



Journal of the African National Congress

Mayibuyeye

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Negotiations and violence: where do we stand?

INSIDE: ● Seizing the land ● Picking up the pieces in Natal ● Building branches as organs of struggle ● The interim government debate ● Albie Sachs on culture

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Peaceful change is the crucial concern which this issue of MAYIBUYE addresses. There can be no letting up in the efforts to achieve peace in our country. The process of dismantling apartheid shall contribute immeasurably to the attainment of lasting peace.

For the ANC to place such a high premium on peace does not mean that we have forfeited the right to self-defence.

The shootings, stabbings and hacking of commuters and residents demand concrete measures for the protection of the lives and rights of the people. The

security apparatuses of the state have lost credibility in the eyes of the people. Giving them new powers does not help to solve the problem. The communities and their organisations must be involved in determining their own security.

The violence which we are witnessing does not differ from the kind of banditry experienced in Mozambique and Angola. The attackers are well trained and under orders to spill blood and sow terror.

The goal of these gangs is the destabilisation of our communities. The killers themselves have no political programme or organisation. They are hired and promised large sums of money.

For self-defence to be carried out effective-

ly, it is going to require the direct involvement of cadres with the required skills. Such cadres will have to work in close collaboration with their communities, using their expertise for the enhancement of collective self-defence.

At the same time, it is in the interests of every stratum in our society that peace is at-

tained. The violence has had the effect of dislocating township life totally. But its effects permeate through broader society. This issue does not belong only to those under fire. Workers who are attacked in their

townships cannot return to work the following day. If they do, the safety of family and home will continue to worry them. This makes it an issue for the bosses as well.

A united front against violence involving the leadership and ordinary members of the ANC, trade unions, civic formations, churches, organisations in the bantustans, business structures and others has to be forged. Policemen and soldiers who are against the violence must be brought in. This front will have as its base co-operation on the ground among the different forces.

It is only when all responsible citizens work jointly against banditry that we can talk of laying the foundation for a peaceful South Africa.

Contribute to peace by dismantling apartheid

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Information about MK

Dear comrades

I would like to greet all the readers and also the publishers of MAYIBUYE.

It gives me the warmest pleasure and satisfaction to welcome the first issue of MAYIBUYE.

I am very impressed by the fact that more than ten years of MAYIBUYE were spent as a small underground newsletter of the ANC.

Long live MAYIBUYE.

Please can you tell me more about Umkhonto we Sizwe because I would like to join it.

I am a citizen of South Africa by birth and I live in Gazankulu.

Forward with People's Power.
SFHM

MAYIBUYE asked a member of the ANC who is on the Working Group meeting the government, to respond to this request:

"On 2 February 1990 FW de Klerk unbanned several organisations, including MK. From that date on MK became a lawful organisation.

What does this mean? It means that MK is permitted to conduct its usual business without any hinderance.

The question is: what is the business of MK? Briefly MK is charged with the task of:

- building our army;
- deploying the army;
- building a future army for SA.

These tasks must be understood in the context of the developing situation in our country. In terms of paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, armed actions and related activities have been suspended.

Cde Mandela said that the suspension also means we will not infiltrate cadres and material.

Cadres already inside the country are duty bound to maintain their trenches and await the next order.

Issues arising from the decision to suspend armed struggle are being discussed by the working group established under the same paragraph of the Pretoria Minute.

In the meantime, as we maintain our trenches we have a duty and right to self-defence, including defending the people.

Further, we have a duty to continue recruiting more people to join MK and to upgrade



Write to:
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2107

MK outside.

Upgrading is required so that we can have our own pilots, communications experts, personnel for the navy etc - essentially to meet the requirements of a modern army.

It is not illegal to join MK and go abroad for training.

Because of the unresolved issues around certain laws, we are not able to train people inside the country."

Joining the ANC

Dear comrades

We are a small but fast-growing community between Carletonville and Fochville.

The place was declared a town on January 1990. Municipal elections were held in May. It was previously a mine village.

Even now Anglo has more houses for its employees than those bought by individuals.

The mine has already established councillors and pays them R300 per month.

People who stay here work for the four Anglo American Corporation mines: Western Deep South, West, East and Elandorand.

We would like to be told when your organisation gives the go ahead for the creation of structures.

We would also like to receive ANC literature.

Yours in the liberation struggle.
TM, Western Levels.

All those seeking membership of the ANC should get in touch with their regional offices or branch if one has been formed in your area.

A list of ANC regional offices is printed at the back of this issue of MAYIBUYE. - Ed

Disciplined mass action

Dear comrades

Without armed struggle there can be no way open to the African people to succeed in our struggle against white supremacy. The minority will rule over the majority forever.

I consider armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government.

Apartheid is an inhuman and barbaric theory, so we must fight against it through disciplined mass action and through violence.
OR

Right-wing violence

Dear comrades

What is the position of the ANC concerning the brutal acts of violence of organisations such as the Wit Wolwe which are busy destroying the lives of the indigenous people.

The Wit Wolwe's *modus operandi* is aimed at the black people of this country.

Skiet Rudolph can bear me out. Their members are legally in possession of fire-arms and ammunition. They have undergone legal military training and have full indemnity.

In contrast, the ANC has suspended the armed struggle (not abandoned it).

The ANC has not forfeited its right to self-defence.

My question is: are the members of the ANC given any indemnity to possess firearms to defend themselves? We cannot rely on the police and the SADF for protection because they are against the ANC and everything it represents.

Their duty is to protect the apartheid regime and support the bantustan leaders who claim divine leadership.

It is noted that all cases of inter-organisational clashes are planned tactics to jeopardise the negotiations process.

However, we shall remain disciplined to avoid the outbreak of civil war.
IOA

We agree with our readers that repression continues. In fact, we have to continue intensifying our efforts to organise and defend ourselves.

In this issue of MAYIBUYE we look at the implications of all these developments. - Ed

Response to stayaway plan

THE government seems set to make some of the changes to the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA) that workers have been demanding over the past two years.

This came three days after Cosatu announced another stayaway on October 8 to protest against the state's failure to meet its demands on the LRAA.

Manpower minister Eli Louw agreed at a meeting last week with Cosatu, Nactu and the bosses' organisation, Saccola, that he would tell the cabinet to make the Cosatu-Nactu-Saccola (CNS) agreement into legislation to be put before parliament in February 1991.

The CNS agreement lists the changes to the LRAA that have been agreed on by unions and bosses.

If the cabinet agrees to this and other proposals on September 19, Cosatu may call off the stayaway.

Bop won't stop us

EIGHT ANC branches have already been launched in Bophuthatswana and 10 more will be launched in the bantustan before September 30.

This is despite the detention of ANC leadership collectives and the confiscation of ANC membership cards in Leeuwfontein, Braklaagte, Mabopane and Klipgat.

The ANC is demanding that all its members are released and



During one of his international tours, Mandela visited MK centres to brief cadres about talks with the government.

that the cards are returned.

Some light in the darkness

WHEN the lights were turned back on in Tumahole last week after three days of darkness, the council had resigned and the rent boycott was over.

The black-out was the council's last desperate attempt to force residents to pay for rents and services after a six year boycott.

But after negotiations between the Tumahole Civic Association (TCA) and the Orange Free State Provincial Administration (OFSPA) and the SAP, the state agreed to write off the R7-million arrears. In return residents

agreed to start paying rents and services.

A Joint Working Committee made up of TCA and OFSPA members will look into the formation of a single tax base for Parys and Tumahole.

Meanwhile, Katlehong on the East Rand is still in darkness. The Katlehong Civic Association is trying to set up a meeting with the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) as it refuses to recognise the local council.

Consumer boycott in EL

SINCE September 2, East London has been bearing the consequences of the local magistrate's refusal to allow residents to march in the city as part of the ANC's Na-

tional Day of Action against detentions.

White businesses have been hit by a massive consumer boycott which businesses admit is very successful.

However, the PAC, Azapo and Nactu have publicly opposed the boycott. They have held placard demonstrations against it and their members have stood outside shops calling on people to buy goods.

Why Buthelezi didn't reach Moscow

WHEN KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi left South Africa towards the end of August, it was announced that he would visit the Soviet Union.

According to sources in Lusaka, he was to attend a Human Rights Conference in Leningrad, at the invitation of the Leningrad city council and the Polish Solidarity movement. However, when he applied for a visa in Warsaw, Poland, the matter was referred to the Soviet foreign ministry, which turned down his application.

A few hours thereafter, the sources say, the South African Foreign Minister, Pik Botha phoned the Soviet foreign ministry urging them to give Buthelezi a visa. This would help to improve relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union, Botha is quoted as saying. But the Soviets were not impressed.

Strange bedfellows? Surely, Botha was concerned about the valuable contribution the KwaZulu chief minister would make to the cause of human rights!

Minute by Minute

"We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

These are solemn words from the Pretoria Minute. How hollow they sound to the people today, against the backdrop of the murders being perpetrated against black communities! An unprecedented combination of many forms of terror has been unleashed: direct SADF and SAP shootings, support to vigilante gangs, marauding death squads, random killings in the streets and trains – all directed against ordinary black citizens.

What is the worth of sweet-sounding phrases, ask the residents of Thokoza, Inanda, Soweto, Sebokeng and elsewhere. The people are filled with despair. They want to defend themselves effectively.

INTEGRITY

The terrible events since the Pretoria ANC/government summit have put the integrity of the whole negotiating process into question. Where are we and how do we move from here, are issues both of a practical and strategic nature. And there are twin dangers that the democratic movement needs to avoid:

- in the midst of the sea of blood and anarchy, to drown in the emotion of day-to-day happenings and fail to see the strategic goal; and



- to be so seized with the issue of the Political Kingdom that we slog on as if nothing is happening on the ground.

The situation needs to be assessed with cool heads. The interests of the people and the country as a whole must come first. If these interests are being infringed upon by violent means, a proper response has to be giv-

en. Otherwise the whole exercise will lose its meaning.

Negotiations are not an end in themselves. They are aimed at ridding our country of the scourge of apartheid. When the ANC took the initiative to embark on this road, it believed (to quote the OAU Harare Declaration) that "a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if

MAYIBUYE assesses the prospects for negotiations in the light of developments since the signing of the Pretoria Minute



Deputy president Nelson Mandela, accompanied by other ANC leaders, Thomas Nkobi, Walter Sisulu and Alfred Nzo, speaks to the press after a visit to the police morgue in Sebokeng after the SADF killed 11 residents on September 4.

there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and sincerely, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations."

The country was and still remains in deep crisis: both political and economic. There was an obvious build-up of inflammable material for a revolutionary ex-

plosion; and there was no way in which the regime could stop this by means of repression.

Those who are far-sighted among the rulers were apt to realise in time that the only road to prevent complete disaster for themselves was that of peaceful transformation. They followed the lead of the democratic movement and took a reasonable deci-

sion at the crossroads.

But now, it would seem they interpret the reserve and patience of the democratic movement as a lack of resolve.

The ANC took the initiative to enter into talks with a sense of responsibility and seriousness. We believe the country needs a peaceful resolution of its problems. Sincere peaceful engagement will certainly redound in the interest of all the people. The responsibility to ensure that this happens lies on the shoulders of the ANC and all responsible South Africans.

It would have been foolhardy not to expect that there would be resistance from those in power and their supporters. New obstacles were to be expected. In a characteristic manner, surrender was to be demanded of the people.

RETREAT ROUTES

The ANC has to ensure that these tactics are resisted and are made to fail. The retreat routes for those who seek to drown the country in blood have to be cut. If we have to drag the protectors of the status quo screaming to a peaceful resolution, then that will be done. The forces for change must hold firmly to the strategic initiative. This means that a number of things have to be done, and be kept in place all the time.

Firstly, it is crucial for the democratic movement to maintain close contact with, mobilise and organise the masses. It is on them that the success of everything depends. Their yearnings must inform the formulation of our strategy and tactics.

Secondly, protest and the building of people's forces are on their own not sufficient. The liberation movement must always understand the concrete balance of forces, and ensure that what we achieve at the negotiating table reflects and advances what has been attained in actual struggle. As we saw in Angola/Namibia and elsewhere the rulers always strive to reverse their losses in the field when they sit down to talk.

→

Thirdly, in the sphere of negotiations, like in all other areas, keeping the initiative also means defining the terrain of contest, moving ahead of the opponents, anticipating challenges and preparing for them.

Fourthly, at no stage should the forces in government be given the impression that they have a free hand to act; that they can redefine the rules at will and with impunity. This only encourages the kind of carnage and other unbecoming behavior we have witnessed in the past few weeks.

At the Pretoria meeting far-reaching agreements were reached regarding the future of our country. The decision of the ANC to suspend armed actions; the setting of concrete dates for the release of political prisoners and indemnity for exiles and the regime's commitment to remove remaining obstacles to free political activity; and the agreement to start exploratory talks on a new constitution - these form the core of the Minute.

MASS DETENTIONS

Given the era from which South Africa had just emerged, the era of mass detentions, States of Emergency, wholesale media restrictions and so on, this was and remains a great achievement. The solemn words were not misplaced. The hopes in the hearts of millions were justified. But only if practice corresponds to the declarations.

All of these agreements are interrelated and impact upon one another, to affect the Strategy and Tactics of the liberation movement, as well as those of the regime. There was criticism: are we not moving too fast; haven't we given over too much; are we not going against the grain of the Harare Declaration...?

The decision to suspend armed actions was taken before the Pretoria meeting. It was motivated precisely by the desire to keep negotiations on track. The ANC sought to contribute to an atmosphere in which negotiations could proceed on the basis of mutual trust, shorn of the scourge and threat of violence.

Since the signing of the Pretoria Minute, some government representatives have repeatedly committed themselves to creating conditions in which real negotiations can take place. Others have not.

Under normal conditions, such statements would have been cause for hope or worry. But harsh realities on the ground are what black people are profoundly concerned about today.

Time after time since the ANC suspended armed actions, the apartheid state has violated the undertakings in the Pretoria Minute. Free political activity - and with it the whole negotiations process - is under the most severe strain since February 2.

In Port Elizabeth, scores were mowed down in cold blood. Another most chilling example of the use of state repression is the complicity of the security apparatus in the violence that has tormented the Witwater-

When peace begets violence

strand in recent weeks. The police have not given any credible explanation as to why no preemptive action was taken to prevent the violence when ample warning about planned attacks had been given.

They have not explained why the vigilantes were not immediately disarmed. Evidence abounds about the role of the police on the side of the vigilantes. In many instances, they have been directly involved in the murders. The state's response to this has been simple stock denials. And, when some



NEC member Mac Maharaj: remains in detention despite being hospitalised.



NEC member Ronnie Kasrils: the government has refused him indemnity.

In a sense this was not a bolt from the blue. It was a natural development from decisions taken earlier in the year, after the unbanning of the democratic movement and the release of Nelson Mandela. Then, the NEC resolved that armed operations of MK would be confined to defensive action. Only if the people or MK itself are attacked, would MK cadres take action of any nature. But this was to exclude big

military operations, deliberately aimed at targets not linked to a particular action by the regime's forces.

At the same time, MK was to continue infiltrating trained cadres and weapons of war; as well as to build the necessary underground infrastructure. It was, save for this adjustment, to be business as usual.

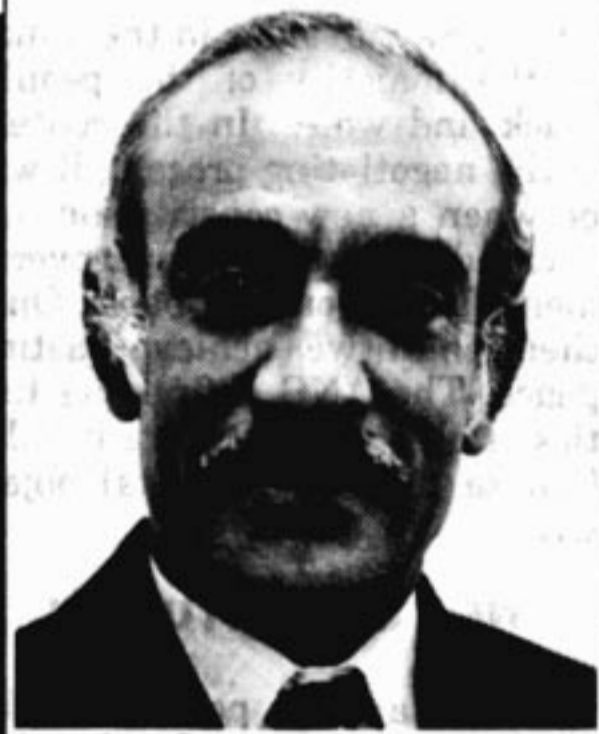
In July, the movement decided to suspend all armed actions, in-

police ventured to come out with affidavits to support the residents' claims, a hurried internal investigation was offered.

And in Sebokeng on September 4, (See page) the army came. The army butchered. The army set up an internal inquiry. If there was any doubt in the past, the events in Sebokeng Jeppe Station, Vosloorus and elsewhere show quite clearly that Inkatha does not have the capacity to unleash such an onslaught against the people. There are powerful forces perpetrating this violence.

A frightening scenario is emerging. There is a well-planned and co-ordinated campaign under way to:

- destabilise black communities;
- create conditions for a repressive clampdown "to deal with inter-communal violence";
- weaken the ANC and other democratic forces; and
- derail the whole peace process.



ANC member Billy Nair: released after suffering a heart attack in detention.

cess.

Who is behind this? The statements by some government leaders, in support of the peace process, are quite comforting. But do they want to negotiate with a strong ANC? In any case, is the struggle for democracy faced only with the "men of integrity" or with the whole state machinery which is involved in all these massacres?

These are questions plaguing the people. The ANC leadership as well as its members and supporters are committed to the peace process. But, as Mandela stated on 5 September while visiting Vosloorus residents who are victims of state and vigilante violence, we cannot allow the government to talk on the one side and wage war against the people on the other. If the government wants war, he said, it will get war.

The trail of mass murder forms part of a wider reality of continuing state repression. Mac Maharaj and numerous

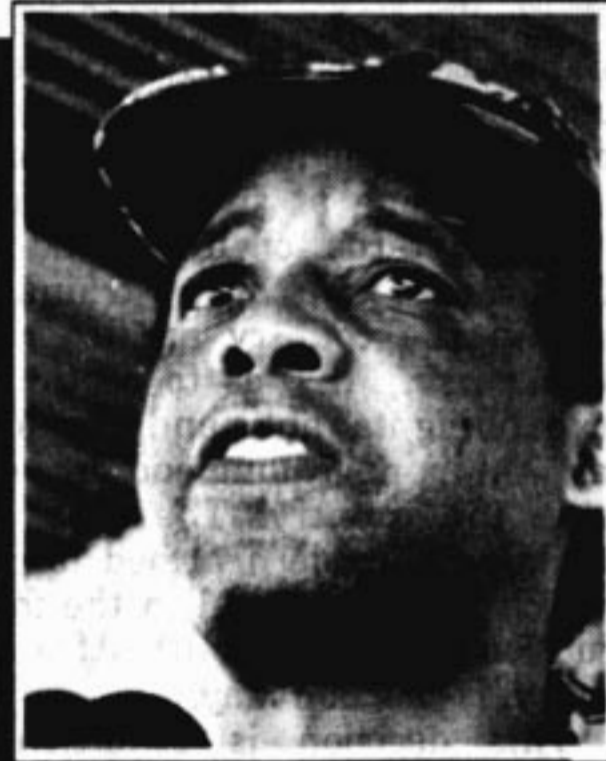


MK commander Siphwe Nyanda: held in solitary confinement.

other members of the ANC and MDM are still in detention. The government refused to extend indemnity to Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils, both members of the NEC.

On August 23, Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Law and Order ministry, proudly announced that the Askari hit squads are being maintained. It has also come to light that the JMC repressive structure has not in fact been dissolved - as people were earlier made to believe. In Alexandra township, the civic association has provided evidence of plans by the renamed JMC to get rid of community leaders. The list goes on and on.

All this points to one reality: that all people's structures must be strong and ready for any eventuality. Statements of goodwill by government leaders, alone, cannot guarantee the safety and security of the people. Neither can they guarantee the peace process. ♦



NEC member Chris Hani: the government has refused him indemnity.

cluding infiltration of cadres and weapons. But this does not mean that armed struggle has been abandoned. Neither does it mean that MK should not act in defence of itself and the people when attacked. In fact, crucial to our response to the violence being perpetrated against the people today is the combination of the skills of cadres and the initiative of the people to set up self-defence units and ensure or-

ganised protection of our communities.

But these acts of banditry need more than just a 'military solution'. A clear programme of mass action - uniting the widest possible spectrum of forces - is fundamental. All South Africans who support peaceful political engagement, including the churches, business and structures of all kinds in the rural areas and Bantustans, have a duty

to unite in action.

This should include policemen and soldiers who are against these acts of banditry. The community must vigorously win over and involve these forces in various actions against the bandits. The perpetrators of violence must stand out on their own and be isolated.

The task of the Working Group on armed struggle is to discuss the implementation as well as

● On August 15, ANC, Cosatu and UDF representatives met a delegation from Inkatha and the SAP to discuss ways to end violence in Sebokeng. This meeting resulted in a signed agreement stipulating that:

- the police would cease their patrols within the hostel, but would continue to patrol the perimeters,

- Inkatha members who had either fled or had been refused entry to the hostel would return after a cooling-off period of 14 days,

- a mechanism for the return of these people would be worked out at a meeting at 10am on August 30.

Due to the arrest of a representative, the ANC requested that the meeting take place at 2pm on the same day. The meeting was then cancelled by the police, who promised to set up another meeting the following week.

- Police patrols were with-

What happened in Sebokeng?

drawn unilaterally on the evening of September 3. The police had not consulted with the other parties regarding this measure. Thus, no alternative monitoring system had been established.

- At about 2.30am on the morning of September 4, a group of approximately 150 armed vigilantes invaded the hostel. 19 hostel residents were immediately butchered. Numerous eye-witnesses have reported the active participation of a number of white men in balaclavas. The vigilante group was led by the Inkatha Youth Brigade's Transvaal regional chairperson, Themba Khoza.

- The township residents came out, and the vigilantes found themselves trapped inside the

hostel.

The police then appeared on the scene and demanded the dispersal of people surrounding the hostel. The police were asked to disarm the vigilantes in the presence of the residents. This was refused. The residents were also waiting for ANC leaders who were on their way from Johannesburg. However, the police were not prepared to wait. At this point, the army was called in.

- On their arrival, the soldiers formed a line and began advancing on the people, many of whom were seated and singing "we are not fighting - peace, peace". When they were roughly 40 meters away, the soldiers opened fire. 11 people died instantly. No warning was given.

- As the people fled, the police brought the heavily-armed vigilantes out and drove them away in armoured vehicles. They were only disarmed at the Sharpeville police station. ♦

implications of the ANC decision, not to impose new decisions on the movement. This would include looking at such questions as the status of underground MK cadres and arms, training within the country and so on. Otherwise, MK has to continue expanding its ranks and training as well as upgrading cadres outside the country. The task of building a modern armed force, which will be central in the formation of a new South African army, is crucial today.

This decision is conditional upon the role of the regime's armed forces: including actions of the SADF and its Special Forces such as the CCB and Askaris. What should emerge from this process should be, for a start, a de facto cease-fire.

CONCRETE DATES

The Pretoria meeting set concrete dates for the return of prisoners and exiles to reinforce various layers of the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement (See page 9). Needless to say, this is a great achievement. It is also a significant step forward that the regime has committed

itself to review repressive legislation.

Therefore, in the sense that suspension of armed action also gave the regime the opening to deliver in a number of areas, this was a positive act. But it would be insincere to paint everything in rosy colours. The movement has placed on itself certain limitations regarding the work of MK.

At the same time, the behaviour of the army and police does not at all correspond to the Pretoria agreements.

What was the motivation then for the ANC to start exploratory talks with the government on the new constitution? Is this not putting the cart before the horse? Is it not a recipe for some "cosy deal" excluding other forces? Where do other democratic forces and the masses in general come in?

The liberation movement has always stated that the strategic perspective of the struggle is the transfer of power and the transformation of our country into a united, non-racial and democratic entity. The basic indicator for us to say that the greater part of the job has been done will be

when power resides in the hands of the majority of the people, black and white. In the context of the negotiating process, it will be when a new constitution has been adopted, and a new government formed on this basis. Only then shall we achieve lasting peace. The ANC defines its tactics at all given moments in relation to this fundamental objective.

NEW CONSTITUTION

The starting point in the ANC's approach to the drafting of a new constitution is that it must involve the people. What finally emerges as the ANC platform has to be based on the local and national demands of the masses, and ways will have to be found to ensure that they ratify the final product.

Basing itself on the responses to the Constitutional Guidelines, the ANC's Constitutional Commission has started working on mechanisms to flesh out the details of the constitution. Commissions are to be set up and seminars organised - with the involvement of the democratic movement, the churches and

The homecoming

Thousands of political prisoners and exiles have been preparing themselves to come home. The Pretoria Minute has transformed the vague yearning into concrete dates. Soon, the trickle will turn into a flood. By April 1991 this process will have been completed. The political gains arising from this, for the democratic movement, cannot be doubted.

However, the difficulties associated with integrating vast numbers of people who have been away for years into a society in an uneasy transitional process, are numerous and require thorough examination. To this end, a National Consultative Committee on Repatriation (NCC) consisting of representatives of the SACC, SACBC, the

other forces. They will look into electoral systems, local government, Bill of Rights, the economy, labour relations, women and children's rights, judicial systems and other issues.

The exploratory talks with the government are not a substitute to this process. Rather, the movement seeks to understand the positions of the government and to identify areas of broad agreement and disagreement. This forms part of the process which should, in time, involve all representative organisations in working out the broad principles which will form the basis of a new constitution.

FOUNDATION

All these issues constitute the foundation of the ANC's thinking on negotiations. But the entire process can grind to a halt if war is being waged against the people.

The government and, in particular its warriors in the state machinery, cannot behave in any fashion and expect the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement to fall in line. There is a cost to everything. ♦

MAYIBUYE looks at the implications of the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles

ANC, PAC, AZAPO and the BCMA has been established.

While these organisations hold differing views regarding negotiations with the government, there is general consensus that all will co-operate with the NCC. The NCC has a budget of half a billion rand and its convener is the Reverend Frank Chikane.

RECEPTION AND AID

An estimated 100 000 exiles have been grouped into seven categories: "ordinary members" of the liberation movement, trained soldiers, non-aligned groups, conscientious objectors, defectors from the liberation movement, prisoners and those who left for other reasons. The question of whether there will be a staggered return, with certain categories returning at different times, will be decided on by the liberation movement. For most of these categories, a protective general amnesty will be granted from October 1.

To avoid complications in the re-entry of exiles, the NCC envisages the creation of primary reception centres at entry-points which will be staffed by social counsellors and legal experts to cope with any problems returnees may encounter.

Secondary reception areas are to be established in eight regions. Local offices will be opened to aid people in finding their families and accommodation in the Western, Northern and Eastern Transvaal; the PWV region; Eastern and West-

ern Cape; the OFS and Natal.

The NCC has already begun to establish Task Forces to oversee the vital areas of accommodation and employment, health and welfare, education and training, transport and communication.

ACCOMMODATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Against the background of millions of homeless and unemployed people, the issue of accommodation and jobs for released prisoners and returnees is perhaps the most crucial. Well aware of this, the NCC is currently acquiring a wide range of inputs in consultation with specialist organisations.

With regard to housing, the ANC's view is that people were imprisoned or left because of apartheid. Therefore, the government must bear responsibility and act to alleviate the difficulties. At the very least, the Land and Group Areas Acts should be repealed so that accommodation can be found wherever it is available. Also, reparations could be paid to returnees and released prisoners.

The ANC plans to complement the housing plans of the NCC by launching a branch-level campaign calling on people to offer shelter to returnees and ex-prisoners.

While the unemployment situation is drastic, there is optimism that jobs can be found as many of the exiles are highly skilled. The business community has already been approached in connection with this.

However, we cannot escape the fact that this programme is to be implemented in a situation of economic depression and social upheaval. The root cause of the problem, the apartheid system, has yet to be eradicated. Therefore, whatever problems this programme will face, can only be resolved in the context of struggle against apartheid for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. ♦

A quiet process of taking over unused land is going on. After centuries of being denied access to land our people are taking the initiative in the form of land invasions.

These moves are sending shock waves through the government, white municipalities and land barons. A result of this has been the meeting between the ANC/UDF and the minister of planning and provincial affairs.

The land invasions are a response to the totally hopeless housing situation which prevails for blacks. Over 7m black South Africans are estimated to be living in shacks and other types of informal settlement.

This situation has been caused by apartheid. Apartheid has not allowed black people to build houses in white areas. Small stretches of land have been allocated to black townships. This has resulted in severe overcrowding and unhealthy conditions.

Land invasion has been the logical step for frustrated people to take. In July this year the UDF called upon people to occupy land which is not being used and to set up settlements there.

The government was forced to

Seizing the land

The government has been forced to concede some ground as the homeless back up their demand for land with concrete mass action

address the issue after our people began taking mass action. Thus the meeting with the minister.

Concessions

Major concessions have been extracted from this meeting. These include:

- that prior to any shack demolition the local communities will be consulted;
- that alternatives will be found for those whose shacks are to be demolished;
- that the UDF makes inputs on

where urbanisation could take place.

The UDF has already pointed out that any future policy must be based on the following principles:

- that land for low-income housing must be affordable. Because the land allocated for this purpose has been so little the prices have been very high. Furthermore, because the government has been asking the private sector to provide housing the prices have gone up even higher due to speculation;

Continued on Page 12

"Defiant mass action and the careful use of the tactic of planned land invasion has led to the creation of a new settlement area near Wattville. It is called Tamboville, after our Comrade President OR Tambo who once lived there.

On 20 June a mass meeting of Wattville residents was held to discuss the problem of acute housing shortage. There is a waiting list for 1 000 homes. But the Wattville Town Councillors had been giving land to private developers. The WTC had offered to buy off from the Benoni Town Council the piece of land called Tamboville for R200 000.

At the mass meeting people who are living in backyards and in overcrowded conditions were asked to register. An allocating committee was elected. On 24 June this committee went to Tamboville and marked out sites 20 x 12 square metres. Roads were also marked out.

On 27 June we had a report back meeting where it was decided that people will move into Tamboville and put up shacks. Work

The birth of Tamboville

started on Saturday 30 June. We intended to finish off on Monday the 2 July - the day designated for the national stay-away for peace in Natal.

We had no problems on Saturday or Sunday. However our route was blocked on Monday by police. They claimed to have an affidavit from the Benoni Town Council to arrest us for trespassing. The Residents' Committee held a quick meeting where it



The experience of Wattville, near Benoni, is another example of mass action leading to the development of people's control. ABIE NYALUNGA, of the Wattville Concerned Residents' Committee (WCRC) recounts their experience

was decided to call for volunteers to defy the police and to work on the land.

34 of us went forward and we were arrested. People then marched from Tamboville to Daveyton Police Station where we were being kept. The chairman of the ANC branch led the march.

All the marchers offered themselves for arrest. They said that the colonel in charge should get more vans to arrest all the people.

The police had no option but to release us.

We appeared in court on Tuesday and refused to plead. We made it clear that we will go back to Tamboville on our release. We were allowed to leave the court.

On 10th July the WCRC called up another mass meeting. It was decided to put forward the following 6 demands:

- the charges be dropped;
- the Benoni Town Council (BTC) must not sell the land to the Wattville Town Council (WTC);
- BTC must develop the land for informal housing;
- a joint technical committee must be set up to look at the provision of services;
- the BTC must address the problem of housing shortage.

To our surprise the BTC has agreed to all the demands. So far it has set aside R2m for the development of Tamboville. A layout plan has been worked out by the people of Tamboville. This was done in the course of two workshops. We looked at what aspects of

-
- that low income housing areas must be located close to areas of employment and other facilities;
 - that these areas must have subsidised basic services such as water, electricity, refuse removal etc. Existing informal settlements must have the option of being upgraded;
 - an end to racial land zoning policies which must lead to non-racial urban government.

The present focus by democratic organisations on residents of informal settlements has been long overdue. Our organisations have for too long concentrated on those who were formally housed. Issues such as rent and local authorities dominated the agenda of civic formations.

It has been difficult to organise people living in informal settlements given the fluid nature of the population. Certain shack settlement came to be dominated by reactionary bully boys. Yet these areas have been responsible for resistance on an epic scale. The talks with the government are a result of our mass actions. They complement rather than replace these actions.

There are two key areas that mass action can focus on: the defence of shack settlements and the planned movement of people into unused areas. The defence of shack settlements has now become even more possible with the agreements reached with the government.



A liaison person will be appointed by the government and all civic organisations will be informed of the liaison to be set up. A final stop must be put to all the inhumane acts of shack demolition.

The planned movement of people into urban areas will be given a further advantage by the democratic movement and the government jointly identifying

areas for occupation. Delays by the government can only result in the masses continuing to take the initiative in their own hands and moving into unused land.

This campaign forms part of the broader demand that needs to be taken up more actively: democratic land reform which abolishes racial restrictions and ensures affirmative action in favour of the deprived majority. ♦

Wattville were bad and how this can be avoided in Tamboville.

We had to decide whether we needed schools to be built in that area. It was decided that Wattville had sufficient schools. The problem was that they were under-utilised because they were divided along language lines. We decided to press for the integration of schools so that all the schools could be properly used.

The proposals of the residents have been accepted by the Benoni Town Council. However the Wattville TC is unhappy because they are being sidelined in this process.

Members of the WCRC have been receiving death threats. Tamboville has Brakpan as one of its boundaries. The Brakpan TC is also unhappy about developments. It wants a 300m buffer between it and Tamboville.

This will mean denying residential sites to about 127 families. They claim that if Tamboville is too close then the value of houses in Brakpan will drop, the crime rate will increase and there will be pollution because most of the families will be using coal stoves.

PLANACT has evidence that when areas are declared 'open' the value of the houses actually increase. Also there is no evidence of crime increasing in 'grey areas'. The Brakpan TC is showing its blatant racism. In fact our demand to them is that they must extend their services, such as electricity, to Tamboville so that the problem of pollution can be overcome. If Brakpan were to also provide the other essential services it will work out cheaper than if it is done by Benoni.

Negotiations are still underway with the Brakpan TC." ♦

Consumer boycotts hit where it hurts

In the past few weeks, significant gains have been made through the careful use of the consumer boycott tactic. Hitting where it hurts most – in the pocket – black residents have successfully backed their demands against rightwing terror, for free political activity and for the right to run their lives.

Consumer boycotts have spread to most parts of the country. The most famous has been the one launched in Boksburg. Its 14 month-long history has resulted in Conservative Party businessmen actually talking in favour of opening the Central Business District to blacks. In the Eastern Cape platteland the people have scored spectacular successes.

After 14 businesses were forced to close due to the consumer boycott in Stutterheim, the Town Council held the first of a series of meetings with community organisations. Separation of customers within shops has been brought to an end. Now the Town Council, instead of prescribing the needs of the people, is sitting down with community organisations to find solutions.

In Cathcart the Town Council received a huge mandate from its white voters to open its recreational facilities to all the people. Now a Contact Committee with representatives from the Town Council and community organisations has been formed to look at issues like the living standards of the township residents.

In Kirkwood, not only has the Local Management Committee been dissolved but the Town Council is moving towards the creation of a single non-racial administrative body. At the moment it is engaging in consultations with the Kirkwood Youth Congress and community organisations to work out the practicalities. The success of this process will ensure that Kirkwood becomes the first 'open town' contributing to the 'open city' campaign.

The above-mentioned gains show us one way of attaining our demands. Experience has shown that business communities will

sooner bow to the power of black consumers than hold to financially unsound conservative policies.

Such was the case with the Eastern Transvaal consumer boycott. It was launched in all towns in that region on 27 July. This was after more than a month of preparatory consultations between progressive structures in the region.

The following demands were put forward:

- an end to harassment of progressive structures;
- the abolition of local authorities; and
- the abolition of the Arms and Ammunition Act or its extension to include Africans.

POTENTIALLY

The last demand arose from the large number of whites who were arming themselves to the teeth, creating a potentially dangerous situation.

In the course of the first week of the consumer boycott, the local Chambers of Commerce and town councillors called for a meeting with the ANC. A call made by the civic associations for just this had previously been rejected. After one week, the Eastern Transvaal ANC opened discussions with the TPA, Town Councillors and business structures. As a result of these discussions the boycott was suspended after just two weeks.

The police undertook to curtail right-wing harassment and to free political activity from unnecessary restraint. The TPA undertook to address the question of local authorities and to examine the practicalities of establishing one representative

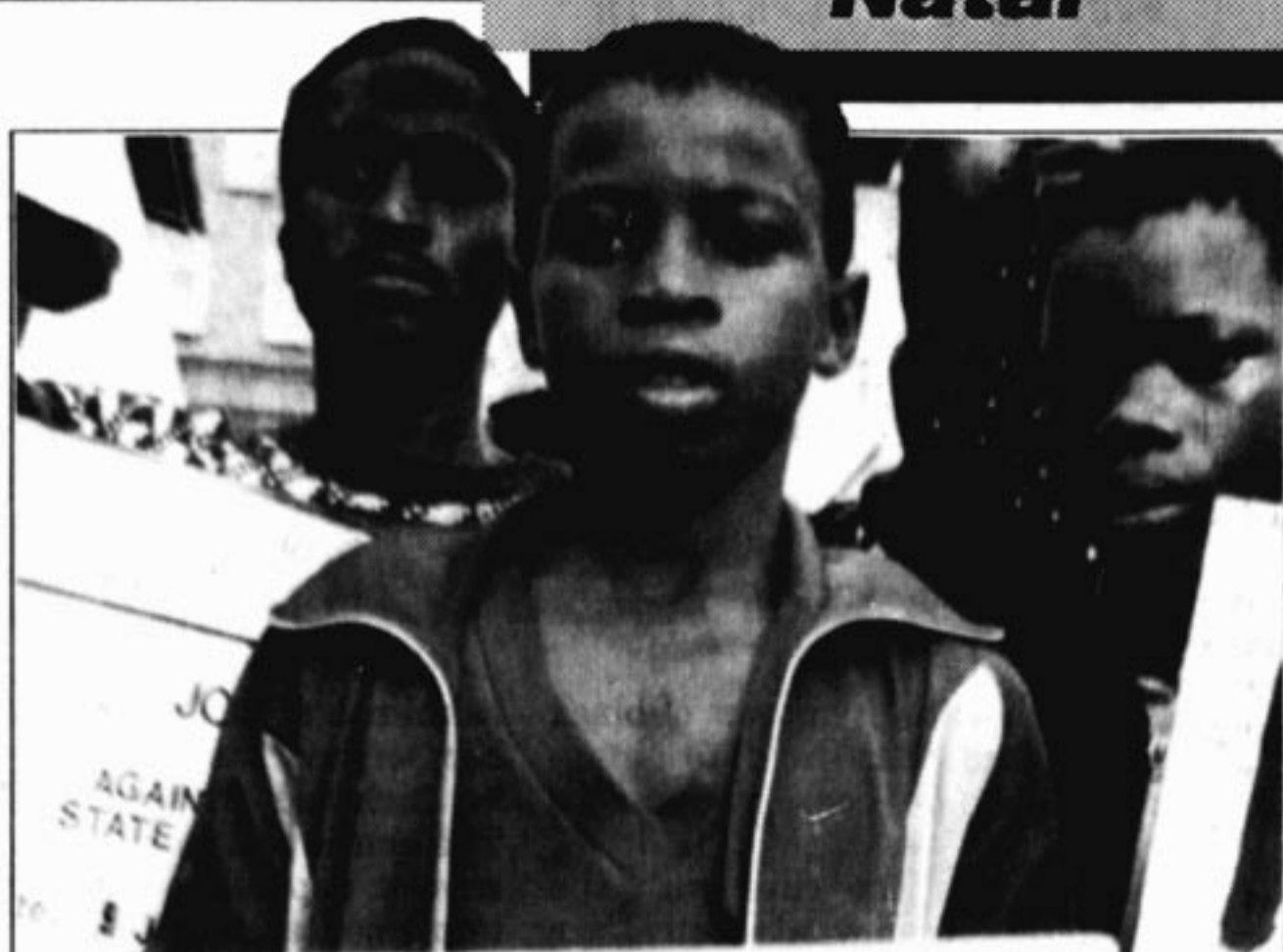
Administrative Authority. Members of civic associations are to be included in this Authority. The continued suspension of the boycott depends on the practical implementation of these undertakings in each town.

Mass action such as consumer boycotts are a concrete expression of people taking the initiative into their own hands. Through such struggles we are exercising an essential democratic right: the right to run our own lives.

Through mass struggles we have succeeded in uniting various sectors. The consumer boycott in the Eastern Transvaal for example had an average of 95% participation. By focusing on basic issues mass organisations have moved township residents, workers, students, teachers and so forth into united action.

These gains pose an important question: In the past we opposed direct involvement of our communities in structures such as town councils because it usually meant using toy telephones such as LAC's, LMC's and community councillors. Now we are achieving the right of being involved in the governing of our community life.

New openings have emerged for us to develop people's control. To avoid the danger of cooption, our representatives need to be in close contact with the people. Constant consultation and accountability is today even more crucial. It is in the arena of mass struggle that the hand of those who seek to torpedo the peace process is being stayed. It is in action that we shall ensure genuine negotiations. Mass action is the cutting edge of our struggle. It must be sharpened. ♦



LIFT THE
STATE
OF
EMERGENCY IN
NATAL



Since the Consultative Natal Peace Conference of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement on 5 August, a number of meetings have taken place between representatives of the MDM and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

This process, which started more than 2 years ago, has been reinforced by the involvement of the ANC sub-committee made up of senior members of the National Executive Committee. On Thursday, August 29, Jacob Zuma, a member of the ANC sub-committee took part in one of the meetings with the Inkatha delegation. Three days later, the leadership of the ANC, COSATU, Inkatha and Security Forces operating in the Lower Umfolozi region signed a peace accord for the area.

The agreement emphasises the crucial issues of political tolerance, impartiality of the police and SADF, free political activity for all organisations and an environment allowing for proper education in the schools. This forms part of the many initiatives that the NEC sub-committee, together with regional MDM structures, has been undertaking in Natal – some of them behind the scenes.

These developments have raised the hopes of many concerned South Africans that, this time, peace in Natal will not



The SADF enters after activists in Mpumuza had repulsed an attack by Inkatha supporters.

Picking up the pieces

The efforts to bring peace to Natal have gathered fresh momentum. All sides are confident that this time around they will succeed

elude us. A few weeks ago, things had completely stalled - while the murder and mayhem continued. According to Diliza Mji of the Joint Working Committee, between January and April this year, about 3 000 people were killed, compared with 1 200 for the whole of 1989.

Local initiatives will help ensure that the parties involved take their membership along with them. This applies particularly to the forces directly involved in the conflict. Otherwise the agreements signed will not

be worth the paper they are written on. It is in the localities where emotions are running high. Cries for revenge abound.

But experience shows that it is in the localities, too, that meaningful solutions can be found. "The joint peace plan for the Lower Umfolozi region should be seen as part of a broader process", says Jacob Zuma, who signed the agreement on behalf of the ANC; "it will serve as an example to other areas. It is quite clear that people on the ground - members of both the

ANC and Inkatha - want peace. I recently drove to Mahlabathini, via Ulundi, to see my relatives in the area", Zuma recounts, "and all the ordinary people that I had discussions with indicated that they had pinned their hopes on the ANC to help resolve the problem".

The NEC sub-committee is soon to have a meeting with the leadership of Inkatha. According to Zuma, only the dates have to be finalised. It is a combination of all these processes which will make it possible for meetings to take place at the highest level. The "your-leader-should-meet-our-leader" approach, which governed the approach of the other side in the recent past, simply bedevilled what should otherwise form the foundation for lasting peace among the people.

But shall we succeed this time around? A catalogue of accusations and counter-accusations

The Inkatha problem is our fault

We were of the view that, among other things, it was vital that we should encourage the formation of in the bantustans of mass democratic organisations where none existed, and urge that those which existed should be strengthened and activated...

It was also in this context that we maintained regular contact with Chief Gataha Buthelezi of the KwaZulu bantustan. We sought that this former member of the ANC Youth League who had taken up his position in the KwaZulu bantustan after consultations with our leadership, should use the legal opportunities provided by the bantustan programme to participate in the mass mobilisation of our people on the correct basis of the orientation of the masses to focus on the struggle for a united and non-racial South Africa.

In the course of our discussions with him, we agreed that this would also necessitate the formation of a mass democratic organisation in the bantustan that he headed. Inkatha originated from this agreement.

Unfortunately, we failed to mobilise our own people to take on the task of resurrecting Inkatha as the kind of organisation that we wanted, owing to the antipathy of many of our comrades towards what they considered as working within the bantustan system.

The task of reconstituting Inkatha therefore fell on Gataha Buthelezi himself, who then built Inkatha as a personal power base far removed from the kind of organisation we had visualised, as an instrument for the mobilisation of our people in the countryside into an active and conscious force for revolutionary change.

In the first instance, Gataha dressed Inkatha in the clothes of the ANC, exactly because he knew that the masses to whom he was appealing were loyal

to the ANC and had for six decades adhered to our movement as their representative and their leader. Later, when he thought he had sufficient of a base, he also used coercive methods against the people to force them to support Inkatha.

Extracts from the ANC NEC political report to the 1985 ANC National Consultative Conference

During 1979, in one of its sessions, our National Executive Committee considered the very serious question of how to respond to a request by Gataha Buthelezi for him to lead a delegation of Inkatha to meet the leadership of the ANC. By this time, divergences were becoming evident on such questions as armed struggle and disinvestment.

After due consideration, the NEC decided that it was correct to meet the Inkatha delegation, once more to explain the position of our movement, and ensure unity of approach to the main strategic requirements of the struggle.

An express and agreed condition for holding the meeting was that it would be secret and its deliberations confidential. However, Gataha announced that we had met and explained the purpose, the contents and the results of the meeting to suit his own objectives, much to the delight of the commercial press of South Africa and other forces in the world that had, in fact, concluded that Buthelezi was possibly 'the Musorewa' of the people of South Africa.

We have dealt with Chief Gataha Buthelezi at some length because, although his efforts are doomed to fail, in a way he is our fault.

We have not done and are not doing sufficient political work among the millions of our people who have been condemned to the bantustans. The artificial boundaries purporting to fence them off from the rest of our country do not make them any less a vital and integral part of the popular masses fighting for national liberation and social emancipation in our country. ♦

about why earlier attempts ground to a halt will not help facilitate this delicate process. But if the hopes kindled are to rest on firm ground, all parties have to ensure that obstacles which dogged previous attempts do not raise their ugly heads.

By the middle of 1989, progress had already been made towards a major meeting among the ANC, UDF and COSATU on the one hand, and Inkatha on the other. In this summit, which was to take place outside the country, the presidents of all the organisations were to take part. However, new demands were put forward. These included the bundling together of the ANC, UDF and COSATU into one delegation; that the ANC apologise for previous statements made against Inkatha and its leader, Chief Buthelezi; and so on.

After the release of Walter Sisulu and other leaders and later Nelson Mandela, attempts were made to convene meetings and a joint rally within the country. This time, the insistence by Inkatha on venues unacceptable to the ANC as well as other actions, led to the collapse of the peace efforts. At the same time, movement members on the ground were strongly against any joint engagement whatsoever between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Therefore, in addition to local initiatives, a firm commitment to peace by both sides should be reinforced by constant consultation between the delegates and their respective principals, so that each major proposal made is endorsed as discussions proceed. By-gones will have to be by-gones. Detailed questions such as the composition of delegations as well as the venues will have to be thrashed out to the satisfaction of all the parties. The NEC sub-committee does not have a problem on the issue of venues, says Jacob Zuma. If it means that the sub-committee has to go to Ulundi for the meeting with Inkatha, we will go, Zuma adds.

There are good prospects today for peace in Natal. This is because, in the first instance, the



Cooking in the open - displaced and homeless.

mass of the people have not despaired, despite the many difficulties they face. They did not shirk their natural responsibility to defend themselves when attacked. They continued to strengthen their structures, large-scale harassment notwithstanding. They resorted to demonstrations, the general strike and other actions to highlight their plight and to force those responsible for the violence to sit up and listen.

This is fundamental to the resolution of the inter-communal violence. Because, to reduce it simply to a fight between Inkatha and ANC supporters is to miss a crucial point. And this is that the state itself is not beyond reproach. Rather it is the state, in its various forms, which has started the violence and is responsible for its escalation.

Evidence of police siding with vigilantes abounds, both in Natal and the Transvaal. And, at another level, simple logic shows that one party to the conflict is a local government administration, with machineries of state under its command. Herein lies

the reason behind the demands for the dissolution of the KwaZulu Police; the charging of those responsible for the murders; the lifting of the State of Emergency in this part of the country, and other related issues.

For, behind the cloak of Emergency powers and local state authority, untold suffering has been unleashed against the people. And no one can draw comfort from the fact that there are intentions to increase the size of the KZP from about 3 000 to 10 000. Plans are also under way to increase the number of police stations under their control from 21 to 75. Given their track record, and that of Brigadier JH Buchner, the Pretoria-appointed KwaZulu Commissioner of Police, this is simply a recipe for disaster.

The responsibility to address all these questions lies with the South African government. Its commitment to achieving peace in Natal will be measured by its responsiveness to the people's demands. The meeting, which was held as MAYIBUYE went to

press, between the ANC-led delegation of Natal community representatives and FW de Klerk is crucial in this respect. There is no point for the government to make passionate statements about bringing peace to ravaged communities while not addressing the root cause of the problem.

Detractors who have strained their sights to find an ethnic reason behind the conflict have been less successful in Natal. For there, the facts speak for themselves. So have those who have sought to interpret opposition to the bantustan system as an attack against the Zulu Royal House. The fact that many chiefs in Natal, and former King Regent, Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu, have taken a stand against the violence, and identified themselves with the democratic movement gives the lie to all these fairy tales.

But the democratic movement would be less than sincere, if it did not acknowledge an important reality: that we have not done enough to organise and mobilise the rural masses and



On the look-out: brandishing a qwasha (home-made gun)

their chiefs. We have not done enough to use their ethnic cultural sentiments and pride to inform the broad patriotic and national struggles against apartheid. For instance, we have allowed the commemoration of such important events as Shaka Day to be appropriated from the masses and their current struggles.

All this emphasises the fact that the approach to problems in Natal has to be multi-faceted. Related to this is the need to work out programmes to address the problem of social dislocation that years of violence have brought to the communities. Destroyed homes, "internal refugees", destroyed schools and medical facilities - these are just some of the physical effects of the violence. The process of achieving peace cannot sideline these problems: it has to be tied to social reconstruction.

While taking our own initiatives to raise funds, we also have to address the question of how to respond to the allocations provided by the state for this purpose.

Certainly, the state will pursue its own selfish political agenda even with regard to socio-economic issues. The question here is whether the democratic movement wants to contest this terrain - by fighting for popular control of these funds - or to boycott this altogether. The answer has to be found among the people, not by leadership structures alone.

And the most difficult process will be to re-establish normal life among the affected communities. Families have been rent asunder or seriously destabilised. Activists report serious problems of social misconduct among the youth. The value of life itself has depreciated, and general despondency about the future has set in among many people. There are no statistics to measure this serious problem.

But society as a whole cannot talk about national reconciliation, without a sense of self-delusion, if it has not tackled the burning question of peace in Natal. ♦

Moulding A organs of struggle

NC branches are organs of struggle. Our branches are expected to be the political centres capable of providing direction and leadership to entire communities. How do we do achieve this?

The process of recruitment into the unbanned ANC began in earnest just three months ago. By 12 September, 315 branches had been launched. Regional leadership and organising committees, local recruitment committees and branch executives have been established.

Regions are gearing themselves up for conferences. This will be the crucial step before the entire ANC goes to National Conference. The Conference is the highest decision-making body of the ANC. It is here that the policies of the ANC will be reviewed, resolutions on the conduct of our struggle will be taken and elections for the NEC will be held.

We have come a long way. Yet there remains so much to be done, so many hurdles to overcome, so many weaknesses to rectify. The urgent task of the day remains the transformation of our large following and sup-

**ANC branches
are expected
to lead
the struggles of
the people.
MAYIBUYE
interviewed
organisers
in the regions
on this**



port into active grassroots organisation.

BRANCHES

The main activity around the formation of branches has been the recruitment drive. This campaign consisted mainly in setting up recruitment centres where people wanting to join would obtain membership cards. Membership figures at the time of the launch vary from 200 to about 2 000.

Branches with the minimum of 100 members could have been launched two months ago. However, they decided to delay the launch so that the branch elected is more representative. There is no point in getting a mandate from a limited number of people when in fact more people will be joining, many organisers argue.

There has been, in general, no clear and co-ordinated pro-

gramme to involve people, as they join, in the life of the organisation. The result has been that people would obtain their membership cards, sit on them and wait for the day they are invited to launch the branch. The limitation in this approach is that more emphasis has been placed on the administrative aspects of recruiting rather than the political side.

The recruitment campaign tended not to be located within the political struggles and campaigns around the day-to-day demands and the unfolding process of negotiations. We need to overcome these weaknesses and build our branches in such a way that they become active political centres that provide guidance and leadership at every level of our struggle.

RECRUITMENT

The ANC is an organisation of all the people of SA. As such we must ensure that every person over the age of eighteen feels welcome in the ANC. We must not discriminate on the basis of age or sex, colour or creed. The qualities of an individual must count above all else.

Branches need to make regular assessments of their membership. The question to be constantly reviewed is: are we

representing the entire community or is our branch simply representing the professionals, or the unemployed, or the youth or males?

The ANC has always recognised the centrality of the workers in our struggle. It is the workers, be they in urban areas or toiling on the mines or farms, which must be the central target of our recruitment.

CROSS-SECTION

The task of drawing in such a cross-section of our people into ANC branches is not going to be easy. It is going to require painstaking organisational efforts. Targets could be identified of people whom the branch wishes to attract into the ANC.

Emphasis could be placed on people in the community who have contributed to the struggle



in the past in some way. People who are involved in other organisations opposed to apartheid must also be added to the list. COSATU locals should also feature prominently. Members of the branch can then take on the responsibility of approaching these individuals.

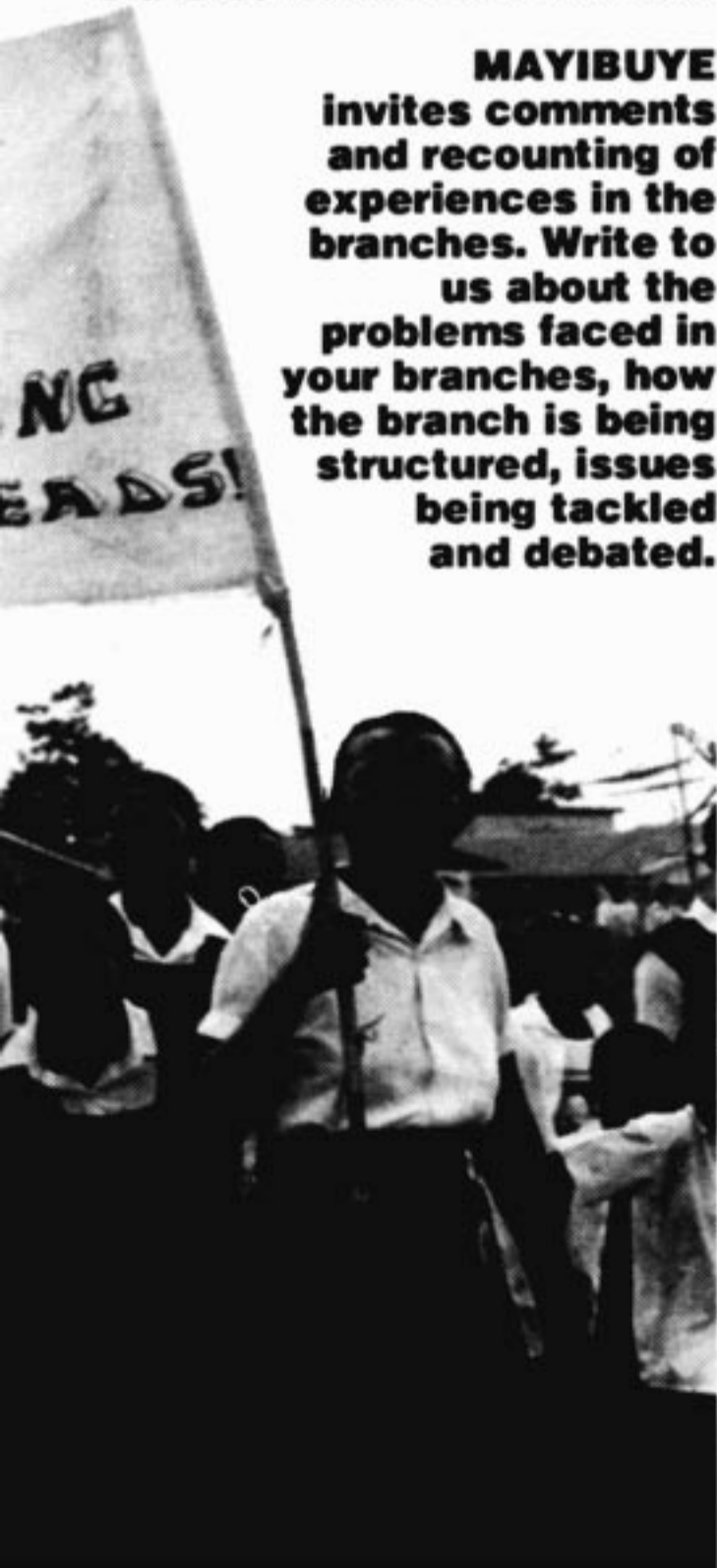
Some branches have appointed recruitment committees. These committees are useful in working out the strategy for recruitment. But the process of recruitment can only be carried out with the full and active involvement of all members. Thus recruitment becomes the task of all members of the branch.

Naturally, our members will need to be well-versed in the policies of the ANC before they can recruit. This is further motivation for branches to engage in intensive political education.

BEYOND RECRUITMENT

With the establishment of branches we need to consolidate

MAYIBUYE invites comments and recounting of experiences in the branches. Write to us about the problems faced in your branches, how the branch is being structured, issues being tackled and debated.



and deepen the democratic participation of all our members in the life of the organisation.

Branches have been grappling with the problem of division of the branch into structures allowing for effective and regular participation of the membership. In general, the size of our branches does not make it possible for direct participation of our members through general meetings alone.

SUB-STRUCTURES

Some of the branches have been divided into sub-structures on geographical basis. Others have been divided along several sub-committees such as media, political education, cultural, religious etc. The sub-structures are also being used to discuss the general issues facing the branch. Because their meetings will be smaller they can discuss the issues in detail as well as allow for greater participation in meetings.

It is important to note that branches using this approach insist on full membership participating in the general activities of the branch. Thus if the media committee produces a leaflet all members will be involved in its distribution. Political education committee work is intended to cover all members.

Many branches are concerned about having too many meetings and the tendency to begin judging people's commitment by the number of meetings they attend. For most people, political work is an aspect of their life – it does not predominate over all other aspects such as socialising, reading, praying, studying. Efforts are being made to ensure that meetings start on time and that they have clearly worked out agendas. The issues to be discussed have to be concrete and raised in a way which allows maximum discussion.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Another critical step is to make political education an integral and necessary part of the life and activities of the organi-

sation.

Political education is vital for the active and conscious participation of our people in all the processes to liberate our country. The fulfilment of this task must be taken seriously and not relegated to the bottom of the agenda. Our education needs to be closely related to the task of building the organisation.

Political education must aim at ensuring that membership is:

- familiar with the history of the ANC and of the struggle in general;

- understands and can talk on the policies and programmes of the organisation;

- committed to the practice of democracy, political tolerance and exemplary conduct;

- committed to building the unity of our membership and of our people in general;

- able to understand different moments of the struggle, eg the unfolding process of negotiation; and

- clear about the content and the goals of each campaign.

ORGAN OF STRUGGLE

Political life of a branch goes beyond political education. Involvement in the struggles of the people is crucial. A branch cannot divorce itself from the mass organisations of the area. People will have confidence in an organisation only if it takes an active interest in their problems. Thus, the establishment of ANC branches must be seen as a political process which ensures that the branch becomes an organ of struggle.

Branches in different regions will have to locate the process of building the ANC in the context of regional and local priorities. A branch in Natal places the peace process at the top of its agenda. A branch in Johannesburg city would be involved in problems like the removal of black families from Hillbrow.

In Boputhatswana branches consider the campaign for free political activity and reincorporation as their priority. On the other hand, branches in Lebowa have to contend with the prob-



Brutal repression in Bop

Lucas Mangope's bantustan administration continues to act in the most insensitive and brutal manner against the people. It has not for a moment let up its repressive campaign against the progressive movement. Yet this has not deterred the people of this region from expressing their true political affiliation. ANC branches have been launched successfully in many areas, despite the administrations' efforts to prevent this.

According to the Bophuthatswana Minister of State Affairs, Rowan Cronje, the ANC is not, and never has been, banned in the homeland. While this may be true in terms of legislative restrictions, the extent of the harassment of ANC activists makes a mockery of this claim.

Just two days after the launch of the Modderspruit ANC Branch, the first one in the region, eight members - including three from the executive committee - were taken into custody.

After four days of torture and beating in GaRankuwa, they were released without having been charged. They were "warned", however, that they would be shot on their return to Modderspruit. "Clearly," says branch secretary Simon Bhebe, "hit squads are in operation in Bophuthatswana."

Similar repression occurred at

the inaugural meeting of the Mabopane branch. Police were deployed around the meeting and, the next day, the branch chairperson and six other members were arrested. They were held on suspicion of holding an illegal meeting.

Since the beginning of the year, emergency regulations have been applied with monotonous regularity in an attempt to stifle the growth of the progressive movement. More than 500 people have been detained and 30 activists remain incarcerated.

The Bop administration seems wilfully ignorant of the political ramifications of its campaign of repression. It loudly announced the formation of a cabinet committee to consult with "all shades of political opinion in South Africa" and expected the democratic movement to applaud. We did not.

Our position is that we cannot and will not meet this committee until the democratic movement is able to organise in an open environment - an environment in which we can consult our members on this and other issues.

The launching of ANC branches in areas where, as a resident put it, "even dreams and wishes may not conflict with those Mangope has", is a powerful indication of the spirit of defiance that rages throughout the region. ♦

lem of reactionary chiefs and witchcraft problems which affect the general population of that area.

Inter-branch structures - where branches from the same area come together - are proving valuable in many areas. Because of similar conditions and common problems, history and tradition of joint struggles, these branches meet together to share experiences and grievances, plan joint action and campaigns. Such structures could become zones of the region.

ALTERNATIVES

The ANC fights against apartheid in all its facets. This requires the ANC branch to become the voice of the people on every issue, and to lead the general assault against all manifestations of apartheid. All citizens, wherever there is an ANC branch, must feel that the movement is concerned about their plight and prepared to take up their grievances.

Conditions today demand that the democratic movement in its totality operates as a movement of protest as well as one which puts forward alternative policies. The drawing up of these policies is not the task of experts alone. The experience of Wattville (See Page 10) shows that township residents, with the help of experts, can work out such alternatives. This places further responsibility on the branch to be involved with mass formations to work out policies to replace apartheid.

FIGHTING BRANCHES

Branches have a crucial role to play in the building of the ANC. They are the basic units without which there would be no ANC. To recapitulate, their main tasks today include:

- recruitment;
- education;
- propaganda work;
- uniting the people.

Most importantly ANC branches have to lead our people in the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa. ♦



Signing up at the launch of the Durban North branch of the ANC.

Comparing notes

The PWV region's Consultative Conference on 2 September was attended by 278 delegates. The conference, convened by the Regional Interim Committee (RIC), was attended by 53 launched branches representing between 25 000 to 30 000 members.

The RIC decided to hold this consultation so that an assessment could be made of the progress in building the ANC and to map out the way forward. Branches elected 2 delegates for the first 100 members and then 1 delegate for every 100 members thereafter.

The number of delegates from the West Rand and the Vaal was low because the branches had not been able to launch due to the disturbances there. These areas were to launch within two weeks after the regional consultation.

Barbara Hogan, member of the PWV RIC, says that the RIC is satisfied with the progress made. "There was a slow start but the pace has now quickened. We expect the number of branches attending the Regional launching Conference to be between 65 and 70".

OBSTACLES

The conference identified a number of obstacles in the building of the movement. One key problem is the lack of clarity on who should be responsible for the recruitment of members. Some argued that only the old stalwarts can handle this. Others felt that only activists should be recruited into branches.

Lack of publicity for the recruitment drive was cited as a reason for the slow start. Problems of funding and lack of

transport for organisers also contributed. Lack of a mass approach had resulted in some mistakes being made at the early stage.

FORWARD

It was decided that branch functions should be shared with the membership – not to be carried out solely by the branch executive.

This will allow the executive to give political leadership and to coordinate the work of the branch.

The creation of sub-committees for media work, political education and fundraising will allow for greater participation of members.

Other issues which the conference discussed were: the current violence, the Pretoria Minute, and the Interim Government. ♦

Workers flex their muscle

MAYIBUYE spoke to Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo about the federation's activities

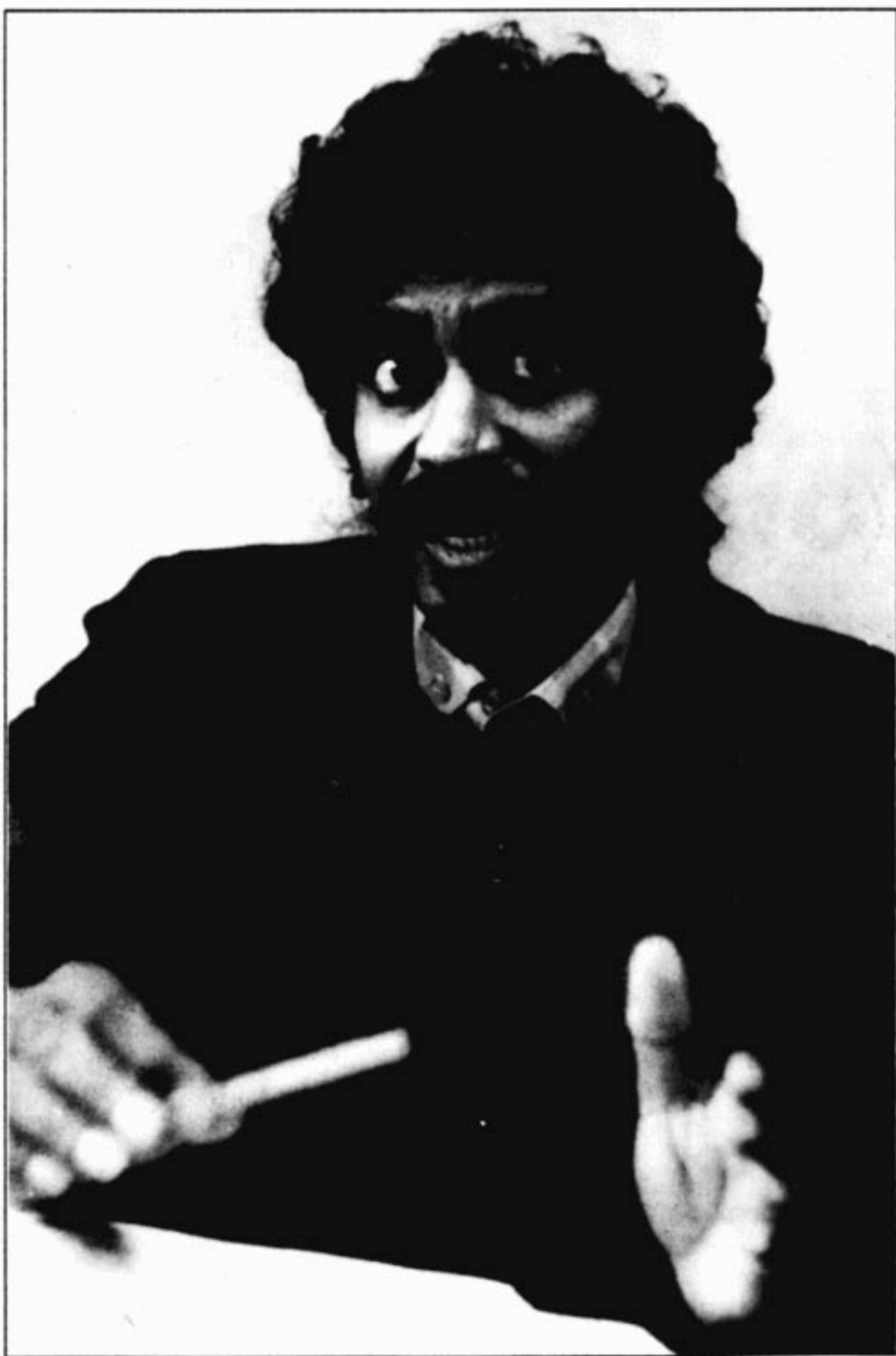
MAYIBUYE: Reports indicate that there has been an upsurge in strike activity in the past few months. What are the factors influencing this trend?

JAY NAIDOO: There certainly has been an upsurge of strike activity. This is not unexpected, given the starvation wages the overwhelming majority of workers earn and the racist intransigence of many employers. Workers also bear the brunt of the economic crisis caused by apartheid. Thousands are being retrenched; living standards are being eroded as wage increases are below the inflation rate. In addition, the employers' use of the anti-worker Labour Relations Act to interdict strikes, to lock out and dismiss thousands of workers has created an explosive situation on the factory floor.

Linked to this has been the fact that the resistance of organised workers has been a significant factor in forcing the regime into retreat on its apartheid policies. Workers are demanding now their democratic right to share the wealth we create, to democratise decision-making on the factory floor and exercise our right to strike.

MAYIBUYE: What progress has been made regarding changes to current labour legislation, and what are COSATU's plans in this regard?

JN: At our meeting between Co-



Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo

satu, Nactu and Mr de Klerk, we agreed to set up a working party to thrash out details of proposed labour legislation to be tabled in the 1991 parliamentary session. This working party had a thirty-day period to deliver a final report. The government has yet again undermined the process of negotiations by failing to negotiate in good faith.

We are demanding the implementation of the agreement we negotiated with Saccola: that basic rights be extended to public sector workers now and that a bill also be drafted to cover farmworkers and domestics under the LRA.

A programme of mass action including mass marches on 29 September and a mass stayaway in October is already being rigorously discussed in our structures if the government fails to give us commitments in black and white by the time of the conference. We will not allow arbitrary decisions by an unrepresentative government to be forced down our throats any longer.

MAYIBUYE: How has the Pretoria Minute impacted upon labour relations in general?

JN: It is too early to determine the impact of the Pretoria Minute on labour relations. Given the track record of the government on the LRA and current levels of violence against the people at the hands of the police and rightwing vigilante forces, the government has failed to meet the acid test in practice. While Cosatu has fully backed the negotiation process and the steps taken by the ANC to normalise the political situation, we will not allow either the regime or employers to deny us our democratic rights.

MAYIBUYE: How do you characterise the role of workers in the current "transitional" phase?

JN: Workers have played a central role in the past. They continue to do so today and will play an even greater role in post-apartheid South Africa. Presently the most organised component

of the democratic movement is Cosatu.

Although we face many problems, our structures must continue to play a major role in consolidating democratic structures such as the street committees and civics, organisation in the hostels, building a mass based ANC, and defending our people against the brutal violence of the state.

Our members and leadership must play an active role in deepening democratic political practice and accountability. At the same time workers must ensure that their interests to end the racist domination of our economy and land remain central to our movement towards a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

MAYIBUYE: How is this role affected by the fact of Cosatu belonging to the tripartite alliance with the ANC and SACP?

JN: The role is heightened by the fact that Cosatu is part of the tripartite alliance. The ANC and SACP have a proud track record of fighting apartheid and therefore command the support of the majority of people in South Africa. Besides this, the alliance has never claimed to be the exclusive representative of all South Africans, and this has been a unifying factor in our struggle.

The alliance is constituted on the independence of each organisation which will always remain answerable to its own democratic practices. The alliance will not be able to impose decisions on any of its component parts.

Each organisation will develop its own programme, whether at a political or economic level, and the alliance will provide the forum for agreement to be reached on a common programme.

This will translate the alliance into the engine of struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

Operating on this basis will ensure that the role of workers will be very significant in shaping the form and content of our

post-apartheid South Africa. No militant trade union movement in the entire world has been able to do this on its own. The building of disciplined alliances with political organisations whose principles and policies are compatible with ours and which is based on the independence of the trade union movement is crucial in fulfilling this role.

MAYIBUYE: What joint activities is the alliance engaged in?

JN: The alliance is based on united action towards our objective of achieving a free South Africa. The most urgent tasks and activities is consolidating democratic structures on the ground.

Presently, joint structures are being undertaken to end the violence against our people in Natal, the PWV townships and the rest of South Africa. Co-ordination on developing economic and development issues such as housing, human resource development etc is taking place.

The alliance has also backed Cosatu's campaign on the LRA and our various struggles for a living wage.

MAYIBUYE: How does the alliance manifest itself at national level: structures, forms of consultation...?

JN: The form the alliance takes still has to be finalised.

The proposals presently are that the alliance at a national level will take the form of a political committee consisting of seven elected representatives from each organisation. This committee will meet every two months. The joint secretariat will serve as an administrative standing committee.

Disciplined structures must also be established at a regional and local level. This is still being debated and will be finalised in September.

The masses of our members must be involved in defining the content, policies, campaigns and direction of the alliance.

The alliance will of necessity have to operate on a consensus basis. ♦



Pressure against privatisation

In March this year, 20 000 workers marched on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange demanding an end to privatisation. The march represented the peak of a campaign that had been waged primarily by public sector unions within Cosatu.

Shortly after this march, the Minister responsible for privatisation said that privatisation will be halted. But has it really been halted?

Pressure from the workers, backed by other sections of the population succeeded in deterring the state from continuing to actually sell off public enterprises in the short term. However behind the scenes, the process of privatisation is continuing. Enterprises are being investigated

and prepared for privatisation. Some services such as the catering divisions at hospitals are being contracted out. Similar tactics are being pursued at the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Public services

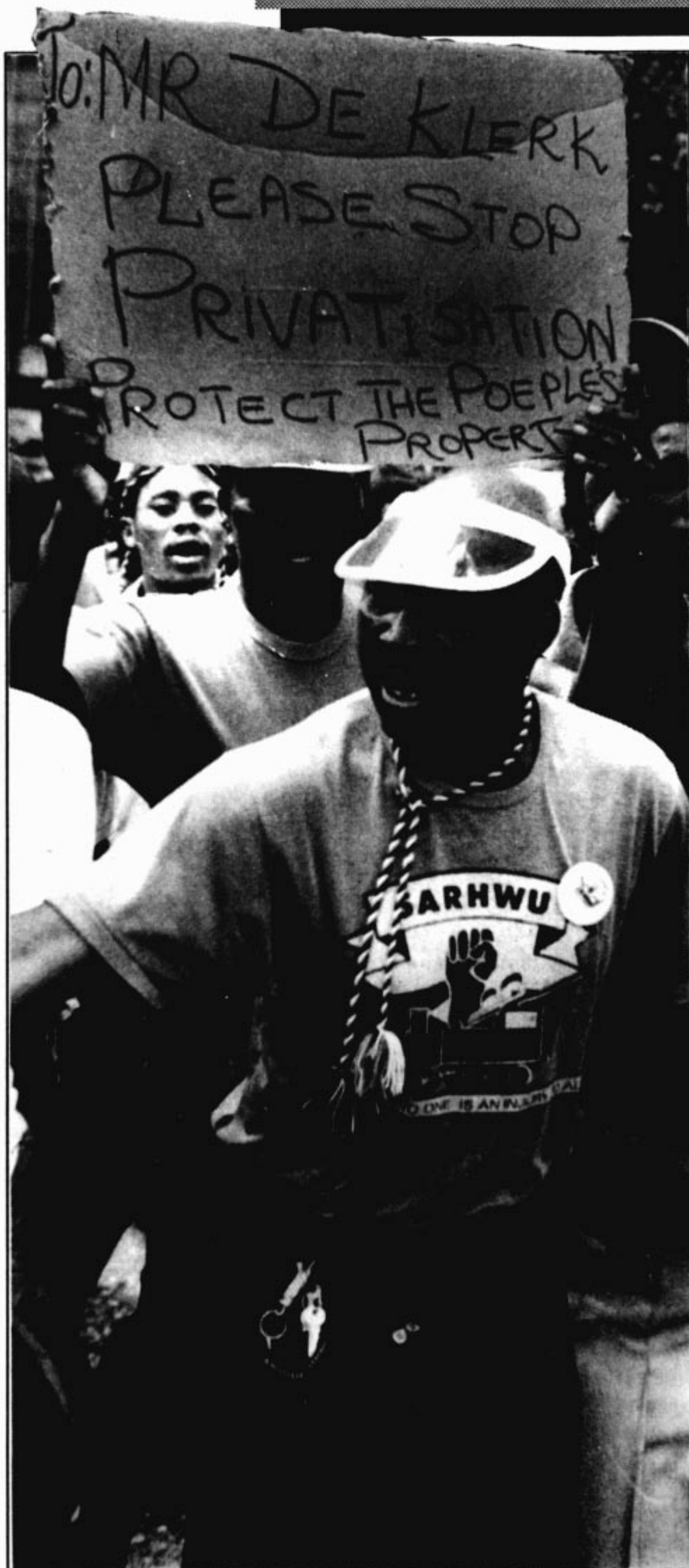
Most importantly, many public services are being "commercialised", that is, put on a profit basis. This is just one step towards privatisation, to be fully realised when the state feels it will face less opposition. The sectors furthest down the road towards privatisation are the transport services and posts and telecommunications.

The state hopes that by using

the back alleys and dust paths to privatise they will escape the notice of the democratic forces.

The implications of privatisation are three-fold. Firstly, for the workers in enterprises that will be privatised, many will lose their jobs. In some instances workers who remain in privatised companies may benefit. They may begin receiving relatively superior benefits from the private companies. In the Post Office, for example, the Minister is linking the provision of an improved labour relations system to the privatisation of the service.

The net effect is that privatisation can reinforce divisions between different sectors of the working class. It remains the



challenge of the union movement to oppose this process in the interests of a united working class.

Secondly, the poorer sections of our community will suffer. Services will only be provided for those who can afford to pay a price that will make a profit. Market forces will determine who gets serviced and how well.

Thirdly, a new democratic government will not have access to resources to implement its policies. It will not be able to plough the profits from public corporations into redressing the imbalances caused by apartheid. Nor will it have the means to meet people's demands for affordable and accessible electricity, a national health service, a decent transport system and so on.

It is no co-incidence that the state is negotiating and privatising at the same time. The powers that be are determined to shape the future society in ways which continue to serve the interests of a privileged few, when they are no longer ruling.

Vulnerable sectors

To defend the interests of the more vulnerable sectors of the working class, to protect our people against increases in basic services and to prevent a newly democratic government being disadvantaged from the start, we need to campaign against privatisation.

The anti-privatisation campaign has weakened in recent months. Cosatu hopes to correct this in the near future, coming out more forcibly around related demands for public ownership of key strategic sectors and services.

But the campaign can really only get off the ground, if workers are joined by the community as a whole. It is the communities who are increasingly being hit the hardest by privatisation – when hospital fees or electricity tariffs increase or when non-profitable services are discontinued. Community organisations, the ANC and the SACP have an important role to play in this campaign. As a result of the

change in the state's approach, Cosatu has also had to look for a new approach. "We need to target those enterprises or parts of enterprises which are being quietly changed, expose and oppose these moves," said Floyd Mashele, Cosatu anti-privatisation campaign committee co-ordinator.

A few months ago, railway workers at City Deep in Johannesburg formed a barricade with their trucks – preventing private firms taking over their jobs. "These initiatives by workers on the ground are a key part of the struggle against privatisation and need to be publicised and supported by Cosatu," said Mashele.

One of the central concerns is the question of what kind of country democratic forces are going to inherit. If we do not want to inherit a government devoid of the resources to govern, we need to begin taking up the campaign at branch and national level.

While it remains necessary, it is no longer sufficient only to oppose those aspects of the state's programme which are against the immediate and long-term interests of the oppressed and exploited.

We need to begin looking at how we could construct the society we would regard as more democratic and just.

To come up with a public sector that genuinely serves the people, we need to begin to explore our own answers to the following kinds of questions: How do we change the transport system so that it serves the all-round needs of society, and not just to take people to and back from work? How should municipal services be restructured to serve the interests of all the people? How should the post office be restructured so that our telephones work? How do we provide free medical care for all, and not only for those who can afford it?

How do we ensure that state enterprises function efficiently and effectively? The search for viable alternatives can no longer be postponed. ♦



Delegates at Cosatu's Campaigns Conference.

Cosatu plans action on LRA and violence

The Cosatu Campaigns Conference from 7-9 September decided to call for three days of mass action: a one-day stayaway on 8 October and two days of factory-based action on 9 and 10 October.

This is in response to the government's refusal to meet Cosatu's demands on labour legislation and to pressurise the government to take effective action to end the violence.

"We see a close link between the violence and the refusal of the state to meet our demands on the LRA. Both are attempts to undermine democratic organisation and curtail the growth of a strong united working class", says Cosatu.

The decision to embark on mass action follows the failure of the Working Party between the union movement, employer organisations and the state

to reach an agreement.

However, on September 14, the government met a Cosatu delegation and agreed to some of the main demands put forward by the federation.

"We want to send a clear signal to the state that we are not prepared to get involved in ineffective talks-shops.

"If we go the route of negotiations, the state must be prepared to make genuine and fundamental changes", says Cosatu.

In the midst of the violence in the townships, the conference felt the stayaway would also highlight the people's demands for an end to attacks against our communities.

Cosatu is consulting with its membership, the ANC, SACP and the rest of the mass democratic movement on a further course of action. ♦

Government in the Interim

The whole negotiating process hinges on whether the mechanisms to supervise the transition will be fair and impartial.

Yet very little has been said about this issue. The dearth of information about positions of various parties has naturally led to confusion, suspicion and, worse still, general uncertainty within society as a whole. There is need for an informed debate among all South Africans.

The concept of an Interim Government is not new. It has been applied during transitional periods in many countries. Post-war situations and transition from colonial rule to independence are the most common. This, in the first instance, implies that the legitimacy of the existing ruling authority is in issue, and the need to create a new order has, in principle, been agreed upon.

To meet the requirement that the transition is not weighed in favour of one party, some countries used an arbiter from outside, accepted by the contending forces as impartial. In other situations, co-responsibility among the major parties has been resorted to.

Another compelling reason for an IG is the need to ensure that the authority to emerge from the transition is made up of people who have some experience in the running of government. The colonisers in Africa and elsewhere perverted this to imply a paternalistic approach to the colonised. But it is nevertheless essential that sections of society who have, by design, been excluded from government in the real sense, get experience in ex-

The next step once the Pretoria Minute is implemented and consensus on constitutional principles reached is negotiations on an Interim Government.

MAYIBUYE interviewed a number of ANC leaders and convened a workshop on this question. This article, which aims at generating further debate among our readers, summarises the views expressed in these discussions. Comments and other contributions are welcome.

ecutive power and governmental administration before the new system – which includes them – is established.

Failure to do this not only creates conditions for gross maladministration; it also gives functionaries of the old state the free hand to conceal crucial information and "mess things up" before power changes hands.

JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY

This is the sense in which the ANC has formulated its approach to this issue. Common sense shows that justice and fair play in transition cannot be guaranteed by one party to that transition. The commonly used phrase: "one cannot be a referee and a player at the same time", captures this concern quite eloquently.

Contrary to this view is the assertion that the present govern-

ment is, after all, in power and that it would be expecting too much to call on it 'to abdicate'. The government has a mandate from the white electorate, it is further argued, and it should use that mandate to manage the transitional process – or go back to its voters.

Some argue that the South African state is one 'in transition'. The ruling party has declared its intention to fundamentally change the order of things and is clearly shedding itself of the horrid past. The government has introduced some measure of free political activity. And already, in some localities, joint monitoring and liaison structures have been set up.

Society should trust that the Nationalist Party government will do the job to the satisfaction of all, so the logic goes.

These arguments are understandable. Any government in

power which ventures into a process of transition to a new order, whatever that order may be, would seek to take charge of that process. It will strive to control and manage it. And there is no denying that the present Nationalist Party (NP) leadership has gone further than any other colonial government in our history.

But to approach the issue from this angle is to beg the question.

SEVERE CRISIS

For a start, it would be wrong to assume that the government has introduced the few changes on its own accord. NP leaders have themselves said that the measures set in motion since FW de Klerk assumed office were motivated by the desire to come out of severe crisis. Both at the economic and the political level, government had become difficult or almost impossible.

Secondly, if the right of the government to rule and manage the transition is seen to derive solely from the white constituency, the talk about a new order should simply be written off. For, commitment to what is fundamentally new cannot be the business of those who gain from the old order. Indeed, ways have to be found to ensure that the majority of whites understand the need for fundamental change and support it; but the process belongs to society as a whole.

Thirdly, the legitimacy or otherwise of the government, in the eyes of the majority of the people, arises not so much from what it does, but whom it effectively represents, and in whose interest it is seen to act.

Fourthly, if indeed the government was striving for change to benefit all the people, why would it resist the involvement of the projected beneficiaries in the transitional mechanisms, or seek to have them there as junior partners!

It is an open secret that what has been gained from the Groote Schuur and Pretoria encounters was at the instance, partly, of much arguing and strenuous de-

bate at the talks. The Pretoria meeting nearly broke down because the government was resisting to set definite dates for the release of political prisoners and amnesty for exiles. To simply commit them to the removal of security legislation was not an easy task.

The government's narrow definition of free political activity reflects itself most shockingly when some of them religiously argue that mass mobilisation or mass action by the people forms part of the armed struggle. And therefore suspension of armed activity should also imply a moratorium on people's actions for higher wages, better housing, democratic education and other rights.

Before Pretoria and since, the government – as the authority in power – has behaved to its partner in the talks in a manner that does not approximate impartiality, to say the least. The detention of Mac Maharaj; the initial insistence on the exclusion of Joe Slovo from the ANC delegation; the refusal to grant indemnity to Chris Hani – the head of the ANC delegation to the Working Group on armed struggle – and Ronnie Kasrils: all these are manifestations of blatant partiality.

Then there were the announcements that the Security Management System (JMC's, etc), the CCB and Askari death squads continue to exist, either renamed or in their present form. The role of the police and army since the signing of the the Groote Schuur Minute is well documented.

It would certainly be disastrous for society to entrust the task of supervising the transition to the present government!

COMMITMENT TO CHANGE

At what stage does the Interim Government come in? The introduction of an IG would imply that a number of things have already happened. There has to be commitment by all parties to free and peaceful political engagement. Further, all should accept the need for fundamental

change, the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic SA. There will also have to be agreement on the mechanisms for drawing up a new constitution.

The IG would then be formed with the mandate to implement these agreements. The actual forms that the IG would take, even the 'name', are issues to be negotiated. But this has to be within the ambit of representativity, impartiality and, broadly-speaking, a commitment to ease the transitional process.

This rules out the notion that the present authority continues to exist in its present form, and that others are drawn in merely as functionaries or junior partners. Such was the disastrous Muzorewa "internal settlement" in old Rhodesia. At a lower level, this is what the tri-cameral parliament and bantustans represent, save in this case that the liberation movement would be drawn in.

MECHANISM

A mechanism to manage transition cannot take the form of colonial organs of indirect rule: accepting a few black faces in government as adjuncts of the white supremacist state. Or to accept them as advisers, with the government retaining the right to listen to or reject that advice.

This would amount to the liberation movement sharing responsibility for the policies and activities of the state, without the authority to determine these policies. By implicating the liberation movement thus, the apartheid rulers would gain legitimacy for the current status quo. In the final analysis, since such actions would include immobilising the people and even suppressing their actions, the liberation movement would be discredited.

An interim governing arrangement should therefore be one that enjoys the confidence of all sections of society, and it should be perceived by the whole of society as such.

How then is this achieved?

In some African colonies, elections were held to set up a tran-



"Don't privatise - democratise" is the message to the SABC during a protest march last month. An interim government will need to ensure that all parties have the right to propagate their views, to publish and to broadcast. The democratisation of the SABC will therefore be crucial.

sitional legislative assembly and corresponding Responsible Governments. However, the franchise was loaded heavily in favour of the settlers and authority lay ultimately in the hands of the colonial rulers. This was partly the reason behind the many complications during transition, leading to upheavals — some deliberately engineered — which spilled over to the post-independence period.

The other approach would be to involve all representative political movements, whatever their size, in setting up the IG. The prerogative to guarantee impartiality dictates that none of these organisations should be treated as 'major' or 'minor'. We have to avoid arrogating power to some demi-god with the wisdom to weigh the strength of each party. Wouldn't the most logical approach be to give parity — equal representation — to all parties? After all, the transition

should be guided by the imperative to allow 'the small fries' equal opportunities without any prejudice.

This of course could be reduced to its most absurd: anyone could tomorrow announce the formation of some political party. Such cases must be handled with a sense of responsibility and seriousness.

MINIMUM PLATFORMS

Further, it is to be expected that the parties would, as the process unfolds, coalesce into alliances on the basis of shared minimum platforms regarding both the transitional process and the strategic perspectives they hold. In its operation, the IG will need to strive more for consensus rather than majority vote.

The basic mandate of the IG is to create and protect conditions conducive to the drawing up and

adoption of a new democratic constitution. This will include affording all parties the right to propagate their views, to field their organisers everywhere without obstruction, to publish and to broadcast. In this regard, democratisation of structures such as the SABC is crucial. Intimidation from whatever quarter will have to be stamped out; and the law and order that prevails within society should be by society itself and by forces responsible to the community and to the impartial IG.

This cannot be realised if the IG does not have the supreme authority and the sovereignty to implement its decisions. The IG cannot be responsible to existing parliaments or the existing government and pretend to be impartial. It cannot ensure free and fair elections to a Constituent Assembly if it does not have effective command over the armed forces and other appa-

tuses of state. For it to deal with all kinds of crisis situations it will also need to have the powers to rule by decree. Further, members of the IG, though belonging to or seconded by given parties, should themselves not be eligible to stand for elections to a Constituent Assembly.

Freedom and fairness in transition implies more than just the absence of restrictions. It means encouraging the culture of peaceful political engagement within society as a whole. It also means removing other apartheid laws which indirectly impinge on these freedoms, eg., Population Registration Act, current anti-union labour legislation and others.

BILL OF RIGHTS

This would require a Bill of Rights which codifies the liberties that all citizens should enjoy. Such a Bill will also serve as a basis for censure against those, within state apparatuses and in broader society, who violate the principles governing the transition. The three main areas it will need to cover are: ensuring free political activity; de-racialising the South African body politic and allowing for such socio-economic activities as would relate to the transitional process.

With regard to the latter, it should be emphasised that the IG is not the forum – neither is the transitional period the time – for emphasis to be put on resolving the housing question, unemployment and other structural problems of apartheid. Conditions can be created for this in the transitional period, but the basic mandate and tasks of the IG should not be submerged in this. At the same time, the IG is not expected to implement policies of the previous government.

Can the IG, then, exist side by side with the present government and other apartheid structures such as the tri-cameral parliament?

Certainly, the IG will not set up a new Civil Service; neither will it have a new security apparatus, short of inviting an exter-

nal force. But these will not be existing parallel to, but under the command of the IG. If it is to fulfill its mandate without hindrance, the IG must be the supreme political authority of the land. The present legislative and executive authorities will not be necessary.

How then does this relate to the regions and localities?

It is in the regions and localities, not in the corridors of power, that problems of transition will manifest themselves most acutely. This is where intimidation and implementation of apartheid laws takes place. Therefore, the firm authority of the IG will have to be felt very keenly at local level. The Bill of Rights must be effectively enforced here.

To ensure this, anti-apartheid structures will need to take part in the running of regional and local government. This does not necessarily mean the duplication of the IG format in these areas: mechanisms could be found suitable for the areas concerned. Already, in actual struggle, residents in many areas have won for themselves the right to take part in the determination of municipal policies.

Structures for the transition will have to take into account this reality. In this regard, the aim should be to ensure rather than hinder as smooth a transition as possible.

TERM OF OFFICE

It should be granted that many difficulties are going to arise during this period. The longer the transitional process takes, the more will these problems multiply. In Kenya, where it took more than a year, social chaos increased with each passing day. Those who were resisting change had enough time to regroup and worsen the state of uncertainty and fear among sections of the population. Some business-people deliberately siphoned resources out of the country.

Despite the gulf among the various political forces, should strive to complete its work with-

in a reasonable period. This entails working out all detail pertaining to the holding of elections into a Constituent Assembly); administration while the Constituent Assembly is in session; supervising elections into a new legislative assembly on the basis of the new constitution, only after which the IG will hand over to the new government.

It would be to court disaster to prolong the transition beyond a period of two years. If most of the thorny problems are ironed out in earlier talks, and consensus successfully striven for, the IG's term of office could even be shorter.

STATEMENT OF INTENT

It seems that there is acceptance on the part of the government that there has to be a "Human Rights Charter" as well as a joint statement of intent to cover the transitional period. But their statements show an obvious resistance to an impartial, representative interim governing mechanism. While the government recognises the depth of the crisis facing the country, it is still attracted to the idea that it can get out of this crisis simply by pinning the spear, the shield and the Congress wheel to the apartheid flag: responsibility, on the part of the liberation movement, without authority.

This is the challenge that we have to contend with. And our response cannot simply be to negotiate our voices hoarse. The rulers need to be made to realise over and over again that, for them to continue governing, they rely on the consent of the governed. The liberation movement needs offensive strategies to bring about an impartial transitional arrangement. The people are, in various ways, capable of refusing to be governed by the present administration. For instance, when the right moment comes, they can declare that they will pay tax only to an IG.

In the final analysis, an impartial transitional mechanism will be the codification of what we have won in struggle. ♦



Learning to trust tactics of talks

The May Groote Schuur and the August Pretoria Minutes are important nodal points in the struggle of the South African people for democracy, peace and social progress.

But recent developments relating to this process have raised a number of questions and doubts in the minds of the youth. Young people have not always trusted negotiations. This is only natural given the following facts:

- The present generation of youth were born and became politically active under conditions in which negotiations were impossible. The liberation movement was banned and operated mainly from underground.
- Over the years, the brutality of the apartheid regime, especially against the youth, has hardened attitudes and built grave suspicions about anything

It is said that young people are the dynamo of any struggle for emancipation. But how does this apply to the stage of negotiations? A SAYCO NEC member looks at the challenges facing the Young Lions today.

the regime does.

- As a result of the above circumstances, the youth and many of our people have always conceived of victory as a situation in which the apartheid regime would be militarily smashed and the masses would storm the Union Buildings to install an ANC government.

Simply put, young lions were steeped in the politics of opposi-

tion that excluded debate with their enemy. This is the political environment which the government forced them to develop in.

However, the youth movement is today faced with new challenges. The process of struggle and the manner in which the issue of apartheid will be resolved, is unfolding in a way which had not been envisaged. While the goal of creating a united, non-racial



and democratic South Africa remains the same, the methods and emphases have changed. Therefore the youth need to learn and learn fast – both with regard to the theory of struggle and the practice relevant to current approaches.

This task is made easier by the presence within the country of the leadership of the ANC-led liberation alliance, and the fact that the movement can operate openly. This creates even better possibilities for intensive political education. In this regard, the cadreship that has been moulded over the years will stand the democratic movement in good stead. The curiosity, rebelliousness and impassioned enthusiasm of the youth needs to be harnessed. The youth must continue to play their active role even under present conditions.

Negotiations

Certainly, the youth leadership and cadreship do understand the present phase of our struggle, which involves talk with our arch-enemies. What is of central concern to all activists is that we are not doing enough to ensure that this process is mass-based. Negotiations must not serve to demobilise our people.

It is equally important that at all stages of the negotiating process, the youth – as an important component of the democratic movement – are fully integrated. Briefings by the movement leadership, as well as by youth leadership structures to the grassroots, will also help to enhance the confidence of the youth in the processes under way.

Groote Schuur and Pretoria have opened up possibilities for the people to achieve their democratic objectives. But this will happen in the context of intense struggle. The two main contending parties – the ANC and the government – are now locked in battle to secure powerful bases from which they can put forward their positions across the negotiating table.

In this regard, the most impor-



tant requirement of the day is to ensure that the youth play a vital role in galvanising the people under the banner of the ANC. Mass united action and the organisational strength of the ANC on the ground will be decisive in determining the final outcome of any political settlement. Building the forces of the people also includes the challenge for the youth to join Umkhonto we Sizwe in large numbers. The people's army remains seized with the task of defending our people and their right to self-determination.

The main challenge facing the youth is to build a powerful ANC Youth League. This process cannot be separated from the task of explaining, educating and reaching out to all sections of youth, black and white. It is also vital that the youth take active part in the mobilisation, organisation and education of the people in general: to further transform them into a powerful motor force for democratic transforma-

tion. If policies of the movement are properly understood by the people, they will act consciously to advance what the ANC stands for, even if it means laying down their lives.

The creation of a layer of skilled activists is central to the building of the youth movement today. The ANC Youth League will be faced with the task of reproducing the "advanced cadres" at all levels. But what will count most will be the links that are forged with the mass of the youth and people in general.

Organs of people's power

A peaceful political settlement must bring about fundamental democratic transformation in our country. As possibilities open up for dual power, the question of building organs of people's power occupies an important place on the agenda of youth structures. The monopoly of power by the state must be contested. People must run their

own lives wherever they are.

It is also important for Congress youth to build a broad youth front and reach out to as many young people as possible. Such a front will provide a democratic platform for debate and interaction in the process of active struggle. The minimum unifying programme is the perspective of non-racialism and democracy, and the resolve to actively take part in the anti-apartheid struggle.

We are also faced with the challenge of asserting our position among white youth. They have no reason to doubt our commitment to a peaceful political settlement. Political engagement even with those who oppose our goal of freedom is important. We can not relate only to youth formations which are part of the democratic movement. Besides, the winning over of white youth is vital in that it helps erode the social base of those who wish to maintain apartheid and white domination. ♦

An intensive recruitment drive and action aimed at ending vigilante violence are among the priorities of the newly-launched ANC Women's League, which is planning its national conference for October

From August 9 to 11 women from all corners of the country and from almost all walks of life converged in Durban for the relaunch of the ANC Women's League (ANC WL). They were joined by their sisters from exile who have returned to work inside the country. Other members of the ANC National Women's Executive, and women Chief Representatives from as far afield as West Germany, the United States and Norway were invited for the occasion.

The programme for the launch was divided into four main activities:

- August 9 – press conference officially announcing the launch;
- August 10 – visit by delegates

to areas affected by inter-communal violence;

- August 11 – a workshop attended by about 400 elected delegates from various regions; and
- August 12 – a rally at Curriesfontein.

The visit to the communities affected by the violence left deep impressions on the delegates. It is for this reason, among others, that action to bring peace among the people features prominently in the programme adopted by the workshop. A fortnight thereafter, marches were organised throughout the country, to register the protest of women against vigilante violence.

The League emphasised that these marches were for all women who are concerned about end-

Looking beyond



ing the violence, irrespective of their political affiliation. In Pietermaritzburg for example, the Inkatha Women's Brigade was invited to take part. Though they officially declined, a number of ordinary Inkatha members did join the demonstration. This shows that ordinary people of whatever political persuasion wish to see an end to the violence. And the League believes that women have got a central role to play in this process.

Women are the bearers of life, leaders of the Women's League argue. They cannot watch from the sidelines as that very life is being mercilessly squandered for a cause that benefits no one but the common oppressors of our people. The marches on August

25, in areas such as Cape Town, Pietersburg and Kimberley, were aimed at uniting women to bring pressure to bear on the apartheid state which is the main culprit for the tragedy in Natal.

This is just one – though crucial – aspect of the programme the Women's League has decided upon. An intensive recruitment drive, linked to such actions, is the most important task that the Women's League has set itself. More branches as well as regions have to be launched before the first National Conference which is to be held on October 25 to 28.

In her report to the Durban workshop, the interim national organiser of the ANC WL re-

vealed that more than 100 branches had already been launched. These are spread throughout the country, except Natal, where violence has had an inhibiting effect. However, at the time of the launch, only 4 Regions had set up regional structures. Why this delay?

A number of factors were noted by delegates at the workshop. These include:

- the lack of understanding on how the emergence of Women's League structures affects the Federation of Transvaal Women, the Natal Organisation of Women and other UDF affiliates;
- the feeling in some areas where there were no MDM women's structures that they should start off by creating these, before they can "graduate" into the Women's League;
- the tendency among some organisers to confine recruitment to those women who were involved in MDM structures in the past – 'where were you', some derisively ask; and
- the spill over of some of the secondary personality differences which plagued MDM women's structures in the past.

The Women's League says that MDM women's structures should not dissolve, at least now. Rather, if in the process of setting up ANC and Women's League structures it becomes clear that the UDF affiliates do not have an additional role, then they will gradually phase out. And this will be decided by their members, not by decree. Membership of the League should not have as a pre-condition, belonging to a UDF affiliate, but simply on the basis of acceptance of policies and objectives of the League. Those areas that lagged behind will develop in action within the League itself.

It is to be expected that MDM activists would be at the forefront of the formation of the Women's League. But the membership of the League is not confined to them. All South African women who accept policies of the ANC and the League are free to join. The League intends to draw into its ranks a wide spectrum of South African women – and it

the launch



Part of the crowd at the mass rally to launch the ANC Women's League



Celebrating the launch of the ANC Women's League

has cast its net far wider than the UDF affiliates. In this time of transition, more and more people are starting to appreciate the need to take part in the political process. To exclude them would be to narrow the base of the liberation movement.

Discussions around the Task Force report – both formally and informally – soon underlined other knots that need to be untied. The composition of the Task Force itself was a source of heated discussion.

At the Lusaka Workshop of representatives of internal and external structures earlier this year, it was decided that the Task Force would consist of 3 layers: the leadership core, the support group and technical staff. All these layers were to be composed of women both from outside and inside the country. However, except for the leadership core, and to an extent the technical staff, there had not been any significant number of internally-based cadres in the Task Force.

As a result, there has been a shortage of full-time organisers, propagandists and political edu-

cators both in the regions and at Head Office. The other, more serious, consequence of this has been the fact that the support group is weighed heavily in favour of cadres from exile – thus depriving it of the politico-organisational experience of those who have been in the MDM. The Durban workshop candidly discussed this question, and resolved to correct the imbalance with immediate effect. Regions are proposing names of cadres who will reinforce the Task Force.

The delegates also noted with serious concern the minimal presence of white women at the launch. At the time of the launch, no League branches had been formed in the "white areas". This certainly does not reflect the extent of white women's involvement in the struggle, observed the delegates. For they have been and are still active in youth, student, anti-conscription and other organisations. Many are in fact in ANC structures! The League faces the challenge of bringing them into its structures as active members.

The workshop also decided on

the venue and agenda for the first National Conference. This is where policy, a constitution and a programme of action will be formally adopted. Conference will also elect an Executive Committee of the ANC WL. But if Conference is to be successful, a lot of work will have to be done now. This will include ensuring thorough discussions in the branches. For this to happen, the proposed drafts and other issues need to be communicated in a manner accessible to ordinary members, primarily in languages they can read and write. It was firmly underlined that all regions must have launched by the time of National Conference.

Women's Charter

The workshop also decided on a special campaign for the drafting and adoption of a Women's Charter. This will be embarked upon before, during and after the League's National Conference. In the final analysis, this is to be a Charter of all South African women, not the property of any single organisation. The League's intention is to involve the widest spectrum of South African women – black and white – in the formulation and adoption of the Charter. This process will encompass mass actions around demands identified by the women themselves.

Other issues agreed upon are the literacy campaign, and a programme to assist "internal refugees".

On August 12, the day after the workshop, a mass rally at the Durban Curries Fountain arena launched the ANC WL. Nature had played its bad hand – it was too cold and windy. During the rally, it was announced that vigilantes were laying in wait at the Thokoza women's hostel in Durban to attack inmates who had attended the rally. However this did not dampen the spirit of the people.

Similarly, the difficulties the Women's League faces today are mere trifles, given the determination that the womenfolk have shown in the past, and their resolution today to weather all the storms. ♦

Weak to the core

1. The nature of the economy

The South African economy is founded on national oppression.

It is also a weak economy. We do not, like America or Japan, produce our own machinery or sophisticated technology. Instead we produce raw materials, like most of the poorer nations. We are lucky that our raw materials are gold and other precious metals.

The control over production, and the fruits of production, are divided unevenly between black and white.

2. Control over production

Whites, who represent only 18% of the population, control over 90% of the productive wealth (such as mines, banks, factories and shops) and 87% of the land.

But this wealth is not owned evenly among the whites. A minority within the minority control the wealth. South Africa is one of the most centralised economies in the world. Productive wealth is divided into three sectors:

- the government owns about 40% of all productive assets;
- companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange account for another 40%;
- other companies account for the remaining 20%.

Together, the top six companies - Anglo American, Anglo Vaal, Rembradt, SANLAM, Liberty Life and Old Mutual - account for almost 90% of all shares on the Johannesburg

MAYIBUYE looks at the structure of the South African economy

Stock Exchange.

Between them these companies control the South African economy. Some individually have total monopoly over some sectors (like beer). Some jointly control mining, most of manufacture and a large part of the retail trade. Together these top companies account for more than 60% of turnover of goods in South Africa.

Thus, the productive wealth of our economy is controlled by the big companies which are inter-linked in joint ownership and control. These companies are controlled by a small group of white, middle-aged men.

While these big companies do not control government-owned companies, privatisation aims to extend their rule.

3. The fruits of production

By virtue of their control over productive assets, whites also have a lion's share of the fruits of production. Whites' average income is 6 times that of blacks. There have been claims that the gap in income between blacks and whites has been narrowing. Latest figures show that this is not the case. Further, most in-

come is concentrated in the major urban centres.

4. Distribution of resources through the state

The disparity in control over productive resources and income is not the only factor accounting for the vast inequality between black and white. The apartheid state has made the situation worse.

At the present moment, R4 out of every R10 spent by the state is spent on apartheid. Some of this goes on duplicating resources like 16 departments of education (one for each ethnic/language group plus some co-ordinating departments), 3 parliaments and several bantustan governments. Much of it goes to repressive apparatuses such as the army and police.

The government spends much more on facilities for whites than for blacks. This applies to education, health, sport and so on. At the same time, the government has shifted the burden of taxation away from the big companies. These companies, including gold mining houses pay only 22% of tax paid. Individuals contribute 60%, as compared to the 25% they paid about ten years ago.

State companies are used to benefit whites - Afrikaners in particular. In other words, those who have political power use it to their own economic benefit.

5. The state of the economy

Until the end of the 1960s the economy was growing relatively

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THE JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE

- ◆ Shares are worth about R150 billion.
- ◆ R70 billion is owned by the Anglo American Corporation and 90% are controlled by the top six companies
- ◆ These six companies are controlled by only 2 500 directors.
- ◆ About 65 men between them control nearly 20% of all directorships.

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

- ◆ 65% of whites earn more than R24 000 per year while only 2,4% of blacks earn that much.
- ◆ The average household income for whites is R3 300 per month compared to R520 for Africans.
- ◆ 20% of the income-earning population account for 60% of the total income
- ◆ 70% of black households earn less than R700 per month, below the Household Subsistence Level of R840 per month.

→

smoothly. However, into the 1970s this growth slowed, stopped and then turned negative in the 1980s.

This has resulted in a real crisis for South Africa. The crisis is partly reflected in a high inflation rate (as seen in ever-rising prices) and enormous unemployment.

Each year, our population grows by nearly 3% or 1 million people. To provide for this, the economy must grow by about 6% per year. But the average growth rate over the past ten years has been 1% per year. As a result, unemployment stands at 4-6 million people. The number of employed people in 1990 is the same as in 1980, despite the population growth.

What all this means for the person in the street is that our standard of living is dropping on average by nearly 2% per year. In some areas, such as the Eastern Cape, it is estimated that half of the people who could work are jobless. Within ten years this might be the situation for the whole country.

6. Summary and implications

The lesson of this all is that any attempt to formulate purely political solutions will trip over the rough ground of economics. Plans for the future must address not just political rights and the vote, but people's material needs and economic growth as well.

The economic crisis and the widening gap between white wealth and black poverty cannot be reversed through individual effort. Capital is not being reinvested into the economy. Jobs are not being created. This cannot be changed simply by convincing the present owners of wealth.

Government intervention and sound economic planning will be required to tackle the structural features ignored by apartheid governments. A democratic government must pursue programmes of restructuring and reconstruction it is mandated to carry out by the electorate, most of whom are poverty-stricken. ♦

Dealing with vigilantes

A Soweto resident's view

Late in August, the community of Soweto woke up to a bloody battle between train commuters and a gang of vigilantes.

Rumours of Inkatha's imminent attack had been going on the previous night in areas like Central Western Jabavu and White City. By the morning, close to six people were known to have been killed.

Filled with anger, the community took to the hostels. The perpetrators of this violence had to be hit hard. Leaders of the community and other activists intervened. We should not go out to attack the hostel dwellers, they said. On that particular day, a bloodbath was averted.

But the killings continued. Within a week, more than 100 people had died.

There was no way in which the fighting could have been avoided. The residents did not initiate the attacks. They were acting merely in self-defence. And self-defence had to include rooting out the vigilantes from their nest: the hostels where they planned the attacks and stashed their weapons. These structures had to be razed to the ground.

The leaders argued that not all hostel dwellers were involved in these attacks. Not all of them support Inkatha. In fact, most of the attackers came from outside

Soweto and they were bused in for this purpose. At the Dube hostel, vehicles were seen bringing in people just before the attacks took place. The attackers wear red head-bands because they do not know each other; they are not all based in the hostels. They are also taught some pass-word and reply for identity.

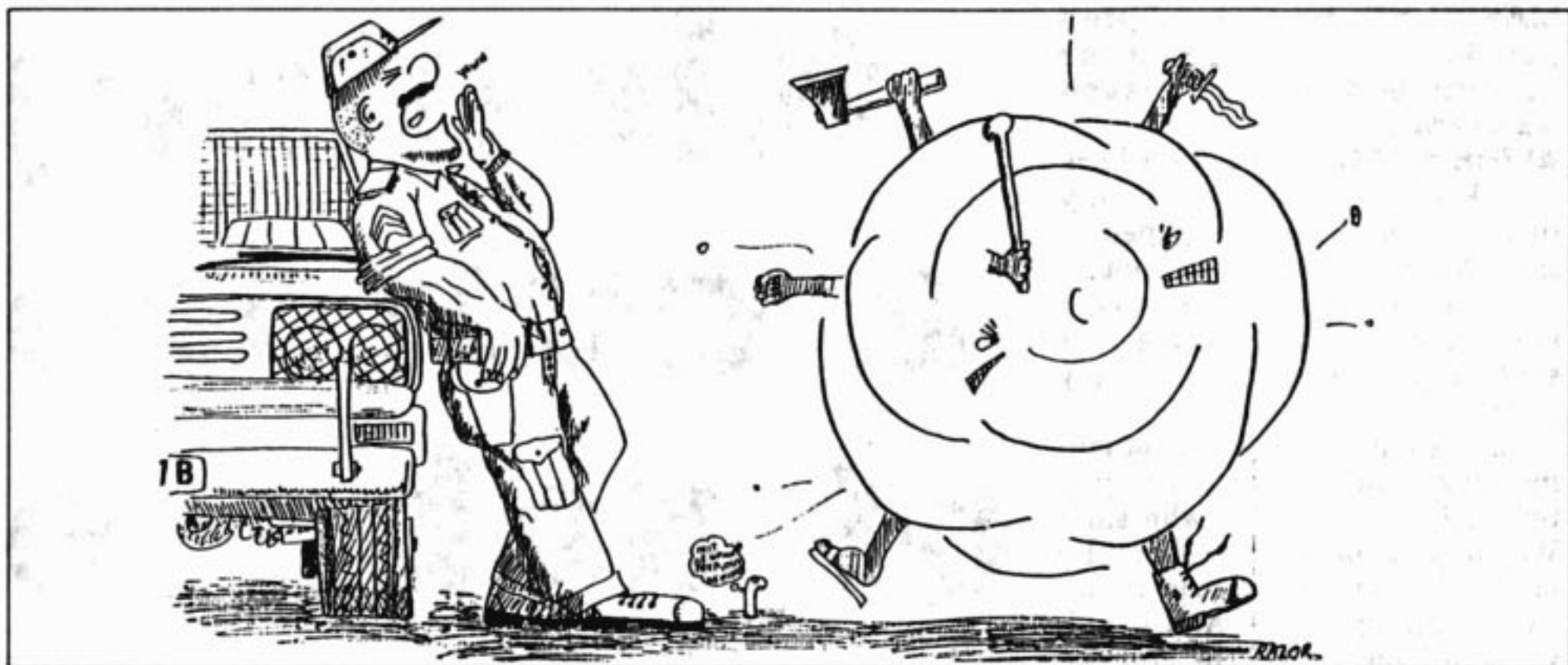
FORCED TO JOIN

Most of the hostel dwellers who took part in the attacks were forced to join, under the threat of death. Some were promised large sums of money, and were even encouraged to loot the houses they attacked.

It was clear from the beginning that most of the police were on the side of Inkatha. In many instances, they collaborated with the vigilantes openly. When Inkatha was shooting people, the police were happy onlookers. When the community fought back effectively, the SAP intervened to attack residents.

If the residents went out to attack the hostels, the leaders argued, this would antagonise those who were not on the side of the vigilantes. It would also give the police an added excuse to attack the community, and to kill as many of our people as they desired. A bloodbath of this kind had to be avoided.

While this argument made a



"When Inkatha was shooting people, police were happy onlookers. When the community fought back effectively, the SAP intervened"..

lot of sense, it was quite clear that residents were eager to teach the vigilantes a lesson. To negotiate only and persuade them to stop killing us could end the violence in the short-term. But the killers would have gone back like victors, ready to attack the next time. In Soweto we wanted them to meet their Waterloo.

From the first day onwards, the residents organised themselves into defence units. In each street, there were people selected and grouped to patrol. Warning signals were agreed on. It was agreed that when an attack came, people should behave in a certain way. We also had to find our own weapons to beat the attackers back. Though we are at a disadvantage, we had to be as creative as possible.

It is because of this that the attackers did not succeed as much as they had wanted. In a number of areas they were dealt deadly blows, and they retreated from the townships leaving a few dead behind them, and licking their wounds.

Looking at the whole experience, there is one observation to be made. The residents suffer most of their casualties in the first few days of the attack, while they are still disorganised. Once they work out a clear strategy of self-defence, the other side starts to feel residents' blows. In fact, when agreements are

reached, this comes as a relief to the vigilantes.

Though we cannot celebrate any loss of life, it is important to indicate that in Soweto, the vigilantes had a tough time. While we were preparing for the funerals, important facts came to light. We had to identify all the residents killed so we could bury them in a systematic way. And there were two main categories: those who reside in Soweto, and migrant workers killed by the vigilantes. We searched and searched, deeply worried that something might have gone wrong: but we could not identify any more than about 40 such people.

What had happened to the rest, since more than 130 people were killed? It is quite clear that most of the dead in fact came from the vigilante gangs. We were told of bodies being ferried at night back to the rural areas where the vigilantes came from.

BREATHING SPACE

Therefore, while negotiations aimed at ending these attacks are welcome, they can only give us a breathing space. The attackers will come back in the future, the residents are convinced.

They want to divide the residents on ethnic lines and to create fear within our communities. Then they will come in to

recruit us into Inkatha by force. Their backers do not want negotiations to go on, because they are afraid this will lead to the end of white rule. So they will not stop their activities forever.

The residents have to be prepared all the time. We must always be united and organised. When next they come, they should not take us by surprise.

AGREEMENT

The agreement reached to monitor the activities of the police is an important one. Selected members of the community liaise with a general of the SAP. This will help to expose the activities of those among the police who side with the attackers. For example, we will be able to identify those who are practically seen helping the vigilantes, attacking people's houses and stealing property.

In some areas they took beds, wardrobes and other furniture. We were told that some policemen were demanding bribes from residents: one had to pay R50 to save his skin.

The vigilantes are now lying low. Many must have gone back to where they came from.

One of the things they failed dismally to do is to divide the Soweto community. The stay-away and the mass funeral on the 27 August showed that we are as united as ever. ♦

Kindling a culture of debate

MAYIBUYE: What prompted you to write the paper on culture, and has it achieved its purpose?

ALBIE SACHS: It was Barbara Masekela who prodded me very firmly to present the paper to the ANC Seminar. I took that as a challenge and, I must say, I enjoyed very much writing it. I said things that were on my mind.

The result has been astonishing. Just before speaking to you today, I met someone who said: We got your paper on Robben Island. We were discussing it; we were arguing over it. And I said, what did you think. He said, we agreed. But whether they agreed or not, the fantastic thing is that people were talking about culture on the Island.

Somebody from the United States asked for the full text. He said the paper had aroused a lot of interest there. So it is not only inside South Africa.

It is not an accident that culture to us is not just the question of playing the piano or making good movies. Culture is a very deep thing. It's about who we are. It's what we mean when we say we are South Africans. I think it is very good that there is this vigorous debate.

More important than the debate on culture is what we might call the culture of debate. We have got to learn, in my view, to speak freely, to debate freely. We are freedom-fighters. How can we be not free in our arguments, in our discussions? And not to get upset if people have different views from ours; but to listen.

MAYIBUYE: You are saying that people's culture should also include the culture of debate. How would you assess both the positive and negative responses to your paper?

AS: What I found out was that, overwhelmingly, the responses have been very positive. I think the people who agreed didn't find it so necessary to go to paper. And I welcome very much the people who disagreed. That's very good. Some even used some strong language. That's fine.

MAYIBUYE spoke to ANC legal expert Albie Sachs, whose recent paper on art and politics has sparked vigorous debate in cultural circles and beyond. The debate must continue, he says.

Truth emerges from the contest between ideas.

The debate must move on. And we are moving into a new era. We have to start thinking that now we are not writing from the underground, from exile, from opposition. We are moving into the age where we are involved directly in the media: not "alternative media" but the media. Do we have the cadres, do we have imagination to deal with this, or are we going to come out with rather boring didactic things. In that sense, can we measure up to the freedom that we have had to create and feel it out in a robust and interesting way?

MAYIBUYE: Do you think there are people who misunderstood what you were driving at?

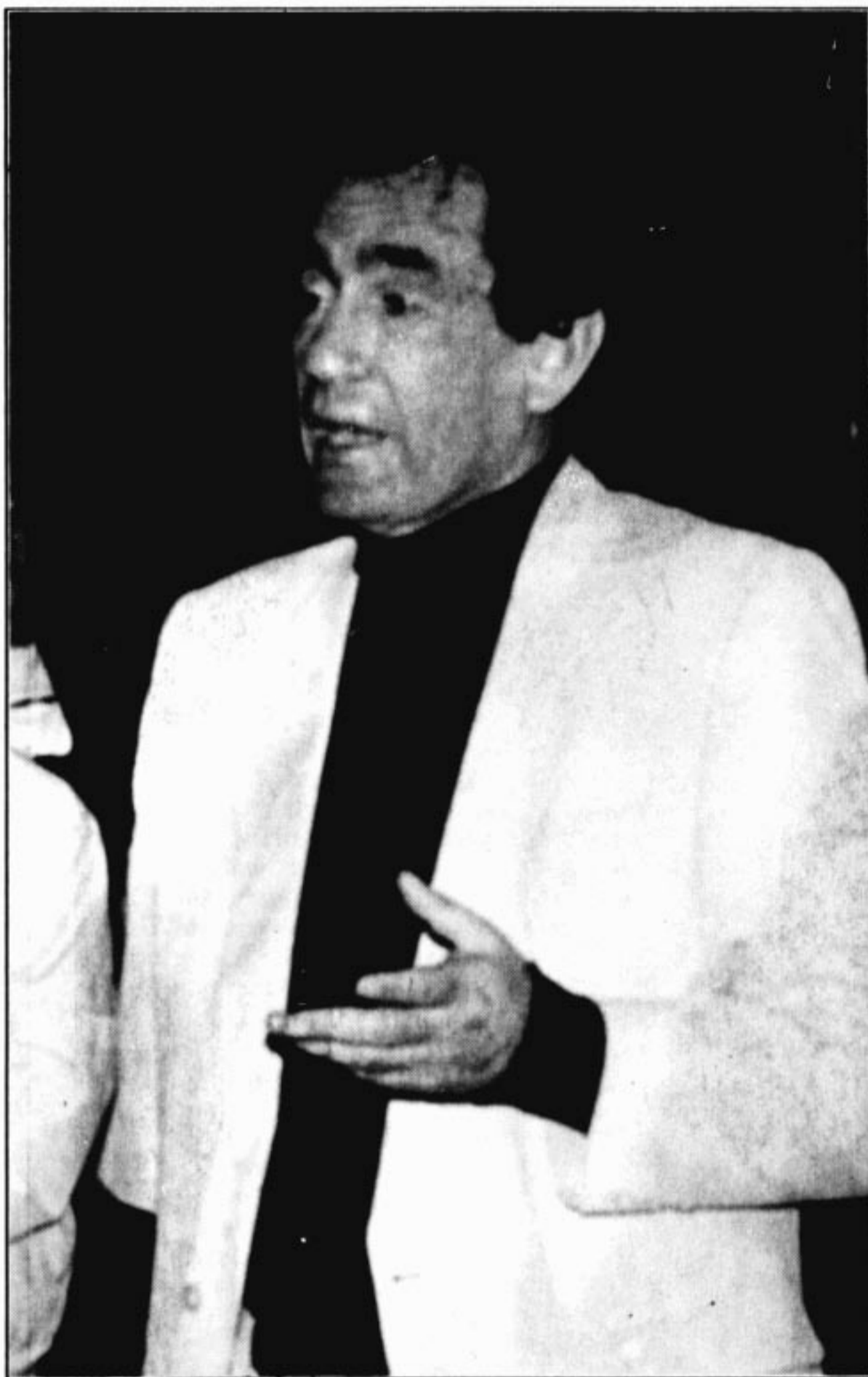
AS: The only part that upsets me is that a number of people working in community art projects read the paper to mean that the work that they were doing is worthless because it does not meet very high standards. I

was very pained because I was not focusing on that area at all. And maybe people could say – and I think with justice – that was the error in the paper: that it did not take into account sufficiently the work that is being done by community art projects. To some extent they are the seeds of what one hopes will help germinate a very vigorous popularly-based new culture.

What also worried me was a very narrow vision that I felt many people have about culture: an attempt to have a sort of hegemonic approach – laying down a line always as to what is people's culture.

It's true that a number of people who are basically very conservative saw my paper as a justification for separating art and politics. That's their problem; it's not my problem. You cannot separate it. I haven't tried to.

The question isn't whether to have art without politics. It is what the relationship should be between the two. The fact is that you can't command art. It just doesn't work. You get a servile,



Albie Sachs: "More important than the debate on culture is what we might call the culture of debate...We are freedom fighters. How can we not be free in our arguments, in our discussions?"

empty, shallow artistic production. And the people want other kinds of cultural activities which they enjoy, which are vivacious, which are interesting; which touch the depths of the deep problems that people have. And they will run away from our shallow representations. That was one of the things that were worrying me.

I have shouted as many slogans as anybody. Maybe even

more than anybody – in Portuguese, in English. I am not against slogans. But the problem is when slogans become a substitute for real creativity, that sense that it is the enemy dominating our artistic endeavours. We all the time try to dislodge the enemy. We're fascinated and obsessed by the enemy. The enemy is on every page, in every image and every poem. And we don't write about our-

selves and our own range of emotions and joys, our sorrows, our problems and dilemmas.

MAYIBUYE: You have said – and many people agree – that literature in South Africa is lagging behind other art forms. What is the reason behind this?

AS: Many factors come into it. It's partly that you become very dependent on publishers; whereas you can dance without a publisher; you can make music without a publisher. The language question comes into it. You dance in your own language. You blow your horn in your own language. In the case of literature, many people feel – rightly or wrongly – that they must use English and it is not their mother-tongue, the tongue of their deepest emotions, of their most subtle feelings. That's another problem that arises in literature.

I think the real reason isn't that. The real reason is fear. And it is not fear of censorship from the enemy. It is fear of ourselves and what our comrades will say. I think that has held us back very much. And you can't write deep, profound, witty, lyrical things if you are trying all the time to please some imaginary comrade who you imagine is going to say: how can you say this, how can you say that, how can you say the other.

And so you go for the safe representations in terms of events, in terms of character, in terms of themes. You are scared to write a love story. You think people will say, ah, comrade, in the midst of a revolutionary struggle how can you write about love. You are scared to show a militant with defects of character – we all have defects. So you make your characters very queer, because you are scared that if you show defects someone will criticise you and say you are undermining the struggle. You are scared to show people on the other side who have got some positive features. Even though that is a reality – all kind of mixed up – you are scared people will say you make it more difficult to attack the enemy because you

show they have got some human qualities.

I think that is the main problem. And coupled with that is a failure on our part to deal with the anonymous: the collective on the one hand and the personal on the other. We are in a movement where we do things collectively; where we consider the question of accountability very very important, and in that sense we don't like to individualise our voices. We even said it's bourgeois, it's self-centred, it's egocentric, it's uncomradely to speak out in your own voice.

And you are not going to write literature of any value unless you speak in your own voice. You have to make it as personal as possible. On the other hand, personal does not mean that you are not concerned with the preoccupations of the people. Your voice – your mode of telling the story – that has got to be yours. And you have to go right deep inside yourself. In a way, our whole style of work, that sense of solidarity and linking arms, though it's so important, locks us from doing that.

In the case of music, the team works. It's very rare for us to have soloists. In the case of theatre and dance there is a team that is working. In the case of writing, it's a lonely, personal, individual thing. And sometimes I think we are too timid to really undertake that. We feel it's being uncomradely to do that. That's the area in which we need more courage, and the movement more supportive – to tell our writers: explore, and say it in your own voice. Explore even your own psyche, your own capacity of story-telling.

MAYIBUYE: Have you modified any of your ideas, given the variety of responses received?

AS: From travelling and from meeting people, I would certainly like to think more about how one can link up the idea of a national literature, a national dance, film-making and TV and the soap operas that we are going to need for TV at advanced levels of production involving so-



Musician Abdullah Ibrahim, who performed in Johannesburg recently after years in exile.

phisticated technique and high quality – how we can link that up with the more experimental popular activities in the communities. I don't see them as being incompatible by any means. On the contrary. That's the part that I would like to give more away to.

Maybe I will stop saying now that we must ban the statement that art is an instrument of struggle. I think it has had a shock effect. But I don't withdraw the principle at all, nor the idea, to get away from the slo-

ganistic type thing and to be much more creative, much freer and much more open. For the rest, I don't think that there is anything much that has to be changed.

But what I found most interesting: you know the part I was really "bang" about – and it is nice to be able to use the good old South African word again – was when I said white is beautiful. I thought that would create a tremendous reaction. Nobody has responded to that. Maybe it's too early to explore that theme.

I'm not saying that whites are beautiful: white behaviour, white culture in South Africa has been ugly. White supremacy is what we were fighting against.

What I was really saying is that, for whites to participate in the struggle for a free South Africa, they can't do it on the basis of shame, on the basis of beating their backs. Whites must participate like everybody else, with a sense of pride. And to look to aspects of white culture which are positive and to bring them to the new South Africa. A lot of the Boer resistance to British imperialism was very heroic. It was epic. It is part of our culture. We take pride in that. We take pride in Olive Schreiner and her contribution...

It's good if we Africanise ourselves. But not by assuming a pseudo-black character and personality. Obviously, if we all participate we'll bring in something into the new South Africa... What I'm saying to the whites is that, if you are going to join into the struggle for a new South Africa, keep your head up, don't come crawling into the struggle. That's really what I was saying when I said white is beautiful.

MAYIBUYE: What is the role of culture in this period of transition?

AS: Cultural transformation is part and parcel of the transition. It's not a role in the transition. Culture is something in our heads.

When we learn to be free, that's a tremendous cultural act. To the extent that we are involved in this transitional period, we are transforming ourselves, in a cultural way.

To the extent that we have access to the media that we didn't have before, gives us opportunities we didn't have.

But it does not solve the question of imagination, the question of resonance, of content, if you like. I find impressive the vitality of people, the openness, the eagerness for discussion and debate. I think this all comes through in our cultural representations. ♦



Albie Sachs on the slopes of Cape Town's Table Mountain on his first day back in the city after many years in exile.

On September 12, as MAY-IBUYE was going to press, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly went into session to discuss the situation in South Africa.

The debates were to focus on developments within the country since the adoption of the UN Declaration which reaffirmed most of the positions of the Harare Declaration on negotiations. Their assessment was to be based on the report of the UN General Secretary. This report was compiled primarily from the information gathered by the UN Fact Finding Mission which visited South Africa last June.

Sources in New York indicate that the OAU's African Contact Group on Southern Africa had already expressed considerable disquiet over the UN Report. They were mandated by the African Group of Ambassadors at the UN to study the Report before the General Assembly meeting. According to the African Contact Group, the UN Report does not address the question of what needs to be done to ensure the apartheid regime's compliance with the UN Declaration.

The UN Declaration places the responsibility for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations squarely on the shoulders of the South African government. The Report, however, erroneously suggests that the government and the ANC have a joint responsibility to ensure the creation of a "climate conducive to negotiations".

The UN Declaration states that "the present SA regime should at least" do five things in an effort to create a climate for negotiations. The African Contact Group notes that the government has failed to comply with these minimum conditions required by the UN Declaration.

Firstly, the Declaration calls on the SA regime to "release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them". By Pik Botha's own admission in the UN Report the regime has not complied with this condition. Indeed it has subsequently gone as far as detaining,

The world's verdict on apartheid

amongst others, a member of the ANC NEC.

Secondly, the Contact Group notes that the regime has failed to "lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons". The OAU has assembled indisputable evidence that restrictions are still in place through a myriad of security legislation including the Internal Security Act. The UDF is still an "affected organisation" which prohibits it from receiving funds from abroad.

Thirdly, the Declaration calls for troops to be removed from the townships. On this question, the Contact Group states that on the pretext of arresting interne-cine violence which it has fomented, the regime is deploying troops in black areas, for instance, the 32 battalion in Natal.

CONTACT GROUP

Fourthly, the Contact Group notes that the continued existence of the State of Emergency in Natal, and the fact that the Internal Security Act and a host of other repressive laws are still on the statute books, places the regime in default with regard to the requirements of the UN Declaration. The regime has not even suspended the implementation of repressive laws as a prelude to their eventual repeal.

Finally, the UN Declaration calls on the regime to "cease all political trials and political executions". According to the Contact Group, although the regime has announced a moratorium on executions and the commutal of

the death sentence imposed on certain prisoners, it retains the power to lift the moratorium and resume executions at any time. Political trials are still continuing.

The Contact Group notes that the regime's failure to comply with these conditions implies that, in the words of the UN Declaration, "profound and irreversible changes" are far from being realised.

Indeed, nowhere in the Report of the UN Fact Finding Mission is it stated that the terms of the Declaration have been met.

The Contact Group is of the view that no progress can be registered until the government has complied fully with requirements of the Declaration. It is critical to note that those countries which believe that existing measures against the regime should be relaxed are motivating for a violation of the international consensus reflected in the UN Declaration. If indeed any changes have to be made to the UN approach, the initiative in this regard should come from the people of South Africa.

Easing the pressure on the regime now can only jeopardise efforts to create a climate for negotiations. The OAU Contact Group goes further than the Declaration and calls for the intensification of sanctions against the regime.

This call is bound to receive a wider and more sympathetic hearing, given the obvious complicity of the state in the banditry now engulfing black townships in the southern Transvaal.

Following the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola in 1988, and the signing of the New York Agreements by Angola, Cuba and South Africa, it was hoped that the Angolan people would finally be able to live in peace. Under this agreement, Pretoria committed itself to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence and cease its support for UNITA. However, the United States administration, although presenting itself as a "peace broker", said that, because it was not signatory to the agreements, it would continue military support for UNITA.

Washington started in 1986 to pour at least \$15-million a year into aid for UNITA. This was after combined South African/UNITA offensives failed to overthrow the Angolan government.

The war has taken a dreadful toll, with more than 100 000 Angolans killed, about a million displaced persons and the highest proportion of disabled people in the world. Along with Mozambique, Angola has the highest war-related infant mortality rate.

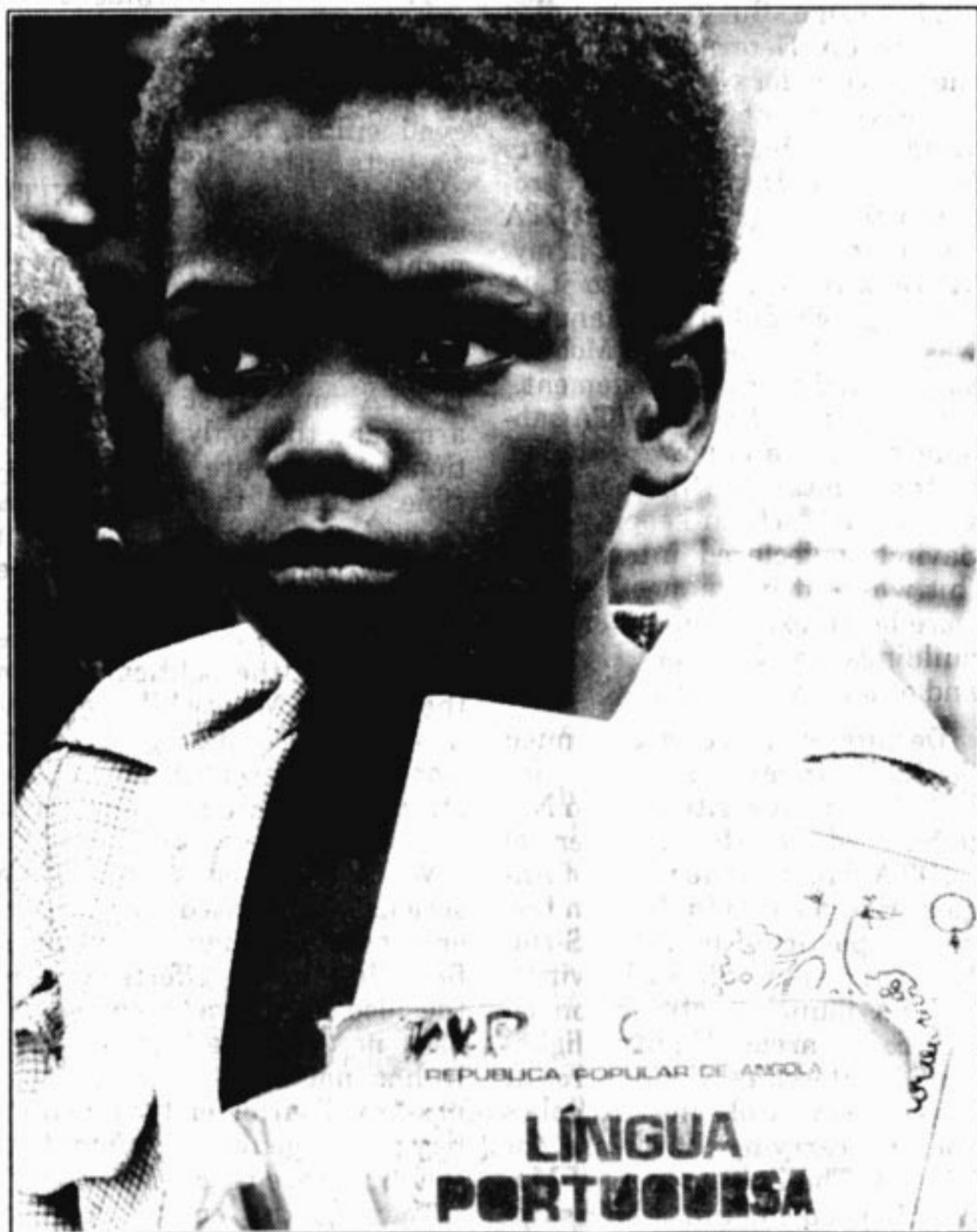
AMNESTY LAW

Against this background of extreme suffering, in early 1989, the Angolan government proclaimed an Amnesty Law covering all anti-government elements who laid down their arms and pledged to respect the country's laws. It drew up a peace plan which was presented to eight Heads of State of Central and Southern Africa at a meeting in Luanda in May 1989. The plan called for the ending of South African and US interference in Angola's internal affairs. It also called for the temporary retirement of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi from the Angolan political scene, to facilitate national reconciliation. All this was accepted by the meeting.

Another meeting was convened on 22 June at Gbadolite, Zaire, by President Mobutu who, on his own initiative, invited Savimbi to attend. A cease-fire was proclaimed. The government and

A thorny road to peace

US intervention on the side of UNITA is delaying the peace process in Angola



An Angolan school child in the country's war-torn southern province of Subre.

UNITA accepted Mobutu as mediator and, as later confirmed by a further summit in Harare, Savimbi agreed to the government's plan, including his own retirement. On Washington prompting, it would appear, he subsequently denied having done so.

While Angolans were rejoicing at the news of a cease-fire, UNITA embarked on an unprecedented escalation of the war. By September last year, 733 people had killed, 1 207 wounded, 173 kidnapped and 422 were missing, while the number of acts of sabotage had sharply increased.

A summit of the eight Heads of State held in Nsele, Zaire, in September, drew up a declaration reaffirming the principles of the Gbadolite meeting, which Mobutu was to present to Savimbi to sign. But Savimbi failed to turn up. Determined to push the process forward, the Angolan government drew up a revised plan which it presented to Mobutu in December. It proposed the integration of UNITA members into the Angolan army. There was no response to it. A meeting scheduled for January was cancelled because Mobutu said he had a prior engagement.

In February 1990, UNITA sabotaged water and power supplies to the capital, the first of a series of such acts in keeping with Savimbi's declared intention to "hit where it hurts most". There were bomb explosions in civilian buildings in Luanda, Huambo and other urban centres.

Despite evidence of continued South African support for UNITA, the new situation in Namibia led to the transfer of UNITA forces to the north of Angola. Using bases in Zairean territory, particularly the US-run Kamina base in Shava Province, UNITA launched attacks on oil and coffee areas. Nightly flights by CIA Hercules C-130 aircraft have been violating Angola's borders carrying hardware for UNITA. The Zairean port of Matadi is used for unloading shipments of US arms. The Washington Post revealed in June that, in addition to \$50-million



UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi: whose interests does he serve?

already earmarked this year for UNITA, President Bush has asked Congress to approve a further \$10 - \$15 million.

The Angolan government has refrained from launching another large-scale offensive against UNITA. Through Portugal's good offices, it has had direct contacts with UNITA.

The United States and UNITA are demanding that the government recognises UNITA as a political party with a view to multi-party elections. The government points out that UNITA must first disband its army and that only under conditions of peace are elections possible. Until the country is cleared of mines and people can be resettled, no census can be taken. It has said a referendum will be held to enable the people to decide on the political system they want. Meanwhile, a commission is examining the revision of the present Angolan Constitution, which provides for a one-party system.

While these issues are being seriously addressed by the government, showing remarkable flexibility in its efforts to stop the bloodshed, there has so far been no response from UNITA. It has not shown any willingness to disarm, end its war of terror and genuinely commit itself to a peace process.

Towards the end of August, another meeting between the government and UNITA was due to be held in Portugal. It is

hoped that a settlement can be reached among Angolans, but so long as the United States remains committed to war as a means of putting UNITA in power, it seems unlikely that Jonas Savimbi's group will lay down its arms.

The major obstacle to peace in Angola is indeed the United States administration. Although it previously invoked the Cuban presence in the country as its reason for interfering in Angola's affairs, it now makes Soviet arms supplies its pretext. The real reason lies somewhere else.

Washington's hostility to the MPLA dates back almost thirty years. At the start of the liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism, it backed Holden Roberto's Zaire-based FNLA as a group counter to the MPLA. During the run-up to Angola's independence in 1975, a CIA airlift from Zaire was co-ordinated with a South African invasion from the south.

The CIA financed the sending of mercenaries to Angola in a last-ditch attempt to save its FNLA proteges, later transferring its support to UNITA when South Africa started to build it into a force. Now Washington has replaced Pretoria as UNITA's major sponsor.

Therefore, unless strong pressure is brought to bear on Washington to end its interventionist policy in Angola, the prospects for peace will remain far from encouraging. ♦

The state has embarked on a much-publicised strategy to change the education system. Called the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS), it is a response to the changing nature of the education struggle.

It is in the education struggle where we can clearly see how the terrain on which we battle continues to change, demanding reassessments of the approach used by the democratic forces.

In the 1976 uprising there was a general rejection of Bantu Education. The education struggle of the 80's stressed the democratisation of education, transforming the curriculum and linking education issues with the wider struggle. Transformation of education today is seen as something which can be attained in the process of the national liberation struggle.

This has required an approach which combines addressing the immediate while laying the basis for a future democratic system. This is the way in which the National Education Coordinating Committee and the ANC have looked at the present education crisis.

The NECC in consultation with the ANC, examined ways of dealing with the current crisis in education.

The problems which were being confronted had been the product of decades of apartheid education and in particular the heightened campaigns of the 80's. It was pointed out that the 1990 academic year would be lost unless some form of intervention was made.

After consultation with different sectors it was decided that a 'Back to School' campaign be launched. Students felt that the exams should be extended to the December/January period. The NECC pointed out that this was not possible as exams would have to be completed by the end of this year. As a compromise, it was agreed that exams be written from mid-November to mid-December.

All students who fail 1990 exams or who want to improve their results must be allowed to rewrite during Feb/March 1991.

Prospects for learning



These demands were put to the minister of education, Stoffel van der Merwe, on September 3. The postponement was agreed on in principle, but the government was only prepared to give students a week's grace. Furthermore, the government will allow only people who have scored 20% or more in their exams the opportunity to rewrite.

Students had been hoping to register for their exams and then write some papers in the February/March period to lessen the burden in November and give them sufficient time to study.

NOT CONSTRUCTIVE

The stance taken by the education ministry is certainly not constructive!

An intensive campaign of learning was to have been launched from 3 September to 11 November 1990 according to the original schedule. This would have meant that students would use weekends for classes.

It was also hoped that tertiary students and academics would help in the preparation of high school students.

This campaign does not require moral commitment and support only. It demands practical action from all the sectors affected.

The programme has already been affected by the state taking punitive measures against teachers, sparking off teacher strikes in Northern Transvaal, Transkei and Natal. Furthermore, the possibility of getting students from throughout the country to return to school has proven problematic. They are still facing the acute grievances which gave rise to the original actions they decided to undertake.

A further problem faced in this campaign – and which is a critical aspect of the crisis in education – lies in the morale within the classroom. The continued victimisation of teachers, their lack of any real job security and the state's recent lack of response to 'Chalks Down' strikes

has resulted in a situation whereby teachers are not teaching.

Students see going to school as a futile exercise.

A high degree of social decay such as youth gangsterism, violence and drug/alcohol abuse are manifestations of students' demoralisation.

The almost complete absence of physical resources such as textbooks, libraries or laboratories, only reinforce the students' arguments. In some areas, students have not attended schools for over four months. In Natal, for example, about 500 000 students are displaced.

SERIOUS MEASURES

Undoubtedly, serious short- and long-term measures have to be taken to overcome the problems faced.

The government's ERS promises radical policy changes. However, its approach and emphasis is located at a predominantly technical level.

Education commissions which have been appointed deal with the following categories: linkages between non-formal and formal education; distance education; overlap between universities and technikons; educational programmes for teacher training; curriculum for school and technical education; pre-tertiary academic policy; certification procedures; university standards; and entrance requirements at a tertiary level.

It is becoming clearer that the Department of National Education (DNE) is soon to become the central education department with other departments becoming decentralised loci of control. ERS hopes to achieve this, making the education authorities less accountable to the other sectors and more directly controlled by the DNE minister.

Whilst this will have the appearance of a single education ministry, the different bureaucracies will be maintained. The people will not be fooled by this sham which continues to allow power to remain in the hands of the white ministry.

The recent announcement made by the minister of white education bears this out. It allows for white schools to become open if 80% of the parents polled agree. Given the history of separation and swart gevaar, the likelihood of this happening are remote.

The minister is engaging in mere gestures. In fact, according to the new formula for subsidies, schools which resist change will be subsidised more than those which opt for opening up.

ERS is aimed at delaying the implementation of the basic reform measures we expect. Education struggles at local levels cannot be resolved simply because the local authorities are waiting for some policy decisions to be taken 'at the top'.

Thus simple demands, such as the delivery of textbooks, are met with delays and buck-passing. Usually security forces are brought in – simply exacerbating the situation.

A key principle of ERS is to increasingly privatise education. This idea was introduced by the De Lange Commission in 1981. If this approach is implemented, local communities will be required to take responsibility for education. However, certification and curriculum will be controlled by the central government.

FACILITIES

This means that the education facilities of less privileged communities will continue deteriorating. The division between a highly-skilled professional class and the working class will increase. The working class will at best be semi-skilled and mass youth unemployment will increase.

On another level, privatisation of education does not make economic sense. South Africa has to develop its human resources. This is a priority area for a post-apartheid SA. This requires the development of critical thinkers able to contribute to the process of transformation. It also means cultivating the technical skills absolutely necessary

for a developing economy.

This aspect of the ERS requires us to be clear about the democratic alternatives we wish to put forward. On the one hand we must struggle against those aspects of the state strategy which will be damaging to the long-term prospects of a democratic education system.

At the same time, we must, at local, regional and national levels, advance the changes we need so as to replace the apartheid system.

EDUCATION POLICY

The medium-term programme drawn up by the NECC will assist in this process. It envisages running a campaign at mass level to determine educational policy and the transformation of education.

This includes aspects of: content of education, control over education and access to education and educational resources.

It also requires the process of building people's power in education, for our democratic structures of education to begin to take control of education and lay the basis for a non-racial and democratic system of education.

The Education Charter Campaign is to be revived and will focus on the following areas: literacy and numeracy; tertiary education; early childhood education; curriculum development; school managements – PTSA's; education policy; in-service training; teacher development and finance.

The NECC's National Policy Research Unit, which is to coordinate and commission research on education matters, will work parallel to the People's Education Commission.

It will present to the mass structures the different options with regards to educational policy. In this way expert advice can be combined with mass participation.

Our principle position is simple: we want people – the students, the teachers, the parents – to be placed at the centre of all considerations in the drawing up of new education policies. ♦

Normalising sport

MAYIBUYE spoke to ANC national organiser Steve Tshwete, who has been involved in talks with a broad range of sporting bodies in the country, about moves to build non-racial sport.

MAYIBUYE: What is the ANC's conception of non-racial sport?

STEVE TSHWETE: Sport has all along been organised along racial lines, according to apartheid legislation, and according to the entire apartheid system of doing things.

That is why you have sporting bodies such as the SARB (South African Rugby Board), which is purely and exclusively white. Almost all the major codes are organised along racial lines. And the resources have accordingly been allocated in favour of whites: better playing grounds and pitches, sponsorship and training facilities.

However, there has been struggle on the ground against apartheid. Strong sectoral organisations have emerged in culture, in sport and in recreation generally. All these structures identify with the democratic struggle and assert that sport cannot be seen as a separate entity from the general offensive for the destruction of the system. This is part of

the alternative democratic culture that has emerged.

These bodies are non-racial in character because they do not define membership in terms of ethnicity and race. They accept all men and women who see themselves as sportspersons and not as belonging to this or the other racial group as the starting point.

Establishment sport proceeds from racial classification. Non-racial sport is not colour conscious. It sees South Africans as individual men and women, not as racial categories.

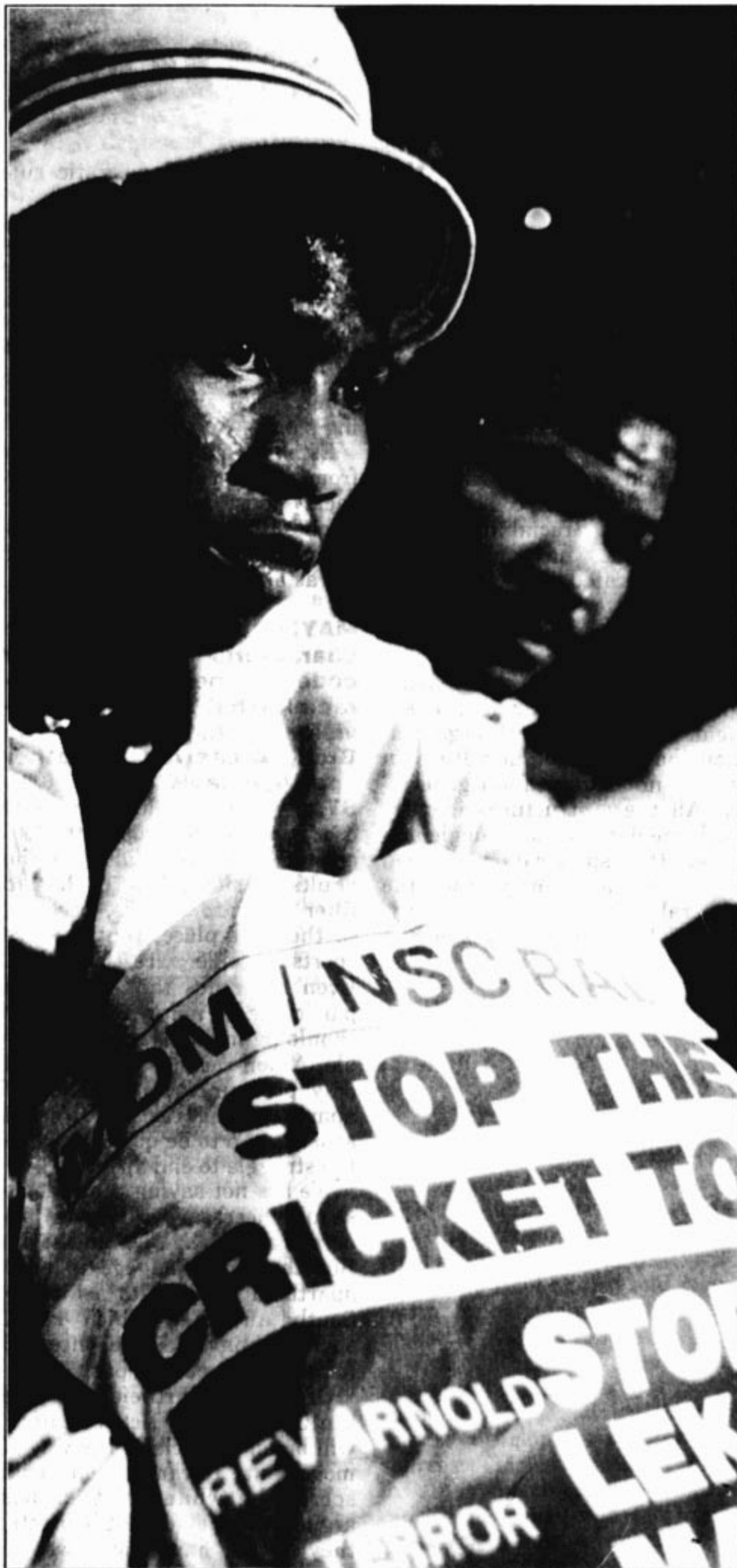
MAYIBUYE: How would you characterise a particular code as being fully non-racial. What about racial division in the schools, the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws?

ST: If we talk about a non-racial code, that cannot stop at the level of the professionals and the adults outside school. It has to filter down to schools, because, in the first place, that's where sports people are nurtured. Even the ethos that inspires a particular non-racial code should be immediately identifiable. A non-racial body must not only pronounce its rejection of apartheid and racism. It must also be seen to be quite active in the struggle to end apartheid.

We are not saying that people should necessarily become members of the ANC, UDF and so on. But they must engage in anti-apartheid struggle to achieve a South Africa in which racial sport will have become, once and for all, a thing of the past.

Of course, apartheid laws like the Group Areas Act, certainly, will be an obstacle in the way of movement towards non-racial sport. The white sports bodies argue that they do not legislate; they do not have the power to change laws which prevent integration. We concede that point. But, certainly, coming as they





Protesting against the English cricket tour to South Africa earlier this year.

do from the white community, they have political leverage. They can exercise their economic and political power to exert pressure on the government to do away with particular laws which stand in the way of fully-integrated non-racial sport. They are not powerless.

But, at the same time, we don't think it would be realistic for us to say that only after the Group Areas Act has been done away with, or separate educational institutions scrapped, will the white bodies be acceptable to their non-racial counterparts for unity to be pursued. They do not have to wait. They can begin now to move in the direction of integration.

MAYIBUYE: Given the disparity between black and white, also in the field of sport, what steps will the new government take to reverse this?

ST: First and foremost, we will have to address the issue of the equitable distribution of resources. They are concentrated in the white schools and in white adult sport. That's where most of the money, equipment and other facilities go. This is an aspect which will have to be seriously addressed. If not, it will lead to a situation where, in a post-apartheid South Africa, the representative sides are drawn from whites, who have all the facilities.

We will need direct intervention by the new government to address this particular issue. Without controlling sport – without making sport an appendage of the government – ways will have to be found to do away with this unfair distribution of resources.

We will have to ensure that the entire life of black sports persons in the country, as with all other black South Africans, is radically improved. This process will go hand-in-hand with the improvement of the quality of life of all people, including in areas such as health, housing, education and so on.

MAYIBUYE: What has been

achieved thus far in the struggle for non-racial sport?

ST: A lot has been achieved, but we still have a lot of work to do. We are beginning to gain increasing momentum: more and more persons from establishment sport are beginning to realise that the fortunes cannot for stay long in the hands of apartheid sport. Individuals and even codes, for that matter, are beginning to shift in the direction of non-racial sport.

The unity talks between SARB and SARU (SA Rugby Union) are moving ahead. It is not going to be easy to achieve a non-racial controlling body. Rugby is an "Afrikaner sport" and enjoys most of its patronage from the Afrikaner establishment.

MAYIBUYE: Have you identified specific problems that need to be addressed in so far as rugby is concerned?

ST: The two bodies are in communication. Following the Harare meeting in 1988, there were problems within the SARB about the meeting itself, let alone the results.

In due course, there was a softening of attitudes among most of the individuals opposed to integration. They realise that the SARB cannot continue as it is today; that the talks between the two must proceed. A number of meetings have been held between the two bodies; and what seems to be happening currently is that there is agreement on the part of the SARB that the stumbling blocks towards unity have to be removed.

These obstacles relate to rebel tours, on which the SARB has imposed a moratorium. There is also the issue of ensuring that non-racialism is realised at all levels.

MAYIBUYE: What has led to this change in attitudes?

ST: The mere fact of the change in the political situation within the country is itself important. Many now say they do not want to see sport lagging behind the process of transformation now

under way. After all, it is the all-round struggle itself that has resulted in these changes. It is not that people woke up one day to realise that non-racialism is fashionable. Those who have in the past resisted change have been forced to acknowledge the inevitability of such change.

Also central in these developments has been the sports boycott. This has been a thorn in the flesh of apartheid sport and the establishment in general. In rugby, in particular, their constituency has been asking why they cannot play against the best in the world; why they cannot play against New Zealand, Australia and others. The fact they could not do so has frustrated many young rugby players. So they have been forced to address the question, how to take South Africa out of political stagnation also with regard to sport.

We see this new thinking in the field of cricket, athletics, tennis and many other disciplines. The problem is that most of them see integrated sport simply as a way out of the limbo, as an issue removed from the process of the destruction of apartheid. There is that opportunist element that we have to guard against.

Our approach of course is that we do not point fingers to say: you have been on that side for many years and therefore should not be worked with. We have to educate people. We have to take account of the fact that apartheid has destroyed the minds of people. We should seek to win them over to the side of non-racialism.

But we should not allow individuals to simply strive to break out of isolation while the problem of getting rid of apartheid has not been decisively and irreversibly addressed.

MAYIBUYE: What about other sports codes?

ST: In soccer we have made tremendous progress. We had a big meeting just before the unbanning of the ANC, in Botswana, where all soccer federations except one took part. All of them agreed that the question of unity

must be speeded up. An interim structure is being set up to work out the modalities of integration. It is a healthy development which took quite a lot of time to achieve. There were hardened attitudes that had to be worked on. I think within a few months we will be seeing definite results.

In cricket, the two contending bodies, the Cricket Union and the Cricket Board, have not come together except at an informal level. The ANC is striving to bring together the two sides and I think a similar process as in rugby will unfold. It would not be easy to bring the two together, but the fact that there is an acceptance that something has to be done – even if they are talking across each other at this stage – is a great step forward. There is no "reconciliation" as such, but both see the need for talks.

In tennis too, there is a similar trend. It is happening among road runners and in swimming. Most of the bodies are starting to find one another and the white establishment is beginning to realise the centrality of the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee in bringing about the desired end. They are beginning to realise that the way to international sport is through Africa; not to see themselves as people belonging to Europe. This has been brought to bear on them by the struggle itself.

MAYIBUYE: What about the conflict between SACOS and the National Olympic and Sports Congress (NOSC) – both of them within the non-racial camp?

ST: Yes, the two bodies are at loggerheads. SACOS is of the view that the formation of the NSC was stage-managed by the ANC to destroy them; because the ANC sees them as belonging to another political tendency hostile to the ANC.

From our side, we had been in touch with their affiliates and the impression we gained was that the SACOS leadership was not doing much to move into the African townships; that it was



Youth at a mass rally in Cape Town to protest against the English cricket tour.

concentrated mainly in the Western Cape and in many instances identified with positions of the New Unity Movement and PAC. But political affiliation is not the crux of the matter.

The ANC supported the NSC initiative because they were taking sport further, to the people, where it belongs. They were taking it to the masses who play sport and who are spectators. This applies particularly to the African people whom SACOS was largely shunning.

MAYIBUYE: Any prospect of resolving this problem?

ST: I do not see this problem being resolved. I personally feel that SACOS has had its day and it must give way to the NOSC which is beginning to take sport to the township communities.

SACOS should strive to merge the few forces in its command with those that are aligned to the NOSC.

We are not ruling out the possibility of unity talks between the two. We would very much encourage this, on condition that such talks aim at striking unity and not just at restating old positions. Presently I have not detected any signs from the NOSC that they are focussing on this issue. They see their focus as being to nurture their body and root it within the communities. I would personally say that that's where energies should be directed.

It is in the interest of all codes within SACOS to align themselves with the NOSC which has got the support of the majority of the people. In the field of rug-

by, for instance, the president of SARU, which is an affiliate of SACOS, is one of the presidents of NOSC. There is enthusiasm within SARU to join the NOSC.

However, we are not saying that if the SARB and SARU merge, or if this happens in cricket and so on, that the new bodies would of necessity have to become members of the NOSC. That cannot be the precondition for unity. It would be dangerous for us to push the line that they can only be acceptable if they are prepared to go into the NOSC.

If unity among the major codes is achieved, for instance in rugby, that will strengthen the whole political process that is unfolding now. It would serve as an important catalyst for an even speedier resolution of the problem of apartheid. ♦

Fighters from the forests



Mayombe is an impenetrable forest in Angola's enclave province of Cabinda. It provides a setting of this story in which a small group of MPLA guerillas open a new base. Up till then the war had been confined to the border. Their mission is to extend the liberation war against Portuguese colonialism into the interior, to take the movement to the people of this region.

It was time to act, to stir things up, to make contact with the people of this area and win them into the struggle. Such action can never simply be a military operation. It should politicise, show the people that the MPLA are not bandits as the propaganda of the colonial administration claims. In the words of the group's commissar, a people's war is not measured in the number of the enemy killed but by the degree of popular support it enjoys.

Their first act is a military operation against a timber felling project. This would hurt the enemy economically and at the same time provide guerillas access to the workers. The mission is successful and their first contact with the people of this area is a group of timber workers. They discuss with them about Portuguese oppression and exploitation, about the struggle and about the MPLA.

An act of theft by one the fighters threatens to undo all they have achieved. When this is discovered, they decide that whatever the risk of enemy alert the money must be returned to the worker. The MPLA, as the leader of the people, must always display exemplary conduct.

Isolated in the depths of Mayombe, tensions arising from tribalism dog their everyday relations, always threatening to tear this group apart. However, there are other historic factors that are already eating away at the foundations of this divisive force. The very act of struggle and the melting pot of the modern economy act to bring about unity. When the base is attacked, their tribal affiliations and prejudices

are forgotten. All rally to the rescue of their comrades and to the defence of their base. There is hope for the future.

Tucked away in the loneliness of Mayombe, these fighters speak to us, in their voices and as a group. Questions about life, the struggle and the future are tossed around. What forces motivate a person to give his/her life to the struggle? Where does "tribalism" as an objective force end and ambition begin? Will the Party in future represent the emerging bureaucracy or the people?

They dream under the shade of Mayombe and on the banks of the river Lombe. Alone they remember their loved ones and past escapades. What is love? Is sex the epicentre that knits love together? Is it an adventure that is sustained by the joy of discovery of the other layer by layer?

Progress is slow. Gradually, the struggle develops. One day, one of the workers from whom the money had been stolen during their first mission made his call. When asked what made him

decide join the movement he replied: "Well, that discussion the comrades had began to convince me....But what really convinced me was when the comrades risked so much to return the money to me."

This is a well-written book. It combines the narrative with the voices of the fighters speaking to us in their own voices, reminiscent of the African story-telling form. This provides the novel with the slow rhythm and mood of patience fitting its rural setting and the reality of building the forces of struggle.

Pepetela deals honestly and sensitively with problems that face liberation movements like tribalism, favouritism, personal ambition, the emerging bureaucracy. The difference between fiction and reality no longer counts. It is time those still in the process of struggle take heed. It is time also that South African publishers avail such important works to the public. Today, we cannot lay the blame solely at the doorstep of the censors. — SN ♦

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WESTERN CAPE
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SALT RIVER ROAD
SALT RIVER
Phone: (021)
417-6806/697-1190
Fax: (0121) 403-4483

EASTERN CAPE
344 MAIN STREET
STANDARD HOUSE
3RD FLOOR
PORT ELIZABETH
Phone: (041) 555979/443289
Fax: (041) 564337

BORDER
14 RECREATION ROAD
ALICE
Phone: (0404) 31842/
(0431)43220
Fax: (0431) 43220

TRANSKEI
28 YORK ROAD
UMTATA
Phone: (0471) 24671/23178
Fax: (0471) 25651

NORTHERN NATAL
NO 11 STEELWAY STREET

EMPANGENI RAIL
Phone: (0351) 21673
Fax: (0351) 921054

SOUTHERN NATAL
130 FIELD STREET
3RD FLOOR
DURBAN
Phone: (031) 301-5551
Fax: (031) 301-6611

NATAL MIDLANDS
DAVIS ALEXANDRA
HOUSE
SUITE NO 5
145 CHURCH STREET
PIETERMARITZBURG 3201
Phone: (0331) 946558/9
Fax: (0331) 427612

SOUTHERN OFS
TILE HOUSE BUILDING
22 FORT STREET
BLOEMFONTEIN 9301
Phone: (051) 326513
Fax: (051) 352839

NORTHERN OFS
SA BREWERIES
CNR RYK AND DE KAAP
STR
WELKOM
Phone: (0171) 41994
Fax: (0171) 74421