Health Department.

he main reason for the Steering Committee not to formulate pre-conceived documents (eg a draft policy) for the convention was to allow free flow of unbiased ideas from the 500 participants representing 106 organisations at Nacosa. In any case a recommendation of the Interim Conference was that Nacosa should draw up a broad National Strategy. This objective was successfully accomplished and all participating organisations will receive a copy of conference proceedings soon. There exists a number of organisations working on Aids in South Africa. The Steering Committee sought all of them and invited them. PPHC actively participated in both the Interim Conference and Nacosa.

### RECOGNISED

PPHC is recognised by the Steering Committee and, in particular, the ANC which continues to support all their efforts, especially in combating the spread of Aids. The ANC has on one occasion transferred huge funds raised on behalf of the ANC for use by the PPHC in the area of HIV/Aids. To speak of uninformed, unaccountable, randomly selected people when one refers to participants at Nacosa is in a sense to crown the conference a success. HIV infection has no progressive politics. All South Africans and especially, the messages of their leaders, are important if we are to succeed in any meaningful way. The responses attributed to myself make no sense and are not worth comment.

The comments on Nacosa itself are a complete misrepresentation of what took place. A resolution to broaden the Steering Committee to include NGO representation was adopted by conference. Nobody sought to disagree with this. There was, however, an individual who called for a vote for the member organisations to be put on the Steering Committee. To this the improbabilities were pointed out. South Africa has not voted for the Aids epidemic, nor has South Africa voted for the PPHC or, indeed, for any of the organisations that attended Nacosa who chose to be united against the spread of Aids.

## REALISTIC REPORT

MAYIBUYE, a journal of the ANC, should have attended Nacosa so that its readers could have the benefit of a more realistic report of the conference. The strategy to combat the spread of Aids is important for our whole nation and MAYIBUYE ought to take an initiative to inform its readers on responsible behaviour. Sensational and destructive criticism as indicated in the article from Stacey is the very basis on which the ANC is critical of the daily written news media surrounding us.

Nacosa was opened by President Nelson Mandela who, in his address, gave a good assessment of priorities in the prevention of Aids. Is it too much to ask *MAYIBUYE* to publish this outstanding contribution towards the understanding of the task we are faced with?

Ed: An attempt to cover the decisions of the Aids Conference unfortunately (or fortunately) raked up this controversy. We cannot sweep it under the carpet, for good and legitimate organisation is one crucial prerequisite for an effective anti-Aids campaign.

# Sport development programmes: the good, the bad and the not-so-ugly

Traces of South Africa's admission into international sport can easily be seen on the faces of some established sports' officials. But a quick scrutiny of various sport codes leaves more questions than answers, writes a correspondent.

outh Africa's admission into international sports was on the basis of unity achieved by local national sport codes, courtesy of the National and Olympic Sports Congress (Nosc), brokers of the unity process among various codes.

In the eyes of the world, it is now history that various local codes have been finally allocated their well-deserved places that will enable them to compete against their counterparts.

# DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

However, back home, not enough has been done by local sport officials regarding another important element of sport, the development programmes. Sports enthusiasts in and outside the country should not be fooled into believing that all is well in South African sports. The development programmes are, in the main, nothing but an imaginary process.

A few months ago, this magazine highlighted discrepancies in some sports that claimed to have their minds entrenched in the much-talkedabout development programmes.

# RUGBY

Rugby is one of them. Its development programme has actually not started. This is the bee in the bonnet of those that gave the sport the goahead to play internationally. Some rugby officials are still living in the era of Springbok relations of baasskap which they would like to preserve at the expense of a development programme.

Since the formation of the South African Rugby Football Union (Sarfu), there is no concrete evidence of its development programme. With the festive season already with us, it is improbable that anything will be done this year, given that most codes go into recess.

# INTERNATIONAL TOURS

As of this writing, Sarfu was in the middle of its tour of Europe, amid protests that it had ignored its promises of development programmes.

After no satisfactory explanation was received from rugby officials regarding the development programmes, Nosc was left with no other alternative but to withdraw its support for all international tours.

Nosc general secretary, Mthobi Tyamzashe said: "When we gave the go-ahead for all tours, it was on the understanding that development programmes be a prerogative. But this is not happening, which leaves us with no alternative but to circumvent future rugby tours."

One wonders what is happening to the once outspoken former officials of the non-racial South African Rugby Union (Saru) since the merger with Danie Craven's South African Rugby Board gave birth to Sarfu.

Sarfu officials defended the tours, saying there was enough money put aside for the development programme. They argued that R6-million had been set aside for this purpose. Whether this is true or not, rugby will take a long time to reach the townships, given the tortoise pace at which the development programme is being addressed.

Nosc demands that it should have two members in each province to ensure that a development programme is in place. Failing which selective isolation will be implemented on a provincial basis.

### CRICKET'S PRIDE

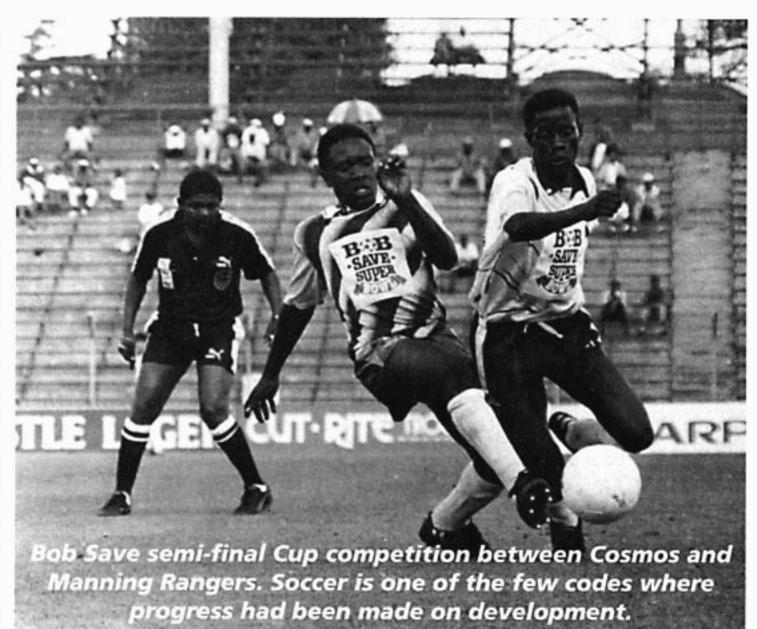
Cricket's development programme got off to an encouraging start in the townships, thanks to the efforts of the newly formed single cricket body, the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA).

In townships throughout the country, youngsters are already getting to grips with the finer points of the sport. There is a cricket pitch in Soweto's Rockville township.

In Alexandra the UCBSA, in conjunction with the Alexander All Sports Congress, built a sports club encompassing almost all codes, including tennis and cricket.

UCBSA's Managing-Director, Ali Bacher, praises the way township youngsters are learning the sport. In addition to the existing development fund, more funds, including from the Indian tour, will be pumped into the cricket board's development fund and will basically be used in underprivileged areas.

In short, cricket can be described as the model of what a development programme is all about.



### SOCCER

Since South Africa was admitted by CAF and Fifa, very little has been said about the development of soccer at grassroot level. However, progress is noticeable in some cases. Among these was the recent announcement by Sparletta, one of the major sponsors of the South African Football Association's (Safa) annual tournament that it would deposit R45 000 into Safa's education trust.

Although Safa's year programme is jam-packed with competitions, there are still complaints from some quarters, especially in the Eastern and Western Cape, where Safa is accused of neglecting amateurs.

### SPONSORING

Safa is a gigantic money-spinning organisation, especially at amateur level, with several big companies like Smirnoff, Impala, Chappies, Sparletta and Coca-Cola sponsoring the association's competitions annually.

Its major task is to upgrade facilities and programmes in areas where the sport is otherwise popular. This makes their job much easier. But, says a soccer commentator, there is a difference between endless prestigious competitions and developing skills among the young enthusiasts. And, will Safa officials' tight schedule of international games and packed professional programmes allow them to pay the necessary attention to real development?

Development is a complex process. Among the sports codes there are the obviously good, the clearly bad and, somewhere in between, stand the not-so-ugly.



# The visitor

# A short story by Deena Padayachee

t certainly was a free-for-all! Everybody was there – the little schoolboys who hadn't been to school for months. Even old Phineas whose gnarled fingers were digging among the rubble for whatever he could find. Everybody!

And certainly the events of those sunny August days will stay with us forever. For that one strange week it seemed as if all the constraints of civilisation had simply evaporated in Inanda. The rich – the shop-keepers, the landowners, the doctors – had fled, and we, the unemployed, the poor and the starving could just walk into other people's homes and help ourselves. We didn't need a second invitation. We climbed in!

Like so many people, I had been unemployed for more than a year when the events of that week unfolded; and this was despite my "education". So that time came as a blessing for my fellow sufferers and me. I had even scavenged at the municipal rubbish dump in Kennedy Road which is in the Indian group area of Clare Estate. And more than once I had been involved in a bit of "liberating" that had helped fill my belly. Being unemployed is a terribly frustrating business: your education becomes a mocking thing, accentuating your condition and making you feel even more useless. Actually I had mostly educated myself many of our teachers were a bit of a joke and the syllabi were often irrelevant and ridiculous. But luckily I loved reading and I would get books from wherever I could.

On the Friday, the fourth day of the pillage, I was with a group of people who swarmed along to the picturesque old Ashram nestling among some ancient Banyan trees on a small hill. During the previous night, the people had spoken of starting on it the next day. It was called the Phoenix Ashram and contained a health clinic which provided free medical care, a museum, a Gandhi primary school and some old wood-and-iron homes. Some of the people spoke of a wise man who had once lived there called Gandhi. Most of the people had no idea who he had been and what he had done in his life. Of course we had not learned about him at school. I knew very little about him at that time.

A few people were employed to look after the Ashram, but it attracted very important-looking visitors from all over the world. Or so young Zama who worked there had said. Anyway, that August day nobody was trying to look after the place and Zama was just as energetically helping himself to what he could as anybody else was. Absolute mayhem reigned among the lovely old buildings. The noise of doors being ripped off their hinges and windows being shattered reverberated above a continuous cacophony of excited, shouting voices. However, I noticed that the people had not broken into the medical clinic. I ran into an old home and began taking what I could. I felt like a Saxon stripping a venerable Roman lady of her garments. It felt good!

"This is better than the Group Areas Act," I mused aloud to myself, thinking of the millions of people who had lost their homes because their race made it illegal for them to live where they were according to this decree of the government. A crackly, piercing voice rose above the turmoil and proclaimed: "Yes, at least this way the poor benefit."

I turned and saw an old man standing in a corner of the dusty, shattered room. I had never seen him before. His horn-rimmed spectacles, skinny body and bald pate made him look rather vulnerable.

My friends were having the time of their lives. Tall Absalom, the boxer, was carrying off a large wooden window frame on his head. Gladys, who worked as an ironing lady for some Europeans, was taking away a whole load of goodies on a rickety wheelbarrow. In the distance, at the border of the riot-torn area, I saw army and police vehicles with their crews standing idly by. They had been spending taxpayers' money like that for a few days now, but they had made no attempt to intervene, thank goodness. I carefully selected a spot for my stuff and went back into the rapidly disintegrating house. The old man was peering anxiously at a delicate, faded white blouse as I came in. It looked just the right size for a large doll. He held it up to the light, seemingly oblivious of the chaos around him.

Another loony, I thought, as I grabbed an old desk and began dragging the thing out. "This is great," I observed to the old man, "being free with other people's enterprises. Maybe this is what the whites mean by the Free Enterprise System?" He turned then and looked at me. I swear that behind his toothy insane grin there was for just an instant a weary, sad look of infinite pain.

"It certainly looks that way," he replied, and came over to help me with the desk. "Thanks," I said, wondering how much of my stuff he would want.

The old man was running his leathery fingers over the ancient desk slowly, like a man will slowly savour his wife's soft neck for the millionth time. He opened the desk and I saw his eyes come alive as he removed a book from inside. He began flipping the pages and paused now and again to read. I went over to look at the book. The cover said: M K Ghandi: an

autobiography.

"You're wasting time, old man," I shouted at him and dived back into the inferno. 11am on 9 August 1985 at the Phoenix Ashram outside Tegwhite was just not the time or the place for reading.

"I'm leaving," he said, and I turned quickly to look at him. I mean, it was not as if the police or army had suddenly decided to earn their pay or something. And I hadn't noticed him take anything yet. There was that weird look in his eyes again. Was it just his strange spectacles? The kind of look that speaks of too much wisdom, too much understanding, too much love. He didn't have a shirt on and the white cloth wrapped crazily around his thin body was ragged.

"Yay! Old Man!" I called, "there's lots more loot in here. Why don't you come in?" With his strong arms I would be able to take many more of the things in the place. His lean, dark hand was moving slowly over the desk as he gazed at the old home whose walls were coming crashing down. There was a kind of mist in his soft brown eyes, as they lingered over the splintered wood and the broken iron. "No point in getting sentimental," I commented. "In any case the people used to call that 'The Empty House' because nobody lived there. It was a museum of some sort. At least now the people without homes will be making use of it."

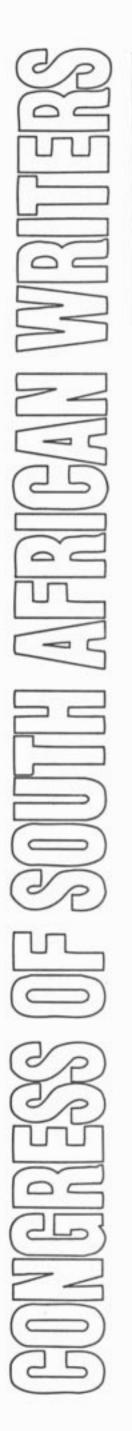


He smiled but there was no mirth in his eyes this time. "That's true," he answered. Somehow the old man radiated an aura of dignity despite all the plundering that was going on all around him.

"Look after these things," he said in his gentle, squeaky voice, "they are of Africa." I thought that I detected a certain steel in his voice as he continued: "Still the same old brainwashed puppets ... puppets on a string, but some day their minds will not be alien to their souls ... and then ..." Resignation clothed his face, but I thought that his eyes still held a certain fire. He looked quietly at me. But he didn't finish the sentence. Instead, with a nod of goodbye he turned on his heel and moved off with long marching strides on his sandalled feet. He didn't appear to really need the long staff he was carrying. And he hadn't taken anything from the Ashram.

There had always been a kind of unearthly peace in the old Ashram. A kind of freshness, a crispness of the air that left you exhilarated. The peace seemed to suffuse you and calm you no matter what the turmoil in your soul. Till that day when we looted the place. Somehow when that old man turned on his heel and strode off from the Ashram, all the peace in the place seemed to leave with him. And I didn't feel like stealing after that. In fact I felt quite miserable. I felt, God help me, like a horse in a fox-hunt, like a bullet from a robber's gun.

But I kept the old desk. And at times when I look long and hard at it, I think I can see the old man's face looking up at me, and his eyes seem bright with life.



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# Living your legend

fter completing my MK training in Angola in 1977, I was flown to Maputo. With the theory of underground work fresh in my mind, I checked for surveillance every time I left or returned to the hotel where I was staying. I was assigned a mission with two other comrades. In Swaziland we met our contact from home who was to introduce us to the people we were supposed to train inside the country.

That is when the moment of truth dawned and dreams of acting like James Bond faded. On the bus to the border with our false passports, we didn't talk to each other. I think everyone might have been thinking of survival more than anything else.

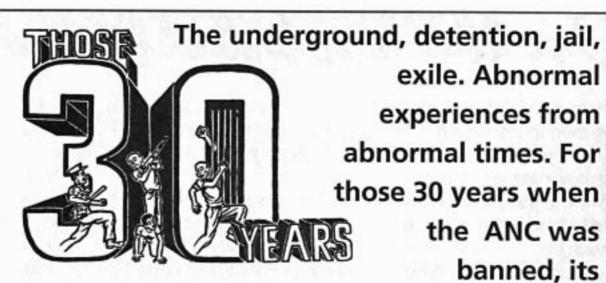
Two of us passed through immigration control without a hitch, but the third in our unit was called to one side. Apparently there was something wrong with his passport. We heard him say: "It seems I am arrested." Nobody wanted to look at him. We waited in the bus for about 20 minutes before the bus driver finally decided to leave him behind. That 20 minutes was like 20 hours. The journey to Breyten, about 30km from the border, seemed like a thousand miles.

As we were waiting for the train to Johannesburg, the cops arrived with the comrade who had been arrested. But he did not point us out so we managed to reach our destination.

But accommodation had not been arranged and I had to spend a night with the hobos in central Johannesburg. Eventually my contact settled me at his home. There were problems because I only knew his pseudonym and it was difficult to answer questions from the family because I did not know the background of my "close friend who I was at school with".

Then my legend of being a worker in Jo'burg from the remote villages of the Southern Free State created more difficulties. Sometimes I had to get up at six in the morning, just to go and loiter somewhere to strengthen this legend. That in itself was a security risk because it exposed me to meeting other people I would rather have avoided.

The reality of the situation was that we had to lie to the people in order to survive and continue with the struggle. A number of comrades got arrested because people could penetrate their legends.



activists often avoided capture, torture or death only by luck or quick wits. MAYIBUYE recounts some of the amazing tales. Contributions are welcome.



renda was the only goat at the Magadu camp in Tanzania. He had been brought to the camp as a kid and was bottle-fed until he was able to feed himself. He was named after Brenda Ndlovu, who he used to follow about.

Like Dennis, the late Umlazi goat, Brenda was very human in his tastes and behaviour. He would not eat unless it was meal time for the whole camp. He only took tea with milk and plenty sugar. The bread had to have butter or jam. Otherwise Brenda would not touch it. And, as soon as the person who had brought the unpreferred drink or food turned his back, he would ram him on the behind!

There was a comrade, Bafo, who used to harass Brenda at night whenever he was drunk. Brenda would not do anything then but the next morning, when Bafo had babalaas, Brenda would chase him all over the camp until he rammed him several feet high.

Brenda died a natural death and was buried. Even in that community where meat was scarce, nobody even remotely thought of eating him because he had been very human. The dogs too, and a sheep that shared some of Brenda's tastes, loved him and normally trailed him in his jaunts around the camp. •

Mayibuye December 1992

# On the bookshelf and the stage

Threads of Solidarity: women in South African Industry, 1900-1980 • Iris Berger • James Curry, London, 1992 (available from David Philip, Cape Town)

Women in South Africa have been hidden from history. Working-class women have been doubly hidden. This pioneering study draws on comparative labour history and feminist theory to trace the history of black and white women as industrial workers and trade unionists in South Africa between 1900 and 1980. Iris Berger is Associate Professor of History, African Studies

and Women's studies at the State University of New York.

Profits and wages: the South African economic challenge • Nicoli Nattrass • Penguin Forum Series, London, 1992

South Africa's economic performance over the past decade has been disastrous. This book examines the relationship between wages, profits and apartheid. It argues that, if workers agree to dampen their wage demands, employers must improve efficiency.

Aids in South Africa: the myth and the reality • Mary Crewe • Penguin Forum Series, London, 1992

This book describes in concise and accessible language how Aids is contracted and how to avoid it. It discusses the controversy about Aids testing and assesses the likely social and economic impact on South Africa of the greatest health crisis the world has ever faced.

Singing the times, directed by Barney Simon, at the Market Theater, Johannesburg, from 18 November

This is the story in song of Durban's talented Nokwe family. Patty was

born into music. At age 19 she married gifted musician Alfred Nokwe. She initiated Amajika, a school of performing arts in their home. The Nokwe children reflect their parents' talents. The star of Sarafina, Leleti Khumalo, is a product of Amajika.

Prophets in the black sky, written and directed by John Matshikiza, at the Market Theatre, Johannesburg, from 25 November

This play explores the rivalry between two 19th century Xhosa prophets and the controversial debate between submission or rebellion.

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# Review

# Sarafina the movie

One cannot, as a South African, comment objectively on a movie like Sarafina since we are too intimately enmeshed in the subject matter of the film.

have heard apartheid apologists say of the film that it is too violent. At this stage in our history, they say, it is divisive and anti-reconciliation to be reminded of the harsh realities of our past (and present). These people would like to see the idyllic image of South African society depicted in the many beer advertisements we see so often on TV. This may be the dream for a future South Africa, but that is all it is right now. I am convinced that this future cannot be attained without the painful processing of our very traumatic past.

### **HUMAN TRAGEDY**

Sarafina is therapeutic for us as a nation in that it forces us to confront that painful past. The characters, whom we recognise as real people, insist that we share the painful life experiences under the active evil that is apartheid. The vibrant music, the exquisite beauty Leleti Khumalo and the brilliance of Whoopi Goldberg serve to temper the essence of the film. But the human tragedy inflicted on the characters leaves us with an overwhelming sense of shock at the brutality meted out to preserve white minority rule.

Sarafina does in parts suffer

from a sickly sweet sentimentality and good old Hollywood oversimplification. Miriam Makeba's song about the responsibilities of motherhood is embarrassingly trite.

### UNFORGETTABLE

But these weaknesses are completely eclipsed by the film's strengths. Breathtaking cinematography dramatises the Soweto landscape. With remarkable courage and honesty, the film confronts the question of necklacing. The images of the interrogation and torture of school children are hauntingly unforgettable.

For black South Africans it is a strong reminder of our lives, where we come from, where we're going to and maybe what to watch out for. For many white South Africans it is a first encounter with the viciousness of apartheid. Many of them chose to believe that apartheid was "separate but equal". Their contact with blacks was restricted to the always pleasant "maid" who did not seem to have a care in this world. Sarafina imposes a new reality on that mind-set, and hopefully a healing rage at a government they chose for very different reasons. For the internacommunity. Sarafina tional should bring home the personal tragedy of South Africans, as op-



Mbongeni Ngema acts in the movie Sarafina which he also directs

posed to the traumatic but sketchy news clippings they've seen for the past decade.

Confronting and solving problems is a painful process which most of us attempt to avoid. And the very avoidance results in greater pain and an inability to grow. Don Mattera rightfully says that "memory is a weapon". I suggest that memory is also therapy. •

-GC

Mayibuye December 1992

# MAYIBUYE XWORD No 16

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### Across

- ANC Natal Midlands leader assassinated in October.
- Trade union federation founded by the SAP.
- First bantustan to be "independent".
- ... Mabuza is the former chief minister of KaNgwane.
- Contains urine in human body.
- 12. Go hurriedly.
- 14. Chairperson of Inkatha.
- 16. Blood-vessel.
- Controversial tax system introduced by the regime in 1991.
- Symbolises vegetation in the ANC flag.
- Neatly arranged.
- It's a basic human right.

### Down

- Ruler of Nazi Germany.
- Kimberley.is a ...-mining town
- Former president of the United States of America.
- Refuses to accept electoral defeat in Angola.
- Capital of the KwaZulu bantustan.
- Former Inkatha official who revealed that weapons from Renamo were channelled to Inkatha by the Directorate of Military Intelligence of the SADF.
- 9. Organises metal workers.
- 11. Country in Asia.
- Social division in Hindu society.
- Township in the Vaal Triangle.
- It's cricket side toured South Africa recently.
- Africans are denied one by the white minority regime.
- Organises transport workers.

- **▼ TEST YOUR**KNOWLEDGE

  ABOUT THE ANC

## Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 14

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# WINNERI

The winner of MAYIBUYE XWORD No 14 is Mnce Ndongeni

Box 348 Matatiele 4730

CONGRATULATIONS!



### RULES

- The first correct entry drawn wins.
- Only originals and hand-drawn facsimiles will be considered.
- 3 The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- MAYIBUYE, DIP and DPE staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
- Send answers to: MAYIBUYE XWORD No 16, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
- 6. Closing date: 15 February 1992.
- See answers and winner in MAYIBUYE, March 1993.

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- 1. The slogan MAYIBUYE ... in full is:
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  - c. ... Usuthu
- 2. The column for readers' letters in MAYIBUYE is:
  - a. Opinion. b. Those 30 years.
  - c. Readers speak out.
- 3. Where do you buy your monthly copy of **MAYIBUYE?** 
  - a. CNA
- b. Street corner news stands
- c. Cafe
- d. House to house sellers
- e. Place of employment f. Subscription
- 4. Name three articles which appeared in the issue of MAYIBUYE in which you found this competition.

# RULES

- Only one entry per person.
- 2. Send your entry to MAYIBUYE Airscape Competition No 3, PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
- · Print your full name, address, phone number (if any) and answers on a separate sheet of paper.
- · Cut out from the cover the triangle containing the words "Win a trip to East London" and send it with your entry.
- 3. Closing date 15 March 1993.
- 4. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
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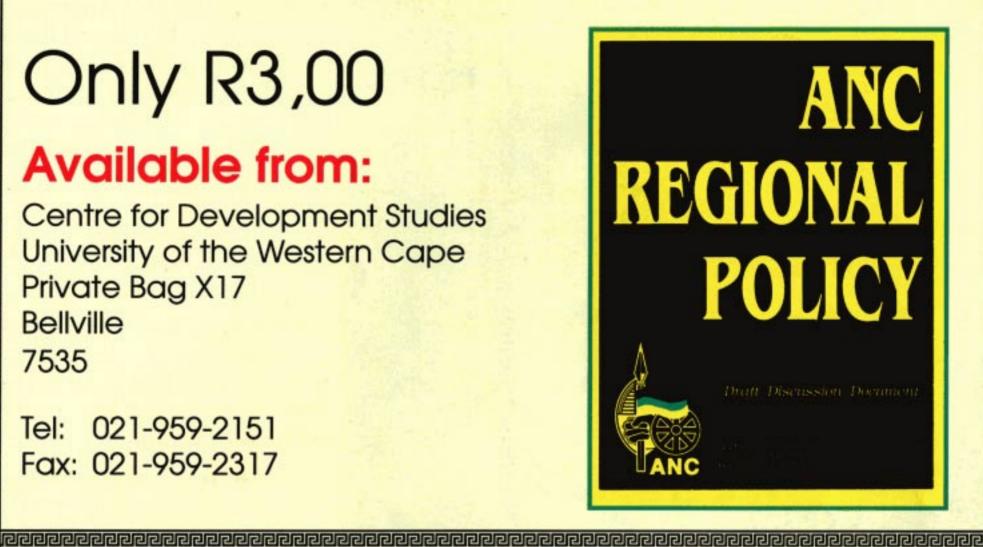
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