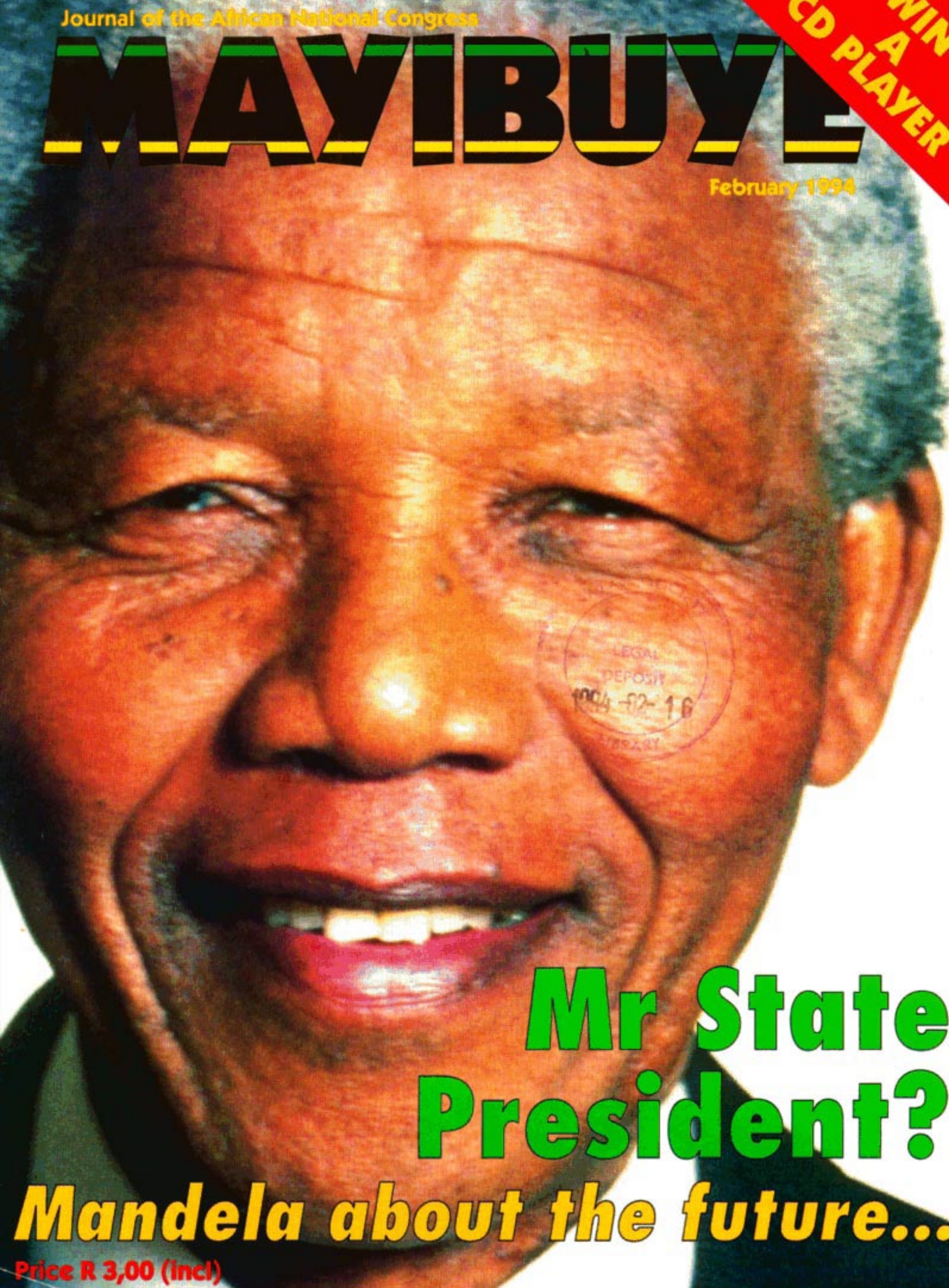


Journal of the African National Congress

# MAYIBUYE

February 1994

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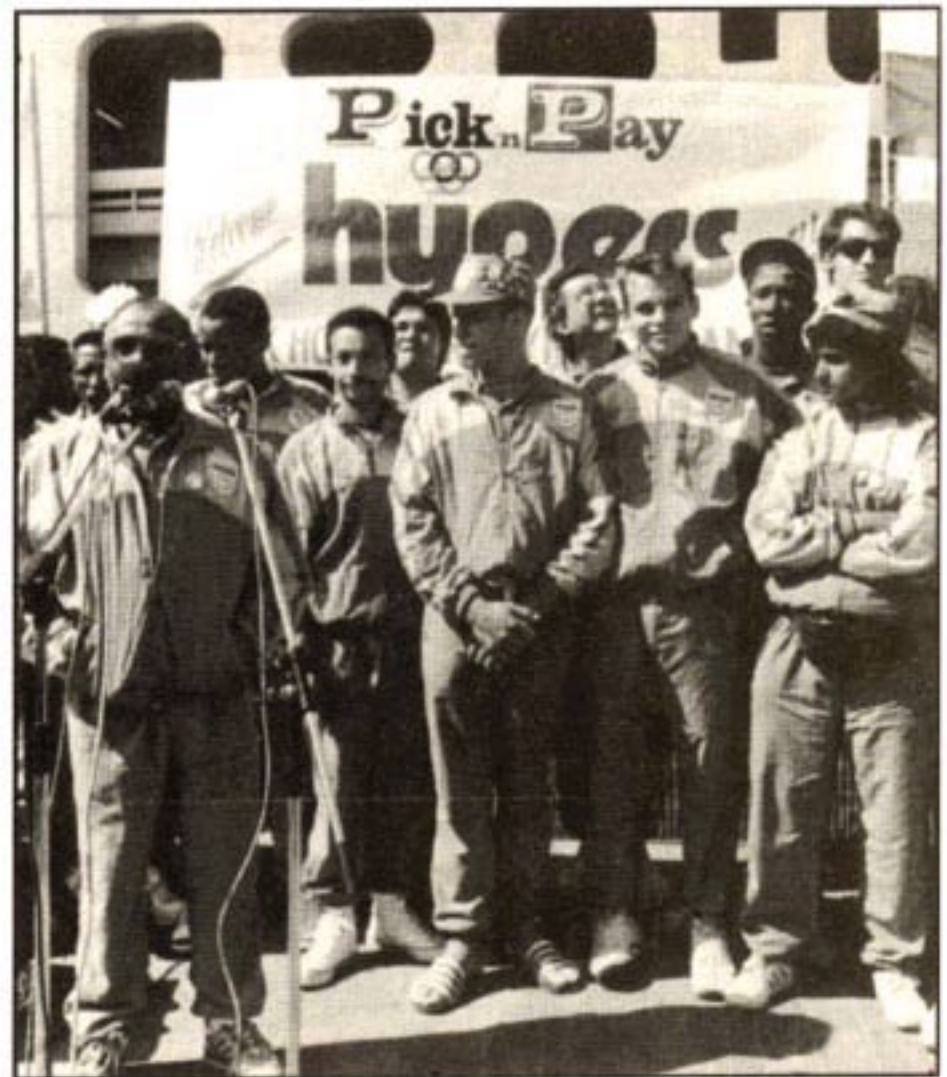
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# SEKUNJALO BREAD & ROSES



*On the 13 December 1993, the Voter Education music cassette was launched. Many people, including famous musicians and politicians, joined to have lots of fun – See Page 36*

# Elections: will emptiness triumph over content?

**T**he election campaign has started in earnest. Yet none of the contestants can claim that they have grasped the tasks at hand in what is the most massive and intense political activity South Africa has ever witnessed.

They are all feeling their way through a new terrain.

For the ANC and its allies, the task is to move from the politics of resistance to the formality of "establishment contest" and governance.

The NP and others in the white establishment face an uphill battle transforming images and mindsets that are to all intents and purposes lily-white. They have to reach out to blacks without whom they face the prospect of marginalisation. Yet they do not have credible policies to address the plight of the oppressed.

The approach then is to perpetuate the old style while trying to give it new meaning. Masters at fudging the issues during apartheid elections, they seek to turn the campaign into Hollywood-type roadshows, debates of the high school fame and vitriol.

The ANC has a natural edge over all these parties. For what is unfolding is a result of people's struggles, a realisation of their demands and aspirations.

This is aptly reflected in its plans contained in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). But the challenge is ensuring that these ideals capture the national imagination.

In the past three months, the ANC has succeeded in doing this through direct contact with the electorate in door-to-door work and People's Forums. The forums in particular worked out so well that the tradition will be carried into government. Tied to this is the democratic and transparent process that has gone into the adoption of the electoral lists and the RDP, a quality that stands the ANC in good stead.

The question though is whether the emphasis on form devoid of content – which is the mainstay of white establishment politics – will dominate the approach to the campaign. In other words, will negative campaigning and kissing babies become the focus?

The answer lies not so much with the adeptness of any of the contestants. Rather it is a function of the media: the mediator between creators of news and the public. If the media is steeped in the mindset of the white establishment, then form and not content will dominate coverage.

South Africa will be the poorer. For the desperate situation of millions without jobs, housing and education will be put in the back-burner.

There is no doubt which between the emptiness of form and seriousness of content will triumph on 27 April. However, a creative presentation of content on the part of the ANC will also be crucial in determining the extent of that victory. ♦

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# Readers speak out

back issues of other publications. We welcome and appreciate any effort you make for our education about you and your struggles, sacrifice and victories.

*Terrence Perry,  
Maryland Correctional  
Training Centre, US.*

**Ed: Your request has been considered favourably. Thanks for your support.**

## **SUPPORT FROM BEHIND BARS ACROSS THE SEAS**

Dear MAYIBUYE

I'm a black prisoner sentenced to eight years in this prison along with 3 000 other black young men. Although we are born in this land we know that Africa is the land that produced us long ago. Thus we do look upon your great victory with affection and great pride.

Congratulations to the ANC and all its supporters who have, together, after much sacrifice, accomplished the liberty of your land. We here are proud of you and debate with affection about you and how great a nation you will become. And we desire to know more, firsthand, about you. We desire a direct connection of sorts with you.

I write, therefore, for many of us here who want to ask you to please donate a year's subscription of MAYIBUYE so that we can follow your people's glorious reclaiming of your government.

Please understand that we are prisoners and have no money right now to support your cause by buying it. If this is not possible we will welcome any information, even

## **OPEN LETTER TO THE ANC LEADERSHIP**

I am a Swazi by birth. I have been following SA politics since 1980 when my brother introduced me to ANC and MK activities. He was at the University of Swaziland then.

I want to congratulate and encourage the ANC for sound and decisive leadership which has been demonstrated since the beginning of the negotiations. We are not appreciating such a powerful and flexible leadership in the South African context only but also in the African context.

Africa as a whole is patiently looking forward to the day when African sons like Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa, Tokyo Sexwale, Nelson Mandela and many more will assume their leadership roles continentally. For centuries apartheid has deprived the international community of such African cream.

*Alpheus Nxumalo,  
Manzini.*

## **WHAT'S IN A NAME?**

As far back as January 1992, the ANC grapevine was buzzing with the ru-

mour that Shell House would be renamed Luthuli House.

Surely, it is inappropriate that after more than two years as the ANC's head offices, it still bears a private company's name. Shouldn't the MAYIBUYE editorial board ask the National Working Committee (NWC) if we shouldn't have a competition to choose a more fitting name?

Luthuli House, Tambo House, Hani House, or just plain ANC House could all be amongst the starting suggestions. How about it, ANC?

*KG, Claremont.*

## **MATTER OF FACT**

Dear MAYIBUYE

Your article commemorating the 1943 ANC Bill of Rights was a fitting reminder of the organisation's long commitment to human rights. The reference to Congress Mbata, however, as one of the three signatories still alive is incorrect. Mbata died in exile in the United States in 1989.

*Gail M Gerhart,  
Visiting Fulbright  
Scholar, Wits.*

## **BLACKS DENIED WINGS**

Dear editor

I am writing to expose South African Airways' (SAA) tactics of deliberately excluding black people from the national carrier. Previously it was because of apartheid but now there are more subtle methods. There has been a recruitment drive for pilots. The requirements for the applicants, among others, is that they should have a minimum of 500 hours flying experience.

Where would one find a black South African with any flying experience after having been denied it deliberately by the apartheid system? Obviously the gimmick of Transnet and parroted recently by SAA's Chief Executive Officer, Mike Myburgh, that there will be no more whites employed within the group is a fallacy. There are many ways of retaining the status quo.

It seems an opportunity to bring various population groups into SAA's cockpits will yet again be missed. The need for extra crew presented itself an opportunity to train people ab initio. It now will require the new government to explain to the majority of blacks why the national airline will have a handful of blacks. It is obvious that the management of SAA is in a hurry to fill every possible opening with whites. What else would one expect from an institution run by political appointees of the Nats!

It is about time that the future stakeholders of this mismanaged parastatal seriously looked into the affairs of SAA. Enough taxpayers money has been wasted in very costly ventures like operating uneconomical Russian aircraft.

It is time that all political appointees be removed from key strategic positions of our national assets. Appointments must be done in a transparent manner. Will the incoming ANC government keep on funding institutions bent on preserving white minority privilege?

*ZN, Jo'burg.*



## ANC PROPOSALS DISTRESSING

Dear sir/madam

I'm an ANC supporter, though not a member of the organisation. I'm also a law student and, as such, was deeply distressed at the ANC proposals for appointing members of the constitutional court. A judiciary cannot be truly independent if it is appointed by the executive.

The defence raised in the ANC press release on the topic, viz, that similar practices occur elsewhere, is misleading.

While judges are appointed by the executive in the UK, it is the legislature, not the judiciary, which is supreme and the judiciary cannot overturn legislation which has been "duly passed".

In the USA the executive also appoints the judges BUT the legislature must approve such appointments AND the legislature is elected separately from the president. This will not be the case

under the interim constitution in this country.

The fact that we will have a government of national unity for the first five years may be a safeguard for that period but, once the interim period is over, the judges of the constitutional court will simply be appointed by the majority party unless there is a coalition government at the time. In that case only the views of the parties in the coalition will be reflected.

While this may give rise to a judiciary which reflects the views of a democratically elected government, it will decidedly not be independent and will thus not be able to protect the rights of an individual who feels unfairly treated by the very executive to whom the judges hearing the case will owe their appointments.

While it is true, also, that the subordinate divisions of the Supreme Court will have jurisdiction in constitutional mat-

ters, the constitutional court will, nevertheless, have supreme appellate jurisdiction in these cases and will, as such, be more influential than any other court and will be able to overturn all decisions of the lower courts.

To avoid these difficulties, I would suggest that nominations to the constitutional court be proposed by the president and then be put before a panel of senators from all parties represented in the senate which would be able to accept or reject the president's choice. In making their decision they would have to consider a report from the sitting judges of the court and the senators would, as in the US, be able to cross-examine the president's candidate in a public hearing.

It goes without saying that these judges would enjoy security of tenure and pay as well. Only if these steps were rigorously followed would the

highest court in the land be as transparent and independent as it should be, while still meeting the requirements of democracy.

*JG, Blairgowrie.*

**Ed:** The ANC is committed to an independent judiciary and constitutional court. It believes that such courts should be broadly representative of society as a whole.

The constitution must guarantee the independence of these structures. The appointment mechanisms should also be open and non-partisan. In its policy guidelines, the ANC proposes that the constitutional court should be appointed by parliament, with the involvement of all parties.

During negotiations, however, the ANC took into account proposals from the NP government that the State President should play a major role. We were striving to achieve a package that would be acceptable to all parties. This was changed slightly after much debate. Perhaps we should have insisted on our policy position. Whatever the flaws in the interim constitution, the ANC will argue for its principled position – as reflected in the policy guidelines – when the new constitution is drafted. ♦

Write to:

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PO Box 61884  
Marshalltown  
Johannesburg 2107



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

## **Western Cape the test**

The African National Congress' dream for a non-racial democracy would die if the movement was defeated in the Western Cape, ANC regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak said after his election as the ANC candidate for premiership of the Western Cape provincial government.

Speaking at a special conference held at the University of the Western Cape, Boesak said the Western Cape would be the test for the ANC's non-racial character in the coming election.

"If we lose this election the dream for a non-racial democracy, for the rest of our country as well, will die here. It is our responsibility to set the tone for the non-racial democracy which this country must become."

He said the reconstruction and development the ANC had spoken of would also be put into practice in that region. "That talk has not just been for elections," he said.

## **You may vote**

### **from Mecca**

Arrangements are being made to allow the thousands of South African Muslim pilgrims who will be in Saudi Arabia during the election period to cast their votes there.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is investigating erecting polling stations in Saudi Arabia because South Africa has no diplomatic links with that country. About 7 000 South African Muslims go on pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia each year.

## **NP's complaint against SABC**

### **dismissed**

The Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) has dismissed a com-

plaint against the SABC by the National Party (NP) concerning the TV documentary series "Ulibambe Lingashoni - Hold up the Sun".

The federal council of the NP lodged the complaint following the screening of the first two programmes of the series, which examines the history of the freedom struggle in South Africa. The NP contended the two programmes gave the ANC an unfair advantage as a political party in the pre-election period.

A BCCSA panel comprising 10 members and chaired by Prof Kobus van Rooyen unanimously rejected the complaint.

While the BCCSA found the programmes to contain commentary by mostly ANC leaders and to be one-sided in that respect, it held that this was corrected by the fact that, for many years, only a white perspective of South African history had been broadcast by the SABC. In this broader context, the programmes were thus not unfair to the NP.

The BCCSA noted an offer by the SABC to screen a discussion on the main issues raised by the series in a special programme at the end of this series. It further pointed out that once an election was formally declared, stricter rules - depending upon circumstances - could be applied to programmes such as "Ulibambe Lingashoni". These included the rules of "equal opportunity" and "reasonable access".

Given an opportunity would the NP like the SABC to screen its history of racial segregation, land dispossession, pass laws, forced removals, detention without trial, deaths in detention and cross border raids?

PS: As *MAYIBUYE* goes to press, it was announced that a committee of the SABC Board had bowed to pressure and called off the showing of the last two parts of the series. The NP rewarded this decision by describing it an admission on the part of the board that they are biased in favour of the ANC!

## **One settler - no bullet**

Hardly two months after its Umtata congress which reiterated the Pan Africanist Congress' (PAC) commitment to the armed struggle, the organisation has suspended its armed struggle.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said it would take time though for the order to filter down to fighters "in the bush" and further actions could not be ruled out. Announcing that the organisation's Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) would stop attacks, he cited progress towards the April 27 election.

Meanwhile, three callers, all claiming to be Apla leaders, told the South African Press Association (Sapa) that the armed struggle would continue. The first, claiming to be Apla internal commander, Karl Zimbiri, said it was premature for Mr Makwetu to announce a moratorium on Apla's armed struggle.

The other two also rejected any cessation of hostilities. "Apla will not suspend the armed struggle and it is not true we have started to tell our forces on the ground to prepare for a ceasefire or moratorium," one is reported to have said.

The PAC's Central Transkei region also expressed its shock and disgust at what it termed the PAC's unilateral decision. Regional secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha said the move was not in line with national conference resolutions taken in Umtata last year.

"The conference mandated the PAC leadership to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities with the regime. This move is nothing but capitulation and renegation (sic) on the part of the PAC leadership," he said, calling for a special conference for the PAC leadership to explain its decision.

## **Swapo backs ANC**

Swapo has thrown its weight behind the African National Congress with a week-long national cam-



paigned to raise election funds and support.

Swapo Secretary General Moses Garoeb said senior ANC and Swapo officials would address meetings and rallies across Namibia to raise money for the ANC. He said Swapo's support for the ANC was part of the responsibility it felt towards South Africa.

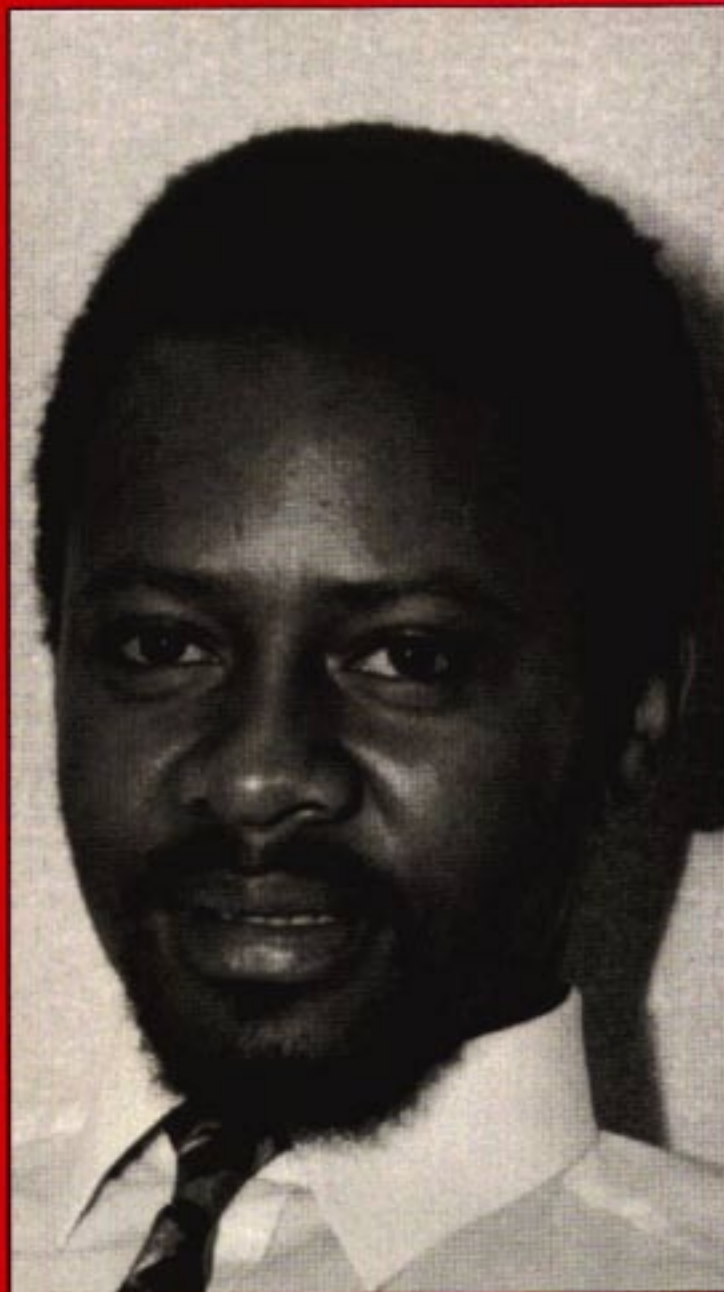
Swapo was confident of, and hoped for, an ANC landslide victory and felt a need to contribute in the same way the ANC had helped Swapo to victory in the 1989 Namibian elections.

Mr Garoeb said Swapo believed the ANC, with its "pragmatic and experienced leadership", was the party best structured to manage a post-election South Africa and keep Southern Africa stable.

Money would be raised at Swapo branch and regional level in cooperation with the National Union of Namibian Workers. Mr Garoeb appealed to all South Africans living in Namibia to register and vote for the ANC on 27 April.

## **Mokaba comes of age**

**Former Deputy President of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), Lulu Johnson, was elected to replace Peter Mokaba as president of the organisation at its congress recently. According to the organisation's constitution, Mokaba (36) was no longer eligible for re-election. Others elected to the NEC included Deputy President Bheki Nkosi; Secretary-General Mpho Lekgoro; Deputy Secretary-General Febe Potgieter; and Treasurer-General Ignatius Jacobs. Additional members are Nomfanelo Kota, Nathi Mthethwa, Stitch Ngubane, Andrew Dipela, Joe Mathebula, Parks Mankahlana, Themba Kinana, Neville Naidoo, Thabo Masebe and Lassy Chiwayo.**



### **IMC formed**

Appointments to the Independent Media Commission (IMC) and the Special Electoral Court have been announced by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The seven media commission members are Mr Justice John Trengrove (chairperson), Dr Namane, M Magua, Raymond Louw, Willem (Wimpie) de Klerk, Jenny Malan, Zubeida Jaffer and Libby Lloyd.

Two of the five electoral court members were appointed by the TEC, and the remaining three by South Africa's Chief Justice. The two executive council appointees are Mr Justice I Mahomed of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court acting in the Appeal Court, and Cape Bar advocate Dr JC Heunis.

The three appointed by the Chief Justice are Mr Justice J W Smalberger of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, Mr

Justice J M Didcott of the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, and Mr Justice P J van der Walt of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court.

### **ANC leads - polls**

The ANC would get 70,3 percent of votes in the coming elections if its support in the TBVC states was taken into account, according to the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

The HSRC said it had processed data not included in its November/December survey which put the ANC's support at 67 percent. The NP's support was 15,5 percent compared to the HSRC's earlier estimate of 17 percent. The IFP could count on 4,5 percent, compared to the previous six percent forecast.

The Conservative Party's support remained at three per cent, while support for other rightwing

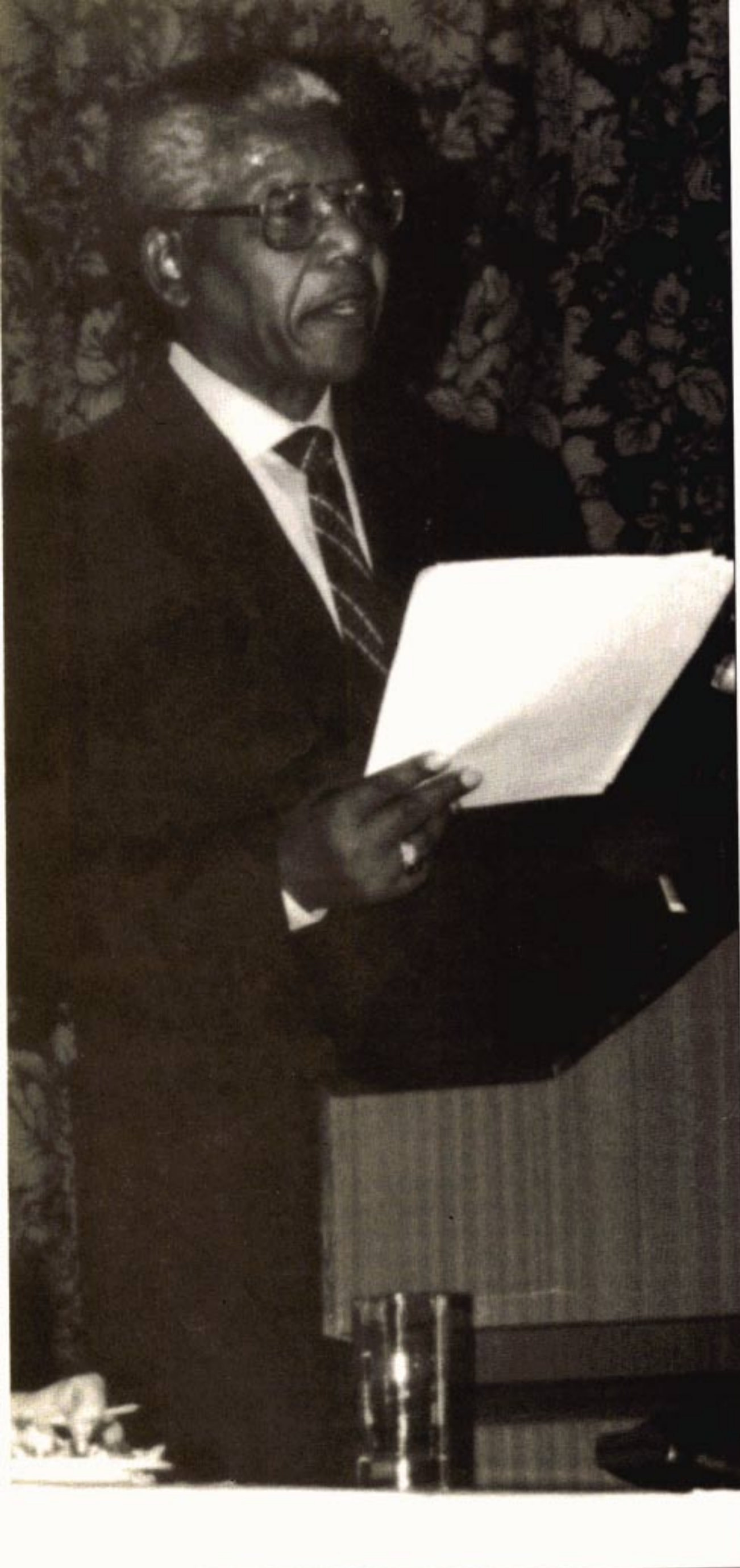
parties slipped from two percent to 1,8 percent, taking the TBVC states into account.

The "large discrepancy" between the ANC's support in the PWV region (71 percent) and nationally (67 percent, excluding TBVC states) was largely due to the influence of Natal-KwaZulu and the Western Cape, the HSRC said.

The ANC has rejected these findings on the basis that they:

- ignore spoilt ballots among black "first time" voters;
- assume an ideal voter turn-out on election day; and
- assume that those who did not choose any party would align themselves in proportion to each party's support.

The organisation has cautioned against complacency among its organisers. This, and the NP's "Stop the ANC" campaign could, in fact, be the aim of the shoddy HSRC survey, the ANC argues. ♦



**Interview with**

**Year of**

**"we**

**MAYIBUYE:** The ANC has declared 1994 as the year of liberation. Before that, 1993 and 1992 were the years of elections. Are we not creating exaggerated expectations?

**NM:** It is not an exaggeration to talk of 1994 as the year of liberation. The achievements of our long struggle, and the negotiating process which has led to the firm date of 27 April 1994 for the first democratic elections, is indeed an important event which we must celebrate.

However, while 1994 is indeed a year of liberation, there is still a lot of work to be done to move from elections to the improvement of the living conditions of the majority. We cannot expect this to be achieved overnight. That is why I constantly say that 27 April will not be reaping time. It will be time for ploughing and sowing. I am optimistic we will achieve our aims because for the first time South Africa will have a democratic and legitimate government.

**MAYIBUYE:** The NP government negotiated under pressure. Now, with the armed struggle suspended; mass action scaled down; and international isolation gone, what leverage does the ANC have if the NP delays?

**NM:** The NP entered the negotiations with a hidden agenda to try and ensure the perpetuation of white power and privilege. However, despite the many problems, they have made some contribution to keep the negotiations on track.

I do not believe that we are without leverage. Let me explain for example:

# liberation if ... work harder."

- In terms of the interim constitution and various pieces of legislation that were passed in parliament, the NP is bound to follow tight and clearly worked out time scales. If they fail to do so they will be seen as breaking the constitution and laws that they themselves have accepted and voted into law.
- We have the support of the vast majority of South Africans for the speedy transition to a full democracy. This does not only include traditional ANC supporters. It also includes many of the NP traditional supporters. However, if they try to betray the process, we have a mass support base to challenge them.
- Sanctions are gone, but the international community maintains a very keen interest in South Africa. If the government tries to drag their feet and break undertakings, I am sure that they will face very strong pressures.
- The government acceded to negotiations because of various pressures. They know that, if they delay, business confidence will deteriorate further and the



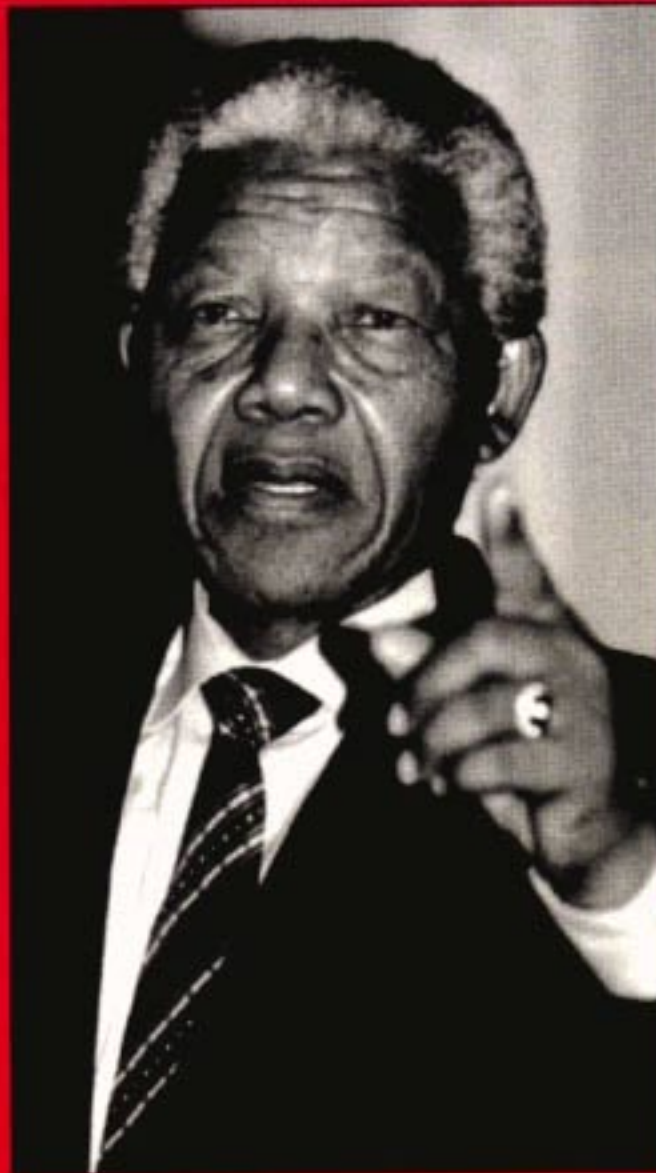
economic consequences will be devastating not only for the black majority, but also for their own privileged supporters.

## **MAYIBUYE: Why did the ANC kick off its election campaign with Peoples' Forums?**

**NM:** Peoples' Forums draw on a very long tradition in the ANC. In 1955, before the adoption of the Freedom Charter, meetings were held throughout South Africa where people discussed their circumstances frankly and formulated their demands and concerns. This is exactly what the People's Forums provide for.

The people are able to talk frankly about their concerns and demands. They can challenge the leadership, and through voicing their concerns ensure that they will be included in the formulation of the ANC's election manifesto. With the Peoples' Forums we reassert the basic character of the ANC, namely that it is a people-based liberation movement. I am personally deeply impressed by the

# About the right-wing threat



**T**he ultra-right is numerically small. We do not believe that they can stop the transition process. However, this does not mean that we take their threats lightly. Some of them are heavily armed and well-trained, and they can carry out terrorist attacks that can cost precious lives and cause fear and uncertainty.

We also have no doubt that there are rightwing sympathizers in government, some in very senior positions. There are clearly also some rightwing elements in the police and defence force. This in part explains the clear involvement of security forces, such as the Internal Stability Unit, in fostering violence. We therefore have to take the threat very seriously.

## **CAN THEIR FEARS BE ADDRESSED?**

We should do everything within our means to try and address white fears to the effect that their cultures and languages may be under threat in a democratic South Africa. These are entirely unrealistic fears. The constitution and the Bill of Rights provide full protection to them. But, nonetheless, these fears exist and we cannot ignore them. That is why I have met a number of times with the leaders of the Afrikaner Volksfront, including General Constand Viljoen and Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

The ANC is prepared to discuss with them ways in which we can jointly put their concerns to rest. However, we cannot accept their demand for a separate Afrikaner Volkstaat. Many ANC members have fought and sacrificed their lives in the struggle against apartheid and ethnically defined homelands. We cannot now accede to a new homeland.

We have gone very far in granting powers to the nine provinces. We believe that it would be dangerous to grant more original powers to the provinces, because it is essential that South Africa remains a united country. We are not prepared to allow the old ethnic divisions of apartheid to be perpetuated in the new South Africa.

As far as the single ballot paper is concerned, there are very good reasons why we have argued that it is the best option in the first election. Central to this is the need to ensure that every person's vote will count and that the number of spoilt ballot papers are limited. All indications are that if a double ballot paper is introduced there will be much confusion.

The idea of two ballots may be motivated by the view that spoilt ballots will primarily come from supporters of the ANC; that a complex voting system will therefore be to the benefit of the right wing. ♦

political understanding and maturity that all our people displayed in the discussions at the People's Forums. Anyone who still holds the paternalistic and often racist view that black South Africans are unrealistic in their expectations, only need to attend one Peoples' Forum to dispel any such idea.

These forums reaffirmed my belief that one of the most important abilities that a leader must have is to listen to the people. Listening to the people will be one of the most important characteristics of our election campaign. In the coming month of February we will be having a large number of Peoples' Forums throughout the country.

**MAYIBUYE: It is taken for granted that NP will sweep the boards in Western and Northern Cape. Natal is taken as IFP territory...**

**NM:** I do not believe that it is at all definite that the NP will win the elections in the Western and Northern Cape. They are trying to exploit the artificial divisions that apartheid has created between the various population groups in South Africa.

The NP is now trying to scare members of the coloured and Indian communities by telling them that they are their best chance of protection. This is utterly cynical when one takes into consideration that it was the same NP that destroyed District Six, and under the Group Areas Act, forcefully removed coloured and Indian people from their homes.

The arrogance of the NP seems to have no bounds, now that they have realised that they need the vote of the coloured and Indian communities to have any significant support in the 27 April elections. I have no doubt that these communities will pass a harsh judgement on them not only for what they have done in the past, but also for their current behaviour.

The ANC is the only truly non-racial organisation in South Africa. We are the only political organisation that can prove with our words and deeds that we will provide for all South Africans, and work for all



the oppressed, which includes Africans, Indians and coloureds.

Only those with blinkers on can think that Natal is IFP territory. Only a few months ago the ANC had the Sonke Festival in Durban which was the biggest cultural gathering in the history of Natal. The IFP tries to claim that they are the representatives of the Zulu people. But this is a total fallacy. They can only speak on behalf of their supporters, and not on behalf of any nation – definitely not the Zulu people.

**MAYIBUYE:** How concrete is the programme to deal with violence and will this programme be realised during the election campaign?

**NM:** Violence can only be addressed if all the political organisations in South Africa are prepared to work together and co-operate to bring an end to it. This underlies the need to stop making generalised accusations and identify very clearly the main reasons for the violence.

It is entirely incorrect and propagandistic to reduce the violence to conflict between the ANC and the IFP. The South African Police and especially the notorious Internal Stability Unit (ISU) is a major reason for the high levels of instability and violence on the East Rand and in Natal.

There are numerous examples where the ANC has informed the police in advance that we have information of violent attacks that are being planned. The police actually do nothing to prevent these attacks from taking place. The ANC is keen to see community policing, where the police are prepared to consult with the community about police deployment and providing protection to all sectors.

## Mr. State President

**"I am a member of a collective leadership. In the ANC there are remarkable people, with great abilities. The successes of the ANC are due to them. From time to time that collective pushes forward a particular member to represent the ANC. I will accept whatever the people of South Africa ask me to do. If I am asked to become the President of South Africa I will try to serve my country to the best of my ability." ♦**

**MAYIBUYE:** Any word to ANC members and supporters in this period?

**NM:** For decades we have had very little to look forward to. Every year brought more oppression, pain and suffering. But now, for the first time, the future holds the promise of a brighter tomorrow. We must approach this period with vigour. It is our year of liberation. We will have to work harder than ever before.

The challenge before us is to ensure that those who have ruled for all the years through the most terrible racism and violent repression, will be soundly defeated at the ballot box. April 27 must result in the election of a government that stands for all South Africans, a government that has as its priority the building of a better life for all. ♦

# ANC list process:

# The pain and pleasure of democracy

**P**olitical parties do not often get praise from newspapers, particularly those which, like the *Mail and Guardian*, are proud of their independence. But every now and then a political party does something which surprises us.

So ran an editorial in the *Mail and Guardian*. This was in reference to the ANC list of candidates who will be standing for the 27 April elections. The list will include the national list, the regional list for the National Assembly, and the provincial list for the Provincial Assembly.

The ANC has published its national list for the national legislature. As *MAYIBUYE* went to press, the other lists were being finalised, reports **Chief Twala.**

The process involving the compilation of the list has been hailed by a broad spectrum of society as the most democratic by any political

party. According to ANC President Nelson Mandela, this process has never been equalled by any party in the history of this country. It puts the

**Eastern Cape**  
**Raymond Mhlaba**



**Northern Cape**  
**Manne Dipico**



**Eastern Transvaal**  
**Matthew Phosa**



ANC head over shoulders above the opposition, because of its democratic nature and transparency. In the list itself no area has been left unturned. All spheres of life have been included, from celebrities which boasts of such diverse fields as musicians, actors and runners to church leaders, workers and academics, let alone the political "big shots."

### ORDINARY PEOPLE

When the process first took shape late last year, and some regional lists were inadvertently released to the press, the ANC took a lot of flak from some quarters for its handling of the matter. Understandably some of the people appearing on the list had not even been approached for their acceptance. But then those are some of the hiccups of democracy, a democracy that involved ordinary people in the townships, shacks and villages.

The tasks that faced the organizers of this process was highlighted by the Secretary General of the ANC when he said: "Nominations were received from all structures. Forms were submitted, some without the nominees themselves having to sign because it would have taken too long, given the constituency that had to be dealt with."

The jealous whining of mainly white NP and DP aside, the fact is that for the first time, with no experience at all, the broad masses of our people through ANC branches,



*Delegates at the ANC's National List Conference*

trade unions, civics, the SACP, the Patriotic Front allies and others were given a chance to exercise their right and nominate people of their choice to represent them.

On the other hand, the directives given by the leadership to the constituent members on the criteria to use when nominating their choice were not always understood. Some people were even not clear whether they should nominate incumbent ANC NEC members, thinking that their nomination was automatic. Even Nelson Mandela was largely ignored in the nominations! But through practice the process unfolded to its culmination.

### PAINSTAKING PROCESS

The compilation of the list itself was a painstaking process. A list

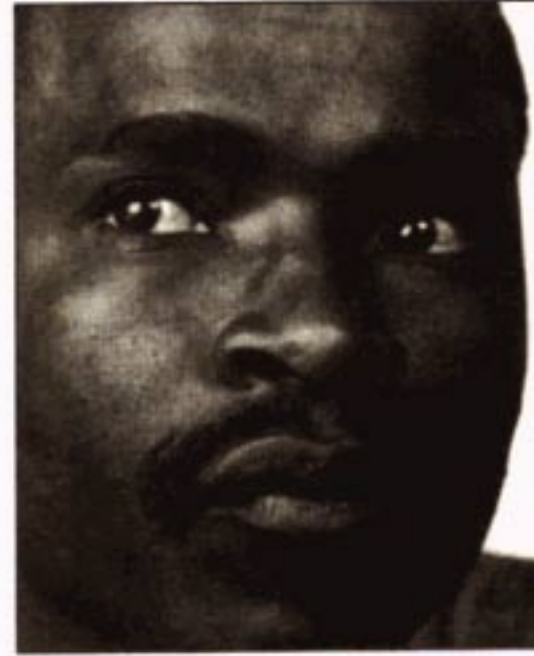
committee which comprised of leaders from the ANC-led alliance was formed. The committee had to formulate guidelines that would determine how the process would be run. The guidelines, which were adopted in August 1993, were handed to the regions to handle. This was a bottom up process which allowed the regions to work from the grassroots and finalize their lists in their regional conferences before the national list conference was held on 15 January 1994.

What is apparent is that the ANC was determined that the list should be generated from the grassroots rather than the party leadership seen to be handing out favours. According to members of the committee the process went far beyond their expectations.

**Western Cape**  
**Allan Boesak**

**PWV**  
**Tokyo Sexwale**

**Northern Transvaal**  
**Ngoako Ramahlodi**



Looking into the diversity of the people involved, some of whom are not even members of the ANC, the membership of the movement seems to have been sending a clear message: the ANC government should be representative of the people as a whole – just as the ANC has always been a broad national liberation movement.

Party boundaries were crossed, cultural, racial and other barriers elim-

inated in the list. Indeed the ANC has set a precedent that other parties would be hard placed to match. But it would be unfair to expect anything like this from parties of the white establishment or the armchair critics of the small self-styled "radical left".

### COALITION

It has, according to the *Mail and Guardian*, brought together an array of South Africans in a list noteworthy for the diversity of experience, skills, race, class, age and gender. It represents the ANC as a true rainbow coalition, bringing together an enormous range of South Africans and giving it a strong claim to represent most of the

country, and not any single racial or class interest group.

At the NEC some juggling was expected, as the movement has also got its allies and Patriotic Front members to satisfy in terms of the quota. These include such disparate formations as the homelands and the Labour Party which want to fight the elections under the ANC banner. To accommodate these groups would have to be done with the utmost of caution as, according to Mandela: "The list must be such that every party must be represented according to its grassroots strength. No party should be allowed to have advantage which far exceeds its grassroots support. No ally must be allowed on the back of another."

### OPPOSITION SPLINTERS

In the NP the ANC is facing one of the most powerful electoral machinery in the history of this country, a party that has been in power for close on 50 years, a party with no scruples about using the public's resources for its campaign. The ANC needs to accommodate the smaller parties in its list, partly because of broad policy agreement and partly to minimise the plethora of opposition splinters.

On the question of gender, the ANC has ensured that at least one third of the people on the list should be women, already taking a clear stand on the question of reaching equality through affirmative action.

The list process has given a powerful example of internal democracy and transparency as yet unmatched by other parties. If it is an indication of the shape of things to come, then the ANC has shown that it is the organisation of the future where democratic principles will be upheld and the participation of the broadest section of the masses ensured. ♦

## True reflections

The ANC published the 200 national list for the National Assembly on 21 January. Topped by Nelson Mandela, the list reflects the gender, racial and national character of the ANC and society as a whole. This is to be further consolidated with the announcement of the list of 200 regional representatives to the National Assembly and more for provincial legislatures.

The list as published broadly reflects the election results. Adjustments had to be made to accommodate the principle of affirmative action for women, youth and Patriotic Front allies. The guiding principle, however, was that up to the 100th position there would be no adjustments except to accommodate a few additional women.

In accommodating the other categories, account of the fact that most would have to be in "safe zone", defined by ANC election officers as being above the 120th position (a  $\pm 60$  percent victory for the ANC), had to be taken. Outside the PF parties, two names have been included from Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu and IN Reddy's Solidarity Party.

The process itself cannot be described as having been easy: late-night NEC meetings, telephone consultations with scores of nominees, blood pressure rises, etc. And at the NEC itself, all the decisions were taken unanimously – after much heated debate. The two-thirds majority provision in the guidelines did not have to be applied.

South Africa will be an example for many countries if the ANC carries this tradition of mass democracy and transparency into government. ♦



Western Transvaal  
Patrick "Terror" Lekota



Natal  
Jacob Zuma



North-West  
Undecided



# The early, hurly-burly days of the TEC

**I**t's early days yet to say how the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is going to turn out," said ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj, "but we from the ANC, together with the democratic movement, are determined to make the TEC live up to its objectives."

Appointed joint Executive Secretary of the TEC, Maharaj was speaking from his new office in the Pretoria high-rise which houses the Council. Over his shoulder the Voortrekker Monument was visible on the hill. And, despite no electricity on his floor, work had begun in earnest.

Barely a month after the establishment of the TEC, Maharaj said the TEC has made important progress in levelling the political playing field in preparation for a free and fair election.

The contribution of the ANC and its allies was crucial to the success of the TEC, he said.

## **DEMOCRATIC COMPONENT**

"The TEC, precisely because of that democratic component's participation, as well as the changes that are going on in government, is more responsive to the actions of the people and the issues they bring to it.

"If you look at the record of the TEC in the short space of its exist-

**Steyn Speed  
speaks to Mac  
Maharaj, joint  
Executive Secretary  
of the TEC and  
member of the  
NEC of the ANC.**

tence, just about every issue that has been of any consequence has arisen at the initiative of the Patriotic Front forces. And those who are representing our movement in the TEC have a formidable task of translating those concerns and pressures expressed by the people into tangible steps by the TEC," he said.

While the TEC had no intention of running the country, he said the problems and concerns the people were bringing to it required "decisive interventions". One of the first such interventions by the TEC had been in the area of policing.

"The credibility, legitimacy and willingness of the SAP to remould its role along the lines of community policing is inevitable if it is to play a

constructive role in facilitating free and fair elections. Its role so far has been controversial and it is suspected of involvement in the violence. The government and its relevant departments have so far not shown the capacity on their own to make the pro-active adjustments that are needed."

Maharaj said the legal power of the TEC to intervene on this issue of policing was "extensive". The issue, however, was how that substantial legal capacity was going to be translated in practice.

## **SAP DEPLOYMENT**

The power of the TEC was put to the test when it called for a greater deployment of the SAP in Northern Natal. The results were promising.

"Increased deployment of the SAP did take place in those areas, and they include areas that fall under the KwaZulu administration. Despite some press reports of denials from KwaZulu and a confusing statement from Buthelezi that he would regard deployment of the SAP in that area as an invasion, the fact of the matter is that substantive reports from the Commissioner of Police to the TEC have indicated that a substantially increased deployment was made during the December period," Maharaj said.

He added that agreements with the Minister of Police for the pres-

# How is the Independent Electoral Commission faring?

**A** non-partisan body responsible for monitoring the election and pre-election activity was formally constituted in Cape Town in December. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has begun to function at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, and it's in the process of appointing a directorate for administering the elections, a Monitoring Directorate, the Adjudications Secretariat and the Special Electoral Court. An international advisory committee to the IEC has also been established.

"The group of individuals who have been appointed to the IEC contain an important pool of experience and expertise. From the level of the IEC, the mechanisms have begun to function and should soon impact on the situation," Maharaj said.

Although the Independent Media Commission (IMC) was slower to be established, preparations had been made so it could begin work fairly rapidly after being appointed. A major part of the IMC's work is to monitor and analyse state-controlled media, and make necessary interventions.

## **INTERNATIONAL MONITORS**

Working closely with the Independent Electoral Commission would be a number of electoral monitors, both local and international. Their role would be to eliminate anything which impeded free political activity in any area.

"In cases that are taken for adjudication on intimidation or interference with free political activity, the reports of the monitors will play an important part in enabling the electoral tribunals to correct matters," Maharaj said.

He said the presence of international monitors would give status to the work of the monitors: "One would like the international community to consider bringing more monitors but, instead of having an idle debate on what the figures should be, our approach should be to take on whatever they are offering, deploy them and get them to do their job – and then to seek to increase their number." ♦

ence of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) to be reduced in townships in Natal and on the East Rand were being put into effect.

## **VIOLENCE**

The TEC has identified curbing the violence on the East Rand as a priority, and has done a detailed evaluation of the area in consultation with a number of relevant groups. The TEC would develop a programme which would run parallel with the consultations between Mandela and De Klerk.

"The issue is being seen by the TEC not simply in terms of law and order ... but in development terms; the aspirations of communities which include issues of water, sewerage, repair of deserted houses, restoring those houses to their original occupants and health services.

"A lot depends on how far the government is prepared to be co-operative on this. I think they are interested in a solution, but, given their background, I think it will be difficult to agree to a realistic solution," he said.

## **SELF DEFENSE UNITS**

Another issue which the TEC has had to consider was the role of Self Defense Units (SDUs), particularly on the East Rand. A number of parties had complained about the SDUs, saying they had no place in the South Africa of today.

"From the point of view of the ANC, the position is different. The SDUs have played a useful role, given that the government was neither willing nor showed a capacity to protect the people. But in the East Rand it is clear that there are SDUs that are out of control, and there are SDUs that are playing a constructive role.

"The issue is not just one of getting the TEC to recognise the SDUs and legalise their arms. The issue is to normalise that area as part of a composite programme, aimed at restoration of amenities; restoring people to their homes and protecting them. Sections of the security forces must turn their backs on the active role they've



*TEC at work: Will it live up to the expectations of the people?*

played in the violence. If that is done, then the democratic movement has to attend also to the reality that within the constructive role that SDUs have played, there are SDUs that are out of control; there are SDUs that have a large criminal element in them; and maybe also there are provocateurs," Maharaj said.

An important aspect of a programme to curb violence was the deployment of a National Peace-keeping Force which would be comprised of a number of armed formations under the command of the TEC.

#### **CONSTRAINTS**

But, Maharaj noted, practical constraints made it unlikely that the force would be operational long before the election: "The retraining and orientation that is needed certainly cannot take place in a time frame which expects any reasonable number of members of the NPKF to be ready and available for deployment early enough."

Still there are areas, like Bophuthatswana, where free political activity is severely restricted. The TEC, however, had not developed any serious plans to address this, since "simultaneously with the TEC coming into operation there is a larger political process unfolding outside the TEC.

"The Ciskei has taken a different position on the elections and participation in the TEC from the other allies in the apartheid alliance they call the Freedom Alliance," Maharaj said.

An important aspect of a programme to curb violence was the deployment of a National Peace-keeping Force which would be comprised of a number of armed formations under the command of the TEC.

"Arising out of the political process; to a lesser extent what the TEC is doing; and to a greater extent what the South African government needs to do, Bophuthatswana will soon change its position."

#### **ACHIEVEMENTS**

"More importantly is for people to realise that, just as in negotiations, our achievements depended on not what happened in the negotiating room, but how they were underpinned and reinforced by what the people did. It is the people and what they do in these areas that will actively resolve the issue of Bophuthatswana intransigence."

But, all said and done, will the TEC live up to the expectations of the people of South Africa?

"So far, at least, the record of the TEC shows it is responding to the demands and pressures of the people," Maharaj concluded.

The Voortrekker monument was barely visible in the afternoon light as he extinguished his umpteenth cigarette. ♦

# The Interim Constitution and Provincial Government

**S**ince the adoption of the interim constitution, a debate has emerged within and outside the ranks of the liberation movement as to whether there has been a major deviation from ANC policy on regional or provincial government.

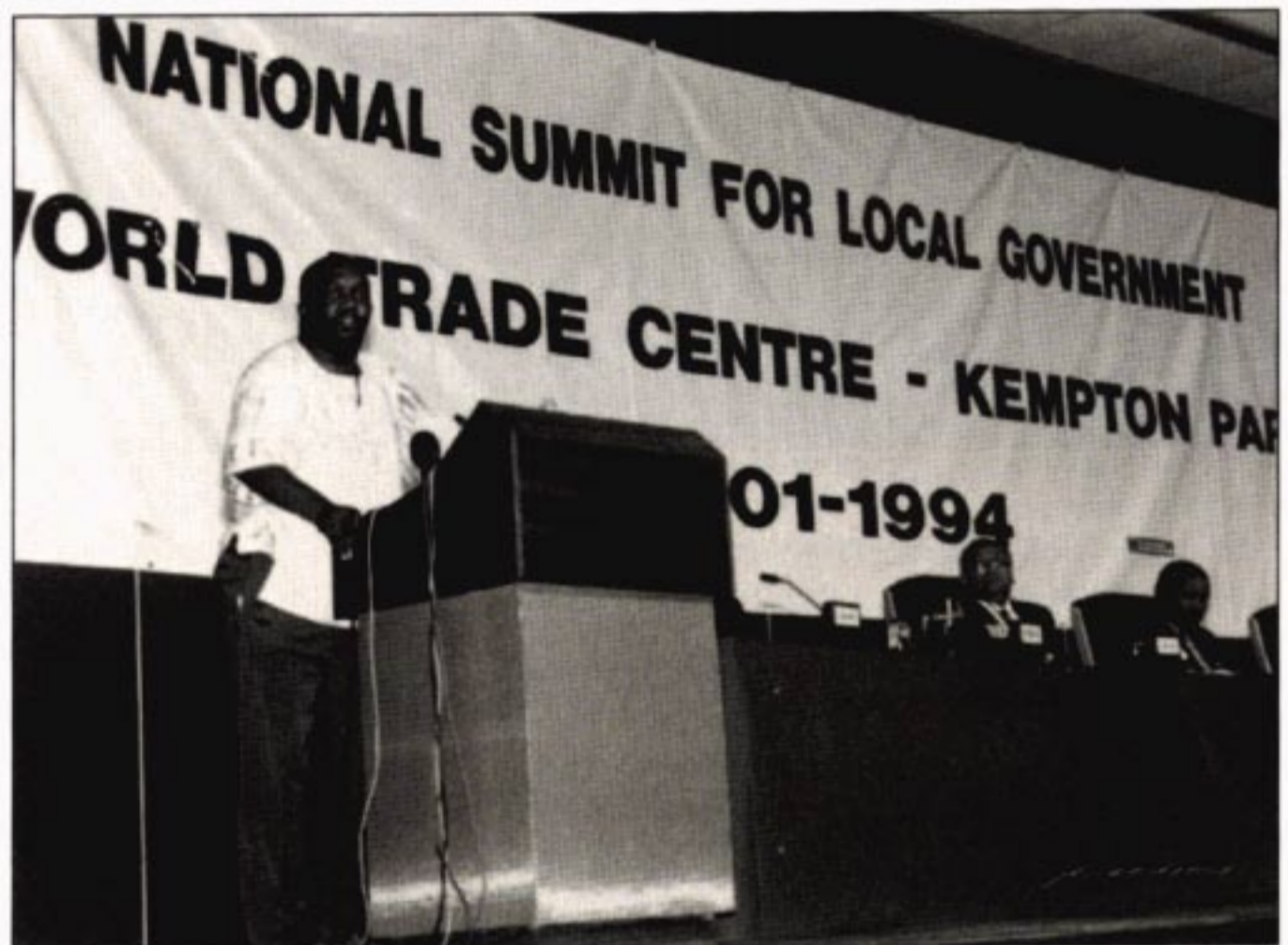
Some within the ANC believe it was compelled to abandon its notion of a unitary state and accept a federal form of state. Yet critics of the ANC have commented that the outcome is not a sufficiently federal one.

To grapple with this debate, our starting point should be ANC policy as articulated in numerous documents. This will enable us to differentiate between real ANC policy and what critics of the ANC ascribed to it.

## **ANC POLICY**

At the beginning of the 1990s the ANC stated that it believed there was a need for a strong and effective central government that could handle national tasks of reconstruction and development to speedily overcome the legacy of apartheid. It accepted that there was, at the same time, a need for strong and effective regional or provincial government in order to bring democracy closer to the people.

In other words, the ANC rejected the notion of an impersonal, over-centralised and over-bureaucratised form of state. It advocated democratically



**The interim constitution gives South Africa a hybrid form of state which borrows what is good from both a unitary and a federal form of state, writes Penuell Maduna and Sandile Nogxina of the ANC's Department of Legal and Constitutional Affairs.**

constituted structures at all three levels of government, based on non-racialism, freedom, equality and justice.

In the ANC's perspective of a united South Africa, it was accepted that we should guard against allocating powers and functions exclusively to one tier of government. Effective co-ordination

and reasonable uniformity in the delivery of services was essential.

## **CONCURRENT POWERS**

Thus, the ANC proposed concurrent powers among the three levels of government with overriding powers reserved for the central government. The

central government would play a major role in the equitable redistribution of resources from the rich to economically depressed regions. On the other hand, sub-national levels of government would play an equally important role in co-ordinating reconstruction and development and redressing inequalities in their areas of jurisdiction.

In its documents the ANC delineated powers for regional government which included legislative and executive powers in respect of certain areas of competence. On the basis that the central government would have overriding and concurrent jurisdiction on such areas of competence, any regional legislation repugnant to the constitution and national laws would have no legal force or effect. In a nutshell, it was envisaged in the policy documents that regions would exercise both original – powers conferred by or deriving from the constitution – and delegated powers subject to the repugnancy principle.

Such powers could only be removed, amended or added to by means of a pro-

cedurally appropriate amendment to the constitution and enabling legislation. The central state, in the ANC's perspective, would not be constitutionally empowered to do so by ordinary legislation. In other words, while the central government might regulate those areas falling under the jurisdiction of the regions, it could not remove or take away the right of the regions to deal with issues falling within their areas of competence.

### INTERIM CONSTITUTION

The ANC sought to establish a maximum of ten regions. The interim constitution establishes nine provinces, each of which will have its own democratically constituted legislature and executive council.

In addition, the interim constitution provides that each province can have its own constitution if a two-thirds majority of members of the provincial legislature resolves to pass one.

Such constitutions shall not be valid if the envisaged Constitutional Court has certified that one or more of their provisions are inconsistent with the interim or the new constitution. In other words, the principle of repugnancy which

was contained in the ANC position shall apply to such constitutions.

As was envisaged in the policy position of the ANC, numerous areas of provincial legislative competency are outlined in the interim constitution. While some of the areas of competence delineated by the ANC are similar to those outlined in the interim constitution, others are not mentioned in ANC documents. A case in point is policing.

In terms of the interim constitution, a South African Police Service, structured and functioning at both national and provincial levels, shall be established and regulated by an Act of Parliament. This provincial area of legislative competence is specifically made subject to the repugnancy principle so that, in this regard, no province may make laws which are inconsistent with national legislation.

It is important to note that the legislative authority of the country shall essentially vest in Parliament – the central legislative organ. Thus, all the legislative powers of the provinces are, in terms of the interim constitution, to be exercised concurrently with the central legislative authority.

In other words, the provinces are not granted any exclusive powers with regard to any of the areas of legislative competence allocated to them.

Furthermore, an Act of Parliament which deals with an area of provincial legislative competence and applies uniformly in all parts of the country shall, broadly speaking, prevail upon any provincial legislation which is consistent with it. As shown above, this was part of ANC policy.

### DEPART

It should be clear from all this that the ANC did not depart from the essence of its policy position articulated in the negotiations. Inasmuch as the ANC policy did not envisage a rigid over-centralised unitary state, the interim constitution has given the people of South Africa a hybrid form of state which borrows that which is good from both a unitary and a federal form of state. ♦



## NP Election Campaign:

# Masters of Mud

When it comes to dirty electioneering, the National Party are the Masters of Mud, writes a correspondent

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***"The ANC wants protection for its leaders and not for the rest of us."***

***"Winnie Mandela, the most powerful woman in South Africa?"***

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**T**hese lines from two National Party (NP) adverts are reminiscent of the pre-1990 era when the ANC used to be the bogey of white South African politics. The latter advert goes on to chronicle her conviction in South Africa's courts of kidnapping and later her election as president of the ANC Women's League. This was labelled "a takeover by radicals" of the ANC leadership.

Before liberation movements were unbanned, hardly any white political platform didn't use the "ANC

gevaar" strategy to scare South African whites into voting for them, most notably the NP. It is clear that this trend is going to continue.

The NP's main approach to the election has been to separate itself as a party from government both in its public platforms and in its media campaign. The main objective of this approach is to preserve an image of a changing National Party. De Klerk continues to be the NP's main figure to promote its election campaign.

This twin-pronged strategy is seemingly aimed at getting support mainly among Coloureds and

Indians. At the same time it hopes to retain white support, or even erode that of the right, as a 'responsible' government that still defends minority interests against ANC 'socialism'.

In African areas, the NP's campaign has mainly focused on intimidation, and has intensified as the levels of violence escalate in the East Rand and parts of Natal. This violence is then attributed to political rivalry between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

An NP pamphlet proclaims "Don't vote for an intimidator" and several NP adverts have referred to "builders" and "breakers".

It serves the NP government's election campaign to allow the violence to continue while the blame is placed on the ANC. The NP is then cast as "the builders of a new South Africa."

### **EAT NP, VOTE ANC**

The NP's strategy in the African community is also to thrive on the ignorance mostly of the rural and illiterate sections of the population. Food parcels and all kinds of presents to the electorate are its main message to the Africans. Organisers are recruited in the typical cloak and dagger fashion of the security police. And among those being paraded are MK dissidents who have been showered with liquor, cars and afforded a lavish lifestyle.

An old man who attended the NP's rally in Pietersburg was asked by a journalist whether he intended voting the NP back to power. He replied: "Don't worry, our slogan is 'Eat NP, Vote ANC'." This raises questions about the effectiveness of buying votes and exploiting poverty to establish units of organisers who are not committed to the party's policies.

According to the Transvaal NP, during the 1993 Easter weekend a "successful campaign was launched aimed at the church-goers on their way to Moria. Cool drinks, calendars and information leaflets were handed out at a road stall."

Under the banner of the NP's youth wing, a "Back to school" campaign was launched late in



*The NP government encourages violence in the country, as it improves their election chances.*

1993. Students, particularly matric finalists, have on occasion been approached with prospects for academic support should they join the NP. In one incident, NP recruiters offered to give several high school pupils stationery and calculators for the examinations.

The highly negative NP campaign directed at the ANC also reflects another reality: they know that at best they will get an insignificant number of votes from Africans. They then try to disrupt the ANC's efforts by creating cynicism. Combined with the violence in some African areas, this, they hope, will reduce the number of people who come out to vote. Inefficiency in issuing ID's and the formation of the so-called African Christian Democratic Party – which has been exposed as a front of SADF's Military Intelligence – also serve the same purpose.

#### **COLD WAR**

The NP has launched its own cold war against bantustans which have broken ranks with it. The Transkei has been specifically targeted with the NP claiming, and never proving, that the area is harbouring Apla operatives.

The selective morality of the NP government should be brought into focus. There doesn't seem to be any attempt to expose corruption within homeland governments that are broadly aligned to the NP, or of course within the NP government itself.

The finances of Lebowa were taken over by the South African government after claims of corruption and maladministration within Nelson Ramodike's administration.

Attempts have been made to use the De Meyer Commission reports on corruption in the KwaNdebele administration of the early 80s to discredit the present administration of James Mahlangu's Intando ye Sizwe.

#### **SELECTIVE MORALITY**

The selective morality of the NP government should be brought into focus. There doesn't seem to be any attempt to expose corruption within homeland governments that are broadly aligned to the NP, or of course within the NP government itself.

It has been silent on the use of taxpayers money to purchase a R33 million luxury jet for KwaZulu ban-

tustan officials. It has also been silent on the misuse of public funds for political publicity stunts like the march of 17 January, when at least R101 000 was used to ferry people from parts of Natal to attend the Pretoria 'Imbizo'

The more forces there are in the anti-ANC camp, the better it serves the purposes of the NP. This should also explain the NP government's ineptitude in dealing with right-wing elements. The raid on the World Trade Centre, in which even government negotiators were affected, was handled with less than enthusiastic effort by the SAP.

The government has also been ducking the issue of the illegal right-wing Radio Pretoria and two other stations in the Free State.

### EASY VICTORIES

Virtually all the agreements reached in negotiations are claimed as NP victories and ANC defeats. Of the 25 articles that appeared in a recent NP supplement in the Sunday Times, 14 directly or indirectly attack the ANC. The rest claim easy victories for the NP from the negotiations process. The linking of the successes at negotiations to the NP's campaign is an issue that should be taken up vigorously as it undermines the painstaking efforts of all the participants in the transition to reach solutions that accommodate the majority of South Africans.

### SURVEYS STRATEGY

One of the most subtle elements of the NP campaign (and that of most of the white establishment) is the "battle of prophets" - research surveys which give the impression that



*Up the pole... the NP is trying to establish itself as the "builders" of a new South Africa.*

the ANC would get two-thirds or more of the votes. A typical example is the recent Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey which put the ANC vote at about 65%. When challenged on this blatant exaggeration, HSRC responded by saying that ANC support is in fact 70%!

Analysts question the HSRC's figures because they ignore that:

- over two million Africans do not have ID's;
- in a mock ballot, spoilt papers are so large that they could reduce ANC support by more than 20%;
- violence and other factors may discourage people from going to the polls;
- those who do not vote for any single party (in the HSRC sur-

vey) are simply allocated to all the parties in proportion to parties' support.

The surveys strategy was used to good effect during the 1992 white referendum. The public was told that the extreme right was winning. Yet it turned out that the "Yes vote" had the support of over two-thirds of whites.

The reverse is now the case. The aim being to drum up "ANC gevaar" euphoria and lay the basis for a "Stop the ANC" campaign. These shabby surveys would also have the effect of introducing apathy among ANC organisers and underplay the critical question of voter education and lack of ID's.

### A THRASHING

Will these NP strategies succeed?

The NP has failed dismally to address the pertinent issues that affect people's daily lives - jobs, housing and the education crisis. It is in fact running away from these issues because it has nothing to offer. Instead it is concentrating on attacking the ANC and trying the "Hollywood" approach to elections - roadshows and TV debates which would put its leaders at the same level as those of the ANC even if they were speaking nonsense.

One may not be able to predict the final outcome of the elections. There are too many factors that need to be taken into account. But if ANC organisers do their work well and the organisation's whole machinery gears itself properly for the challenges, it will certainly do better than the 58% reliable surveys have predicted. One thing though is certain: the NP faces a thrashing at the polls. ♦



# The ANC's plan to rebuild South Africa

A product of the combined efforts of the democratic movement, the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme will effectively rebuild our country, argues Jay Naidoo in an interview with *MAYIBUYE*.

**T**he Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) will develop the potential of our people to make the leap from a society ravaged and divided by apartheid to a new South Africa in which we have an integrated coherent socio-economic policy framework.

"The programme lays the basis for the future government to develop both its policies and its programmes," says Jay Naidoo, former Secretary General of Cosatu and leading candidate in the ANC list.

## STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

"The strategic objectives of this programme are, firstly, how to meet the needs of the majority of our people who have been living in poverty and deprived of every opportunity to develop their potential and of their share of the wealth this country has produced. In particular, how we address the need for our people to have the right to proper housing, health care, elec-

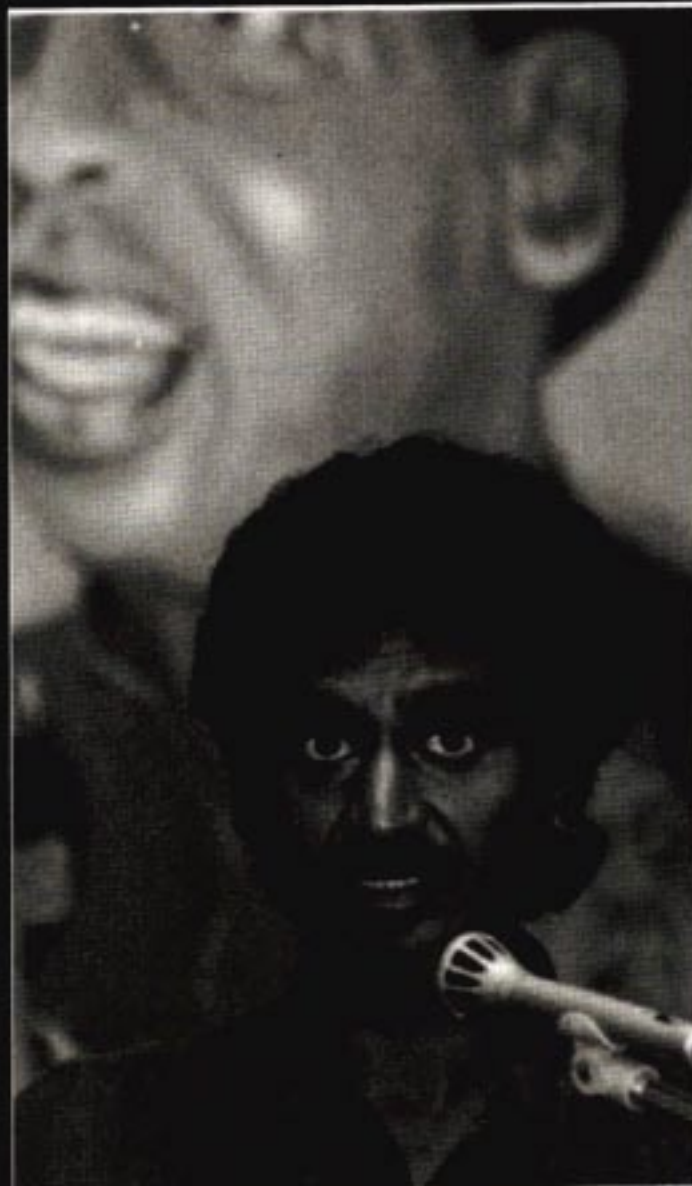
tricity, clean water and sanitation.

"The second objective is to rebuild the economy to create proper jobs for our people and, in that context, to look at the role that the state plays by focusing on creating jobs and an industrial policy of small and medium enterprises."

## OPPRESS AND STIFLE

But how do we achieve these objectives? "By democratising the state and society and redefining what the role of the civil service is. For it is not an instrument of government to oppress and stifle the people as it has been under apartheid. But it is there to provide services to our people ... We need more teachers, more municipal workers to provide services in our areas. The list goes on and on.

"This document is one which enables us to mobilise both the resources and the people of our country to develop, particularly the socio-economic aspects to the benefit of all our people.



It has as its roots the Policy Conference held by the ANC in May 1992, the Cosatu Economic Policy Conference held in 1991 and other conferences and processes by other mass movements including, in this instance, primarily the NECC (National Education Co-ordinating Committee) and Sanco (South African National Civic Organisation), explains Naidoo.

"We have developed a process of consultation within the ANC alliance taking through formations of the mass democratic movement and other key actors and sectors, including the National Economic Forum, business sector, parastatals and other components of civil society.

"The process we are involved in is a unique one. We will in a short term begin to see other political parties beginning to put out their policy programmes that very much reflect the priorities contained in this RDP.

"But there is a major difference: we are moving away from an approach of saying the state will deliver everything, to developing a programme which will harness the energies and resources of all components and sections of our society. For there's no political party or formation that has the ability the ANC enjoys in harnessing and unifying a wide range of social movements and sectoral organisations in a commitment to a programme of reconstruction and development.

"The RDP is not about a group of experts sitting in a boardroom or a new elite just deciding in a cabinet. It is about people taking control of their lives and civil society intervening and making sure that government is accountable. These structures of government must not be rubber stamps of what the national government says."

### NOT A LIST OF PROMISES

This programme, says Naidoo, is not a list of promises. "We have established certain priorities, certain time-frames for our movement and we're now continuing a process of more detailed planning that will take forward the vision contained in the document. A vision that has some characterisation, quantification, time-frames and processes which will now go to more detailed sectoral work that will prepare, broadly speaking, the legislative programme of a future democratic government at a national, regional and local level.

"The programme seeks to redress the legacy of apartheid by building over one million houses, providing clean water and sanitation to all, electrifying 2,5 million homes and providing access to affordable health care and telecommunications."

### REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

"Through this programme we're able to say we are one country, one nation and hence the need to develop all parts of South Africa in an equal and balanced way. Because if we don't develop

## Major objectives

- the need to meet basic needs and reduce deprivation;
- the development of our human resources;
- building the economy;
- democratisation of the state;
- the implementation of the RDP.



## How will the programme be financed?

**D**etailing the financing of the programme, Jay Naidoo says: "The programme is being restructured; new funds mobilised; and a more realistic budget established. We need to improve the way we spend money."

"We've got to reorganise government expenditure. How much goes to secret destabilisation projects – on an army of 100,000 – and spend R2 billion on housing?"

Choices would have to be made, he says. "And so we must make them, irrespective of who opposes them."

"We've got to make sure existing parastatals are restructured. For example, Eskom would be able to generate from its own assets what we're talking about in the programme without taking up state funds for basic needs like telecommunications and water.

"The democratic government cannot fund the RDP. The private institutions must assist, both by funding individual projects and by providing their services to small-scale producers and the black community."

## Policy in the RDP:

and address poverty and

an resource potential;

and society; and

DP. ♦

the Eastern Cape or Northern Transvaal there will be millions of people moving towards the PWV. We must prevent that scenario because it will be accompanied by an increase in squatter camps, poverty and conflict. So, isn't it better for



## Programme be financed?

aidoo says: "The national budget would be progressive, fair and transparent tax structure use our funds: less to bureaucracy, more to delivery. Should we spend R10 billion – 50 percent of which that has historically fought a war against our people

ne of them will be difficult political choices but we because the vast majority will support those choices. utilised even more effectively and efficiently. For coffers enough money to electrify all the houses g one cent from the budget. Similarly with other

without support from the private sector. Financial programmes to meet basic needs and by improving communities", he adds. ♦

building stability to develop the economy in all parts of the country?"

Provincial and local governments are going to play a crucial role in the implementation of the programme as they are close to the people in terms of delivery of goods and services.

The five major principles underpinning the RDP are:

- "The creation of an integrated and sustainable programme, given that we are in a *quasi* federal system with substantial concurrent powers given to both national and regional government. This is important because of existing inequalities between the question of economic development in the different regions and issues of balancing wealth, both in the rural and urban areas
- "The need to ensure people participate and are empowered by this programme. We are under no illusions that these expectations cannot be immediately addressed. There are, however, concrete programmes for the first time that will begin addressing the priorities of housing, jobs, health, education, and so on.
- "We are involved in a nation building exercise. We will not accept the type of economic programme we have seen put out by the existing government. The argument is that economic development should be left in the hands of current holders of the economy. They have failed to deliver anything to our people for the last 300 years, even when the economy was going strong.

"There's an international comparison we can draw: if you take Japan, Germany, and look at what Bill Clinton is doing in America, governments do intervene in the economy around questions of reconstruction to create an environment where the needs of the people are being met.

"Again we're arguing very strongly that, while there's a role for all parts of our society, the state should play a leading and enabling role in conjunction with important role players in civil society, including labour, the private sector, community-based movements, women, etc;

- "The linkage between issues of reconstruction and development. Up to now most economists linked to the establishment have argued that these are contradictory concepts. Our position is that, for the first time, we have put a serious proposition to deal with development and economic growth issues. And we are arguing substantively in the document that these are interdependent concepts. A government that in-



vests heavily in infrastructure will meet basic needs of our people and, at the same time, stimulate economic growth and unleash the potential of our people;

- "Democratising civil society and the state and removing permanently from our lives white minority rule. In this context we want to look at this programme developing, in a mutually beneficial way, the Southern African region.

"The issues of women, black people in general, and rural areas are highlighted throughout the document. There will be focuses on affirmative action that improves the situation of these constituencies."

#### **CHALLENGE TO THE OPPOSITION**

"To those who're opposing us we are saying let them put their concrete propositions on the table. We are the organisation that will represent the majority of the people and we want to co-operate with other parties. But we will not be stopped from meeting what has been the central thread of our struggle. Every person in South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or sex, whether they come from the rural areas or urban areas, should be entitled to a decent standard of living.

"We see these programmes being implemented and planned for in the context of a five-year programme with certain quantifiable targets being set in the process. We have harnessed not only the energies of thousands of activists at grassroots level ... but also

## **A Humble Pledge**

**(FROM THE ANC ELECTION MANIFESTO)**

**T**he ANC recognises the depth of our country's crisis. We are convinced that political will, an environment of peace and stability and a technically sound programme are the sure foundation for reconstruction and development.

The ANC pledges to spare no effort to realise these ideals. We are ready to tackle the problems.

Above all, the ANC believes that the plan will succeed only if it is based on the active participation of all, a tradition we will carry into government. Together as South Africans – men and women of all colours, young and old – we have the power to build a better life for all.

Together let's change South Africa for the better. So that, once and for all, our country can know peace and security. So that we can join the rest of humankind as a proud and united people working together for a better world. ♦

the resources of experts and economists who are working in developing and verifying the quantification, the legislative and the institutional programmes that will be necessary," says Naidoo. ♦

**T**here is a smug, comfortable and

complacent lobby in our country which believes that the negotiation process will herald not only a new constitutional order but will also ensure that our awesome apartheid legacy will be quietly forgotten and buried. This self-serving approach works on two bases.

First, it says that by-gones must be by-gones and invokes the concept of reconciliation to serve its end. Secondly, it says that all parties were guilty of terrible wrongs in the struggle against apartheid – we all have much to be forgiven for – and since no-one has clean hands, there must be a new start.

Mr de Klerk's idea of a "new start" is not only to forget the past but to invent one where his party and regime now insist that there was no deliberate targeting of its opponents. If terrible acts were done, they were in pursuit of a policy of protecting the state and, therefore, an amnesty must be given to the practitioners of kidnapping, systematic torture, disappearance and ill-treatment.

Is it therefore valid for the opponents of a comfortable present to demand the dredging up of the past and the re-opening of old wounds? Coming to terms with the past is a difficult and, for some, a painful matter. We must, therefore, ask: if we are to close the book on the past, can we suppress it altogether?

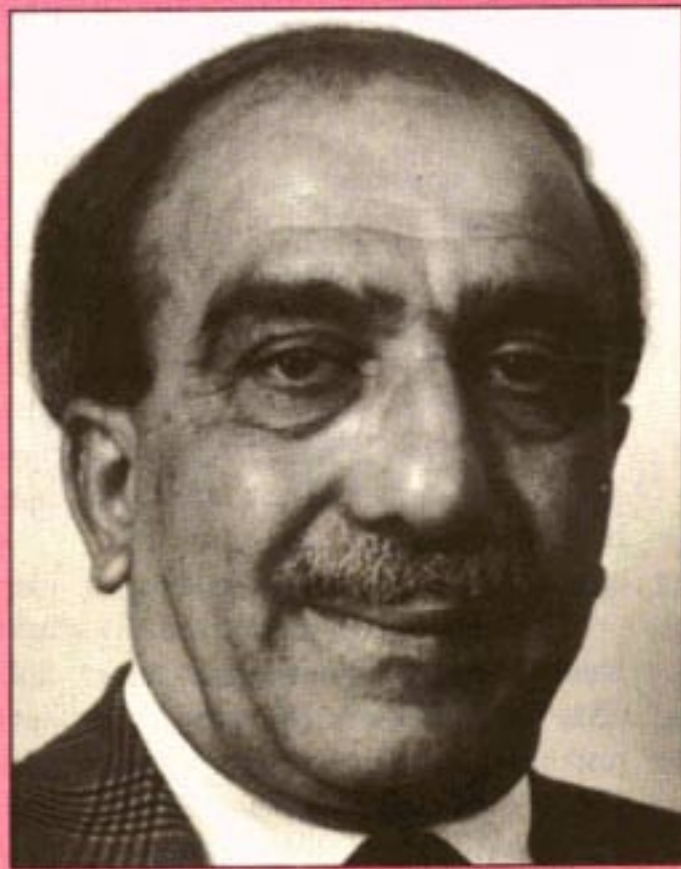
#### **THE TRUTH COMMISSION**

Many countries who have moved from authoritarian or illegitimate regime to

# Coping with the past

## A truth commission for S A

The truth must be acknowledged, proclaimed and exposed publicly and the worst transgressors must be removed, writes **Kader Asmal**, ANC NEC member and Professor of Human Rights Law at the University of Western Cape.



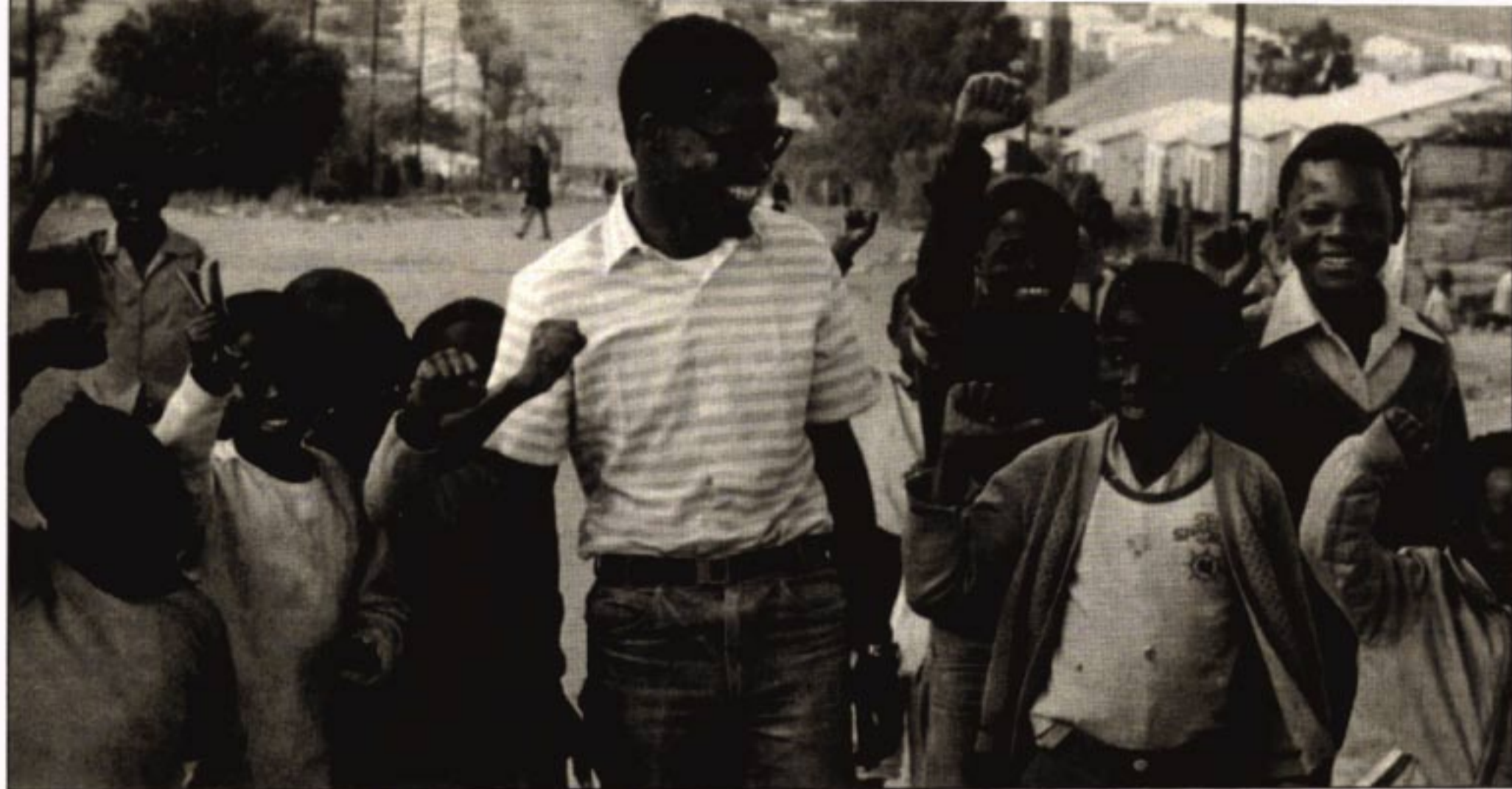
democracy have grappled with this fundamental truth: how to settle a past account without upsetting the present transition. The Nuremberg and Tokyo trials of 1945-1946 of war criminals, an attempt to preserve the collective memory and to build up an effective deterrent, were models that rested on a particular material condition.

#### **WAR CRIMINALS**

The war criminals who were brought to trial did not lose power through political means but through a complete military defeat. The victors did not have to worry about the balance of forces where the military, economic and state power of the losers was largely left untouched.

It was for this reason that the "Nuremberg" approach has not been repeated since 1946. Instead, in recent years, a number of Truth Commissions have been established by newly-elected governments, by private initiatives from non-governmental organisations and, in the most recent example, by the United Nations in relation to El Salvador.

A recent report, prepared in the United States, has described 14 such bodies and has identified the ANC as the first non-governmental body to investigate its own actions. It was because of the need for a comprehensive opening of the books, for full disclosure and accountability, that the National Executive Committee, at its August 1993 meeting, proposed that a National Truth Commission be set up to investigate all abuses that have flowed from the policy of apartheid.



*Mathew Goniwe, victim of apartheid war crimes.  
We need the whole truth.*

Instead of self-indemnity by the government – which the ANC has, over a year ago, clearly stated will not bind a democratic government – we need the whole truth, so that the victims of disappearances, murder, torture and dirty tricks, or their families, know what has happened.

#### **DIFFERENT DUTY**

The Truth Commission's approach is based on a different duty from the normal human rights duty of a government to refrain from committing such violations. It is the duty of a successor government to dispense justice for past crimes.

A government of national unity will be obliged, if we are to follow recent precedents, to set up such a commission if only to ensure that the Bill of Rights – which obliges our state to provide effective remedies for such rights – is to have any relevance.

The most important reason for the establishment of such a commission is to get to the truth. The experience of Chile, Argentina and El Salvador keenly reflects the cleaning power of the truth. Thousands of people who gave evidence rarely, if ever, showed a desire for vengeance. What mattered to most was that the memory of their loved ones would not be denigrated or forgotten and that such

terrible things never happen again.

Each country will deal with the past in its own way. We will not follow the pattern of vengeance shown in some European countries today where people are being persecuted for their past beliefs. But there are some common features which we can adopt.

A commission must be broadly based and made up of respected people. It must be adequately staffed and must complete its work within a year. It will look at gross violations of human rights, not only from the government side, but from all political formations.

#### **FACT-FINDING**

Interestingly enough, in Chile and El Salvador, it was found that a very small proportion of such violations were committed by the resistance. It will not be a prosecuting body but a fact-finding one. Not all commissions name names of transgressors but, where they do, the list must be handed over to prosecuting bodies.

The recent UN-organised El Salvador commission which reported in April listed over 40 individuals responsible for human rights crimes and recommended that they should be removed from their positions. It further recommended that they be

prevented from serving in a public position for ten years or in any military or security position forever.

#### **COMMUNITY REPARATIONS**

In addition, the commission recommended, as had occurred in Chile earlier, that "justice demands that the victims of human rights violations in the war be publicly recognised and be given material compensation." In Chile, pensions, scholarships and training programmes were set up as tangible expressions of community reparations to such victims.

Such commissions also provide a greater awareness of the background to violations of human rights. But the truth must be acknowledged, proclaimed and publicly exposed. The worst transgressors must be removed and there must be an acknowledgement of the rights of the victims.

Only then can we discuss the issue of amnesty. When we do not reproach evil doers, as Alexander Solzhenitsin has warned, "we are not simply protecting their trivial old age; we are thereby ripping the foundations of justice from beneath new generations."

We cannot afford to do so. ♦

# Land Reform

## What implications property rights?

**T**he issue of land is a highly emotional one. Yet practical measures must be found to resolve it. To address this question, a new government must have all the necessary tools at its disposal. The history of South Africa is one of forced removals and the eroding of black people's rights to own and lease land.

The ANC's Land Reform and Development Policy seeks to rectify the land injustices of apartheid. The broad context should be one of affirmative action within which the specific land and development needs of black South Africans are taken into account.

### CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS

Central to what a government needs are the constitutional powers to effect land reform. The Property Rights and Restitution clauses in the Interim Constitution become important in this regard. These clauses may affect the capacity of any new government to effect land reform and restoration.

The disastrous effects of entrenching property rights was experienced in India after independence in 1948. From 1950 - 1973, successive governments attempted land reform and each time their attempts

**Resolving the land issue is one of the most critical areas of concern for a democratic South Africa. But formal constraints could undermine land reform, writes Leslie Dikeni of the ANC Land Commission.**

were successfully challenged in the courts. When the government tried to amend the property clause to permit land reform, this too was held unconstitutional.

This constitutional struggle over a period of more than twenty years not only stopped land reform. It also

deeply damaged the courts, which were perceived as obstructing social progress. We cannot afford such crises given the unstable political and economic climate in our country.

### INTERIM CONSTITUTION

The Interim Constitution contains a special chapter dealing with restitution of land rights.

The Chapter contains the skeleton of the restoration law. The flesh will be put on those bones by an Act of Parliament. The Act of Parliament will not be inconsistent with this Chapter.

The people covered by these provisions are all those who were dispossessed of rights in land under (or to further) a law which would have been inconsistent with the interim constitution's charter of fundamental rights - in other words, a discriminatory law.

The "cut-off date" will be fixed by an Act of Parliament, but will not be earlier than 19 June 1913.

### RIGHT TO RESTORATION

The Chapter gives people who were subjected to forced removals the right to claim restoration of their land. However, it does not give them the right to restoration. The claim is to be made to a court. The court can only order restoration if the state certifies that restoration is feasible.



*The new Constitution must enable past land injustices like this to be rectified in a just and equitable manner.*

This is equivalent to stating that there is a right to claim freedom of speech: but there is no right to freedom of speech as such unless the state certifies that freedom of speech is feasible.

A right is a guarantee: It is something to which one is entitled without having to ask for the permission of the state or anyone else.

This therefore means that two basic factors will determine whether the dispossessed will get restitution:

- the kind of land claims court as well as its powers; and
- the kind of government that will be in power.

### **LAND CLAIMS STRUCTURE**

The Chapter on restoration in the interim constitution states that there will be two structures to deal with claims: a Commission and a Court. Both will be independent and non-

partisan, appointed in as transparent a manner as possible.

The Commission will investigate claims, mediate and settle disputes and draw up reports on unsettled claims for the court.

The court will be a court of law. An Act of Parliament will determine whether it will be a specialised court or one of the ordinary courts, and at what level it will function.

### **POWERS OF THE COURT**

Where the land is still "in the possession of the state", the court may:

- order restoration if the state certifies that this is feasible; or
- order the state to pay the claimant compensation; or
- order the state to grant the claimant any alternative relief.

Where the land is "in the possession of private owner" the court may:

- order the state to expropriate the land and restore it, if the state certifies that this is feasible; or

- order the state to grant the claimant an appropriate right in alternative state-owned land; or
- order the state to pay the claimant compensation; or
- order the state to grant the claimant alternative relief.

Compensation for dispossession is to be just and equitable. The court will decide this by taking into account the circumstances which prevailed at the time of the dispossession, and any other relevant factors, including any compensation that was paid upon the dispossession. This will apply if the court grants a claimant any relief such as money.

This will not apply if just and equitable compensation was paid in respect of the expropriation.

How then is this affected by the property clause?

### **PROPERTY CLAUSE**

The general property clause is con-



tained in section 28 of the Interim Constitution.

It guarantees the right to acquire and hold "rights in" property. No deprivation of rights in property is permitted except in accordance with a law.

This is permissible only "for public purposes". Just and equitable compensation must be paid. The court will determine what is "just and equitable" according to a broad formula which includes market value but also other relevant factors, like the use to which the property is being put, the history of its acquisition, the value of the investments in it and the interest of those affected.

#### **"PUBLIC PURPOSES"**

The phrase "public purposes" is usually used to mean that the property is to be used by the public or for the benefit of the public. It may be in the public interest, for example, to carry out a policy of land reform, but probably not for "public purposes".

If the courts follow this approach, restricting expropriation to "public purposes", the result will be that redistribution of land would be possible only with state land, and with private land acquired on a "willing seller, willing buyer" basis.

It would be more appropriate to authorise expropriation when this is in the public interest - for example, to permit land reform and the regulation of the use of property. Of course expropriation will have to be accompanied by just and equitable compensation.

#### **WAY FORWARD**

The ANC is committed to a land restoration process that will guarantee full rights of property to all its citizens.

We believe, the only way of arriving at a just solution to such an emotive and complex matter will be through an ongoing process of discussion with all major stakeholders.

In drafting the new constitution and Bill of Rights we will need to avoid formulations which might prevent restoration. But they should also be formulations that

**In drafting the new constitution and Bill of Rights we will need to avoid formulations which might prevent restoration. But they should also be formulations that allow for a just legal process and proper compensation.**

allow for a just legal process and proper compensation.

The main aim will be to end rural poverty through a development programme which allows for land redistribution. This will include:

- ensuring that people who wish to farm have access to some land;
- granting women equal rights as well as special assistance;
- assisting small farmers with access to credit and training;
- encouraging large-scale farming;
- restructuring rural corporations and marketing boards to protect both the farmers and the consumers.

State land will be central in this programme. But where private land is at issue, mutually-beneficial arrangements will have to be reached.

Only in this way shall we ensure that South Africa truly belongs to all who live in it. ♦

## **Some dangers of "rights in property"**

**C**lause 28(3) of the interim constitution guarantees the right to compensation for expropriation of "rights in property". In other words, if the state expropriates some part of the property right, it is obliged to pay compensation.

Put differently: if the state prevents the owner from using some part of the property right, this may amount to expropriation and the action may be unconstitutional unless the state pays compensation. Regulation of the use of property thus becomes very difficult. Some practical examples of this are the following:

- It could be argued that by introducing rent control, the state removes the right to charge whatever rent the owner wishes. In other countries, there has been extensive constitutional litigation on this issue.
- In a number of leading USA cases, the government has been obliged to pay owners compensation for prohibiting them from using their property in a way which endangers the environment.
- Municipal zoning laws, land use and development rights need to be amended in the process of re-structuring cities: to move away from apartheid planning. The present clause may make this unlawful unless compensation is paid for zoning changes which affect existing land use and development rights.
- Wealthy suburbs can allege that a state action to establish low-income housing near them amounts to removal of certain of their "rights in property". This could be declared unconstitutional unless they are paid compensation. ♦

# Violence:

## apartheid disguised?

**I**t is now common practice to describe the current violence in South Africa in terms of two categories of role players. The first category identifies those thought to be involved in causing violence: the security police, political party supporters, politicians and criminal elements.

The second category identifies a set of role players thought to be vital to ending the violence. Curiously this set includes the security police, political party supporters and politicians.

A problem with the use of such labels is that it is not easy to make a clear distinction between the two categories of role players since they are not mutually exclusive. For instance, if we argue the actions of certain politicians contribute to a climate of violence, the same politicians are seen as vital to ending the violence.

### ENDING THE VIOLENCE

In addition to such contradictions, labelling also tends to trivialise the violence through puerile mud-slinging among the various role players. It has become convenient to point fingers at some parties as aggressors in the violence.

This obscures ulterior motives and causes. For instance it is easy to label the IFP as the perpetrator of the violence and ignore the role of hidden forces operating behind the IFP's name.

Nor will this name-calling bring us any closer to a solution. De Klerk, for instance, has found it convenient to isolate the ANC and the IFP as the scourge of society. His argument is that once ANC and IFP leaders come together violence will

Violence possesses a number of human endowments. It has human wisdom, eyes, ears, limbs and a strange habit of knowing and respecting the Group Areas Act boundaries, writes ANC activist Suka Sambe.

disappear. Yet these leaders have met several times.

But violence continues. Why does name-calling exclude the parties that stand to benefit from the continuation of the violence?

Why are rightwing parties not named, although their leaders have publicly embraced violence?

Why is the National Party not mentioned, though death squads have assassinated scores of activists in the name of the NP government?

### THE WAY FORWARD

"Labelling" should be discarded as the foremost method of understand-

ing the violence, and should be replaced by a method which explores the way violence "behaves".

We have to adopt a naive approach by allowing the facts emanating from the violence to reveal themselves to us without attempting to impose our own prejudices.

For peace-loving South Africans, violence has assumed the characteristics of a live animal.

### HUMAN ENDOWMENTS

It behaves like evil personified. It is an animal which possesses a number of human endowments. It has human wisdom. It has eyes, ears, limbs and has a tendency to defer to a particular political order.

It has a strange habit of "knowing" and respecting the boundaries created by the Group Areas Act, and uses its lower limbs to walk to the black areas. On reaching its destination it uses its buttocks to sit in these areas day in and day out. It will not dare turn its attention to the white side of the Group Areas divide.

Hence the question of race. This violence has eyes which it uses to distinguish white skin from black skin and then pounce on the latter.

The Natal town of Escourt, for example, is divided into two zones. The upper part of the town is said to belong exclusively to ANC-supporting towngoers. The lower part is said to be an exclusively IFP terrain. However, in spite of this demarcation, members of the white, Indian and coloured race groups are free to do their shopping anywhere in the town. Even the white ANC and IFP supporters are free to walk anywhere without fear of harm to them-



*This violence has got two faces: it "obeys" or "disobeys" De Klerk according to the skin pigmentation of the affected population.*

selves. This debunks the argument that the Estcourt violence results from ANC-IFP conflict.

It appears, therefore, that the nationwide violence has more to do with racial politics than party conflict. It assassinates black leaders irrespective of which party they come from. It claims the lives of train and the taxi commuters as long as they are black. It destabilises only black communities.

Considering that we are governed by a political order intent only to look after white lives and which regards black lives as cheap and worthless, the above conclusion makes sense. So too does Nelson Mandela's recent call for the withdrawal of white police officers from the townships.

Sometimes the violence behaves like a disobedient and uncontrollable child. It defies the "pleas", "persuasions" and "efforts" of those in the white minority political order. De Klerk has problems "controlling" it, let alone exterminating it.

But when the violence drifts towards white areas, De Klerk clamps down on it immediately.

In the townships the violence becomes so "uncontrollable" that in "desperation" De Klerk calls on black leaders to help stop it.

Yet I do not remember De Klerk calling on white leaders to come forward and help after the King William's Town, St James' Church and Observatory massacres. After these events his security and intelligence networks moved into action on their own.

This violence has got two faces: it "obeys" or "disobeys" De Klerk according to the skin pigmentation of the affected population.

#### **THE EMERGING PICTURE**

Why is this violence both geographically and racially specific?

Or, put in political terms: Why does the current violence imitate the apartheid system?

Suggestions of affinity between the current violence and the

apartheid system should not be underestimated. During its heyday the apartheid system brought misery, disruption, mayhem and even death to black communities while it afforded the white communities the luxury of champagne, braais and ensured they received the best that life in this country could offer.

Surprisingly, in February 1990 De Klerk pronounced this evil system dead and went on to scrap it from the statute. Yet in its place has mysteriously arisen a phenomenon which behaves as its predecessor did.

The current violence behaves as though it has taken over from its predecessor, the apartheid system. It, too, brings misery, disruption, mayhem, and death to black communities – while leaving the white communities in peace to enjoy champagne, braais and comfortable sleep.

Is the current violence the apartheid system incarnate? The similarity is alarming. ♦

# Misperceptions threaten change at Turf

**T**he University of the North represents a glorious history of struggle. Since its inception, students, workers and academics have suffered brutal repression, detentions and expulsions because of their struggle for the democratisation of tertiary institutions.

It remains a terrain of fierce contestation between the forces of apartheid and the progressive movement. The relative successes and failures of democratic transformation should be seen in this context.

We were among the first universities in the country to have a "democratic" council – the highest decision-making body of the institution being representative of all community sectors. We continue to register victories for transformation.

## CHALLENGES

But recent developments have made this process more complex and sensitive.

There is a realignment of undemocratic forces with rightwingers on campus for the sole purpose of reversing the process of transformation.

In the process of their consolidation these forces have won the confidence of a significant part of the liberation movement – advancing their agendas at the same time.

Their strategy is to marginalise and discredit the progressive forces on campus so they can vie for strategic positions.

The humiliation, pressurization and ultimate resignation of Prof Nkondo should be understood in this context.

Similarly, the furore around embezzlement of SRC funds was the result of a deliberate ploy by reactionary elements to corrupt individuals to destroy the image of the SRC.

A few individuals of the previous SRC did misappropriate student funds without the authorisation of the SRC. These individuals did not have any loyal attachment to any student organisations on campus. The impression created by media reports that the whole SRC embezzled funds is therefore inaccurate.

The SRC has achieved important victories for students. Our SRCs have

fought for the admission of students having financial problems; the repeal of repressive faculty rules; and the general reconstruction of the university. To undermine the SRC on the basis of a single misdemeanour is to fall into the enemy trap.

## CHARGES

The student mass resolved that those implicated in the allegations should face charges in court. And, above all, a broad commission to investigate the university administration of finances should be urgently established.

Failure of the council to heed this demand has led to a perception that this acclaimed democratic organ is not taking students seriously. This perception is fuelled by the rejection of the student position on withdrawn lecturers and the appointment of the principal and other key officials.

Our reassessment of the council is that we have merely replaced rightwing faces with democratic ones. But we value and recognise it. It continues to symbolise our vision of non-racialism and democracy and the maturity of our struggles.

The process of transformation is irreversible. The SRC considers it a primary responsibility of the institution to produce critical, dynamic and organic intellectuals who have the interests of democracy and development at heart. ♦

The exposure of mismanagement and "embezzlement of funds by the SRC at the University of the North" has created misperceptions and distortions which are damaging not only the image of the SRC but the whole transformation process at Turfloop, writes **Charley Nkadimeng**, General-Secretary, University of the North SRC.

# New Zealand: A hundred years of suffrage

**A**otearoa New Zealand led the world in 1893 when both indigenous and immigrant women won a victory for women – the right to vote in national elections. No countries of independent status had taken the step. The New Zealand victory spurred on others. But for many it was decades before they were successful. Even today women in some countries do not have that most basic of political rights.

## THE CAMPAIGN

The New Zealand campaign lasted 25 years and was marked by the quiet determination of women from all classes and ethnic groups. The campaign was led from 1887 by Kate Sheppard, as the franchise superintendent of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).

The New Zealand suffragists campaigned for improved working conditions for women, equal pay, electoral reform, divorce law reform, equal educational opportunities and other rights which women are still fighting for today.

The key tool in the campaign was petitions to parliament. Despite the physical and social restrictions of dress and custom, hundreds of women went out on foot and by horse to travel rough roads to far-flung settlements to get women to sign their petitions.

They gathered signatures for three main petitions. Almost 30 000 women, representing nearly a quarter of New Zealand women, signed the last one in 1893. This finally disproved the stance taken by male politicians that most women did not want to vote.

Consequently the Electoral Act was signed into law on 19 September

New Zealand women, the first country in the world where women voted in national elections, spent the last year celebrating a centenary of voting rights.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE  
WHAKATŪ WĀHINE  
1893-1993



1893. In a few weeks 85 percent of women had enrolled to vote in the November general election.

## CELEBRATIONS

In response to advocacy by women's groups, the New Zealand government set up the 1993 Suffrage Centennial Year Trust for projects which:

- celebrated the past achievements of women;
- assessed the current status of women; and
- helped develop a vision for the future.

The opportunity to celebrate the centenary sparked the imagination of thousands of New Zealand women. Sixty five local planning groups sprung up around the country to organise hundreds of festivals, pageants, displays, art works, seminars, lectures and local histories.

The suffragists were remembered in a major national memorial sculpture, sets of postage stamps and phone cards. Major international

women's conferences for indigenous women, judges, historians, scientists, young and rural women were held. Women achieved a new-found prominence. Television and radio programmes were made about women leaders, women's lives and experiences. The histories of many New Zealand women and women's organisations were written.

All government departments were required to undertake a suffrage project and their contributions included invaluable research; analysis of their service delivery to women; and scholarships to enable women to enter new fields, further develop their careers or re-enter the work force. Most schools included the suffrage campaign and women's achievements in their curriculum, drama and debates in 1993.

## WOMEN TODAY

Women have made much progress in Aotearoa New Zealand in the past century, but still have some way to go.

Only 16 percent of MPs are women, including two out of 20 cabinet ministers. Women hold only 25 percent of local government seats. Women form 44 percent of the paid work force, but half of all employed women work in just six occupational groups as nurses, teachers, typists, bookkeepers and cashiers, clerical workers, and sales assistants. On average women earn only 78 percent of men's weekly earnings.

## FUTURE CHALLENGES

The benefits of the past year's activities will be long lasting. The challenge for New Zealand women will be to harness the energy created by the centenary commemorations to reinvigorate themselves for the continuing struggle for true equity. ♦

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# The people's back-bencher

**B**lade was born and raised in Edenvale, Pietermaritzburg, the eldest child of Siphambano, a herbalist, and Nozipho, a retired school teacher and nurse.

His politicisation came about after he realised the hardships that he was living under. "I was born in one of the most depressed areas of Pietermaritzburg – something that can actually be compared to slums," he says.

"Growing up under these conditions sensitised me to the problems that are facing our people and it's in that way that I realised that there was no other way to fight these conditions other than to join the liberation movement."

A great admirer of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas movement, Blade believes that, when people get elected to parliament, they don't only look at problems facing their parties alone but the whole country. He wants to be among those new parliamentarians who are linked to the grassroots and under-privileged people in squatter camps and rural areas.

A "back-bencher in parliament", Blade wants to act as a link between the masses of the people outside and the National Assembly. He also sees himself playing an important role in bringing an end to the violence in Natal because it's the pressing issue of the moment.

According to Blade, the creation of a single administration in Natal is crucial. "I don't believe that a person like Chief Buthelezi and members of the Freedom Alliance would accept defeat, whether they participated in the elections or not. Only after we have tried all avenues to draw them into the constitution and revive the peace process, will we then bring full processes of law to take their course," he adds.

A fierce grassroots leader, Nzimande has been in-



Among the people from Natal who have been tipped to lead the democratic movement to parliament after South Africa's first non-racial elections is Bonginkosi Emmanuel "Blade" Nzimande.

involved in a number of political organisations and has held various positions. From Saso in 1976 to the present Deputy Chairperson of the Natal Midlands ANC. He is also a member of the Central Committee and the Politburo of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Nzimande feels very strongly about the tribal divisions that are wrecking our country, especially the Zulu myth that is being portrayed by, amongst others, the Inkatha leadership. "I see myself playing an important role as I have been doing in exposing the fact that Buthelezi does not represent the Zulu nation and that the so-called Zulu nation is not a monolithic entity. The National Assembly should be tuned into accepting that this is not a Zulu problem but a political problem which the IFP is using for survival," says Nzimande.

Of the pleasurable activities of his childhood he remembers playing in a local soccer team and raising money to go to movies by dice gambling or fetching water for neighbours from the community tap for ten cents a bucket.

He considers the saddest moment in his life a time in 1983 when, as a Personnel/Industrial Relations Officer for Tongaat Hulett's Sugar, he was involved in the retrenchment of about 500 workers and this taught him "how vicious capitalism is".

In 1985 he lectured in psychology at the Umlazi campus of the University of Zululand and, in 1987, at the University of Natal. He became director of the Educational Policy Unit in 1989.

One of his favourite books is George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. "It taught me how important socialism is."

He lives with his researcher wife Phumlele, four children and his mother. Phumlele serves on the Regional Executive Committee of the SACP in the Natal Midlands. ♦

# A tale of three cities

**W**hile three rival cities – Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town – have each indicated a commitment to staging the 2004 Olympics, the bid remains a tale of one city.

The bidding process alone promotes the international status of a city. It helps focus city planners on the development and advancement of the urban infrastructure, which otherwise may not have happened. It is not surprising then that each of the rival cities would fight vociferously to host the Games.

## BIDDING CITY

ANC sports supremo Steve Tshwete said one bidding city will earn the nod of approval from the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (Nocsa) in early February after final representations have been considered from all three cities.

Planners denied a report by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that the SA's three rival cities planned to join forces by staging different Olympic events to strengthen South Africa's bid against Beijing.

Durban's Olympics Committee chief executive officer Robbie Stewart said any attempts to spread the Olympics over the three cities would create a nightmare for the competitors and those involved in the infrastructure, logistics and planning of the event.

Although it was not known which of the cities would represent South Africa, there was no official betting on the outcome either, Tshwete said.

Eighteen months before the selection of a host city for the 2004 Olympic Games, the fun has already started in South Africa with promotional campaigns from the country's three bidding cities, reports Mziwakhe Hlangani.



Still, Johannesburg was at short odds to be announced as a rival city to early global favourite, Beijing. Cape Town would probably be second on the list, with Durban third.

Once a city has decided to bid for the Olympics it must ensure it has the support of its National Olympic Committee (NOC). Nine years before the Olympics are due to be staged, the IOC requests all its

member NOCs to present candidate cities to it within six months.

## GUIDELINES

Though the IOC, mindful of its image, recently set comprehensive guidelines for candidate cities, there is no precise formula required to win an Olympic bid. The candidature file and detailed information must be provided in the bid document under each of the 23 themes re-





*Top: ANC President Nelson Mandela meets representatives of the city of Atlanta, USA – hosts of the 1996 Olympics.*

*Left: A South African Olympics would save on the airfare of the national team, but would need a massive capital input by the host city.*

quired. These themes include transport, accommodation, environmental protection, weather, customs and immigration formalities.

Even those assessments cannot keep political and commercial forces from influencing the way individual IOC members cast their votes. An example is Beijing which started as a favourite for the 2000 Olympics, but lost the bid to the Australian city, Sydney.

#### **LOBBY**

It is generally accepted that the most effective way to lobby the 90 IOC members is to visit them at home. Or, better still, to bring them to your city, all expenses paid, and convince

them it is the ideal place to spend three weeks of their time eight years down the line.

It is understood the IOC wants to have the Games in Africa – the one continent yet to host the event. Most people agree that South Africa is the only realistic African candidate. But it is by no means a certainty we will win in 2004.

If the losers in the 2000 event, among them Beijing, try again, it will be tough to beat their experience. South Africa might have to wait until 2008.

Considering the enormous amount of work required and the experience gained from a failed bid, that might not be a bad thing. ♦

## Sixty-thousand, not out, after three years

For many years cricket was Greek in underprivileged black townships, even to those aspiring poor black cousins of the traditional cricketing schools, writes **Mziwakhe**

### **Hlangani.**

**O**ver 20 000 youngsters, between eight and ten years, have been introduced to cricket every year since 1991. The United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) development programme has already unearthed future stars such as Sowetan spin-bowler Jacob Maloa, who is in the Transvaal A squad.

Walter Masemola from Alexandra township, also a product of the development programme, was the fast bowler in the SA under-17 squad which toured the United Kingdom last year.

According to UCBSA National Development Director, Khaya Majola, underprivileged areas experienced an explosion of interest in cricket since development projects started. The Transvaal Invitation XI's match against a tal-

ented England A side at the new Alexandra oval in December – the first international match in a black township – has become another milestone for cricket development in impoverished communities.

### MAN OF THE MATCH

This match was perhaps most significant for the standard of the South African team's game. Geoffrey Toyana, who captained the Norwich Life Transvaal XI, played a gutsy innings to score 29 and was crowned Man of the Match. Both he and Walter Masemola claimed an England wicket each with only 17 runs on the board. Clive Eksteen got in some battling practice scoring 21.

England was rescued from embarrassment by Ian Wells and Malachy Loye as bowlers Masemola and Dean Laing took advantage of the variable wicket. The score read: England 121 all out in 43,2 overs. Transvaal Invitation 78 all out in 38,4 overs.

Another feature of the team was the strong presence of Alex all-rounder Justice Nkutha; and his twin brother Peace, as 12th man. Another Alexandrian to make his mark was manager, Fanyana Xulu, who was part of the winning combination at Michaelmas Week. Over 200 cricket teams have been formed country-wide for under 13, 15 and 19 years. Many have risen to be star provincial players.

It is anticipated that over 20 percent of youths from disadvantaged backgrounds will participate in provincial matches this year.

"We believe that in a divided South Africa, sport can play an important role in bringing together young people from different social and cultural backgrounds. This development is on a broad base to such an extent that over 5 000 youths in



*Touring international sides – like the Indian team, pictured above with Nelson Mandela – have given impetus to township cricket development.*

Soweto have formed 19 cricket school teams which play with white traditional cricket schools weekly," Transvaal Cricket Development Manager, Imtiaz Patel, said.

UCBSA has since allocated R2,5m for the development of sport facilities in black townships. The building of sport facilities in Port Elizabeth, Kagiso and Alexandra townships has been completed. In Soweto and East London, the sports-grounds would be completed early this year. In Cape Town the cricket board is to develop a multi-purpose sports facility.

### DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Patel said Transvaal cricket received a major boost of R600 000 over three years from Norwich Life for the largest regional cricket development. About 55 cricket teams (from Alexandra, Soweto, Kagiso, Lenasia, Fordsburg and Bosmont) have played 360 matches with white school teams. "By the third year of the sponsorship it is anticipated that teams and matches played would have doubled," Patel said.

The Transvaal Cricket Board (TCB) had a carefully structured programme to enable youngsters to develop through the ranks to the top, according to Patel. Already there are dozens of youngsters from the Norwich Life development programme playing senior club crick-

et. The Board is committed to a youth development policy and selectors are continually on the look-out for promising youngsters.

Another aspect of cricket development was the recent selection of four youth cricketers to go on a three-week coaching trip to Australia in December. Outstanding medium-fast bowler and middle-order batsman, 18 year-old Donald

Letlhake from Kagiso was one of the four players. He was joined by David Makopanele, 17, from Free State; Makhaya Ntini, 16, from Border; and Abraham Sinclair, 17, from Western Cape. The youngsters represented South Africa at a special coaching camp in Sydney, Australia through the Bradman Museum Trust.

Majola says there was no hesitation in choosing Letlhake for the trip: "He is disciplined, talented and dedicated – and we predicted a great future for him in cricket."

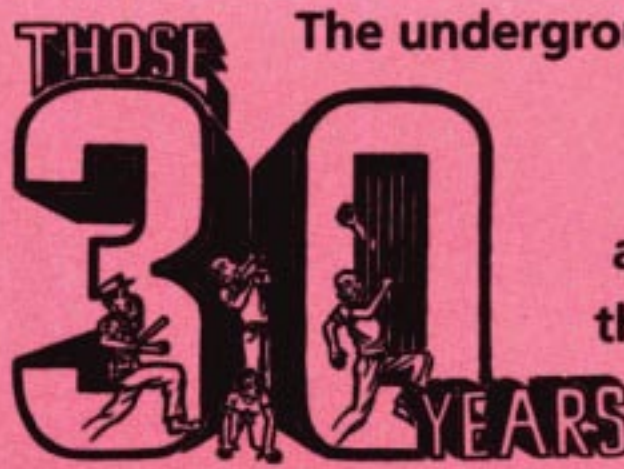
### BURSARIES

Bursaries are being offered to those doing well. Over 34 young cricketers have received financial help to further studies in cricketing schools. Teachers and women coaches have been offered levels of training as coaches.

Dr Ali Bacher, Managing Director of the UCBSA, breathed new life into the development of underprivileged cricketing as early as 1986. Bacher met the Soweto business community and about R1,5m was raised. The idea received new impetus after the unification of the SA Cricket Board and the SA Cricket Union in 1991.

The United Cricket Board was also in the process of arranging international tours to and from South Africa. So in future it will be possible to literally see the world through cricket. ♦

# Bunny Chow or Bunny, ciao



The underground, detention, jail, exile. Abnormal experiences from abnormal times. For those 30 years when the ANC was banned, its

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

In 1981 we were based in Maputo in an underground residence and there was a severe shortage of food in the country. Though the movement tried to look after us as best as it could, there was no avoiding a diet of sugar beans and porridge. It had exhausted the creative ability of some of our best cooks. Comrades would come with various complaints of ailments allegedly caused by this red and white scourge of the stomach.

We all agreed the main cause was the lack of meat in our bodies. Whether true or not, we were all craving for the stuff.

One day a comrade claimed the peasants on the outskirts of town were always ready to exchange some livestock for anything from a bag of mielie-meal to an item of clothing. Clothing we didn't have, but mielie-meal we had tons of.

A plan was devised whereby two comrades would drive to the area with several bags and bring back as much livestock as possible. The plan was put in motion and the comrades left. We were left behind discussing the various ways in which we would deal with the coming feast of meat.

When the comrades finally came back, it was not a flock of chickens or a herd of goats that we saw, but a tiny white rabbit that could not really have fed sixteen comrades. Our disappointment then could not be measured. The truth was that much as the peasants were starving, for them to part with any of their animals was as unthinkable as inviting a hungry lion to look after your herd of cattle.

The general consensus was that the scrawny rabbit would have to be fed and fattened for the big day of the feast. That rabbit was fed anything that came our way, and it ate ravenously.

Now we had a frequent visitor to our residence, a five year old girl who would come and chat with the comrades.

Everyone doted on her and a day without her was felt by everyone. For a while she had not been visiting, until the rabbit was getting fat enough for the pot. She took an instant liking to the rabbit and promptly named it Tabby. In no time our future dinner would be sprinting all over the yard with the little woman hot on its heels.

Nervous apprehension could be read in every face whenever our visitor was around, for our dinner was being turned into a pet.

When she got wind her friend was really destined for the pot, we were confronted by a very furious young woman who told us in no uncertain terms that whatever culinary intentions we had about her friend, if we so much as touched a single hair on that rabbit, she would never talk to us again, let alone visit anymore.

That signalled the end of our dreams.

A few weeks later Tabby vanished and was never seen again. She probably ended up as the main course in some Mozambican home. It took quite some time for our little friend to believe that her playmate had just mysteriously disappeared, even though there was no concrete proof to suggest that the friend had ended up in our bellies as she believed. Our initial interest in the rabbit, provided her with ample grounds for suspicion.

Months later when the whole episode was just but a distant memory, whilst chatting and relaxing, she would suddenly look one of us in the eye and whisper conspiratorially, Comrade, now come on you did eat Tabby, did you not?" For all our denials and her apparent acceptance, she never really believed an inch of our story.

Now that our little woman is no longer that little, she will surely burst out with laughter when reminded of the rabbit story. ♦

# *The troopies who forgot their guns*

**- a short story by Mtutuzeli Matshoba**

**T**he 1986 State of Emergency was an unusual experience in many ways for both its enforcers and those on the receiving end.

Upon the whim of the pressurised state president PW Botha, alias "Die Ou Krokodil", everybody in South Africa had to readjust to a more draconian existence. The enforcers had to lose more sleep trying to keep the people comfortable with a worsening way of life.

I remember the first morning that the South African Destabilisation Force, otherwise known in the townships as "Sadaf" and henceforth referred to as such, invaded Soweto. The people stood on the Mzimhlophe station bridge, watching a half-kilometre long convoy of soil-brown army juggernauts slowly snaking into our realm, down Soweto highway between Orlando East and Noordgesig, over the town-bound Mlamlankunzi railway line and left into the "death road" below Orlando Stadium which links the Soweto highway with the Old Potchefstroom Road ten kilometres further west.

One of us watching the unfolding new chapter of our history remarked, shaking his head regretfully: "Ce, ce, ce. Our children are going to die in scores once again."

Answered a sister promptly, "A-a-ga, don't worry, mfowethu. They fight conventionally and the children fight in an unconventional way."

"Children" was said in a way only a person who knew what our children could be capable of under stress would understand. The dear sister had to know better because she had been a teacher for ten years as we stood on the station bridge. Her tactical observation was accurate. "Sadaf" was always prone to ambush in the African townships as the boys in brown would experience in a short while.

"We'll soon work out a plan for them. I'm telling you they'll want out in no time," said the teacher sister and left for school.

We boarded our train to work in the city, gravely concerned about what would remain happening in the location. Many times in that turbulent decade we had to make our way home in a hurry because hell had broken loose between the people and the forces of repression.

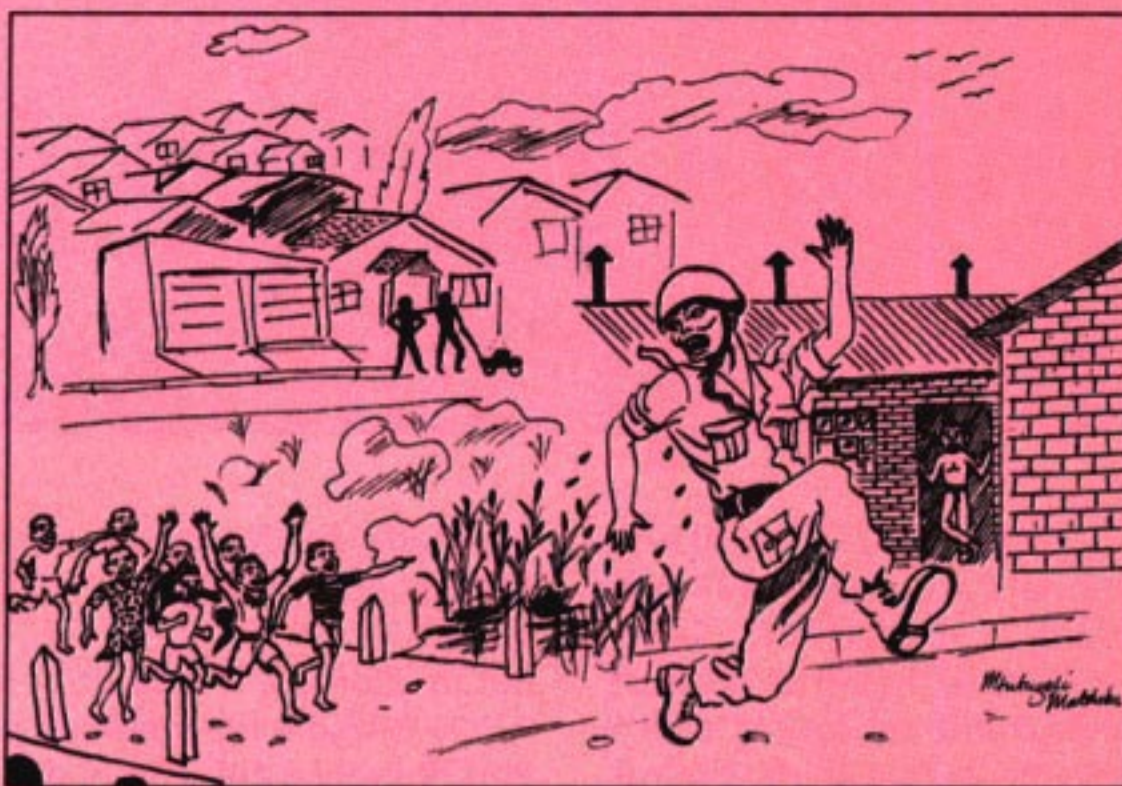
The first day passed without any incident in our area. The people must have gone out and wondered at the military hardware and the strange young white men's faces, terrified, fascinated, lost, spoiling for a skop, skiet en donder, sad, grinning and scowling at the people.

Then tales of minor skirmishes between "Sadaf" and the people began doing the rounds. Some of the stories were hilarious, others heartrending – an armoured truck immobilised here and there by being lured into a trench and, in extreme cases, people dying unnecessarily on both sides of the divide.

Township boredom seemed to have been the undoing of "Sadaf" in many instances. When nothing was happening, something was bound to happen. In one case, when a "Sadaf" platoon felt that it was in control of a territory assigned to it and thought it had also won the hearts and minds of the people, it parked its armoured truck, which had indeed become part of the local landscape, next to a dust soccer field where regular school matches took place.

Over the weeks since "Sadaf" had occupied the township, relationships between the boys in military browns and their counterparts in school uniform had thawed enough for the commanding officer to see no harm in young people playing together. Moreover, that was good public relations, which had even caught the attention of some photo-journalists. So he allowed the troopies to while away time stretching out on the soccer field with the schoolboys now and again. Naturally the troopies had to leave their weapons with two or three of them who were not playing.

A mischievous mind took note of the complacency and, while the soccer players and most of the spectators were concentrating on the game, the non-participating soldiers were calmly and cordially relieved of their weaponry by a carload of youths brandishing pistols.



sions, helicopters. You name it they've brandished it at us. Now it's horse-mounted soldiers. I wonder what's next."

"Vokon jockeys. Just a way to keep unemployed white youth on the government payroll at the people's expense," observed Gcinibandla.

On another occasion, an avocado pear was tossed into an open-top armoured car. The occupants never waited to see if an avocado pear would explode or not. They hurled themselves out of the moving vehicle and earned themselves a few bruises upon contact with mother earth.

The one incident which I witnessed took place well into the State of Emergency. I was helping my friend Gcinibandla mow his little patch of lawn with a machine that was an extravagance for the size of his yard at Diepkloof Extension Two. The new, relatively upper class township is built on one slope of a shallow valley divided by a dying stream. On the opposite slope, in stark contrast with Diepkloof Extension, are the long rows of dirty-grey brick and asbestos-roofed structures that comprise the Diepkloof labour concentration camp, otherwise known as a men's hostel. It is overcrowded and dirty, and definitely not a sight Gcinibandla looked forward to be the first thing to see when he wakes up in the morning.

Beyond Diepkloof hostel, over the Old Potchefstroom Road, is Doornkop military base, between Soweto and the westernmost white suburbs. From the military base you can see most of Soweto.

Gcinibandla and I were having one of those conversations you never record in your memory when he suddenly exclaimed: "Nxa! When will these dogs ever get off the people's backs?"

Looking, I saw a "Sadaf" cavalry trotting down the road dividing the labour concentration camp and old Diepkloof Zone Six on the same face of the valley as the hostel. The cavalry was coming from the Doornkop military base and crossing the valley towards Zone Five at a leisurely pace.

In response to Gcinibandla's comment I thought, aloud: "They must have showed us all their might by now. Dog squads, motorbike squads, armoured divi-

"Ya. Keeping the lid on the bubbling pot so that the contents don't spill out," I also remarked.

We watched the mounted soldiers with antagonistic curiosity as they crossed the dying stream and passed us 50 metres away, until they rode out of sight.

About ten to 15 minutes later, having forgotten about the army, we were again distracted in our conversation by the heavy clatter of many horseshoes on tarmac. A moment later, the cavalry re-appeared, racing down the same road they had come, back towards the military base. Some distance behind the galloping horses we could hear the sound of many excited voices.

As the horses were crossing the rocky bottom of the stream, flying over it like showjumpers, one of the soldiers went flying out of his saddle and landed with a muddy splash in the reeds. His horse reared about for a second and proceeded after the rest of the cavalry, who were oblivious of what had happened.

Rising painfully out of the murky stream, the poor soldier took one glance at the laughing and cheering crowd of children who had by then come into view and seemed to be bearing down on him, and most probably remembered all the gruesome accounts of township children's escapades which he had been brainwashed with.

He took off, wailing, as if he was being chased by bats out of hell, up the road at a sprint that would have turned an olympic gold medalist green with envy.

"Broer, daai moegoe is in a real state of emergency. Just look at him going!" quipped Gcinibandla and we doubled up with tearful mirth at a soldier running for his dear life from children who meant no harm but were simply excited by a new dimension of the State of Emergency which provided a free horse-race in the boredom of the township.

I wonder how the poor fellow explained his breath-taking performance to his mates. ♦

## *Ulibambe Lingashoni* •Hold Up The Sun•

**T**he Democratic Party don't like it. The National Party hate it so much they want it pulled off SABC. Amazing, isn't it, that after 45 years of banning and censoring everything from mass movements to T-shirts, the ruling class still thinks it has the right to tell you what to see and what to think...

It's not surprising, though, that there have been attempts to block the SABC from showing this five-part video history of the ANC.

Unlike most of what we've seen on TV, it's an excellent programme – well researched, profession-

ally made and fascinating viewing. It proves the calibre of progressive South African filmmakers.

But in addition, it shows the sheer depth of the ANC's struggle for freedom, justice and peace – and demonstrates, time and again, how hard the National Party worked to prevent this from being achieved.

There are some classic moments in the five 52-minute videos, too numerous to mention here. But some of those to look out for include:

- Veteran Graham Morodi explaining that he joined the ANC in 1945 after fighting fascists in the Second World War. Returning white

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## ***Ulibambe Lingashoni*: A series of five videos which looks at the history of the ANC.**

**Available from The Film Resource Unit (FRU) (see advertisement on page 44 for more information).**

ex-combatants were given houses and loans, he explains, while black soldiers were given bicycles: "We knew then that we had to do something to get this government out".

- A sagely Nelson Mandela confessing to "recklessness" in calling for armed action after the demolition of Sophiatown in the early 50s – and admitting he was "rapped on the knuckles" by the ANC leadership.
- Wonderfully animated interviews with some of the women who marched on the Union Buildings in 1956.
- Veterans Papa Joe Mati and Joe Slovo explaining their experiments with explosives soon after MK's formation.
- A boyish Thabo Mbeki leading a solidarity march to the British prime minister's residence in Downing Street, London.

In uncovering the ANC, Afravision's filmmakers have cast their net far and wide. They have, in effect, created something much broader than a history of the movement – it is a history of South Africa itself.

It is the history of racism, of social engineering, of oppression, tyranny and misery. A history captured in tragic footage from Bulhoek, Durban, Sharpeville, Soweto and Langa.

There are some poignant moments here: One swallows hard at the first sight of Chris Hani, confident and proud, explaining his early days in MK. We still miss him. Equally moving are the visuals of Oliver Tambo, Matthew Goniwe, Steve Biko, Solomon Mahlangu, and so many other South African patriots – famous and unknown – who died for the cause.

But there is much to lift the soul ... much which reflects our people's proud resistance to colonialism and apartheid.

Some of it is captured in grainy black and white footage from the early days of the Communist Party, the Defiance Campaigns of the 50s, the Congress of the People, the Pondoland Rebellion, the first MK training camps and the

growth of Saso and the Black Consciousness Movement.

In addition, there is more current footage: the birth of Cosatu and the UDF, the Vaal uprising in '84, the Defiance Campaigns of the mid-80s and, ultimately, the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela.

Viewers are guided through this, in the main, by interviews with key activists of the time (almost all of them men – but then so are most of those in the production team!). There are intimate conversations with the "old guard" of Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Harry Gwala; a second generation of Chris Hani, Jacob Zuma and Jeremy Cronin; the "class of '76" – Popo Molefe and Murphy Morobe; and the younger generation – Neville Naidoo and Peter Mokaba.

There is also narration by actor John Kani, but a lot of this is hard to hear in the first four videos because of background music and sound effects which often drown out Kani's voice.

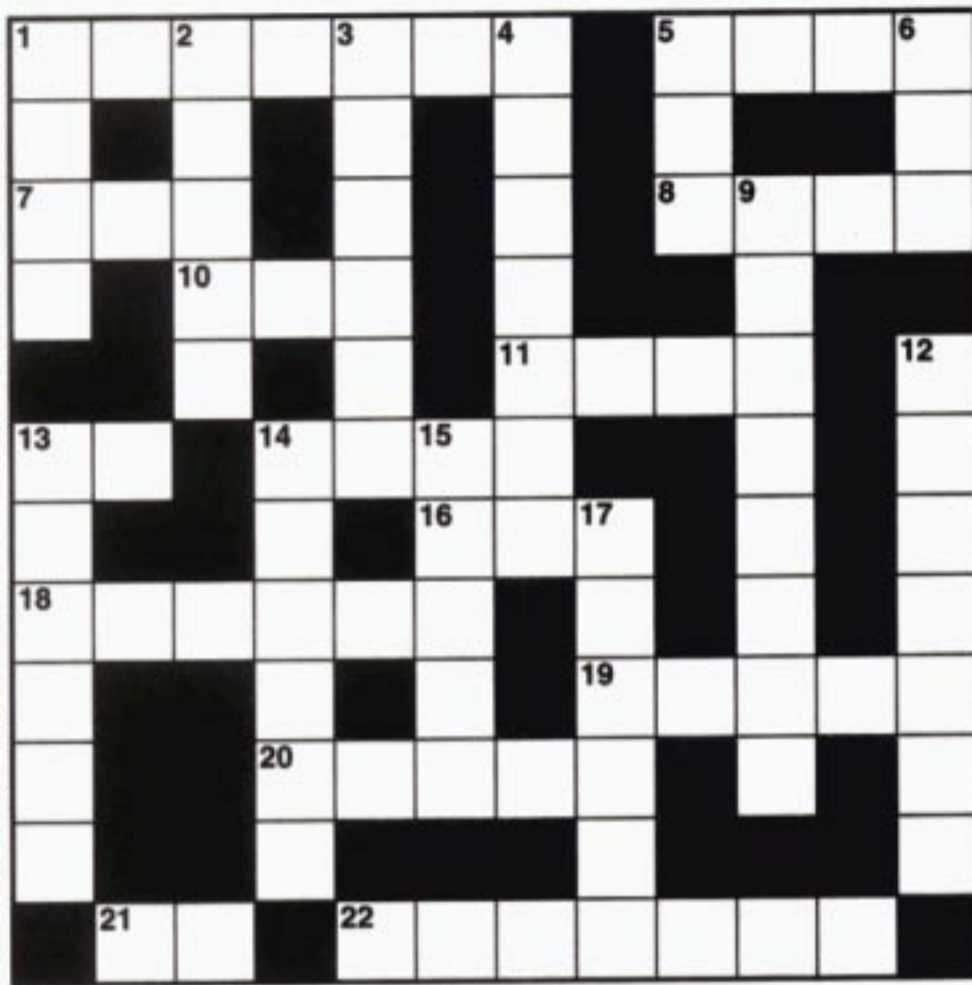
All in all, the overall impact of *Ulibambe Lingashoni* is quite overwhelming. It's an excellent piece of filmmaking, as close to a definitive history of the ANC alliance as you will get.

This is partly because so much of the material has been hidden from us for years by the very broadcasting corporation that now (because of the very struggles reflected in these videos) is prepared to show us how we changed world history. And it's worth remembering that in most other countries, the sort of history shown here would have been available to all its citizens from the day they were born – not outlawed.

But the real reason for the series' impact is the richness of the struggle of our ordinary people. Because it proves, as Mandela points out in the closing minutes of the final episode, that "it is not kings and generals who make history, but the masses of ordinary people". ♦

CV

# MAYIBUYE XWORD No 28



 **WIN R100 AND A MAYIBUYE T-SHIRT**  
 **TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ANC**

Name: .....

Address: .....

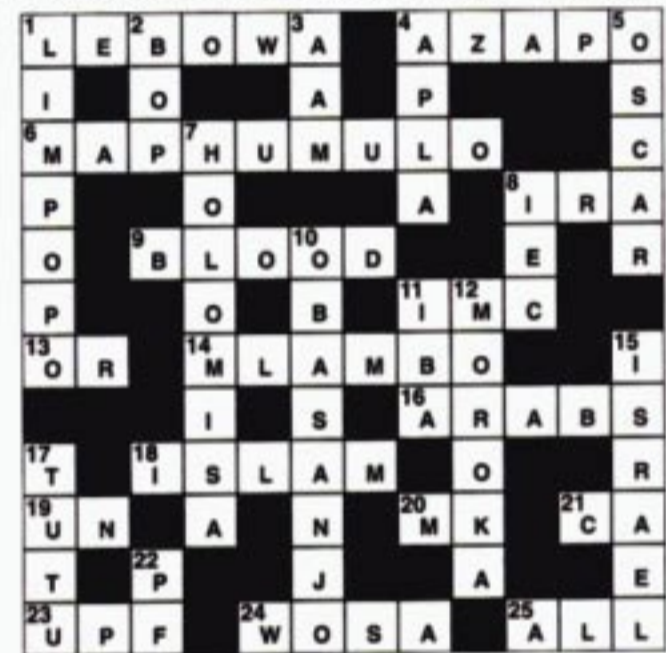
.....

.....

.....

Postal code: .....

### Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 26



#### ACROSS

1. Preceded Oliver Tambo as President of the African National Congress.
2. ANC nominee for premeiership of the Natal province.
3. ... Shilowa is General Secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.
4. ... Niehaus is a spokesperson of the African National Congress.
5. Azapo belongs to it.
6. To prepare land for crops.
7. Member of the Freedom Alliance.
8. Famous German classical music composer.
9. Father Trevor Huddleston is President of the British ...
10. Seaperson.
11. Trade Union Federation that was part of the Congress Alliance in the 50s.
12. Fertile spot in desert.
13. Introduced and administered apartheid since 1948.
14. Spoken in Russia.

#### DOWN

1. 25 December 1993 was the "... white Christmas."
2. Preceded Thabo Mbeki as Chairperson of the African national Congress.
3. United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa.
4. Threatening civil war if the interim constitution is not amended.
5. Founded by Bishop Lekganyane.
6. An injury to one is an anjry to ..., is Cosatu's battle-cry.
7. The ANC, Cosatu and the SACP form the Tripartie ...
8. Recently caused a furore by purchasing a R33m luxury jet.
9. Freedom Alliance member that has announced participation in the 27 April elections.
10. ...-paper is used for voting.
11. Special voting ... for voting will be issued to people who fail to obatin IDs before 27 April.
12. Ordinary people.


WINNER!


The winner of  
**MAYIBUYE XWORD No 26**  
 is **Nomasumi Futa**  
**NY79 Room 22**  
**Gugulethu**  
**7750**  
**CONGRATULATIONS!**

#### RULES

1. The first correct entry drawn wins.
2. Only originals and hand-drawn facsimiles will be considered.
3. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
4. **MAYIBUYE**, DIP and DPE staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
5. Send answers to: **MAYIBUYE XWORD No 28**, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
6. Closing date: 15 March 1993.
7. See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, April 1994.



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# Enter this exciting new competition!



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# Win a Compact Disc (CD) Player!

## QUESTIONS

- ..... is the Deputy Chairperson of the PWV Region of the ANC.
- ..... is celebrated as MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) day in the ANC.
- In which forum are people given the opportunity to voice their opinions?
  - House to house campaign
  - People's Forums
  - Tripartite Alliance
- Thabo Mbeki is the ANC's head of the....
  - Department of Arts & Culture
  - Department of International Affairs
  - Department of Information & Publicity

## RULES

- Only one entry per person.
- Send your entry to **MAYIBUYE Win a CD Competition**, 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 CD Player" and send it with your entry.
- Closing date 15 March 1994.
- The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- Employees of the ANC and their immediate families may not enter.
- Winner to be announced in the April 1994 issue of **MAYIBUYE**.

**Sponsored by Shereno Printers**

**“ I HAVE PRAYED.**

**I HAVE LAUGHED.**

**I HAVE SUNG.**

**AND I HAVE CRIED.**

**BUT UNTIL NOW I HAVE**

**NOT HAD A VOICE.”**

**For decades, women in this country have been treated like children. Seen and not heard. Well, no more.**

*Women have much to offer this country. Not only in our homes, factories and businesses, but in government itself.*



*Which is why a powerful percentage of our representatives will be women. At last women will have equal opportunities and equal rights. And they will see an end to discrimination.*

*It's time.*

**Now is the time for women to be heard.**

