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Mayibuye

Vol.2, no.9

October 1991

Journal of the African National Congress

**FOR PEACE YE
SHALL LABOUR**



SPECIAL FEATURE

TV AND RADIO

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broadcast!**

**FATHER
MKHATSWA**
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Photo: The Star

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The people must broadcast!

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OPPRESSION IN ISRAEL

Dear comrades

When Cde Mandela embraced Cde Arafat the South African Jews cried to high heaven. The Holy Pope has given holy audience to Cde Arafat; Mother Theresa has accepted money from Cde Arafat – on behalf of her charity organisation.

Saddam Hussein and his army were driven away from Kuwait. Why can't Israel be driven away from the occupied lands of Egypt, Syria and Jordan? The Americans and the world are practicing double standards as far as Israel is concerned.

The Jews released by President Gorbachev are settled by Israel on occupied Arab lands. President Gorbachev must tell Israel that he will stop their emigration if Israel continues to settle Soviet Jews on Arab lands.

The people of Africa are watching your actions President Gorbachev!

JP, Peacehaven

Ed: You are quite correct in what you say about Israel. However, you must avoid the dangers of over-generalising. There are many practising Jews who support the struggles of the oppressed worldwide.

DISABLED PERSONS

Dear comrades

As a disabled person myself, I was delighted to see a photo in *MAYIBUYE* of a disabled woman attending the rally following the ANC Conference.

I was glad because it reminds everyone that disabled people are as much a part of the community – and the struggle – as everyone else. It also honours, implicitly, those people disabled directly by apartheid, and those disabled in the course of political activity.

MC, London

Ed: Whilst the choice of the



**Write to:
MAYIBUYE
Box 61884
MARSHALLTOWN 2107**

photo was fortuitous, you are raising an important point. There is very little consideration given to the disabled in South African society. They are mainly seen as the target of charity. Their needs are hardly included in the planning of buildings, roadways etc. Readers' views on this issue are most welcome.

BURYING OUR HEROES

Dear comrades

One of the things exile has meant is that leaders and members of our organisation have died and been buried in places outside this country. People who are now forming the ANC Youth League do not know about the history of the ANC in general.

They hear of the fallen heroes and heroines like JB Marks, Yusuf Dadoo, Johnny Makhathini, Moses Kotane, but don't know where they are buried. The movement should buy a piece of land and rebury these fallen heroes.

To strengthen the region where the ANC has had most difficulties in establishing itself, I think that we should find a place in Groutville which is in the Northern Natal Region.

I say Groutville because that is where an outstanding leader of our struggle, Chief Albert Luthuli, was buried. It is near the grave of King Shaka, who worked and struggled for the unity of African tribes to form one nation.

I think this can further im-

prove relations with the AmaZulu nation which has been indoctrinated to believe that ANC is anti-Zulu and also anti-Zulu Royal House.

IKZ, KwaMakhutha

Ed: As we noted in an earlier issue of *MAYIBUYE*, we need to devote attention to the question of memorial sites and national monuments. What do readers think of the suggestions above?

CONSERVATIVE TO ANC

Dear comrades

I am going to join the ANC soon. I am already a member of the SACP. Now, this might not seem strange to you, but for me it is a major step in my life. Let me explain.

I was born and raised in a conservative Afrikaans Christian nationalist white family. Quite a mouthful. So, in other words, one of the privileged few in our country. Apartheid kept me so far removed from what really went on in our country that, as a child, I never knew how terribly "my" people (the Nationalist government) treated the majority of our country's people.

Now I feel very different and I want to be part of the struggle of the majority to get a full say in their own country. But as I am new in this kind of thing, I would like to know, what can I do to be part of it all.

LD, Durban

Ed: Lasting peace can be ensured by more people taking the stand you have taken.

You should get in touch with your local ANC branch or regional office to find out what you can do – especially the Secretary and the DIP/Political Education officers. In the meanwhile we advise you to read *MAYIBUYE* and any other material explaining ANC policy. ♦

The Peace Convention has come and gone. Those who burned the midnight oil to work out the compromises contained in the accord deserve praise.

But the real makers of the agreement are the majority of South Africans who yearn for peace and justice.

The accord is riddled with many loopholes which the forces of violence can exploit. But it would be pessimistic in the extreme to underplay its importance.

For, given the necessary plodding industry on the part of the proposed peace structures, there is ample room to frustrate the perpetrators of violence.

The success of the peace initiative does not lie so much in the signatures attached to the accord. Rather it depends on the efforts of the forces of peace to ensure that the letter and the spirit of the agreement find concrete expression in follow up actions on the ground.

This includes efforts to bring the message of peace and tolerance to all and the formation of functional structures.

Contained in the accord are principles whose significance transcend the current phase. The acceptance of peaceful engagement among organisations, a police force serving the community and socio-economic development are

an important foundation for a democratic society.

It is the irony of fate that when the spear-rattling and panga-wielding crowd stamped and hurled insults outside the convention hall, it was more of a blessing than an omen. Only the violence-drunk would have failed to realise how unwelcome these impis were. We can only marvel at the capacity of the organisers of the demonstration for political self-destruction.

A day after the signing, the SABC lavished on

FW De Klerk - representing one party to the agreement - ample time to interpret the accord. This brings into sharper focus the debate about control of broadcasting. Impressive Natspeak contained in the SABC Task Group's report does not address the fundamental issues. If peace and negotiations have to succeed, something

drastic needs to be done about the control and content of broadcasting.

In this issue of *MAYIBUYE* we deal with these and other issues.

The most unlikely patrons rub shoulders: the police, the church, Radio Freedom cadres, the "left" on developments in the Soviet Union...

These are some of the components of the political spectrum whose combined chemistry makes the birth of a democratic SA the more interesting. ♦

Fighting for peace

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Signature Campaign gathers momentum

The Signature Campaign for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government is reaching the half-million mark, with one region, Natal Midlands, not having submitted any figures yet. There are about 18 000 spoilt signatures. These forms have been returned to the regions, according to Mandla Dlamini of the ANC's National Campaigns Committee.

The upsurge is due to the latest submission by the PWV and Southern Natal regions. "I believe that Inkathagate has made it easier to convince people about the central demands of the campaign. There is greater agreement that an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly are necessary steps towards the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa," says Dlamini.

The September total is 500 085 compared to August's 385 246. The regional breakdown is:

- PWV 55 000
- E Tvl 2 610*
- W Tvl 18 627
- N Tvl 36 375
- Northern Natal 10 500*
- Southern Natal 18 920
- Northern Cape 8 376
- Western Cape 34 674
- Eastern Cape 99 356
- Border 51 404
- Transkei 140 000*
- Northern OFS 7 370
- Southern OFS 16 873

* indicates unchanged since the August report.

Repression continues in Bop

Three days after Mangope released 19 of the remaining 166 political prisoners on September 12, Bop police picked up the Western Transvaal ANC regional secretary, David Davids in Rustenburg. 39 people arrested at a funeral on 14 September are still locked up under the Internal Security Act.

As of this writing, Johannes Simelane, who has been on a hunger strike for 37 days, has been diagnosed as having cephalopay – the beginning of brain damage. Doctors treating him have written to the prison authorities requesting to transfer him to Garankuwa hospital and were still awaiting a response.

He was sentenced to eight years imprisonment on a charge of high treason for his involvement in the 1988 attempted coup.

Mangope announced the cancellation of the November "presidential elections" because there were no candidates contesting his nomination. Is he surprised?

Commonwealth for Interim Govt

The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa has called for the establishment of an Interim Government in

SA.

In a statement issued after its recent meeting in New Delhi, India, the foreign ministers noted that Inkathagate had eroded confidence in the South African government's good faith.

"The committee therefore called for the establishment of appropriate transitional measures, including an interim government, which would enable all the parties to participate fully and effectively in negotiations", the statement reads.

Euro AAM on peace accord

The European Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) met in the Netherlands on September 26 & 27 to discuss strategies to ensure that the European Community (EC) takes steps against breaches of the peace accord.

The AAM will feed information on breaches of the accord to the UN Secretariat, the Commonwealth and the EC. Mike Terry of the British AAM said it will use the accord as an instrument to identify and effectively isolate the perpetrators of violence in SA.

While welcoming the accord and regarding it as an instrument which has the potential to make the security forces behave in an impartial manner and to create an atmosphere of political

tolerance, the AAM's priority is the interim government.

This is because, "despite the fact that the mechanism introduced by the peace accord can be instrumental in bringing about peace, we have got no confidence that the NP government can behave in an impartial manner", says the AAM.

ANC Constitutional Committee visits Germany

Eight members of the ANC's Constitutional Committee, headed by Dr Zola Skweyiya, visited Germany beginning of September at the invitation of the Friedrich Erbert Foundation. The aim of the visit was to familiarise the Committee with the German constitution and legal system.

Of particular interest to the Committee was the Constitutional Court, the division of powers between the Federal and Regional governments, and the legal arrangements utilised by Germany in the immediate post-war period to facilitate reconstruction and compensation.

The Committee took part in a three-day conference with German experts at the University of Hanover. The transitional process, federalism, bill of rights and

other constitutional issues were discussed. The conference gave insight into how the German state works, how it interacts with civil society and the general population, and constitutional checks and balances.

The itinerary included Karlsruhe, the city of the German Constitutional Court where the delegation met all the judges, Berlin, Potsdam and Bonn.

In Bonn the Committee discussed future cooperation and assistance with the leadership of the Friedrich Erbert Foundation and also briefed government representatives about the transitional process in the country, violence and the intransigence of the South African government. The delegation also briefed the African diplomatic corps in Germany about developments in SA.

ANC on VAT deadlock

In a statement following the breakdown of talks between the Coordinating Committee on VAT and the Ministry of Finance, the Secretary-General of the ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa, rejected the government's approach of putting the burden of kick-starting the economy on the poor, the very people who have not benefitted from this economy in the past.

"The ANC is alarmed by the fact that though the Coordinating Committee put forward scientific and irrefutable evidence of the harm that the introduction of VAT in the proposed form will have on the poor, the submissions of the Committee were rejected out of hand.

"Furthermore, it is improper for the Minister to insist that this matter should be settled in such an undemocratic manner by his insistence that the final decision rests with him."

He reiterated the ANC's fundamental objections to the overhauling of the tax system on the eve of major constitutional negotiations. Besides the principle of no taxation without representation to which the ANC adheres, the organisation placed on record that though it accepts the need for a consumption tax like VAT, it questions the timing of the introduction.

It is incomprehensible, he said, that the Ministry of Finance can seek confrontation on VAT when so many argue that a socio-economic consensus at this time could greatly facilitate negotiations.

"It is reasonable to assume that Mr Du Plessis knew throughout the VAT negotiations that a breakdown would have a ripple effect on the entire process".

The ANC, Cosatu and other organisations have called for mass action to oppose the introduction of VAT. ♦



Lone demonstrator held

Golden "Miles" Bhudu, head of the Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights, and the man who staged a one-man demonstration in chains outside the Rand Supreme Court and ANC headquarters to protest at prison violence which claimed six lives last month, has been arrested.

He was arrested after allegedly demonstrating in Nigel. His lawyer said he was held at the Nigel prison under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act which provides for detention without trial. He told his lawyer that he had embarked on a hunger strike which he would maintain until his release. ♦

For Peace Ye Shall Labour

As MAYIBUYE went to press, various organisations were locked in meetings to set up the National



**Peace, Inkatha-style
Impis at the National
Peace Convention**

The profound significance of the accord lies in the fact that it is an agreement codifying more than just measures to end the violence. Contained in it is the seed for important principles in the transition and the future democratic society:

- A system in which parties freely canvass their views forms the foundation of the accord. It is recognised that parties can differ. But they should express their differences openly and peacefully and ensure that their members co-exist in a spirit of mutual tolerance.
- Over the years, the police have related to the majority of the people as their enemies. The accord calls for a reversal of this, and proposes the establishment of liaison structures between the police and communities. The setting up of a Police Board – composed partly of members of the public – to review training and recruitment is an important departure from old principles.
- By proposing measures for socio-economic

Peace Committee and other structures proposed in the Peace Accord. What are the prospects?



**ANC leaders at the Peace Convention
Jacob Zuma, Nelson Mandela
and Cyril Ramaphosa**

economic development, the accord acknowledges that a society based on the deprivation of the majority cannot be at peace with itself.

However, the historic significance of the accord for ordinary men, women and children in the townships and villages lies less in these philosophical implications.

BANDITS

Will it stop attacks by the array of impis, professional bandits and gangsters? Will it stop the massacres in which the army and the police are heavily implicated? In other words, will it bring an end to destabilisation which is the hallmark of state strategy?

These questions bring out in bold relief the many weaknesses of the accord.

The agreement is subject to existing laws, rules and procedures of the apartheid state. Resources will be provided within the governmental "budgetary constraints". The government – one party to the conflict – will have veto powers regarding persons to serve in the Standing Commission and the Police Board. The Commission will report to the state president and he will exercise discretion over whether to pass on its findings and recommendations to the National Peace Committee.

SPECIAL FORCES

Nowhere in the accord are viable measures proposed to deal with the massacres by trained bandits. The Special Forces implicated in these crimes are still in place.

Therefore, the accord would have been an even greater step forward if there was a different government in place – with a policy that is served by and serves the agreements reached. As things stand, all the good proposals might flounder on the steps of the Union Buildings.

However, the ANC and its allies signed the agreement because they

are optimistic that it will work.

Before the accord, the balance of forces was such that communities were mainly on the receiving end. There were no structures and regulations, outside existing laws, to contain the violence. Bilateral agreements between organisations were wrecked at the whim of individuals. There were no mechanisms for censure against the police. Self-defence/protection units were treated with derision.

The accord alters this somewhat. It affords communities and the democratic movement the possibility to reign in the forces instigating the violence. It gives greater confidence to elements within the security forces who support peace to expose the criminal activities of their colleagues. The existence of national, regional and local structures to resolve disputes, investigate complaints and speed up judicial processes helps to empower communities.

As a multilateral agreement supervised by independent structures, the accord has consolidated the overwhelming national consensus for peace. It is an important moral and political weapon in the hands of the people.

But precisely because of the weaknesses cited above, the demo-

The array of forces

- **SIGNATORIES:**
- **23 organisations and institutions including the ANC, NP, SACP, IFP Cosatu, Federation of Independent Trade Unions, Uwusa and other parties from the tri-cameral parliament and the self-governing bantustans.**
- **SUPPORTERS:**
- **Azapo, PAC, Nactu and the Federation of Salaried Employees (Fedsal) pledged their support for the accord but did not sign it.**
- **Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei committed themselves to the principles contained in the agreement.**
- **REJECTION:**
- **Conservative Party, AWB and other splinter groups in the extreme right-wing reject the accord.** ♦

cratic movement cannot rely on the accord alone as the be-all and end-all to its peace efforts. The ANC's optimism derives from confidence in the democratic movement's capacity to ensure that it works. That which compelled the perpetrators of violence to be seen to agree with the accord should be used more effectively to compel them to observe its provisions.

MASS ACTION

For a start, the power of the people lies partly in their mass actions. And among the aims of the accord is to ensure that people can freely take part in peaceful political activity. (See Box)

Secondly, exposing the underhand activities of the state and its allies is crucial in staying their hand. The recent exposures were crucial in this regard. All sectors of society, particularly the media, must ensure that activities going against the grain of the accord are put before the public.

Thirdly, international pressure helped to compel the state and its allies to reach agreement. It is more critical now for the international community to facilitate the implementation of the accord.

Statutory recognition of the accord in the Organisation of African Unity, United Nations and other international forums will strengthen its standing. Governments and international bodies should take punitive measures against those who violate it.

Successful implementation of the accord will also depend to a large measure on effective follow up at all levels. If others are dragging their feet, those who truly want peace must not be found wanting.

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The democratic movement must take the lead to unite and mobilise communities and organisations of all kinds for peace. The

Difficult questions?

In the interpretation of the accord, the government and its allies tend to stretch political license to extremes. They end up fudging the issues.

• **Mass Action: Is it prohibited?**

The Code of Conduct for political parties and organisations urges them to inform authorities when organising any "public meeting, rally, march or any other event". This is precisely because the accord is about saving lives and ensuring free political activity. The accord recognises "the right of any political party or organisation freely to propagate its political views".

• **MK: A private army to be dissolved?**

The parties have agreed that the accord should not be understood "to detract from the validity of bilateral agreements between any of the signatories". (Principles) The DF Malan agreement on MK-related questions is one such bilateral pact, between the ANC and the government. Structures have been set up to deal with outstanding issues.

Besides, MK is a liberation army whose actions have been aimed at ending apartheid. Like the SAP, SADF and forces in the bantustans – all of which are ultimately under the control of the Nationalist Party – MK will be integrated into security forces of a democratic South Africa.

The peace accord is not about joint control of weapons in the hands of the signatories. Neither is it about the dissolution of state security forces. The time for that will come, and the rules will apply equally to all.

• **Are "cultural weapons" included?**

The accord calls for the prohibition of "dangerous weapons"/"weapons" in public manifestations. Concrete experience has shown that spears, knobkierries, pangas and shields can cause serious harm. The state president can consult whoever he wishes about the issue. But he should not exclude weapons of whatever description from the schedule. If there is any intention to empower Inkatha, this should not be at the expense of peace. ♦

setting up of structures envisaged in the accord, including self-protection units, needs to be speeded up. People must be educated about their rights and duties under the accord.

Likewise, members of the security forces should be subjected to a massive reorientation programme.

This places definite obligations on the media in general and state broadcasting in particular. The National Peace Committee and the democratic movement should take steps to ensure that

the massive radio and television network in the hands of the state is used effectively to promote the accord.

By helping to free the political process, the National Peace Accord has made it possible for parties to expend more of their energies on the fundamental political questions of the day. It certainly lays the foundation for speedier movement towards constitutional negotiations.

Then, South Africa can move to a new system, a new government and lasting peace ♦

Peace and the police ? ?



A finger has been pointed at the security forces for taking sides in the violence. Will the Peace Accord change this? MAYIBUYE interviewed General Johann van der Merwe, the SAP's Commissioner of Police.

MAYIBUYE: Has the signing of the National Peace Accord set out a new role for the South African Police as opposed to what it has been all along?

GEN VAN DER MERWE: If one looks at the contents of the Peace Accord, there is specific mention of the security forces and it sets out certain principles which are already being applied. When it comes to more detailed requirements for the police, there are different provisions which must be put into practice. For example, there is reference to investigations of all crimes relating to political violence under an Investigation Unit.

In terms of the same provision, there will be a senior police officer in each region who will carry out certain duties under a police general. There also has to be regular consultation with the Local Dispute Resolution Committees that have to be established. There will also be a Liaison Officer of a rank not lower than warrant officer in each police district.

Some provisions will, at this stage, definitely require some specific actions from the police. Therefore, in terms of the Accord, I see a new role for the South African Police. But this is not only for the SAP but all the parties involved. The aim and

purpose of the Accord is to establish a new approach, and provide mechanisms to enable all parties to co-ordinate their efforts to bring about peace.

MAYIBUYE: The people view the police as partial. What are you going to do to change this?

VD MERWE: The provisions of the Accord make

certain mechanisms available for us to liaise. Through these the police will be able to create better understanding and a situation of trust which has thus far been difficult to bring about in view of all the circumstances.

MAYIBUYE: Major-General van der Westhuizen has been responsible thus far for investigating certain cases of violence involving the police. The Attorney-General of Natal took him off a case in which certain police officers have been arrested. This certainly puts to question his integrity.

VD MERWE: That is not correct. The Attorney-General issued a statement in which he said that although there were some misunderstandings, they have been corrected and the reports in regard to that incident were incorrect. Therefore that incident

does not at this stage affect the status of the general concerned. Information on the work and successes of the general will be made available to you so that you can form your opinion. (See box - Ed)

MAYIBUYE: Why is it that we hear of very little success regarding investigations into the attacks on people in trains, beerhalls and so on?

VD MERWE: Details of the outcomes of these investigations are available. In most of these cases the perpetrators have been arrested. We can prove that in all these cases we have conducted investigations in a proper manner, giving proper attention to each case.

MAYIBUYE: Were the killings random or is there a definite pattern?

VD MERWE: The facts of the cases we have investigated are available for you to go through and determine what you need.

MAYIBUYE: What do you think about rallies that involve heavily-armed people, where liquor is supplied and those people then march and rampage through the townships?

VD MERWE: On this matter the State President announced that he will, in discussions with Dr Buthelezi, and also with Mr Mandela, see that they come to some resolution. This matter is causing ill-feelings on the one hand and quite emotional feelings on the other.

As far as the police are concerned, we would like to see the whole issue settled in such a manner that it does not stir further emotions and that we have a very clear indication of what will be allowed and what will not. We will enforce the provisions whatever they will be ultimately.

But, in terms of the unrest

regulations, any organisation or group of persons may carry traditional weapons to a public meeting, provided they inform the police at least 48 hours before the event. If they fail to do so they act in an illegal manner.

The police must at all times consider what the circumstances demand, and whether it is necessary or not to use such force as might result in the death of a certain person or persons. It is very difficult for the police to always take certain action where we have to deal with thousands of persons who are armed in such a manner. In all the cases where persons have been illegally in possession of such arms, we do institute the necessary investigations and all these matters will, as in the case of all other offences, be referred to the Attorney-General for his decision on whether to prosecute or not.

MAYIBUYE: In your opinion, was the demonstration outside the Carlton Hotel on the day of the signing of the Accord legal or illegal?

VD MERWE: My answer depends on the evidence and the circumstances at my disposal at this stage. I do not have these at my disposal and so I am merely expressing an opinion and would not like to take over the job of the Attorney-General. But let me put it this way. For a public meeting to be held, the permission of a local authority must be obtained. No such permission was obtained in this particular case.

One must take into consideration that, in terms of legislation as it now stands, the only thing that the police can do where such a gathering takes place is to arrest the persons involved for not complying with the local ordinance. We do not have the authority to order these people to disperse because the provisions of the Internal Security Act are no longer applicable to such cases. ♦

Van der Westhuizen At it again?

On the afternoon after the interview with the Commissioner of Police, Major General van der Westhuizen spoke to the media outlining "his achievements" in bringing to book 24 members of the police and others.

It is to be hoped that the aim was not just to put him forward for a new and more sensitive role. Van der Westhuizen clearly feels his unit should be the link with the National Peace Committee.

He said that it was likely that he would report to the committee and conduct investigations on its behalf. But is everyone convinced that he should head the proposed Investigations Unit?

He may be a thorough investigator as his seniors say. But most of the investigations have not led to prosecutions. The release of those charged over the Jeppe massacre, despite the availability of evidence, is one example.

Suspicion is bound to be raised about the coincidence: the Peace Accord is signed; the general announces a bounty of his "successes"; and he recommends himself for a role under the Accord. ♦

Over 20 000 South Africans are still in exile, most of them in African countries. The United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) is due to take over the repatriation programme soon and it is expected that it will take a year and half to complete.



UNHCR Deputy director Andrew Sakiri with Mankekolo Mahlangu-Ngcobo of the National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles

No sweet homecoming

The ANC's repatriation programme has experienced a number of difficulties and the UN's involvement will ease the financial burden on the ANC, allowing it to concentrate on the long term interests of returning exiles.

The UNHCR will take responsibility for ensuring the safe return of all South African refugees who left the country for fear of persecution and who voluntarily want to return.

All exiles are granted a general amnesty for political crimes, in terms of the agreement the UNHCR has signed with the government. It will no longer be necessary for returning exiles to apply for indemnity from the South African government.

However, it is uncertain whether the agreement applies to the independent bantustans where a large number of exiles have their homes.

"We trust it is applicable there and that the government takes responsibility for ensuring it is accepted by these administra-

tions," says Jackie Selebi, the ANC's head of Repatriation.

So far the ANC has repatriated 3 500 exiles, mainly from Angola, Zambia and Tanzania as well as other areas of the world. This has been done at a cost of approximately R2 million and the ANC has struggled to raise more funds. Many overseas donors have indicated that they would rather give money directly to the UN which will repatriate all exiles and not only ANC members.

NEEDS

Because of the enormous amount of money required for repatriation, the ANC has not adequately addressed the needs of returning exiles. "When people arrive they need jobs, accommodation, schools for their children and daily necessities such as food," says Selebi.

"We have tried to assist people in getting jobs by sending their details to employment agencies. A few people have managed to get jobs in this way. However, we

have been unable to address the accommodation problem because of the housing shortage in the country generally. We are still exploring ways of dealing with this problem."

GRANT

The ANC hopes to give all returning exiles a resettlement grant of R2 000. Money for grants ran out in June and those who have returned since then are still waiting for their grants.

"While we hope to make a breakthrough soon in getting this money for people to address their immediate needs, we do not see welfare as a solution to the problems of exiles," says Selebi. "With the UN in the country the ANC will shift its focus to development projects that assist exiles to stand on their own feet. Education and training is very central to assisting people to establish themselves. Already we have a number of courses, such as computer training underway." ♦

Constitutional

where the ANC, DP

ANC: Universal franchise in a unitary state

UNITARY STATE:

One-person, one-vote in a unitary state:

- South Africa has always been a unitary state.
- The bantustans were meant to entrench national oppression.
- To rid SA of apartheid it is necessary to have an effective central government to implement national reconstruction policies.

The country will be divided into regions with relevant administrations:

- Powers of regional government will be delegated by the national government in accordance with national programmes and regional specifics.
- The regional governments will handle various regional matters including development programmes, but they cannot override national policy.
- The same will apply to local government.

Cultural and linguistic rights will be protected and promoted.

GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM:

- There will be regular national/regional/local elections on the basis of proportional representation.
- At national level, two houses of parliament both based on one-person, one vote: one on the basis of a national list and the second on the basis of regional lists.
- The first house will be the supreme national assembly.
- The second house, the senate, will have powers to delay laws but not to veto them. It could refer disputed laws to a constitutional court.
- A president will be the executive head of state with a cabinet headed by a Prime Minister.

BILL OF RIGHTS:

- A Bill of Rights entrenched in the constitution will protect the individual rights of all citizens.
- The constitution and the bill can only be amended by a two-thirds majority of both houses.
- The Bill will guarantee equality before the law and other freedoms, including social, economic and environmental rights.
- The rights contained in the Bill will be enforceable.

LEGAL SYSTEM:

- An independent judiciary with judges appointed by a judicial service commission composed of credible members of the legal profession.
- A constitutional court, ombudsperson and human rights commission will oversee adherence to the constitution and the rule of law.

The proposals of the National Party have the effect of undermining universal franchise altogether. According to their scheme, a party with 10 percent of the vote can block any laws. What this means is that a party which represents essentially the interests of the rich and the privileged could prevent socio-economic programmes aimed at uplifting the conditions of victims of apartheid.

Since parliament, the government and the presidency will be hamstrung by contradictory interests nurtured by apartheid, government will be paralysed and the country will become un-governable.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The powers given to local government and neighbourhood committees will deprive the underprivileged of the facilities that have all along been in white hands. Whites can also block people from moving into "their areas".

However, some of the NP proposals for a multi-party executive could form a basis for government during the period of negotiations: an Interim Government of National Unity to oversee the transition and govern before a democratic constitution is adopted.

One of the major problems with DP proposals is the creation of artificial fed-

proposals: *and NP stand*

DP: Universal franchise in a federal state

FEDERAL STATE:

- The country will be divided into federal, virtually "independent" states.
- These states will have entrenched powers to deal with political and socio-economic questions and they can therefore override some decisions of national government.

GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM:

- A two-chamber parliament National Assembly and Senate - both having equal powers except on appropriation and other money bills.
- The National Assembly will be able to override objections of the Senate.
- In cases of legislative deadlock between the two houses, a Standing Committee consisting of equal numbers of each house will seek to resolve it.

BILL OF RIGHTS:

- Exclude social, economic and environmental rights.
- Protect private property of any kind.

What are the main differences on constitutional matters between the ANC, the National Party and the Democratic Party? A member of the ANC's Constitutional Department explains.

eral states. While the DP refers to examples of other countries, what it ignores is that federations everywhere were created to unite sovereign independent states into a national entity, not to divide a country into federal states.

The DP's rejection of the inclusion of social and economic rights in the Bill of Rights subtracts from the obligation of a new government to the poor.

The ANC believes that the viability of any constitutional proposals should be measured against their ability to deal with the political and socio-economic problems created by apartheid. Entrenching existing disparities will only lead to the intensification of conflict, no matter what government is in power. ♦

NP: Franchise for all in a "multiple federation"

MULTIPLE FEDERATION:

- One-person, one-vote in a system in which regional and local governments have entrenched powers to overrule most decisions of national government - a kind of local/regional "multiple federation".
- The powers of regional and local governments will include determining policies on education, socio-economic development, services and decisions about where people can stay and attend school.
- The power of each vote at local level will be determined on the basis of property individuals own.
- Reasons for this are that
 - SA is multi-national and multi-cultural.
 - There are many regional and local specifics that require different types of government and socio-political programmes.
 - Disparity among the various areas and nations requires that they should independently handle their own programmes.

PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM:

- Two houses of parliament with the lower one elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote and the other house on the basis of equal representation among all parties with over, say, 10 percent of the votes.
- The upper house will have powers to veto decisions of the lower house.
- The cabinet will be formed by all the parties with more than say 10% of the vote and it will operate on the basis of consensus.
- Leaders of three to five of the major parties will become "joint presidents" operating by consensus.

Patriotic Front: *views*



Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, ANC

Patriotic Front

Organisations attending the PF Conference will be those who support the demand for a Constituent Assembly. We trust that the conference will also yield a common position on the All Party Congress and Interim Government.

We see the PF as a loose liaison. We do not intend having rigid structures emerging from the Conference. However co-ordination will be necessary. Decisions should be reached by consensus – allowing for all parties a say in the decisions taken.

All-Party Congress

We see the APC as being responsible for the following:

- working out the mechanisms for the drawing up of the constitution. This is where we will insist on the Constituent Assembly being the only body capable of doing so.
- establishment of an Interim Government.
- working out broad principles for a new SA Constitution.

Interim Government (IG) and Constituent Assembly (CA)

The present government cannot be entrusted with the process of transition. At the same time the IG cannot restructure every aspect of government – eg the civil bureaucracy, health system etc.

The key areas of joint control will be the security forces, broadcasting and all aspects of the electoral process.

We see the IG supervising the process towards the CA. The CA should come into being through free and fair elections on a proportional basis. The IG will dissolve once the CA has drawn up a new SA constitution and a democratic government elected.

We envisage some role for the international community – possibly to monitor and help supervise the process. ◆

Barney Desai, PAC

On the Conference:

We are joint sponsors of the Patriotic Conference. At the first joint Azapo, ANC and PAC National Working Committee

meeting there was a prevailing feeling that whatever our different views, we need to approach the PF as a force with a common view. Because of this I am optimistic that a joint approach can be hammered out. I believe there is enough common ground among the liberation movements to do this.

All-Party Congress:

We are opposed to the APC and the Multi-Party Conference.

Transitional Authority

The PAC, Azapo and BCMA, at a meeting in Zimbabwe on 9-10 August, noted that a Transitional Authority is essential to ensure that elections for a Constituent Assembly are free and just and that the regime cannot oversee the transitional period.

It was resolved that the Transitional Authority should have the following features:

- a limited duration.
- a clearly defined mandate.
- in its establishment it must be ensured that the National liberation movements and other organisations are not co-opted as co-managers of apartheid.

Our joint executives also called for the quarantining of the armed forces of the regime, including the security forces.

The composition of the Transitional Authority must be agreed upon by the liberation movements and endorsed by the international community. The PAC envisages some kind of international presence to monitor the election process.

Constituent Assembly:

The CA is the only vehicle for the drawing up of a new constitution. We propose elections on the basis of proportional representation. ◆

The Patriotic Conference is at last set for 25-27 October in Durban. MAYIBUYE asked the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, Labour Party, and the ANC to present their views on the Conference, All-Party Congress, Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly. At the time of

going to press, Inkatha had not responded.

Peter Hendrickse, Labour Party

The Labour Party (LP) of South Africa is supportive of the concept of a Patriotic Front Liberation Alliance. We believe that all anti-apartheid organisations/parties have a common goal, the liberation of our people, and that the different strategies we use should serve to compliment one another.

The time is now that we stop our internecine bickering and instead channel our collective resources (human and otherwise) to the attainment of our goal: a new non-racial, democratic South Africa.

The LP is supportive of an All-Party/Multi-Party Conference and believes that all political parties/organisations with support should be invited to attend.

The All-Party/Multi-Party Conference should determine its own Agenda after having elected its chairperson/s. The agenda should include:

1. Ground rules and terms of reference of a Constituent Assembly
2. Ways and means of:
 - monitoring and administering electoral process
 - monitoring/controlling security forces
 - ensuring independence and unbiasedness of state media.

The LP is in favour of some sort of transitional arrangement that has to be negotiated. The urgency of such an arrangement has increased in that the NP continues to demonstrate that it is incapable of being both player and referee.

The LP will decide at its 26th Annual General Congress in December 1991 whether to endorse a Constituent Assembly at this stage. Congress last year felt that the climate was not conducive to holding elections at the time.

We, however, support the principle of a Constituent Assembly whose express purpose is the drawing up of a constitution. Elections for such a body should be non-racial, national, based on one-person-one-vote with all South Africans (including TBVC) over the age of 18 having the vote. ♦

Strini Moodley, Azapo

Patriotic Conference

We are participating in the conference because we always upheld the principle of black solidarity for the overthrow of the regime. The PF can only be attended by those organisations which have es-

tablished their credibility within the black community through the principle of non-collaboration. Azapo, therefore, rejects the participation of any puppet "leaders" from the bantustans or the tricameral parliament.

All-Party Congress

The APC has been raised by the ANC with Azapo. Discussions are continuing. In principle we reject the notion of the APC. It is a contradiction to call such a congress with people who work for the enemies of liberation. The only meaningful conference is one that brings together true patriots – the Patriotic Front.

Interim Government

We do not agree with it. The interim government affords the regime the opportunity to reinforce its privilege and power because those instruments that maintain it in power (the police and the army) will remain in place.

We believe that only a transitional authority – agreed upon by the PF and endorsed by the Security Council of the United Nations is a viable mechanism which can be used to institute a Constituent Assembly. The transitional authority will be made up of international and neutral agencies which will oversee the quarantining of the security forces and the one-person-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly.

Constituent Assembly

Azapo first articulated the Constituent Assembly in 1981. The Constituent Assembly elections must be conducted by a transitional authority in a unitary state. The total votes received by each party will determine the number of delegates accorded the party at the CA. Once the new constitution is agreed upon the CA is dissolved. Fresh elections are then overseen by the transitional authority for a new government on the basis of the new constitution. ♦

Where have the masses gone?

In this article an ANC member and activist calls for the recapturing of the mass approach which characterised the Congress tradition.

Mass campaigns conducted since the unbanning of the ANC have not been very successful. Some did not attract support outside activist cores. Others were effective in certain areas only.

So it may be tempting to argue that we should re-evaluate mass

action as an integral part of our strategy. But this would merely address the symptoms. What are the root causes?

Ordinary people, the bedrock of any revolution, are no longer the centre of our thinking. They are the last to know, the last to be consulted in planning mass

events.

Community-wide consultations used to occur in the eighties before a form of action was decided on. This allowed us to choose tactics which were very much within the grasp of the people.

ANC calls over the past year have not been grounded in the experiences of the people. There is a gap between leadership and the ground. Mobilisation by decree has become the norm. Today when a mass event is planned, a leaflet calling people to action, issued from a central office, is the sum total of the mobilising process.

Also, we have lost the ability to agitate. This is because we do not understand the political mood of our communities and mistakenly think that the people will respond because the ANC is calling.

POOR MOBILISATION

An expression of our poor mobilisation and agitation is the extent to which leaflets are distributed. A visit to ANC regional offices makes one wonder whether we expect the masses to come to our offices to pick up leaflets.

A problem of political ambition could be seen in the creation of ANC branches. Some of the most energetic recruiters tried to strengthen their personal power by recruiting from a particular sector eg pensioners, domestic workers or squatters. After the election of branch committees these sectors were often ignored.

Because of this building of personal power, rather than people's power, many of our people began to lose confidence in the ANC. People expected a higher level of morality within the ANC. This approach led to branches developing without a commitment to advancing our struggle.

What should the ANC be doing?

- We must once again use mass action as a strategy for change,

Fighting and talking

Now that the ANC is using negotiations as a way of transferring power to the people, new problems have emerged.

What is the correct relationship between fighting and talking? There are those who believe that militant action will upset the applecart and make talking more difficult. The opposite has been our experience. When people actively and militantly struggle around their demands, the regime shows greater willingness to talk.

Some people think that working groups and high level talks will solve our problems. All that is necessary is for the leadership to take up issues during meetings with De Klerk, they imagine.

This approach puts the leadership of the movement in a weak position. Demands made at talks with the government are seen as the creation of the leadership, without enjoying the support of the people. So the government doesn't feel pressurised to meet the demands.

As a result the struggle becomes focussed on internal administrative affairs rather than on mass political work. This weakens our political programmes. Without programmatic political work there can be no raising of the quality of our membership, organisation and mass political consciousness. Mass action suffers again. ◆



Even the very young still in a fighting mood. March against violence, Soweto, 16 September.

central in the struggle because it helps us win our goals. We shouldn't resort to it as a tactic now and then when we want to back up some demand. It should be a basic part of our planning and programme to win people's power.

- We must work much more closely with mass organisations. Our people's lives are as miserable as they were before February 2 1990. The ANC should build strong links with mass organisations and take up day-to-day issues jointly with them. This will ensure that contact with the masses is strengthened.

- We need to re-examine the negotiations terrain. It is important to brief mass organisations and other organs of civil society like the church and sporting bodies regularly.

- The ANC needs to be more specific in its calls, taking into account gender, race, class,

The mass approach

The mass approach is based on these principles which guide our organising and mobilising strategies:

- the masses are central to the political process
- through struggle people change society
- united mass action (coupled with political education) aimed at a common enemy raises the consciousness of the participants
- the capacity to mobilise people depends on their consciousness and our organisational strength
- strong organisation must be built through political struggle involving mass action, ie masses must be in political motion.

It was the application of these ideas during the eighties that inspired the stayaways, boycotts, and the Defiance Campaign that permanently changed the political landscape in South Africa. ♦

Mass defiance campaign

A myth going around in some activist circles is that the unbanning of the ANC in itself is responsible for the demobilisation of the masses. The difference in the level of mass action at the time of the 1989 Defiance Campaign and after the unbanning of the ANC is pointed to as evidence. This is a false notion.

The Mass Defiance Campaign succeeded because we rose to the challenge of overcoming the setbacks suffered during the states of emergency. We were able to reach out and mobilise the broadest strata of people.

The democratic movement still has this capacity to mobilise. What is needed is once again to use our tried and tested organising and mobilising methods.

- We must recapture the main features of what we referred to as "solid organising" – the door-to-door visit, the street and block meeting, and enjoying good relations with mass organisations in the locality. ♦

age, regional dynamics, etc.

- The ANC must do some soul-searching as well. With ANC leaders concentrating solely on ANC work, they participate less in mass organisations. Instead of the ANC being the voice of the people, concerned with every problem of the people, it is increasingly being seen as mainly interested in political power for itself as an organisation. ♦



Photo: The Star

Ongoing resistance to Mangope's tyranny

Mangope's recipe for power

Mangope is trying to stake a place at the negotiations table. Suppressing opposition and creating alliances with the most conservative racists is his recipe.

On 12 September the Bophuthatswana government announced the release of 19 political prisoners on the 26th day of a hunger strike. At the same time Bop soldiers and police had been involved in brutal actions against people demanding their release and an end to Mangope's tyranny.

There still remain 147 political prisoners in the homeland's gaols. All but one, Johannes Simelane, of the 52 hunger strikers suspended their fast on the release of the 19.

Pressure from international

quarters and the church contributed to the release of the 19. The US administration lifted its sanctions in July on the understanding that Bop political prisoners would be freed. The Danish government cited the same issue as a condition for the lifting of EC sanctions.

A church delegation, including SA Council of Churches general secretary, met with Pik Botha to discuss the fate of the prisoners.

The ANC has been consistently calling on the South African government to ensure their release in terms of the Groote

Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

The releases came on the heels of huge protests against the Mangope administration. On 7 September residents of Tlhabane took to the streets. Bop soldiers and police came down heavily on the march, killing several marchers and arresting 58 people. At a subsequent funeral on 14 September, 29 people were arrested after being severely beaten by soldiers and police.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

On 8 September a mass rally of 20 000 people at the Impala Platinum Mine Shaft 8 called for the release of all political prisoners and described Mangope's rule as "brutal, illegal and rejected by the people". The next day 45 000 people gathered at the No 1 Shaft and echoed the same feelings.

Earlier this year Lucas Mangope addressed a meeting of organised agriculture and local government representatives in the Northern Cape and Western Transvaal. The meeting represented the foundation of a hitherto unheard of alliance: black politicians and the largely conservative white community surrounding Bop.

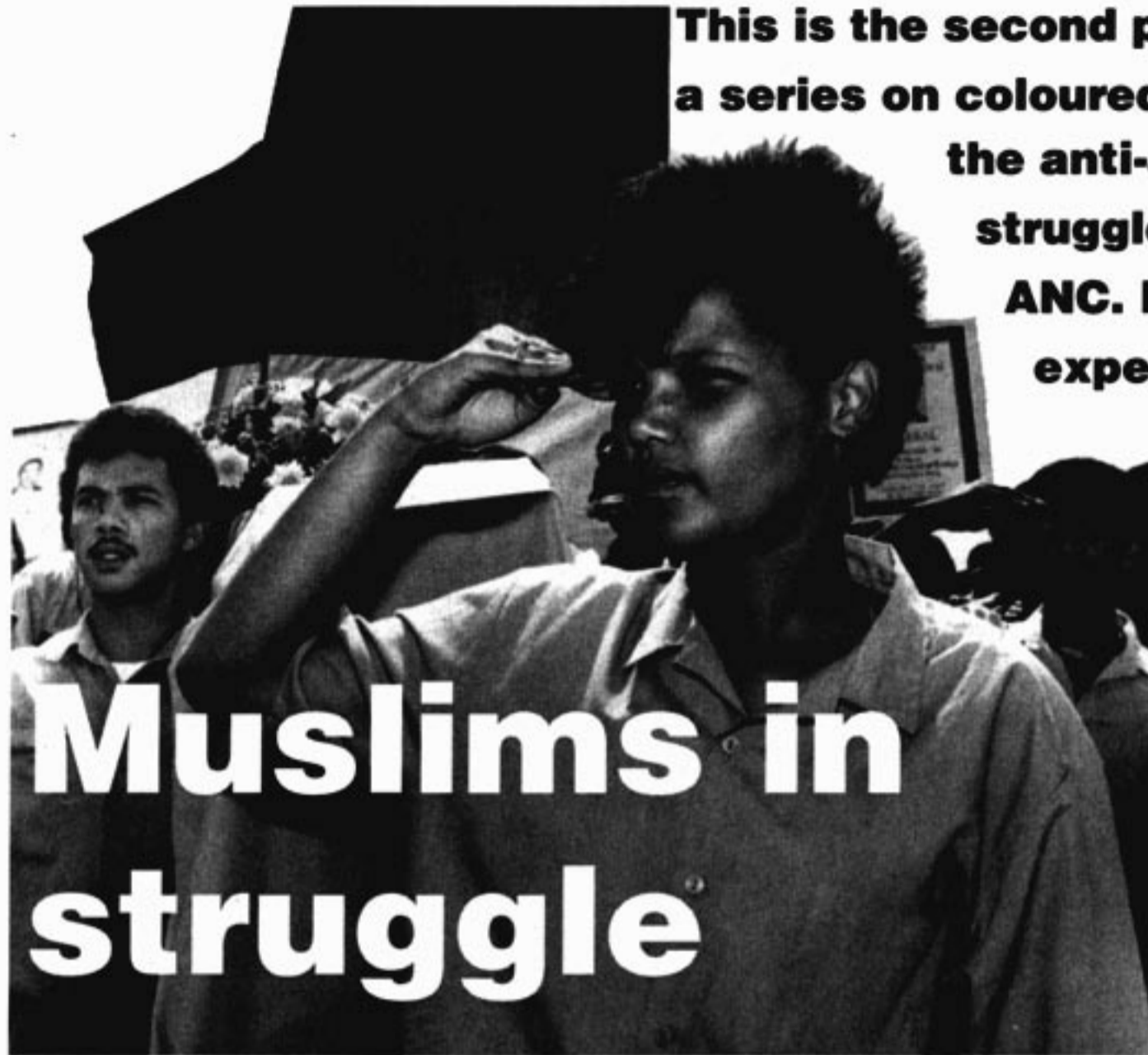
A joint Bop/white community committee was formed with the task of looking at joint economic action. The basis is being laid for Bop, some areas of Northern Cape and Western Transvaal to constitute one region in a post-apartheid constitution: is it some kind of white-Mangope volkstaat? ♦

SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

September:
500 085 signed up in support of a Constituent Assembly and Interim Government!

LATEST UPDATE

This is the second part of a series on coloured people, the anti-apartheid struggle and the ANC. It looks at experiences in Cape Town, the PWV region and Port Elizabeth.



Muslims in struggle

November 1989: Funeral of Anton Fransch, an MK combatant who battled the security forces singlehanded for eight hours

No stories of the struggle in Cape Town can be told without a reference to the Muslim contribution.

Indeed, who would forget the massive janaazahs (funerals) of the Muslims killed in 1985? Or the co-mingling of Allah-u-Akbar with Amandla at political rallies? Or the locking of arms by priests and imams in defiant marches? Or the pitched battles in Belgravia Road in Athlone? ... Each one may have their own chronicles, but 1985 represented the high point of Muslim commitment to justice.

1652

Yet, Muslim involvement in struggle goes back to two years after Jan van Riebeeck first landed in Cape Town in 1652. By 1655, the Dutch were bringing the Muslim leaders of the anti-colonial struggle in Java, Malaysia and Indonesia to Cape Town

as political prisoners. Being highly politicised, they did not stand for the slavery practised by the Dutch or for the suppression of their religious beliefs. They agitated and organised secretly, and also engaged in riots against the colonisers.

PIONEERS

Today, the shrines of these early pioneers serve as inspiration for the young Muslim coming to terms with what Islam means in an unjust apartheid society. No doubt, Imam Haroun too found inspiration in them. He was a beacon of courage and conviction as the Muslims too, in the 1960s, reeled under the repression of apartheid.

When fear filled many, Imam Haroun spoke out, organised and supported the activities of the liberation movement. For his efforts, he was rewarded with the highest blessing available to Muslims:

martyrdom. He was killed in detention in September 1969, and the autopsy showed the brutal extent to which he was tortured.

The 1980s saw the emergence of a range of Muslim organisations asserting that Islam is political, not a passive ritual exercise. Inevitably, these organisations, while firmly against the apartheid state, chose different ways to express this opposition.

YOUTH

Qibla, inspired by the Iranian revolution and attracted to Africanism, saw the anti-apartheid struggle leading to an Islamic state through a jihad (holy war).

Despite this ideological position, they produced some of the bravest people seen around in 1985, of which Achmad Cassiem is an obvious example. The Muslim Youth Movement and the Muslim Student Association

missed much of the active participation of the period 1985-1987, being fettered by their doubts about the permissibility of co-operating with non-Muslims.

Today they have outgrown those doubts and have become a key component of the progressive Islamic movement.

Undoubtedly, the Muslim organisation responsible for maximum mobilisation of the Muslim community was the Call of Islam.

Forthright in its belief that Muslims and non-Muslims should co-operate for justice, and being unashamedly political, the Call of Islam affiliated to the UDF.

SKILLED ACTIVISTS

The Call of Islam's success was built around the combination of its members: on the one hand, activists skilled in organisation and media, and members of the clergy with mass appeal on the other.

This combination ensured a voice in the clergy organisation, the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC), and mass media work through a regular pamphlet and a series of rallies.

Muslims have been part of the struggle in many ways. They have also had to make their sacrifices: exile (Imam Solomon and Sheikh Gabier); imprisonment (Achmad Cassiem and many others); detention (Ebrahim Rasool); death (Ebrahim Carelse and A K Fryddie). ♦

The Transvaal experience

The coloured community in the Transvaal is predominantly working class with a tiny middle class including a few professionals. The majority of coloureds are employed in the textile and metal work industries and as clerks in the commercial sector. Unemployment is rife in coloured areas with Eldorado Park, the largest coloured group area in the Transvaal, having an unemployment rate of 55 percent.

The coloured community has often been described by academics and political analysts as "politically apathetic". A survey of the eighties proves this wrong.

The coloured areas were actively involved in the 1980/81 education campaigns which developed into a general criticism against the government, the Labour Party and the Coloured Management Committees. One of the high points of this period was the 1984 campaign against the tricameral elections led by the Anti-President's Council Committee.

The United Democratic Front and the ANC developed a mass following during this period. Underground ANC work also took off in earnest. After the 1984 anti-election campaign the Anti-PC Committee decided to act as a catalyst for building mass organisations. This resulted in the mushrooming of many activist-based women, youth and civic structures. Campaigns were launched against detention, privatization of health facilities and increase in hospital tariffs.

Thus, "apathetic" can hardly be used to describe the coloured community in the Transvaal. It has been characterised by high mobilisation but a limited level of organisation with activist forums not developing into mass-based structures.

LABOUR PARTY

Since its creation in the late sixties until 1983 the Labour Party occupied the centre stage in the coloured community. Despite its participation in the state created Coloured People's Representative Council many believed that the LP was moving towards the dismantling of the CPRC and fighting for the removal of apartheid.

There was a discernible loss of support after the 1979 Black Alliance meeting in Empangeni decided to remain in government-created structures. The real downturn for the LP came in December 1983 when it decided to enter the tricameral parliament.

Presently the NP is trying to make inroads into the coloured community. Eersterust, for example, now has an NP branch which has been emphasising economic development for coloureds. The unbanning of the ANC was greeted with jubilation. ANC branches were launched with a flourish. However, despite all organisational efforts, membership never rose beyond the 250 mark per branch.

Violence in the Reef resulted in the creeping in of conservative thinking. Fears about the future of private property and jobs for coloured people under an ANC government began setting in. The SACP/ANC alliance caused concern among the well organised religious sector.

The major problem is lack of clarity about ANC policy. A Task Force under the ANC PWV region is developing a new strategy to organise coloured people whose basic interests can only be served by an ANC-led government. ♦



The PE uprising

Coloured areas in Port Elizabeth, often regarded as the traditional base of the Labour Party, rose in anger in August last year against the appalling conditions they had been forced to live in. Activists present explain what happened.

"Those who have declared us second class citizens, sentenced to live in poverty and unemployment, have never had to face the blame for the violence they have dished out at our defenceless communities. The real issues and grievances have been screened by the tears and smoke from a police canister."

A telling assessment made by the ANC Gelvandale Branch of the uprising which gripped Port Elizabeth from 6-10 August 1990 and which left more than 60 people dead, 500 hundred injured and 400 detained.

The uprising, triggered off by police firing on a crowd in a soccer field, had its roots in the abject poverty coloured people face

in the city. There is an unemployment rate of 60-70 percent in the coloured areas in PE.

The housing crisis – caused by shortage of houses and unaffordable rents – had been worsening earlier that year with the PE City Council issuing notices of eviction to people living in backyard shacks. Labour Party appointments in schools had increased tensions.

INTERIM STRUCTURE

The Northern Areas Co-ordinating Committee emerged to fight these conditions. It was an interim structure of youth, student, church, teacher and sporting organisations in the coloured areas.

The unbanning of the ANC filled people with hope. People were beginning to take the struggle in their hands.

On that fateful Monday, 6 August 1990, residents of the Chatty/Bloemendal area marched

to the local rent office to hand in a petition to the Director of Housing. They then retreated to a soccer field to await a report-back. The police blocked off two of the three entrances and asked the 3000 strong crowd to disperse in five minutes.

While leaders were negotiating with the police teargas was fired into the crowd resulting in a stampede in which many were injured. Angry youths and workers engaged in direct confrontation with the police.

Police patrols were increased in that area and neighbouring areas. Fighting between residents and police escalated that night. On Wednesday morning news of the police killing of a one year old child in Helenvale spread. Baricades were immediately erected to prevent police entering the area. Police helicopters began shooting teargas and birdshot wherever crowds gathered.

By midday the killing of residents had escalated. On Thursday, 9 August, the NACC, Cosatu and the ANC held a meeting of all areas where local and national leaders called for peace and calm, urging supporters to clear the streets and return to work by Monday.

An uneasy peace returned to that area by Friday.

ANC membership grew radically in the aftermath of the crisis. Previously there were two branches – we will now be restructuring into eight branches. We have a new layer of leadership which emerged with confidence from the crisis.

Our branches have become more and more involved in the socio-economic problems and general issues such as housing. It is clear that PE coloureds will never be the same. There was an 80 percent response to a call for a stayaway in commemoration of the first anniversary of the August crisis. ♦

Commission of inquiry into detentions



Photo: The Star

Ex-detainees Samuel Motjuadi, Bongani Malinga and Alfeus Keke Mabuza

In August senior leaders of the ANC met 32 people who had just been flown back to South Africa after various spells in ANC detention centres. An agreement was reached in that meeting that there would be no public attacks against each other.

Subsequently, some of the people have used various platforms to launch attacks on the ANC. They constitute a minority in the group, ie 12 out of 32. The majority have preferred to keep to the agreement, and, the appointment of Commission of Inquiry by the president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, will serve as a forum for them.

The lawyers seconded to this commission are Archie Skweyiya, Charles Nupen and Bridgette Mabandla. It will hear any complaints from the former detainees.

The feeling is that the majority, who have reaffirmed their membership of the ANC, will come forward to testify and settle whatever matter they feel still stands in the way of their full integration or participation in the affairs of the ANC.

It has also been stated that there may be others who were not necessarily members of this group but who may also want to use this platform and would be allowed to do so. There are those who have joined Gogotya's Fida and Inkatha and have from these platforms launched false and

scathing attacks on the ANC. Some have gone back to the SAP and the Askaris in order to add physical on verbal attacks on the ANC.

What lies behind these attacks? It cannot be that they want their names to be cleared. They themselves have stated that confessions exist which they made and signed, although they now claim that this was under duress. The likely answer is that they have deduced, and probably have been told, that the ANC has made recent on-the-spot verifications of the confessions and that ghastly revelations might be made which they hope to counter before-hand.

The Commission of Inquiry will, of course, be an internal ANC body intended for those who have chosen to make their settlements internally.

Why is it not conducting its work in public?

SATISFACTION

The ANC wants to have the matters clarified and handled to the satisfaction of those who may have problems about the way their cases were handled or the treatment they received. The most important issue is that the majority of the former detainees feel that this is the best way to handle the matter.

Making public the issues that pertain to the cases against Malinga, Dlongwana, Lombe and the others who have taken it upon themselves to wage a campaign against the ANC is seen by the ANC as neither strategic nor necessary at this stage.

What matters more is to ensure that those who intend resolving their problems with the ANC are given the necessary opportunity.

The date for the commencement of proceedings has not yet been set, but both sides agree to the urgency of the matter. ♦

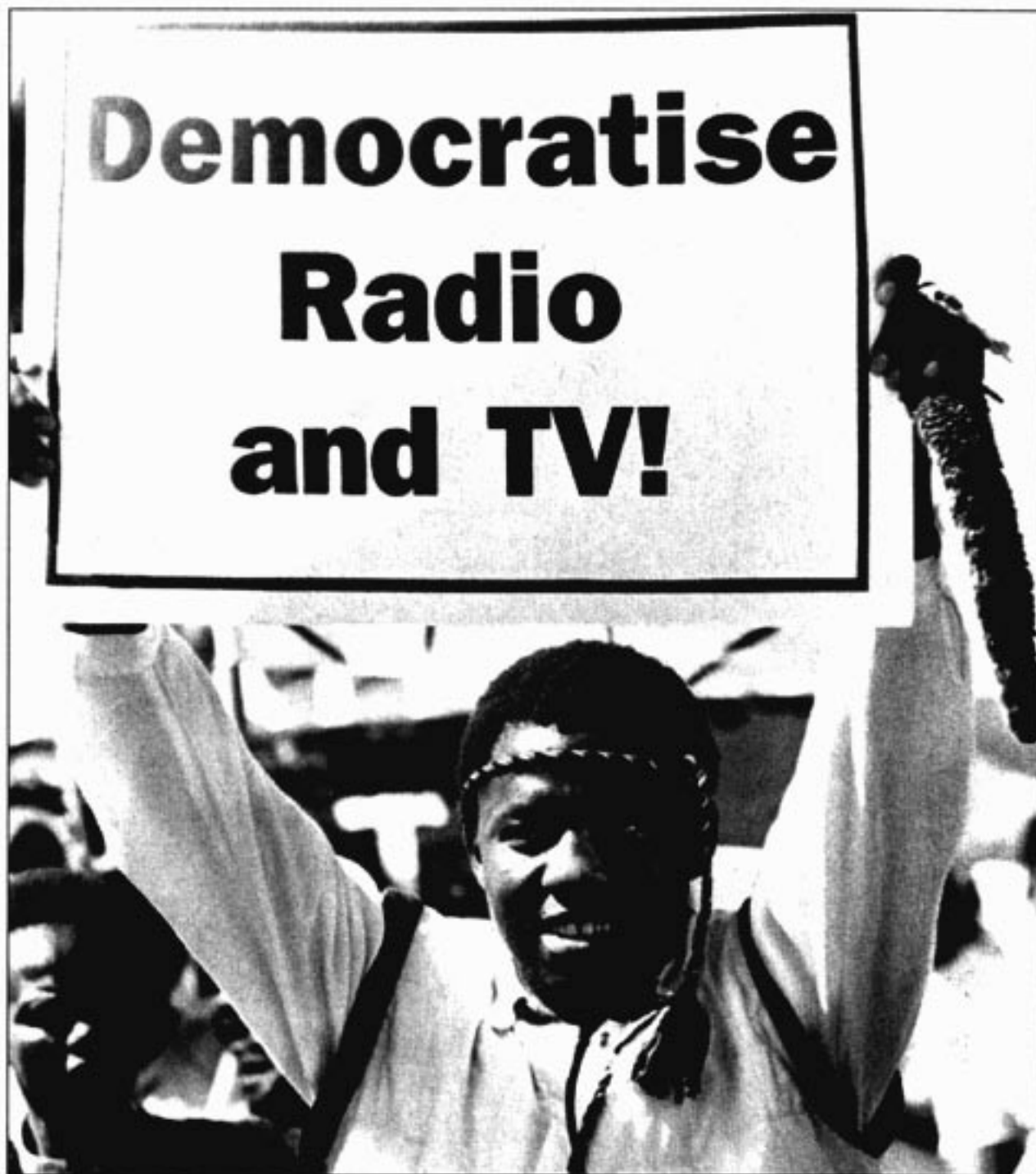
The SABC Task Group has just released its recommendations on the future of broadcasting. In this article, two Radio Freedom activists argue for democratic policies and strategies to transform the whole system.

Most comments about the report of the SABC Task Group ignore fundamental questions about the state of broadcasting in South Africa and the measures needed to democratise it.

The Task Group was set up by the National Party government. Except for one or two tokens brought in after much complaint, it is made up of white Afrikaner males, including officers of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the SADF's Military Intelligence. Its deliberations were conducted in secrecy.

Therefore, it is essentially an NP working group, bent on introducing new broadcasting measures in a situation in which negotiations are about to begin. Behind the veneer of positive proposals about community broadcasting and independent control lurk many dangers that Natspeak of late has become adept at concealing.

The tasks of the Independent Broadcasting Authority proposed by the report include monitoring technical quality, prescribing



The people must broadcast!

technical standards and safeguarding minority interests. This has naturally raised eyebrows among those who have observed how the National Party, in its constitutional proposals, aims to retain apartheid in a sugar-coated form. Given that the NP wants to retain the present government in the transition, the fact that the IBA will be appointed by the State President indicates how independent such an authority will be.

The ANC has included state broadcasting as one of the sectors which should come under the control of an interim government.

This means both stopping any new broadcasting legislation under the present government and finding ways to make sure that the SABC is impartial during the transitional period. One party to the negotiations cannot be allowed to continue to have the privilege of controlling the airwaves.

But why is broadcasting such an important medium, and why the urgency in this area? The broadcasting medium – and particularly radio – is one of the most powerful means of communication. Radio has over 12 million listeners everyday.

According to a BBC survey conducted two years ago, nearly nine out of 10 urban blacks depended on the radio for news. A staggering 63 percent of those surveyed said they believed all

they heard on the radio. If a similar survey was done in the rural areas, these figures would probably rise due to both illiteracy and limited access to other sources of news.

It has often been said that the National Party is both player and referee in the negotiating process – but if it continues controlling radio and television it is also the commentator of this “game”. In

Namibia the then SWABC was still controlled by the old regime during

the transition – and this certainly weighed the scales heavily against the liberation movement.

Now is the time for the progressive movement as a whole to take broadcasting as seriously as the ruling party does. This is beginning to happen – but on a limited scale (See Boxes).

Perhaps because of our experience of segregated broadcasting, of broadcasting that is done to us, not for us or by us, people still seem to feel that it is for experts to discuss this area.

Broadcasting has been made inaccessible and few people realise that radio is cheap to produce and easy to use. In some countries, children as young as six years old have produced their own programmes and put them on the air.



Jabulani – Talk about radio is in the air

More and more people and organisations are beginning to realise that radio is the most accessible and affordable way of reaching the majority of people and making freedom of expression a reality.

At the recent Jabulani conference on broadcasting in South Africa held in the Netherlands, 47 South African organisations and individuals, ranging from the ANC to Radio 702, endorsed the proposal that “the present government does not have the authority unilaterally to re-regulate broadcasting”.

The Jabulani conference recommended that the All-Party Conference should appoint an Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee which would find ways to ensure that the SABC is impartial and begin limited re-regulation “in the interests of fair and open broadcasting”. As one of the delegates to the conference said, the Task Group’s recommendations should be seen as one submission – that of the NP – to the body which will discuss transitional mechanisms.

The conference was a beginning, and strategies for the short and long term have now to be taken to all levels of our society.

In Cape Town, a community radio project – Bush Radio – could be ready to go on the air as early as next year. Meanwhile, a number of organisations have begun discussions on getting time on SABC.

New Nation is already on the air with a half an hour educational programme on Radio Metro, while Cosatu has also applied for a broadcasting licence and has already had a television programme screened on TV2/3/4. Sached is running a training course on radio. In Grahamstown and Durban discussions are in full swing about using the airwaves. ◆

LITERACY

Other countries have used radio not just to provide information to people with low levels of literacy but to combat illiteracy. If SA had, for example, true public radio and television services, society might have been able to use them to help deal with the violence – not to just report on it.

In a new democratic society broadcasting must and can be used to help people realise their dreams.

This reinforces the need for the people to become involved in the debates about what we will see and hear in the future. This means completely changing the existing policy – and not just discussing how to transfer or adapt the present structure.

At the Jabulani conference a number of campaigns were discussed but it was felt that this had to be decided on in South Africa by a broader spectrum. Delegates suggested protest actions and even the possibility of launching pirate radio stations to reclaim the airwaves.

The conference also recom-



mended that an independent monitoring commission be established to ensure that coverage is fair and impartial. This was taken further at the Mmabatho Conference held in mid-September.

At the same time, though, the democratic movement has to discuss ways to get its voice heard on radio and television now.

When Cosatu had a television programme screened on TV2/3/4 recently, the SABC followed the programme by an anti-socialism propaganda piece about Cuba. The new head of the channel, Madala Mphahlele, brushed this off in an interview in the September issue of *MAYIBUYE* as "humorous" and a "nice and fortuitous" decision.

Perhaps another option is for democratic organisations to demand time on the transmitters – in addition to demanding the use of SABC services.

Democratic organisations could get together to establish their own production facilities and produce their own programmes. But this would not give anti-apartheid forces the coverage they need.

LONG TERM

It is imperative that as many people and as diverse a group of people as possible become in-

involved in policy discussions so that we end up with a broadcasting system that truly serves the people.

At the moment there seems to be general agreement about three sectors:

- a public broadcasting system
- a commercial sector, and
- a community radio sector.

Underlying discussion of the different sectors is of course the policy which governs them. The basic framework should be to ensure that people can exercise their right to speak, to be heard and to receive full, accurate and regular information. It will therefore be necessary to address the structure of ownership allowing for variety and balance among the state, private companies and

Continued on next page

Community Broadcasting

This is a sector that South Africa has had no experience of – and therefore needs more discussion than other sectors. Essentially community radio is broadcasting that is owned and controlled by a defined community. It is normally participatory radio.

PROGRAMMING

Members of the community take part at all levels of the station from management, to programming, to actual production of programmes. The station belongs to the community and at a truly grassroots level is the embodiment of the right to hear and be heard.

How will this sector suit South African reality?

How will such stations be funded – will it be purely through community fund-raising efforts or, for example, could a government fund be established to help fund them? How do we ensure that such stations are truly community owned? ♦

Commercial radio and television enterprises

This sector essentially operates for profit. It has a role to play in South Africa as it provides variety on the dial. But a number of areas need to be discussed.

Will frequencies just be handed out to the highest bidder? Will such stations have any "obligations" to building a new society? Should they, for example, be forced to play a certain amount of local music?

Another important discussion which links into debates on the commercial broadcasters is that of ownership. At the moment there seems to be consensus that laws that limit monopoly ownership of the electronic media are necessary. ♦

structures within civil society such as unions and civic organisations.

Regulations that govern broadcasting should ensure balanced reporting, the right to reply, a democratic language policy and foreign broadcasting which serves the interests of world peace and co-operation. The issues of training and affirmative action with regard to technical and managerial skills need urgent attention. A democratic broadcasting system will also need to guarantee rights of workers employed by various broadcasting institutions.

INDEPENDENT

An Independent Broadcasting Authority made up of interested groups and impartial professionals will ensure that the airwaves are truly freed. While some of the proposals can only take full shape under a new constitution, it is necessary now and in the transition to fight for the democratic transformation of broadcasting. Transitional mechanisms to emerge from the All-Party Congress must include relevant structures and codes for broadcasting. Otherwise, talk about free political activity will remain a pipe-dream. ♦

TAKING THE FORCE TO TASK ...



**BROADCASTING IS
A CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE!**

The NP's iron grip

"The government is in control of the country, so we naturally give them ample opportunity to state their policies".

- Christo Viljoen, Weekly Mail, 9 March 1990

These words by the Chair of the SABC Board and head of the Task Group illustrate the National Party's iron grip on broadcasting. Its monopoly over the interpretation of events is ensured through a variety of mechanisms:

- As the ruling party it is in control of 23 radio stations broadcasting in 11 languages with 12 million listeners
- Through broadcasting legislation it determines licensing, appoints the board, etc. It also uses laws such as the Internal Security, Police and Defence Acts to limit the free flow of information
- It can intervene in the daily running of the SABC and prevent programmes it does not like, for instance *Weekly Mail* editor Anton Harber's interview with Vlok when Inkathagate broke out
- The hiring of employees is influenced by the political loyalties they hold. ♦

Radio Freedom: Coming home voiceless

T*his is the voice of the African National Congress,* were the first words after the Radio Freedom signature tune.

With the unbanning of the ANC and the turmoil in some of these countries, Radio Freedom has had to close shop in order to re-establish itself inside the country.

It is now in the process of transferring back its material which consists of, among other things, full production studio equipment, recorders and tapes of important programmes.

Most of its staff of about 30 – trained and experienced as announcers, technicians, reporters and producers – is already in the country.

Radio Freedom was established in the early 60s, when Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders beamed from the underground. It was and has been more than an ANC voice. It was the truly alternative voice to the National Party-sponsored SABC.

After the Rivonia arrests Radio Freedom was forced to operate from exile. It established stations within the external services of radios in Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Madagascar and Ethiopia, mainly on shortwave bands.

With the closure of Radio Freedom, a vehicle through which the oppressed people have articulated their grievances and aspirations has been silenced. The struggle to change the SABC and free the airwaves has become even more urgent. ♦

From Jabulani to Mmabatho

As the government released the report of the Task Group, a network of organisations and academics interested in broadcasting and film met in Mmabatho. They were brought together by the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation and the Department of Communications at the University of Bophuthatswana.

The conference decided to set up structures to research and develop detailed policies for popular broadcast-

ing, and to monitor and critique the existing structure and content of radio and TV.

INITIATIVE

Included in this initiative is Radio Freedom and a host of other groups wanting to go on air – such as Cape Town's Careers Research and Information Centre (Cric), the University of the Western Cape's Bush Radio and the SA Council for Higher Education

(Sached).

Academics at the gathering said they would set up a database of SABC coverage and begin several pilot studies to monitor the state-owned corporation.

Policy research is to include the role of film and broadcasting in education, gender issues and development, as well as a language policy and a broadcasting code of conduct. A booklet on how to set up community radio is among the publications agreed upon. ♦

Public broadcasting system

SABC should have played the role of a public broadcasting system. Instead it has been used as a party political tool furthering the aims of the National Party. The role of this sector needs to be defined. Should it be used to inform, educate and entertain? How much emphasis should be placed on different sorts of programming? How many radio and television channels will the public service need to fulfil its aims?

Another important area is language. Will we continue to have segregated language services as the SABC has had in the past? What are other options? Decisions on how such a body will be managed to ensure that it is truly a public service and not just an arm of the ruling party need to be made.

To ensure balanced representation, the broadcasting law could ensure that certain sectors – such as the state, commercial broadcasting interests, trade unions, civics and representatives of the judiciary – are represented on the board of the new SABC and the Independent Broadcasting Authority. Who will the management be accountable to? And how should such a service be funded? A number of these questions are closely related to discussions on other policies, not technical niceties. ♦



A life of struggle

The 1963 bombing of a Black Church by the Klu Klux Klan, resulted in the death of four personal friends, having a profound effect on Angela Davis. In 1963, at the age of 24, she joined the Communist Party of the USA convinced that "radical solutions" were necessary for solving the problems of racism and repression. She is now a member of its central committee.

She was active in Southern California around the issue of unemployment, prison and penal judicial reform, police repression and student rights. She faced intense harassment and repression from the FBI. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression grew out of the campaign for her release..

Angela Davis was nominated as the Vice Presidential candidate of the CPUSA in 1980 and again in 1984 for national election. Currently she is Professor in the History of Consciousness Department at the University of California and holds several national posts in women's and political organisations.

Sharing experiences with Angela Davis

Angela Davis, veteran African-American political activist and former US vice-presidential candidate, visited South Africa from 31 August to 10 September. MAYIBUYE presents snippets from her lectures in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

About coming to South Africa

"We have been promoting a boycott of South Africa for so long that the prospect of visiting this country was unimaginable. In the US I have researched and presented papers on South Africa. Now that I am here I will have to assume the stance of a student."

Developments in South Africa

"South Africa is at a complex historical moment when socialism is collapsing. South Africa is a place of hope for people everywhere. The reality of an end to apartheid and the creation of a democratic South Africa seems to have been placed dramatically on the historical agenda.

"But it is a complex moment. There was a time earlier when everything was literally black and white. We knew who, how and where to fight. Forces against which we fight are simply no longer over there, over the hill. Sexism is all around us. Racism has to be purged not only from the social structures but also from the hearts of the people themselves."

Building non-racialism

"In the beginning of the 70s we began recognising that we won't radically solve the social problems so long as we focussed exclusively on ending segregation.

"It was Malcolm X who said we were trying to integrate into a sinking ship. Implying that if we didn't examine the ship itself, all our resolve, our struggle would result in equality in terms of going down with the ship.

"With the development of a multi-racial approach we had to challenge previous concepts. We challenged the notion of a "melting pot" which is what the US is supposed to be. The problem was that if we jumped into the melting pot we literally got melted down - we emerged no longer as ourselves.

"We had to find ways of experiencing pride in our language, history and culture and to accept differences as the basis for harmony. Equality does not mean sameness. Black students on the white campuses were expected to talk and act like whites.

"It is our responsibility to learn about other cultures. And sometimes we need separate organisations. This is not separatism - we are simply creating the space for ourselves. And when we emerge from those spaces we must build a powerful unity, a unity where we respect ourselves and each other."

About the future of socialism

"I have what I think is an exciting idea that we go to the USSR, the former German Democratic Republic, the other Eastern European countries, and invite people who now espouse capitalism to take a tour of the US.

"And I will take them to Harlem and Oakland, California. I will show them the consequences of capitalism. For whenever there is vast wealth in the hands of a few people there will be intensive poverty among an increasing number of people. At this particular moment capitalism appears to be triumphant and only by default."

Contemporary conditions of blacks in the US

"During the eighties when Ronald Reagan moved into office we moved into a period of intense assault on all the victories scored. We entered into a period of union busting, cancelling of affirmative

action programmes, plant shutdowns, and the re-shaping of the supreme court which placed many of the judicial advances made in jeopardy. We experi-

enced a soaring military budget, leading to unemployment, and the erosion of social services and financial aid to students.

"There are more black men in prison than there are in college. 25% of our young black male population is in jail or in the hands of the criminal justice system. There has been the penetration of the black community by drugs on a scale you cannot imagine.

"A new consciousness has

developed of the inter relationships between all these struggles. The need for coalitional efforts has been emphasised, alliances of a multi-racial nature. By multi-racial we mean all-inclusive, not in the divisive way it is understood here in South Africa."

On women's struggle and gender issues

"We must acknowledge the political character of the traditional oppression women have suffered. When men no longer feel the need to dominate within the domestic sphere, that will be a liberating force, and that will allow not only women but men as well to participate more fully in society.

"We face an ultra-right campaign of repression. Abortion clinics have been attacked. Federal funds are available for sterilisation but not for abortion. Women are suffering under a drug conspiracy. Most drug users are women. This is not usually publicised. There is an increase in prostitution to pay for drugs. This creates a crisis for children. Instead of setting up programmes to assist women, they are being imprisoned.

"We have learnt that to develop the feminist movement we have to build structures that are more than alliances. Greater focus should be paid on the needs of working class and poor women." ♦



Professor Davis with ANC Women's League President, Gertrude Shope

The proposed system of VAT has evoked feelings of revulsion amongst workers. Its implementation is a sore that is going to continue eating at the little that the working masses have. The real beneficiaries are the financial backers of the apartheid system – big business. Organised labour has opted for a massive campaign against this taxation system.

Cosatu has stepped up the anti-VAT campaign by embarking on a nation-wide education blitz on the detrimental effects of such a tax on workers. The main thrust of the mobilisation are those issues that have been identified as the main objections of the workers to this taxation system. These are:

- 10 percent at which it is pegged is too high
- VAT will increase inflation and consequently erode living standards
- VAT on foodstuffs, medical services and medicines is immoral
- No adequate safeguards to stop commerce from abusing VAT
- Costs of administering VAT are likely to be passed on to consumers
- The government option of poverty relief is grossly inadequate to have any positive effect on affected communities.
- The government's failure to meet workers' demands on VAT is a serious short-coming with a potential for conflict.
- An unrepresentative government has no right to tax people excluded from running the country.

INKATHAGATE

The Inkathagate scandal has placed the demand for an interim government at the top of the agenda. The use of taxpayers' money for the type of activities that Inkathagate revealed is clear

proof that the period of transition can never be managed by the main obstacle to democracy – the National Party government.

WORKERS ON THE MARCH

Workers across the country have been flooding management offices with letters of protest about the introduction of VAT. The anti – VAT letters state workers' categoric rejection of taxation without representation. They are calling for the postponement of the date of implementation of VAT so as to allow effective negotiations to take place on:

- Zero-rating of basic foodstuffs
- Meaningful poverty relief programmes
- How the taxation system can be re-oriented to benefit the majority of South Africans.

The proper forum for such negotiations should be one involving Saccola (the organisation for big business), organised labour and the government.

As the anti-VAT front broadens into a coalition of organisations under the umbrella of the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT, the level of mass actions will increase. The anti-VAT summit cemented bonds of unity cutting across sectoral barriers to forge a common front to oppose VAT. Meanwhile, a national general strike appears inevitable as workers in their thousands participate in various protests to press their demands.

Demonstrations and pickets at factory and mine level have become a common feature as bosses are pressurised to support forces

VAT: national general strike looming

Millions of workers are being mobilised for what may turn out to be one of the most historic national mass actions ever mounted against the apartheid government's policies.

A trade union activist reports.

opposed to VAT. At lunch time, many factory workers have taken to picketing and demonstrating. Workers are demanding a five percent wage increase across the board from bosses to offset inflationary effects which will be brought about by VAT. Offices of the Receiver of Revenue will also become focal points of the anti-VAT campaign.

At the political level, the fact that the government has decided to change the taxation system at

this time has set in motion a renewed and more vigorous campaign for the installation of an interim government. It has become clear that the National Party government is not thinking of this transitional period in the same way that we do. It does not seem to consider that in this period of transition, there needs to be consultation all the way, especially on such an issue as a taxation system for people the majority of whom are not represented in the government of the day. The campaign is therefore seen by the workers and their leaders as one more campaign against the apartheid system as a whole.

As *MAYIBUYE* goes to press, a meeting between the Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT had deadlocked. The minister rejected the Co-ordinating Committee's demands, offering a 10 percent subsidy on certain basic foods for at least a year instead. The Co-ordinating Committee found the government's measures inadequate. The stage is now set for a massive nationwide campaign against VAT. ♦



The first to be fired

Recently in the East Rand there has been a lot of violence in the stations and industrial area. Seven workers were killed and many more wounded as they went about their daily routine. In some cases they were forced to stay away from work for fear of losing their lives or had to come late and leave early so as to avoid the stick-wielding impis that were ambushing them.

DISMISSALS

Most of the workers who died worked at the Langeberg canning factory which has always been organised by the Food and Allied Workers' Union. The spark of the violence was the dismissal of seasonal workers whose contracts had expired. According to sources at the factory, the matter was twisted to give the impression that the Cosatu-affiliated Fawu was responsible for the termination of the contracts. An allegation was also made in

writing that Inkatha/Uwusa workers were being victimised even though many of the dismissed workers did not belong to the organisations.

In its long history of organising in the East Rand, Fawu has no record of having turned its back on casual or seasonal workers. It is part of the Cosatu campaign to secure jobs for all South Africans. The question that may arise is the urgency with which the union approached this question and sought to explain the position to seasonal workers.

This kind of violence can be initiated in other areas. The clear pattern is that specific socio-economic problems are taken advantage of to introduce vigilante violence. This presents enormous challenges to the

unions and other democratic structures to take up the grievances of all categories of the exploited and oppressed sections of society more vigorously. ♦



When I consider the issue of women and political representation, I get rather depressed. I have formed my views on this question from watching and listening to women, from teaching among them and, of course, from being one myself.

Apart from other classifications of women in terms of race and class, I also see women as having three stages in their lives: women who have not yet had (or who have chosen not to have) children, women in the process of raising children, and women who have already raised their children.

For those in the first and third groups (ie they are not in the process of raising children) the issue of political representation may be somewhat simpler. But I am worried about those women who are in the process of raising children. I am one myself.

Generally, women in the process of raising children are unbelievably busy – not busy, mind you, with great things or even very stressful things necessarily – just very busy. Most of these women work a full day and then come home to their duties at home. Working, washing and wiping, cleaning and cooking and just being at home while your children are sleeping, all make for a day in which child rearing women have very little time to do things for themselves. And representation is something you do for yourself.

LETTING THE SIDE DOWN

Now, from my experience, women who have not had children (I was once such a woman) have very little understanding of what their sisters are undertaking. They often feel that such women are letting the side down

for many reasons: they are not always reliable because their children come first; they are seldom available because again their children come first. Their lives are wrapped around their children. And, if they don't have a child, it is very hard to understand why women get so wrapped up in their children.

MIGRANT WORKERS

On the other end of the line are those women who have already raised their children. You see, mercifully, we forget about the sleepless nights, the helplessness of small children and the all-consuming effort of caring for little ones as they get older. So, though to a much lesser extent than those women without children, women not in the process of raising children may only vaguely remember just how much time-consuming physical effort went into raising their children.

Of course there are many, many women, who, when they have raised their own children, then raise their children's children. Such women therefore remain in the group who are raising children. There is also a very large group of women who are not actually raising their children on a day-to-day basis because they are migrant workers. Such women are in a most unenviable position. Though they may have a little more time to themselves, their struggle to feed, clothe, and educate their children still remains at the core of their lives.

MEN WHO PARTICIPATE

Women who have men who truly participate in the home may have more time for public duties. However, I am sure that such women are by far in the minority. In South Africa at present, with its tremendous problems, I would not be surprised if the majority of child-rearing women are mothers

Superwomen and Supermums

Simply applying affirmative action to the few very exceptional women who have made it into the political system will not get rid of the root cause of women's weaker public presence, argues Therese Raubenheimer, a working mother. This is the third in a series on affirmative action.

who have to raise their children alone. Theirs is an all-consuming task.

Generally, those busy with child-rearing as well as earning their keep are going to be those most reluctant to give extra time to political matters. Women not in the process of rearing children do not necessarily represent the women who are. There are some women who work very hard in the political arena and who are also raising their children, but they are the exception. They have struggled and made exceptional sacrifices in order to do so. While their efforts are deeply appreciated, it would be foolish to expect all women to make such demands on themselves and their children.

CORNERSTONE

So here is the reason for my depression. Today it would seem that women's child-rearing efforts go unappreciated everywhere. Such women are marginalised in the political arena. On the whole, they cannot participate as others do although they are often expected, over and above their bread-winning and child-rearing efforts, to "play a part in society". If they wish to be represented that is what they have to do. Men or women without children therefore have a far greater advantage in terms of time and effort in the process of representing themselves. Therefore, in democratic terms, you have a large silent group who remain underrepresented.

There are many good reasons why there are fewer women than men active in the political arena and especially in higher positions. Simply applying affirmative action to the few very exceptional women who have made it into the political system will not

eradicate the root cause of women's weaker public presence.

Yet the efforts of those rearing children remain one of the cornerstones of any society.

My depression is this: child-rearing is great and laudable work; it should be loudly praised and honoured, not made silent and looked down upon as being too private, too mundane, possible to brush aside so that greater things (such as political work) can be achieved. Sometimes I do wish that mothers could be unionised, represented from the very homes where they work and assisted in the work they do. There is one enormous group of people who would benefit:

children, big and small, the adults of the future.

I believe that in order to truly represent women, society has to change its priorities. Women have to be met where they are, not expected by society to come forward to state their own case. In order to represent her, you have to go to her place of work and find her there, work for her needs and not overburden her with one more demand of how she should work in your system. ♦



**Affirmative
action, like
charity, begins
at home**

References to the historic walk out led by Steve Biko and Barney Pityana from Nusas 22 years ago at the very same campus were unavoidable.

The 600 students gathered at Rhodes University, representing over 130 tertiary institutions, were fully aware of the historic step being taken in integrating Nusas and Sansco. We realised that we were completing a circle. But we were not returning to our starting point. Student organisation had developed over the past two decades like an upward spiral.

The fact that black and white students were capping almost one and a half decades of joint working with the creation of a non-racial student organisation was indicative of the upward movement. The South African Students Congress (Sasco) is the product of two years of discussion and debate. Until this point Sansco and Nusas had chosen the strategy of separately organising black and white students under a principled non-racial alliance between the two organisations.

The breadth of the institutions

Students unite under Sasco

Nusas and Sansco merged on 8 September to launch the South African Students Congress (Sasco). A delegate to the launch reports.

represented is another tangible difference. Present were all the "English liberal campuses", all black universities, Afrikaans universities such as Stellenbosch, RAU and Pretoria University, with the bulk coming from technikons, technical colleges and colleges of education.

INDEPENDENT

The launching congress resolved that Sasco will be an independent student organisation. Its main aim will be to make tertiary

education democratic and to defend student rights.

At the same time it will draw students into an active programme to ensure the collapse of the apartheid regime. To this end Sasco recognised the leading role of the ANC in the struggle for national liberation.

Sasco will be affiliating to the NECC as part of its contribution to addressing the education crisis. The "Right to Learn" campaign will be intensified with particular emphasis on the following demands:

- all closed colleges of education should be re-opened and no further colleges are to close;
- an end to the cut in education subsidies;
- no taxation on educational materials;
- freedom to organise for students on all campuses;
- the right to form democratic SRCs;
- the creation of a single education department in a new South Africa.

Sasco's national SRC commission was mandated to facilitate links between SRCs and to oversee the process of building a federation of SRCs. It is hoped that the federation will develop into a strong voice for students interests and of deepening democracy in society.

Conference came alive when

National Executive

The 11-person executive consists of three women; nine of the executive members are from the liberal campuses.

President:

Robinson Ramaite –
Turfloop

Vice-President:

Lincoln Mali – Rhodes

Secretary-General:

Kgomotso Masebe – Wits

Assistant SG :

Lawrence Piper –

Natal University

Treasurer:

Hope Papo – Wits

Publicity and Information:

Nqaba Bucwa

Media and Publications Officer:

Katharine McKenzie –
Wits

Political Education and Training:

Tshepe Motumi – Wits

Education Officer:

Bronwyn Levy – Wits

Women's Organiser:

Mpho Motlhabane –

Natal Medical School

Technikon and Colleges Co-ordinator:

Litre Mcwayibeni –

Transkei College

“ We have been working 20 hours a day since the conference to get all the documents sorted. That is going to be one of my tasks: coordinating the administration of the organisation. During the next few weeks we will ensure all the regions are briefed about our Programme of Action.

“The conference was a long awaited event. But we don't see it merely as an event: it is both a process and a challenge. We will have to face up to the challenge of black and white students working in the same

Secretary's Tasks

MAYIBUYE spoke to Kgomotso Masebe, recently elected General Secretary of the South African Students Congress, about his immediate tasks.

organisation - no longer in a principled alliance.

“There are certainly going to be many problems. Errors which we may commit at this point may have an indelible effect on the future of the organisation.

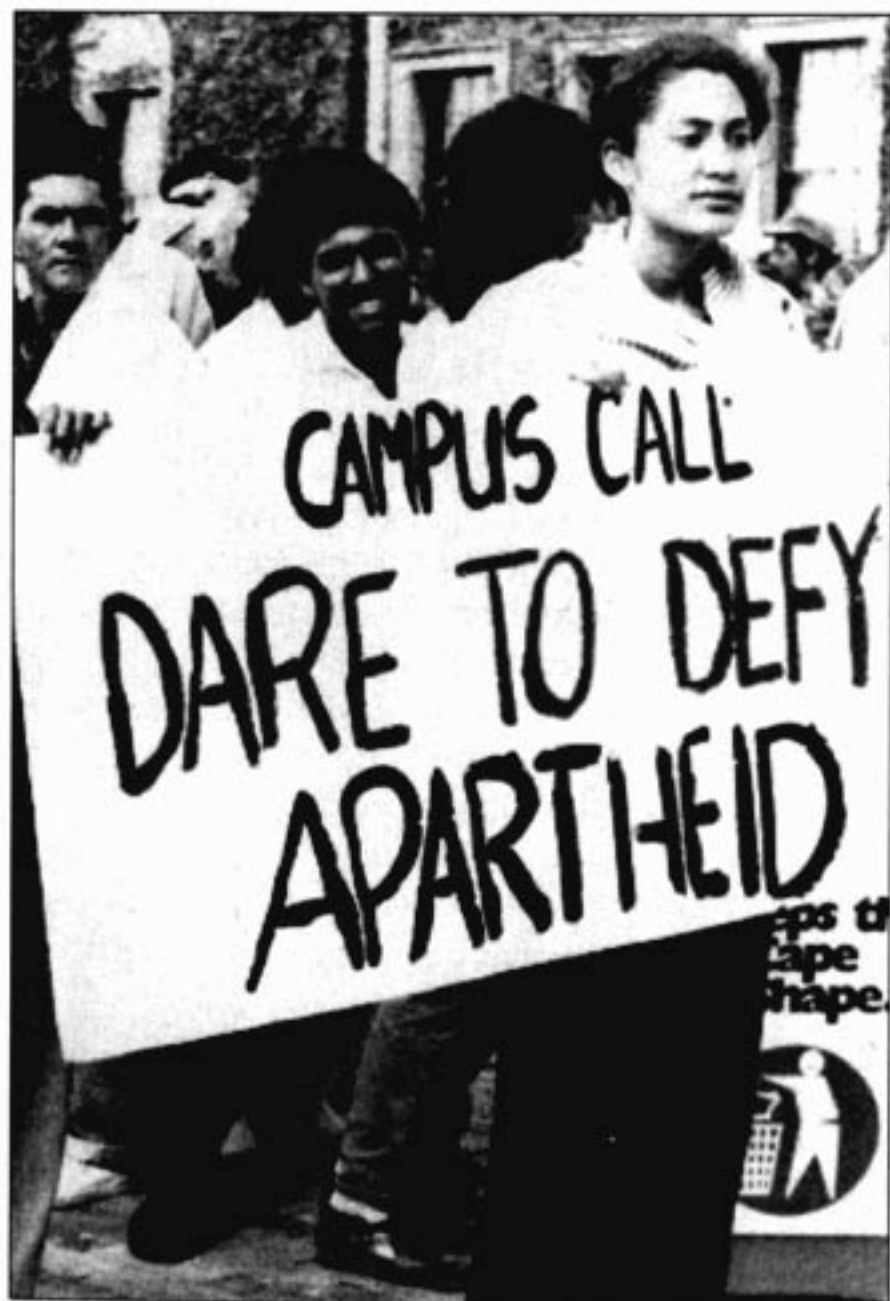
“The unbanning of the liberation movements has forced students to reorient the student movement. Tertiary

institutions used to be the mini-revolutionary centres. Now students will have to develop a clearer role for themselves.

“Sasco will have to ensure that revolutionary intellectuals - that is people with the necessary skills being committed to the development of humanity - are developed through our activities.

“We can now focus on more immediate questions. The education system is in a disastrous state. We will have to emphasise intensive learning and the right to learn. I have just received reports of a second college in the East Rand being closed.

“We have to redress the overlooking of technikons and colleges. We will have to ensure that Indian and coloured students, whose participation in student activities has been declining over the past few years, are specifically addressed. ”



the issue of organising women was tabled. Women delegates, of which there was a significant number, were especially aggrieved at the minimal attention paid to problems affecting women.

The conference resolved to focus on the expulsion of pregnant women from some tertiary institutions, sexual harassment, inadequate security on campuses placing particularly women students at risk and the sexist content of academic curricula.

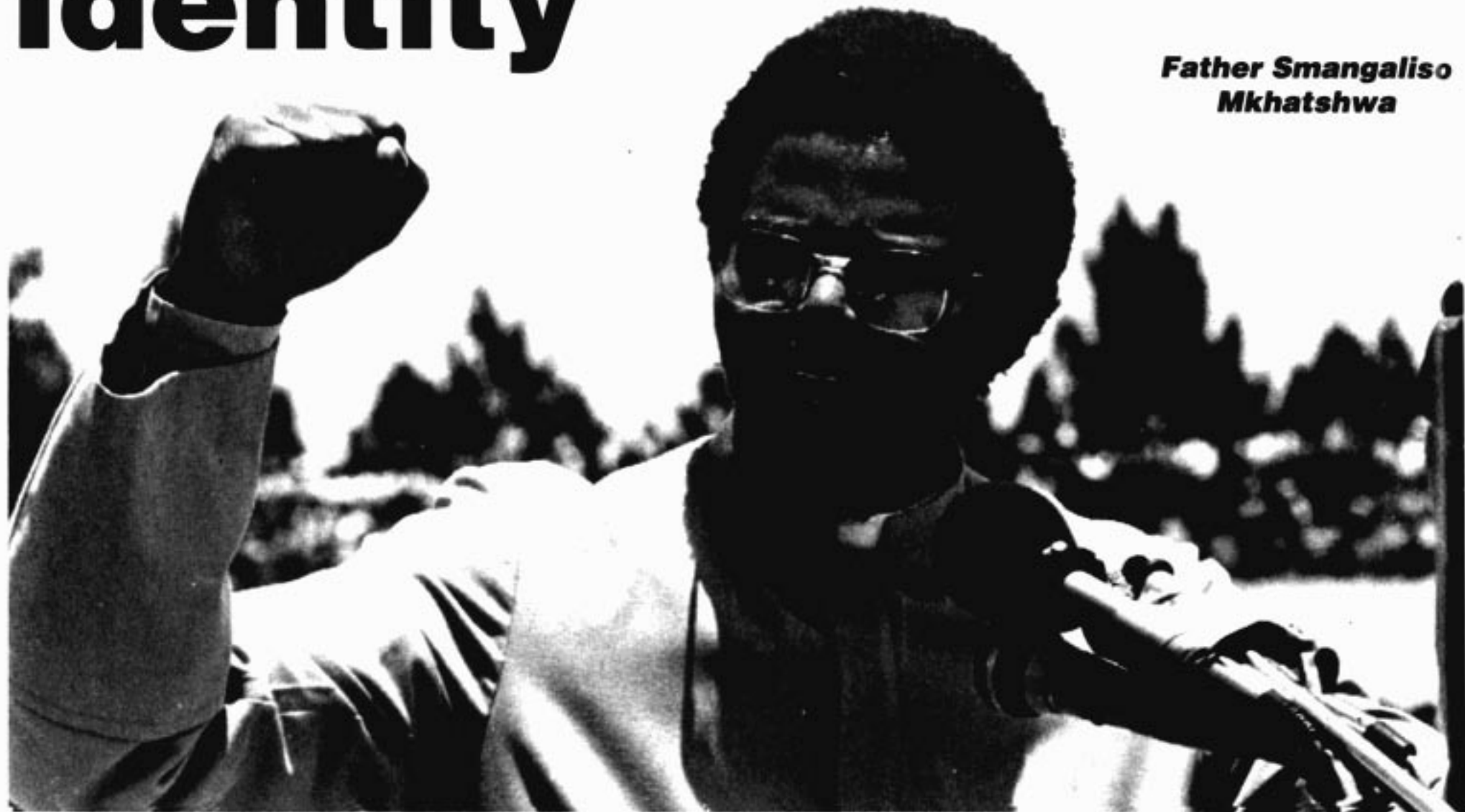
Much time was spent on how best to organise women. It was decided that campuses could decide whether to also organise women separately or only under the banner of Sasco. Sasco is to address itself to gender imbalances through affirmative action.

The Sasco conference decided to apply for affiliation to both the International Union of Students (IUS) and the All-African Students Union (AASU). Representatives from both these organisations as well as from student unions in Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom, Germany, Lesotho, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique were present.

After the conference the Southern African and IUS representatives met and resolved to work for academic freedom and student rights throughout the region. Cosas, the South African high school student organisation, has been asked to facilitate the formation of similar structures in the region. ♦

In search of an identity

Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa



When will Comrade Nelson Mandela start going to Church? The question was asked by a young ANC activist in Soweto. Many other people have asked a similar question, albeit for different reasons. Behind the question is the realisation that the Church is a very important social force in South Africa. It has always been.

Some of the founder members of the ANC were Church leaders. The ANC established the now dissolved Department of Religious Affairs to cater for the religious needs of the combatants and other members of the liberation movement. I know of MK commanders and high ranking ANC, SACP and PAC leaders who take their Church membership seriously. So do members of the government and other social ruling classes. During the period of heavy repression, the Church

maintained good relations with the progressive anti-apartheid organisations.

If one considers the fact that over 80 percent of all South Africans subscribe to one religious faith or another, only a fool can ignore the influence of such a force. One may despise or even hate the Church for whatever reason, but a scientific approach compels one to recognise its power. It has influenced apartheid policies, supported colonialism, comforted fascist security forces.

Paradoxically, the same Church has also inspired revolutionaries, freedom struggles and provided spiritual nourishment to our heroic fighters for justice. Most of the prominent political and trade union leaders are either Christians or were educated or trained in religious institutions.

The hysteria about the demise of communism and the disintegration of the socialist bloc will significantly enhance the prestige of the Church.

THE CHURCH TODAY

Where is the church now? I am not sure it knows itself. Prior to the watershed speech of Mr de Klerk on 2 February 1990, I think the Church had a clear programme of action. It had a broad vision and direction. Since then the Church is trying to adjust to the fast-changing political scene. At best the Church is once again on hold, struggling to identify its role.

Most of its struggles for social justice have been taken over by the political organisations. The trade unions no longer need the Church as before. Political prisoners are being released and very

After February 2 1990, is the Christian Church taking a little lonely walk in search of an identity? There is an important place for the Church in the transition and beyond, argues Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, General Secretary of the Institute for Contextual Theology.

extreme right to mildly conservative. Then we have the mainline English-speaking missionary Churches. They tend to adopt a more liberal approach. The really progressive elements within the various Churches are usually charismatic individuals or parachurch organisations.

All these groups and persons have a role to play. However, it

would be a serious mistake to expect the Church to behave like a trade union, a civic association or a political organisation. There is a commitment and discipline in a political party or trade union which may not always exist in a Church.

For example, in one and the same congregation you find officials who detained and tortured your brother going to communion with the parents of the victim. This may be an extreme example. But it helps to illustrate my point. One can therefore understand why there are so many contradictions in the Church. Despite all this, it remains a force to be taken seriously.

NEGATIVE ROLE

The powers that be have always tried to hijack the Church or sections of it. A typical example is the attempt by the government to form an alliance of so-called Christian democratic parties. Concerted efforts are being made to woo especially the conservative Churches.

An upsurge of denominationalism among the Churches will lead to disunity, disengagement from social involvement, depletion and dissipation of resources. Individual congregations may start organising their own parallel development programmes which could even run counter to democratic ones.

Unlike political organisations, the task of the Church is not to seek or strive for political power. Moral and spiritual health of the community is its primary responsibility. Morality has political, social and economic consequences. That is why the Church should keep itself well-informed about socio-economic issues which affect society as a whole. Through critical social analysis it is the duty of the Church to find out why there is suffering, poverty, racism and oppression in the world.

Together with other agents for change and transformation the Church should see how best to facilitate the liberation of the people, especially from oppression and exploitation (see next page).

It goes without saying that sometimes there will be tensions between the Church and political leaders. But if both respect one another's functions, the tensions will be creative rather than destructive.

ADVANCE TO PEOPLE'S

P O W E R



few political trials are taking place. People no longer require the protection of the clergy at commemoration services or at political funerals. These are the activities which gave the Church a high profile in the recent past.

Now the Church seems to withdraw from its social ministry in favour of the cosiness of the sanctuary. This is not necessarily copping out of the struggle, but a little lonely walk in the wilderness in search of an identity.

One must also understand the nature of the Church. It is neither a monolithic nor a homogeneous community. There are numerous religious groups and denominations in South Africa. Most are conservative in varying degrees, ranging from the

The much good the Church can do

- **Struggle against apartheid**

For many years the Church has been a faithful ally of anti-apartheid organisations. That struggle goes on, contrary to protestations by De Klerk. The Church has yet to officiate at the burial of apartheid. It is a lie that an irreversible process of change is now in progress.

If the Church is the custodian of the truth as it should be, it should warn its adherents about false change. It must tell the local and international community that superficial political changes have in no way improved the lot of the millions of ordinary people on the ground and that the legacy of apartheid will be with us for many years to come. The white minority and a sprinkling of affluent blacks will continue to dominate the economy at the expense of the majority.

- **Ministry of values**

The present and future society will need a conscience. Someone must heal the wounds inflicted upon our people by years of oppression, repression, injustice, exploitation and racism. We need someone to preach and foster the values of justice, unity, national reconciliation, forgiveness, compassion and the sacredness of human dignity.

- **Democracy**

Education for democracy cannot be left to the state or politicians alone.

A culture of political tolerance is essential for the moral fibre of our nation. In educating its people for democracy the Church will in the process become more democratic itself.

The Church, both as an institution and as a community of believers, can facilitate the creation of a new united, democratic and peaceful country in several ways:

- **Reconciliation**

Theologians should explain that reconciliation without restitution is not genuine. When the Dutch Reformed Church made an unscheduled confession at the Rustenburg Conference of Churches last year, many participants were sceptical about it. Why? Because nothing was said about restitution. Members of the Church that supported apartheid for decades have yet to commit their Church and government to the duty of restitution. Unless they make such an undertaking I cannot but suspect them of a hidden agenda which appears to follow rather than lead President De Klerk's footsteps.

- **War on violence**

The Church is participating in the peace process. Dr Frank Chikane has spent many hours on shuttle diplomacy in pursuit of peace. The victims of the violence look up to the Church as their voice. It is the finger of God which will condemn those who cause death, destruction, poverty and suffering, and try to hide the root causes of these ills. Without the Church there can be no real and lasting hope.

- **Building a new nation and people**

Once apartheid is dead people will begin to pay special attention to national social reconstruction.

This involves, inter alia, democratisation of the economy, constitution, cultural institutions and political organisations. The Church has enormous resources available to it. Can there be a better way of using them than to engage in this programme alongside the people?

- **National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation**

The returnees and political prisoners are streaming back into the community. We have prayed endlessly for this moment. Now that they are in our midst, the Church should, where possible, provide shelter, clothing, counselling service, food and employment for them. If this service were to be rendered, the Church's credibility would rise high among the people.

- **Education and Training**

The new democratic government will not be able to provide sufficient education and training facilities immediately. There is a huge backlog in this area. Throughout the centuries, the Church has always taken an active part in educational matters. We have a tradition of missionary schools even though their policies would need to be in line with the spirit of democratic education. To deal with the legacy of apartheid education requires all available resources. The Church is one such resource.

Not only will the Church teach ordinary subjects. It will help to prepare young people for life in a new South Africa. ♦

Campaign for open schools

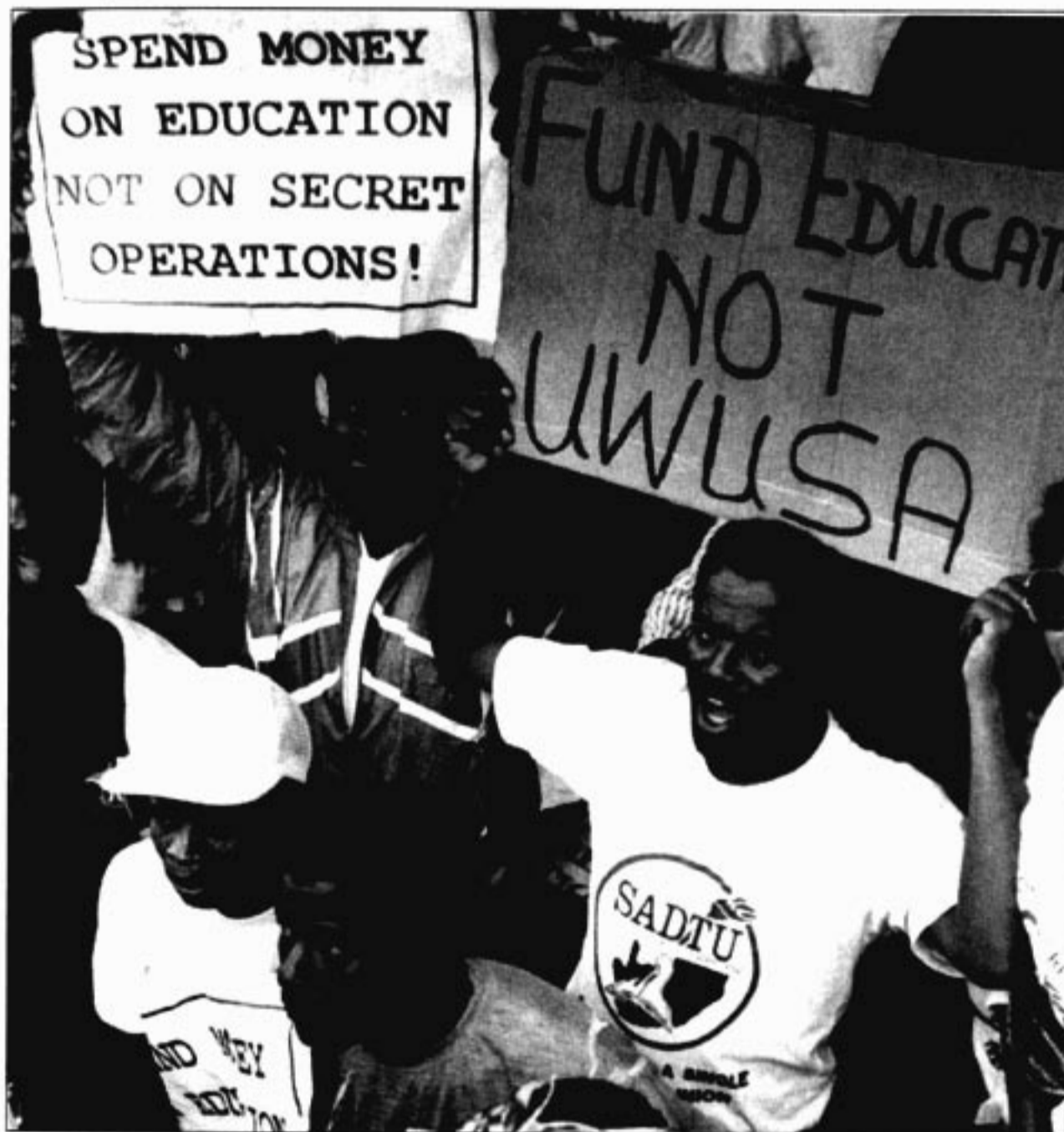


Photo: The Star

The open schools campaign is slowly yielding fruit. Lindelwa Mabandla of the ANC's Department of Education reports on progress in the negotiations:

The government and the National Negotiating Forum accepted the following principles as guidelines for the negotiation process:

- the principle of community participation is the one element that can guarantee effective management of education
- the state accepts its role as a primary provider of education generally, with a role for key stakeholders
- there should be optimum usage of existing resources
- resources basic to the learning process, eg books, should be provided
- financing of education should be equitable and not be based on racial classification
- a culture of learning should be inculcated
- the process of education should be as trouble-free as possible.

There is agreement that in future schools which, as a result of demographic trends, are either under-utilised or not utilised at all would be made available to other departments with minimum red tape.

Where, for example, it is known beforehand that a school would be closed, such a school could continue being operated by the original department in accordance with its existing professional procedures but would be open to all.

The local community would in such cases be consulted and its special circumstances taken into account. The teachers involved will be given the choice to decide whether they want to remain or be transferred.

UNDERPROVISION

A problem, however, arises because of the historical position of underprovision of black education. Even if all such schools are opened, it would amount to a mere drop in the ocean when considering the demand for school places by black students. Therefore the negotiations for the opening of such schools must be seen as symbolic and establishing a principle that educational provision should not be based on race.

The principle behind the campaign to occupy empty and under-utilised schools by the Southern Transvaal region of the NECC is sound and we fully endorse it. However, we feel that for any campaign to be successful, it should be based on the widest possible consultation. Also, we need to organise campaigns in such a way that there is least disruption to the process of education. Finally, in campaigning for open schools we should always be mindful of our commitment to non-elitist education.

This means that education must be both affordable and provide optimum access to all. ♦

Progress the Soviet

The whole world is changing because of the upheavals in the Soviet Union. MAYIBUYE invited comments.

Youri Youkalev, the USSR's ambassador to Zimbabwe

MAYIBUYE: Recently the Soviet parliament decided on a looser federation of the union republics. What does this hold for the future of the Soviet Union?

Youri Youkalev: These decisions pave the way for the formation of a different kind of union, a union of independent sovereign states. It is too early to say exactly whether it will be a federation or confederation, or even just a community of independent states.

That will be a subject of negotiations between the former republics that constituted the Soviet Union. The future of the Union depends on the outcome of these negotiations. What is certain is that the new kind of union will guarantee the advance of democracy in the country.

MAYIBUYE: Does the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have any role under present conditions?

YY: The recent coup's hardest blow landed on the Communist Party because the upper structures and some leaders of the party took part in it. They discredited the party. But it is necessary to differentiate between some leaders of the party and the

mass of rank and files, some of whom played an active part in defending democracy. I have no doubt that the Communist Party will resurrect as an influential political force in the democratic movement.

MAYIBUYE: The people who led the coup were top leaders of the party and the country. Does this not manifest a crisis of leadership?

YY: Yes, of course. It was clear evidence of a leadership crisis. But every cloud has a silver lining. The coup became a catalyst for the process of democracy and the emergence of a new leadership.

MAYIBUYE: Will the Soviet Union follow Poland and Hungary back to capitalism?

YY: I share the opinion of the famous American economist and Nobel Peace Prize winner Leontieff who recently said that the socialist idea will always be alive and influence the minds of the people. What is definitely true is the death of Stalin's model of totalitarian socialism.

By the way Marxism-Leninism does not contradict the system of a mixed economy. The Soviet Union is going to follow this line. ♦



**Mass action in Leningrad
Demonstrating against**

Chris Hani, SACP

It is true that what is happening in the socialist countries constitutes a major setback for the countries themselves as well as communist and marxist parties the world over. But it is wrong to draw the conclusion that this is the end of the road for communism.

MISTAKES

Yes, serious mistakes were committed in the process of building socialism. Democracy was grossly violated. Opposition was not brooked and a commandist economy led to stagnation. The result was failure to satisfy

or betrayal? controversy



**Or is that Petrograd?
the coup.**

the demands of the consumers. Perestroika was a serious attempt to democratise socialism and overhaul the economic system, making it market driven. But as Gorbachev was vigorously trying to implement perestroika, his serious mistake was not to overhaul the Communist Party and make it a vital weapon in its implementation.

COUP

The recent coup was a symptom of a party that had lost direction in the face of odds that characterised the transition period. It was a reflection of poor leadership and growing loss of confidence and demoralisation as communists began to see growing decline of the economy, exacerbation of national conflicts, moral decadence and other afflictions.

FATAL BLUNDER

In panic, the most serious and fatal blunder Gorbachev has committed is the unilateral suspension of the Central Committee and the dissolution of the CPSU. His decision was undemocratic and must be denounced. All true democrats must protest against the current witch-hunt conducted against communists.

As South African communists we see the path of democratic socialism as the only one that will eliminate gross inequalities, obscene poverty and the excessive exploitation of the workers. The antagonistic class contradictions of capitalism remain and capitalism is inherently incapable of resolving them. ♦

Jay Naidoo, General Secretary, Cosatu

The collapse of regimes in Eastern Europe, the illegal coup in the Soviet Union and the sweep of narrow nationalistic rightwing opportunism provide important lessons for democratic socialists worldwide.

These regimes had combined a centralised bureaucratic state ownership of the economy with an elitist political dictatorship. Working class power became stifled as party organs, factory/agricultural collectives, the army, trade unions, youth and women's organisations became conveyor belts of a bureaucratic elite.

STAGNATION

Economic stagnation and working class apathy deepened as the quality of production slowed down and there was an increasing inability to meet daily consumer needs combined with chronic waste and irrational planning.

Glasnost and perestroika were imposed from the top and often in an ad hoc and unprogrammatic way. They were also too dependent for implementation on bureaucratized party structures whose existence were threatened by restructuring.

The established trade union movement for example played virtually no role in restructuring the economy. This applied to all organs of civil society.

Economic reform was undermined by party bureaucrats and the much needed foreign investment was determined by the liberalisation policies of the IMF, World Bank or G7 industrial nations rather than the needs of the Soviet economy.

SUSPENSION

The suspension of the CPSU is unlikely to resolve the crisis of political and economic fragmentation. It opens the way to ad hoc rule by decree and deepens the confusion amongst the people. →

Socialism and democracy are inextricably linked. Mass participation must be institutionalised so that political power does not just rest with civil servants in state structures. A culture of mandates and reportbacks must be encouraged away from the cult of personalities.

Independent trade unions, women's, youth and civic organisations must play a key role in decision-making on social, political and economic issues.

CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society has a key role in crossing the ethnic divide and pre-empting the growth of narrow chauvinism.

This must be located in a political system that encourages political tolerance and competition in a multi-party system, with a constitution and Bill of Rights that empowers ordinary people in society and places powerful checks and balances on government.

However, while it is clear that the working class struggle internationally has suffered setbacks, it is far from being defeated.

All genuine democrats and socialists have been forced into a fundamental rethink on building our objective of a society free from exploitation, sexism, racism, unemployment and hunger.

We need to seek creative and practical ways of deepening democracy, strengthening and redefining new forms of solidarity to build working class power internationally. ♦

Harry Gwala, SACP

Developments in the Soviet Union must not be seen in the light of Gorbachev and the likes of Ligachev and Yanayev, but in both the internal and external contradictions taking place in the world today.

For far too long both communists and non-communists have invented simplistic answers to these contradictions. Non-communists have sought explanation in free enterprise, while communists have reduced the problem to the cult of the personality.

The birth of the Soviet Union was a result of the contradiction between labour and capital, and the international contradictions between the working class and the liberation movements on one hand and the imperialist forces on the other.

Because of its support for working class and liberation struggles, the Soviet Union acted as a home for the entire working class and many liberation organisations. Seen in this light the Soviet economy was not only geared for reconstruction in the Soviet Union but also to provide aid to the struggling masses of the world. Today we tend to forget that the Soviet Union was the only country that stood with Ethiopia when she was attacked by fascist Italy, and the only country that called for collective security against Nazi Germany.

The then new democracies in Eastern Europe and the wars of liberation in Asia and Africa overtaxed the young Soviet economy. This brought about a lot of contradictions within the socialist camp as to the way forward. The difficulties encountered tended to inspire easy solutions to the problems. This, in fact, gave rise to Eurocommunism.

Trends to the effect that a solution could be found in coming to terms with the imperialist powers and scaling down on aid to the developing countries began to emerge in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Forces hostile to socialism cashed in under the pretext of fighting bureaucracy.

Within the Soviet Union forces purporting to be fighting the personality cult started even challenging the scientific tenets of Marxism-Leninism. Those who wanted to strengthen and consolidate socialist gains were labelled hardliners and Stalinists. Stalin became a swear word. Hence inroads were made on the dismantling of socialist structures in Eastern Europe. What is happening in the Soviet Union today is a logical end of the road taken by all revisionists and hangers-on of imperialism.

The lessons of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are bitter ones for progressive mankind but they are lessons worth learning well. Marxism as a science opposed to bourgeois political sciences has to be defended by all those dedicated to its cause. Far from being dead, Marxism-Leninism is undergoing the biggest test of its life and will emerge tempered in the world of contradictions.

Obviously criticism has been made against the way the coup against Gorbachev was conducted. Those who cherish "democracy" have decried his ousting. We are told that the coup was unconstitutional and undemocratic. Are we to understand that a coup becomes constitutional and democratic only when it is bourgeois? Those who employ bourgeois morality and imperialist norms in dismembering a socialist union and suppressing the Communist Party can expect any method to be employed in defending socialism. ♦

It was six o' clock on a cool summer Friday morning. A thin, tall young man entered the kitchen where he had had breakfast for the 21 years of his life.

The room was small, the size of a store-room. A paraffin stove and a twenty litre gallon of water were the only outstanding features.

Benjamin Thobela was proud of this slum where he lived with his old pensioned grandfather. His friends called Benjamin "Extra" - the boy with an extraordinary mind.

Today Benjamin was sad. The security police said Benjamin was a threat to the community. They say I am starting politics, he thought. But how could a person like him be an expert in politics when politics was much more difficult than arithmetic? What was politics all about?

The wrinkled old man studied his grandson for a moment. He was deeply concerned about the boy. He had spoken little, eaten little and had slept little since he had returned from work yesterday.

"Have you had a bad day yesterday, son?"

The old man had lived 18 years together with Benjamin. He knew when the boy was upset or excited. Today he was depressed. Finally Benjamin sat down, with his grandfather standing, looking down at him.

Could he tell his grandfather what he thought of Mr Viljoen, the senior clerk, Benjamin thought.

Suddenly, he lost his appetite. He looked at the black tea and the four plain

slices of bread with resentment. If he didn't hurry to the bus stop he would be late.

"Say grandfather, what does it mean when your senior gives you a half-eaten hamburger?"

The old man laughed. "Why! he likes you, Benji. Did he do that to you?"

The Boy with an Extraordinary Mind

*A short story by
Enoch A Monkwe*



"Yes," he replied nonchalantly. "My senior sent me to buy him a packet of chips and a hamburger," Benjamin said spontaneously. "When he was satisfied he gave me the half-eaten burger."

To the old man's amazement the boy was angry.

"You should be proud of yourself, son," the old man beamed with joy. "In fact we should celebrate when you come back from work."

"A celebration! What for?"

"When your senior gives you something to eat you should be grateful. It shows that he appreciates you. You'll be promoted soon."

"But grandfather, couldn't Mr Viljoen had done it the other way? What I mean is if Mr Viljoen really appreciates me we could have shared the burger together ..."

"Benji," the old man shouted. He was hurt, terribly hurt. "You're a clerk, not a gourmet. You could have refused the burger or put it in a dustbin. Remember you were lucky to be employed. Do your work as instructed and nothing else."

Benjamin cursed the fact that he didn't have a car as he ran down the road to the bus stop. He felt relieved now that he had talked to his grandfather. He blamed him-

self for not having had the guts to tell "baas Viljoen" off yesterday.

Benjamin followed his daily routine in the office. The office was getting hotter every second. He smiled thinly as "baas Viljoen" swaggered by. He felt he could afford a smile. "That son-of-a-bitch. I'm gonna teach him a lesson."

Later that day Benjamin picked up a pile of letters for signing and walked to an air-conditioned office. In the smoke-filled room sat four whites. The oldest of them was Gert Viljoen. He was sitting on a desk, smoking like a chimney. He wore a military moustache and a white shirt. They didn't see him at the door.

"Heard the news lately?" asked the youngest of them. "A darkie smashed his boss' jaw

this morning ..."

Mr Viljoen was shocked and angry. "What was that? I wish he did that to me. I just wish he did that to me."

One guy in a brown Italian suit stood up and said. "I would die to lay my hands on that Thobela guy."

"That bastard also is moody and cheeky, just wait until I lay my hands on him," Mr Viljoen said furiously.

They chatted of this and that. Most of their conversation flowed to black women. They all fancied them. And they all had "black affairs" - as they called it.

Benjamin entered and they all looked up in embarrassment. There was an instant deadly silence.

"Afternoon, meneer," he said to Mr Viljoen, presenting a pile of letters to him.

"How many times have I told you, Benji", Mr Viljoen shouted at the boy nervously. "I am not a meneer, ek is die BAAS!"

"I'm terribly sorry mene baas."

"Don't play games with your senior, Benji," the guy in the Italian suit said.

"Thanks, I would be grateful if you call me Mr Thobela." They looked at each other while Mr Viljoen bent over the papers.

"Tell the typist to correct this letter and make sure you bring it back now."

Benjamin studied the letter and glanced at his watch. It was 15 minutes to one. Carefully he



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placed the paper on the desk before Mr Viljoen. "I'll come and fetch it after lunch. Right now I'm off to eat." With those words he turned to go.

Instinctively Mr Viljoen looked at his watch. "But it's not time yet."

"Maybe. But I'm hungry already." He stood and watched his senior's face for a moment, then loped out of the office and down the stairs before anyone could utter a word.

He won't be eating in the park today, he thought. Instead he would go back to his office. Benjamin opened his office door and went to sit on the chair. It was when he was satiated that he put his legs on the desk and leaned back on the chair. He lit a cigarette and exhaled a long curly smoke.

"Baas Gert! Baas Gert!"

Everyone knew whose voice it was. Even where it came from. But that was unusual. And everybody was already in Benjamin's office by the time Mr Viljoen entered, sweating. On the desk was a half-eaten loaf of bread, and a few remains of chips.

"You can have the bread and chips, baas," Benjamin said after a deep drag from his cigarette.

The manager listened with bewilderment at the drama. "I thought of you as a fine boy with an impressive record in the office, Mr Thobela. But tell me, why on earth did you do all this?"

'Baas Viljoen gave me a hamburger yesterday, sir. I regarded that as a sign of brotherhood and took it for granted that he liked me. And since one turn deserves

another, I felt obliged to do exactly the same today."

Mr Viljoen and the manager exchanged glances.

"Now, Mr Thobela, get back to your work. I'll call you later."

Mr Viljoen announced, with his hands in his pocket: "If he is not fired, I resign."

The manager called out: "Benjamin!"

"Sir!"

"You are fired!"

Mr Viljoen thought it was the end for Benjamin. But for Benjamin it was just the beginning. ♦



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Nadine Gordimer won the CNA Literary Award for this novel. It is significant for its subject matter - the complex relationships in a family caught up in the momentous upheavals of political struggle in the late eighties in South Africa.

To quote the novel on life and literature: "... No two [experiences] are alike, each is a fingerprint of life. That's the miracle that makes literature ..." Nadine Gordimer probes the inner beings of her characters to portray those unique fingerprints.

It is a sad commentary on how apartheid has divided South African society that she is probably most successful when expressing the gulf that separates the communities apartheid chose to keep apart.

IDENTITY

The novel's title suggests the tale of a son told by a father. The reverse is true. This novel is perhaps centrally about the struggle of an adolescent boy, Will, to forge his own identity in a family which overshadows him.

Will's father, Sonny, a coloured teacher with a social conscience and a reverence for Shakespeare, is drawn into anti-apartheid resistance through the militancy of his students. Will's sister, Baby, goes into exile. His mother, Aila, acts as a courier for Umkhonto we Sizwe. She is caught and charged, then skips bail and also goes into exile.

The novel traces a process of alienation which afflicts a once close-knit family. Sonny has an affair with Hannah Plowman, a white woman involved in support work for political activists in detention and on trial. Will accidentally finds out about the affair, and the unspoken complicity between father and son becomes a festering sore which infects their relationship. Aila, the apparently docile wife, never speaks of the

My Son's Story

by Nadine Gordimer

David Rhipip, 1990

affair she clearly knows about. Hannah never asks Sonny to leave his family for her. Baby attempts suicide but never verbalises the reasons. Apparently a mindless "jeller", Baby suddenly disappears into exile and political commitment.

Sonny, having become quite senior in the movement, falls from favour in a political atmosphere he cannot understand. Internal struggles and cabals are rife. Sonny, in keeping with the trend in his family relationships, can never really discuss this matter meaningfully with his comrades.

RESENTMENTS

Will's bitter resentment of his father lays itself out in a poisonous internal dialogue. He thinks of Hannah as "his father's woman" and "a whore" and seems to feel his own sexual role threatened by his father's.

Both Sonny and Will cannot deal with Aila's political involvement. When Aila refuses to allow Will to testify on her behalf, Will finally does verbalise his resentments and demands to know why everyone else in the family can be involved and not him. "What's wrong with me? Why me? Is there some birthmark or something that says this is what I must be?" he bursts out.

The house the family illegally lived in - it was a "white" area - is attacked and burnt down. Sonny

tells other coloured people in the neighbourhood: "We can't be burned out ... we're that bird, you know, it's called the phoenix, that always rises again from the ashes".

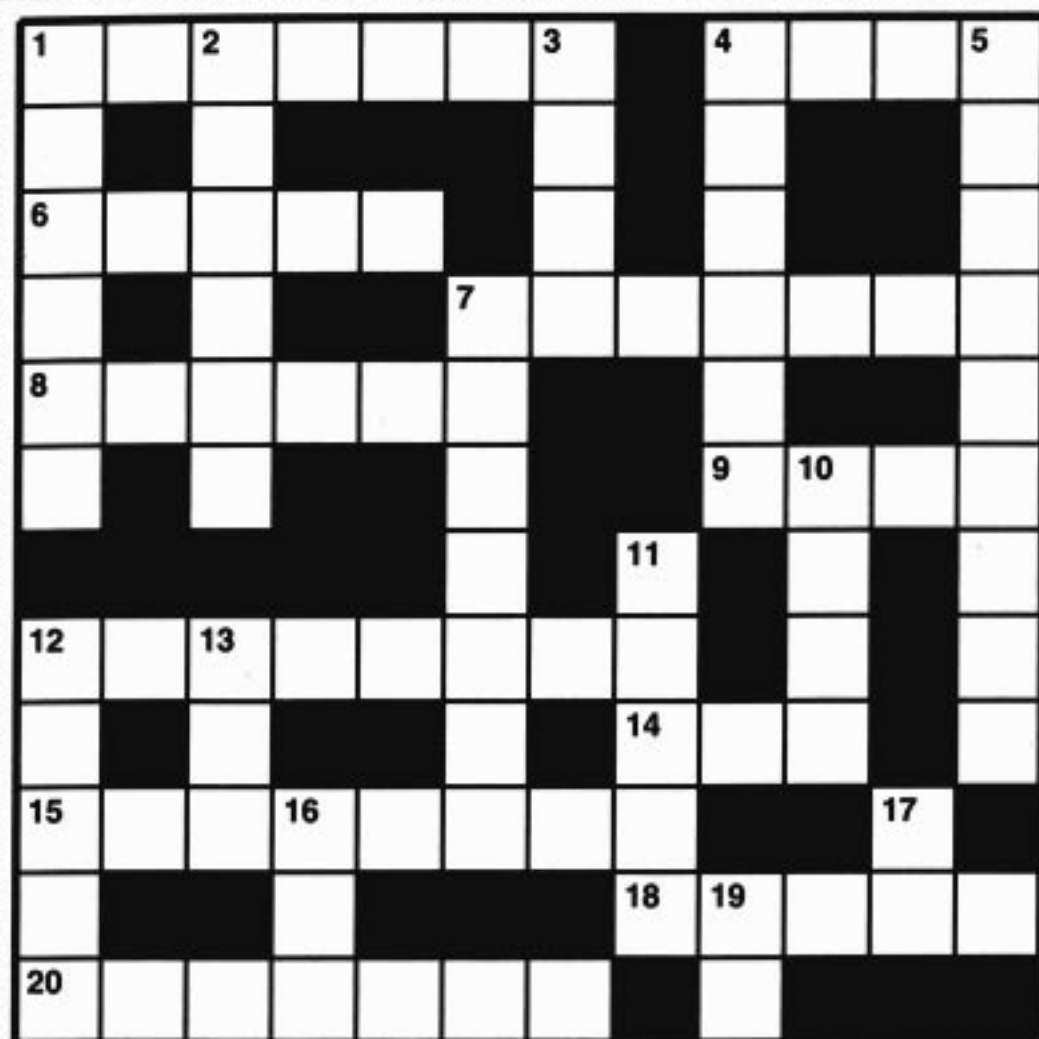
Will is not sorry to see the last of the house that contained so many lies and so much deception. In an epilogue he comments that love/hate is the most common and universal experience and sums up the story of his father, who is again in detention, and him. Will has finally found his identity, as a writer, for which he "blames" his father.

This novel looks at the complexities of the characters and relationships of a family of politically active people. But perhaps in avoiding the pitfall of "struggle novels" which oversimplify and treat activists as one-dimensional heroes and heroines, this novel errs in the other direction.

There is little positive to find in any of the characters. Will is a particularly unappealing youth, seemingly rendered impotent by self-pity.

For some reason the term "coloured" is taboo, and used perhaps once in the whole novel. The characters refer jarringly to "people of our kind". The democratic movement and the political struggle, so central to the novel, remain abstract and unreal. A disappointing novel which fails to convince on both levels it tackles - the personal and the political. ♦

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Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 1



The winner of MAYIBUYE XWORD No 1 is Fielding Chumo Vokwana of DII University House Residence, University of Cape Town, Private Bag, Rondebosch, 7700. CONGRATULATIONS!

RULES

1. The first correct entry drawn wins.
2. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
3. *MAYIBUYE*, DIP, DPE and Movement Enterprise staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
4. Send answers to: *MAYIBUYE* XWORD No 3, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
5. Closing date: 15 November 1991.
6. See answers and winner in *MAYIBUYE*, Vol 2 No 11 December 1991.

Test your knowledge about the ANC and win R100 and a MAYIBUYE T-shirt!

MAYIBUYE XWORD No 3 CLUES

ACROSS

1. ANC's cultural ensemble.
4. Cosatu's affiliate.
6. Chairperson of the ANC Natal Midlands.
7. Former president of Grenada.
8. Capital of Angola.
9. Capital of Italy.
12. IFP leader in Natal Midlands.
14. Rod for striking ball in snooker.
15. Author of "Call me woman".
18. ANC lawyer murdered beginning of the year.
20. Baltic republic seceding from the Soviet Union.

DOWN

1. American civil rights leader who visited South Africa recently.
2. PLO leader.
3. PAC's army.
4. Hitler's title.
5. Voice of the South African Communist Party.
7. Volunteer-in-Chief during the 1952. Defiance Campaign.
10. Musical instrument.
11. South African Chamber of Business.
12. Once Secretary-General of the ANC.
13. Has its headquarters in Addis Ababa.
16. Where animals are kept.
17. Celebrates its 30th anniversary on 16 December 1991.
19. Pronoun.

Order Form

| CODE | ITEM | UNIT PRICE | QTTY | TOTAL | CODE | ITEM | UNIT PRICE | QTTY | TOTAL |
|------|------------------------|------------|------|-------|------|----------------------------|------------|------|-------|
| 001 | Tambo T-shirt | 12.00 | | | 096 | Big ANC tr/st/b | 72.13 | | |
| 002 | ANC T-shirt | 12.00 | | | 097 | Small ANC tr/st/b | 72.13 | | |
| 003 | Andy cap | 13.65 | | | 098 | Big Spearman sw/tp/b | 40.00 | | |
| 004 | Magnum cap | 9.38 | | | 099 | Small Spearman sw/tp/b | 40.00 | | |
| 005 | Super golf cap | 12.73 | | | 100 | Big logo sw/tp/b | 40.00 | | |
| 006 | Lumber jacket | 165.60 | | | 101 | Small logo sw/tp/b | 40.00 | | |
| 007 | Football umbrella | 41.40 | | | 102 | Big ANC sw/tp/b | 40.00 | | |
| 008 | ANC wristwatch | 115.00 | | | 103 | Small ANC sw/tp/b | 40.00 | | |
| 009 | Road to Peace | 4.50 | | | 104 | Big Spearman sw/tp/w | 40.00 | | |
| 010 | Joining the ANC | 4.50 | | | 105 | Small Spearman sw/tp/w | 40.00 | | |
| 011 | Africa earrings | 5.52 | | | 106 | Big logo sw/tp/w | 40.00 | | |
| 012 | Pendant | 9.11 | | | 107 | Small logo sw/tp/w | 40.00 | | |
| 013 | Tie pin | 12.79 | | | 108 | Big ANC sw/tp/w | 40.00 | | |
| 014 | ANC 1991 calender | 1.26 | | | 109 | Small ANC sw/tp/w | 40.00 | | |
| 015 | ANC poster | 2.58 | | | 110 | Labour Bulletin | 6.00 | | |
| 016 | A4 note pad | 4.42 | | | 111 | Work in Progress | 2.50 | | |
| 017 | A5 note pad | 3.84 | | | 112 | Const Assembly T-shirt | 6.96 | | |
| 018 | A5 letter pad | 3.15 | | | 113 | ANC metal badge | 2.40 | | |
| 019 | A6 pocket book | 1.77 | | | 114 | Logo metal badge | 2.40 | | |
| 020 | Large travel bag | 33.46 | | | 115 | Spearman metal badge | 2.40 | | |
| 021 | Small travel bag | 23.87 | | | 116 | Youth Lgue metal badge | 2.40 | | |
| 022 | ANC 1991 diary | 1.00 | | | 117 | People Shall Gvn badge | 2.40 | | |
| 023 | Gold ANC keyring | 7.14 | | | 119 | Seat/walking stick | 22.40 | | |
| 024 | Logo lapel badge | 2.80 | | | 120 | Men's pad. takkies | 62.38 | | |
| 025 | Greetings cards | 0.43 | | | 121 | Men's pln takkies | 53.18 | | |
| 026 | Pack greetings cards | 1.70 | | | 122 | Lumber jacket kids | 135.60 | | |
| 027 | Tambo poster | 0.85 | | | 123 | Ladies takkies | 35.26 | | |
| 028 | Peace poster | 1.60 | | | 124 | Kiddies takkies | 26.94 | | |
| 029 | Logo earrings | 12.79 | | | 140 | Video Mandela's Release | 50.00 | | |
| 030 | Flag earrings | 12.79 | | | 141 | Video Fruits of Defiance | 50.00 | | |
| 031 | Africa cufflink | 15.18 | | | 142 | Video The comrade king | 50.00 | | |
| 032 | Flag lapel badge | 4.80 | | | 143 | Video Isitwalandwe | 50.00 | | |
| 033 | Logo cufflink | 15.18 | | | 144 | Video No Mdle Rd to Fredm | 50.00 | | |
| 034 | Conference poster | 2.61 | | | 145 | Video Sophiatown | 50.00 | | |
| 035 | Leather keyring/red | 4.05 | | | 146 | Video A Savgé War of Peace | 50.00 | | |
| 036 | Leather keyring/brn | 4.05 | | | | | | | |
| 037 | Leader card | 0.46 | | | | | | | |
| 038 | Chequerboard card | 0.41 | | | | | | | |
| 039 | ANC woolen belt | 2.02 | | | | | | | |
| 040 | Grey stripe tie | 22.08 | | | | | | | |
| 041 | Blue shield tie | 22.08 | | | | | | | |
| 042 | Blue flash tie | 22.08 | | | | | | | |
| 043 | Shield white scarf | 25.58 | | | | | | | |
| 044 | Grey stripe scarf | 25.58 | | | | | | | |
| 045 | Flash white tie | 25.58 | | | | | | | |
| 046 | ANC table flag | 8.28 | | | | | | | |
| 047 | Paper flag | 1.04 | | | | | | | |
| 051 | Liberation cloth badge | 1.56 | | | | | | | |
| 052 | ANC logo cloth badge | 1.56 | | | | | | | |
| 053 | Spearman cloth badge | 1.56 | | | | | | | |
| 054 | SACP cloth badge | 1.56 | | | | | | | |
| 055 | Umsebenzi | 1.00 | | | | | | | |
| 056 | African Communist | 5.00 | | | | | | | |
| 057 | The Red Flag | 5.00 | | | | | | | |
| 058 | Mayibuye | 3.00 | | | | | | | |
| 059 | Bill of Rights | 5.00 | | | | | | | |
| 060 | The New Constitution | 7.20 | | | | | | | |
| 061 | Women's Rights | 7.20 | | | | | | | |
| 062 | Path to Power | 5.00 | | | | | | | |
| 063 | ANC logo T-shirt | 6.96 | | | | | | | |
| 064 | Govern T-shirt | 12.00 | | | | | | | |
| 065 | Mass Action T-shrt | 13.57 | | | | | | | |
| 066 | Equal Rights T-shrt | 6.96 | | | | | | | |
| 067 | Spearman T-hirt | 6.96 | | | | | | | |
| 068 | Peace/Freedom T-shrt | 12.00 | | | | | | | |
| 069 | Nylon tracksuit | 81.36 | | | | | | | |
| 083 | ANC flag belt | 38.88 | | | | | | | |
| 084 | ANC logo belt | 38.88 | | | | | | | |
| 085 | ANC belt | 38.88 | | | | | | | |
| 086 | Big Spearman tr/st/w | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 087 | Small Spearman tr/st/w | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 088 | Big logo tr/st/w | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 089 | Small Logo tr/st/w | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 090 | Big ANC tr/st/w | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 091 | Small ANC tr/st/w | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 092 | Big Spearman tr/st/b | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 093 | Small Spearman tr/st/b | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 094 | Big logo tr/st/b | 72.13 | | | | | | | |
| 095 | Small logo tr/st/b | 72.13 | | | | | | | |

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

Mayibuye

NOTE

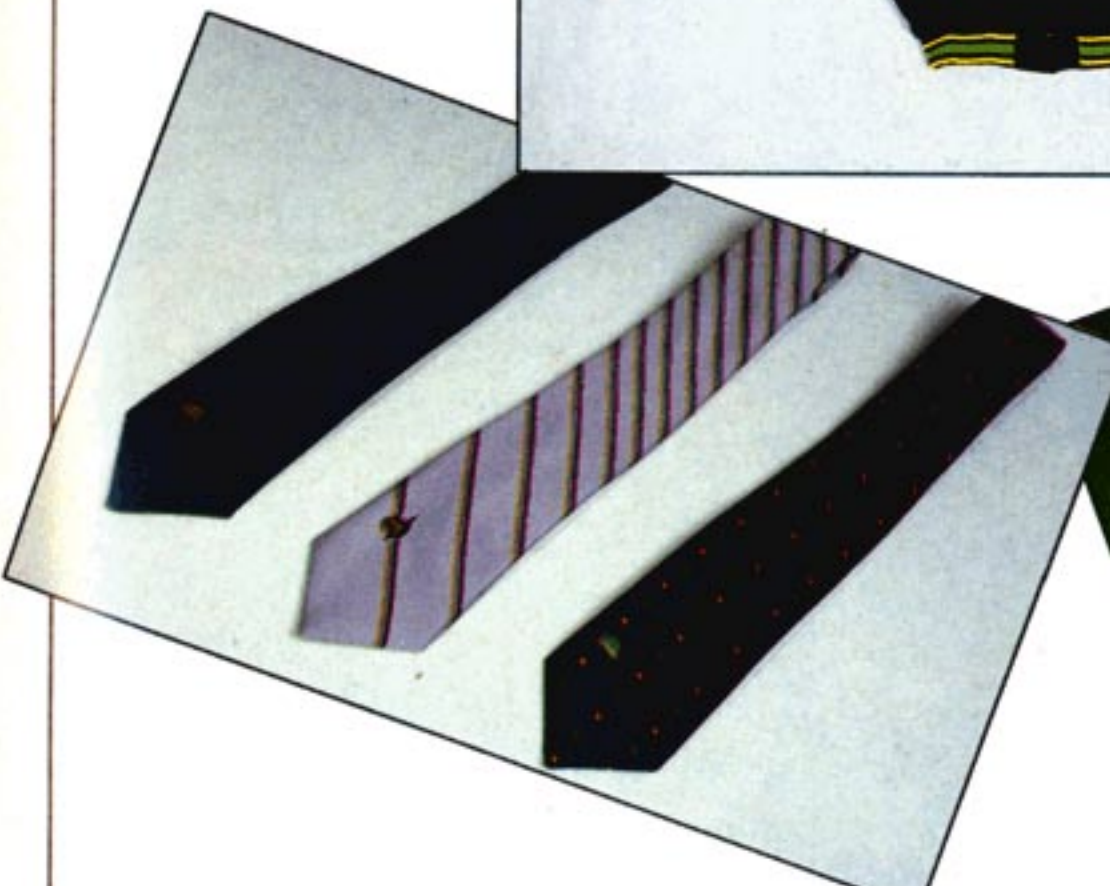
1. If you are ordering a single item than add R3.00 for postage.
2. If you are ordeing items for up to R50.00 then add R6.00 for postage.
3. For orders above R50.00 postage is free.
4. For orders outside the republic please add R5.00 for clearance of foreign cheques and an additional R15.00 for postage.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

**Please
send your
orders to:**

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

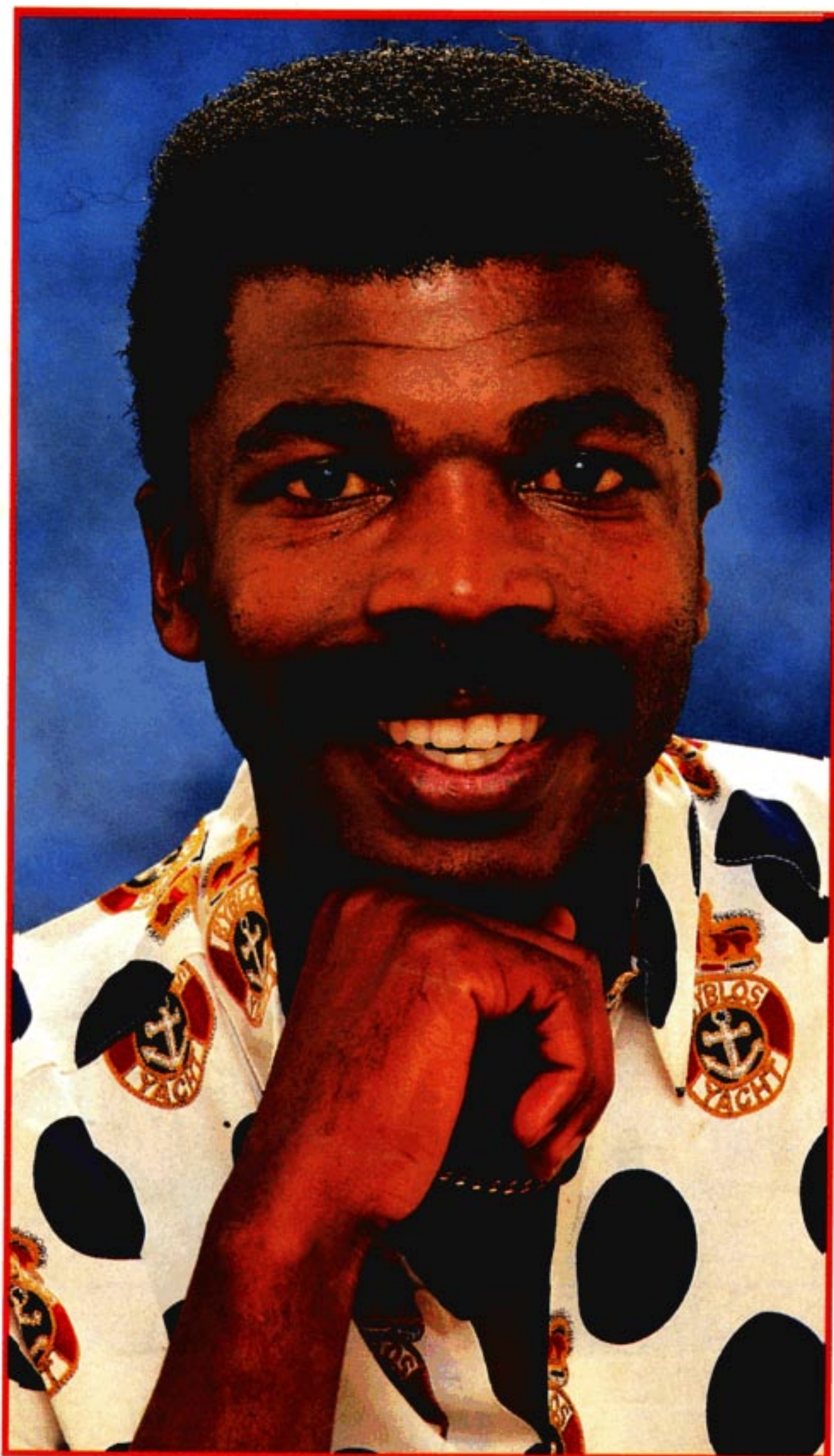
I enclose crossed cheque/postal order for
 R..... made payable to the ANC
 Name:.....
 Address:.....

Now available...



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

We asked Alex about our new So Curl



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

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

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

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



So Curl for long lasting Curls from ...

BLACK
Like me