

Journal of the African National Congress

MAYIBUYE

September 1992

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In this issue:

REGULARS

- 3 Editorial
- 4 Readers speak out
- 6 News roundup
- 47 Review: *The Right to Learn*

CURRENT SCENE

- 2 Photo page: South African Women's Day
- 8 Should De Klerk be tried? The Nuremberg Trial debate
- 12 Roll, mass action, roll!
- 16 Birds of a feather: media monopolies show their true colours
- 18 International monitoring for South Africa
- 20 Who is Patrick Dlongwana aka Hlongwane?

LABOUR

- 22 Is this "class peace"? Interviews with Bokkie Botha, Saccola and Chris Dlamini, Cosatu
- 26 Profit-sharing on the mines? • Racist state, racist employer • Numsa strike

FEATURES

- 29 Afrikaans: a white man's language?
- 33 Cycle to work day
- 34 Opinion: the Eastern Cape newspaper boycott; views from both sides
- 36 Ethnicity and European unity
- 39 Were South Africa's Olympic expectations realistic?
- 40 Developing a democratic, non-racial rugby culture

THE LIGHTER SIDE

- 43 Those 30 years: tales of the underground, detention, jail and exile
- 44 *Yuppies of Yesteryear*: a short story
- 46 Xword competition
- 48 New competition: win a trip to Port Elizabeth

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Roll, mass action, roll!



Photo: Eric Miller, SouthLight

• 8-11
Should De
Klerk be
tried?

The Nuremberg
Trial debate

MAYIBUYE's readers are really speaking out! So we now have two pages of letters (see p4-5)

In the past decade, Women's Day has been a high point of the democratic calendar.

This year it was overshadowed by the march on the Union Buildings on 5 August, the highlight of the week of mass action.

Left: A rally in Johannesburg in 1984, which the ANC (then underground) had declared the Year of the Women.

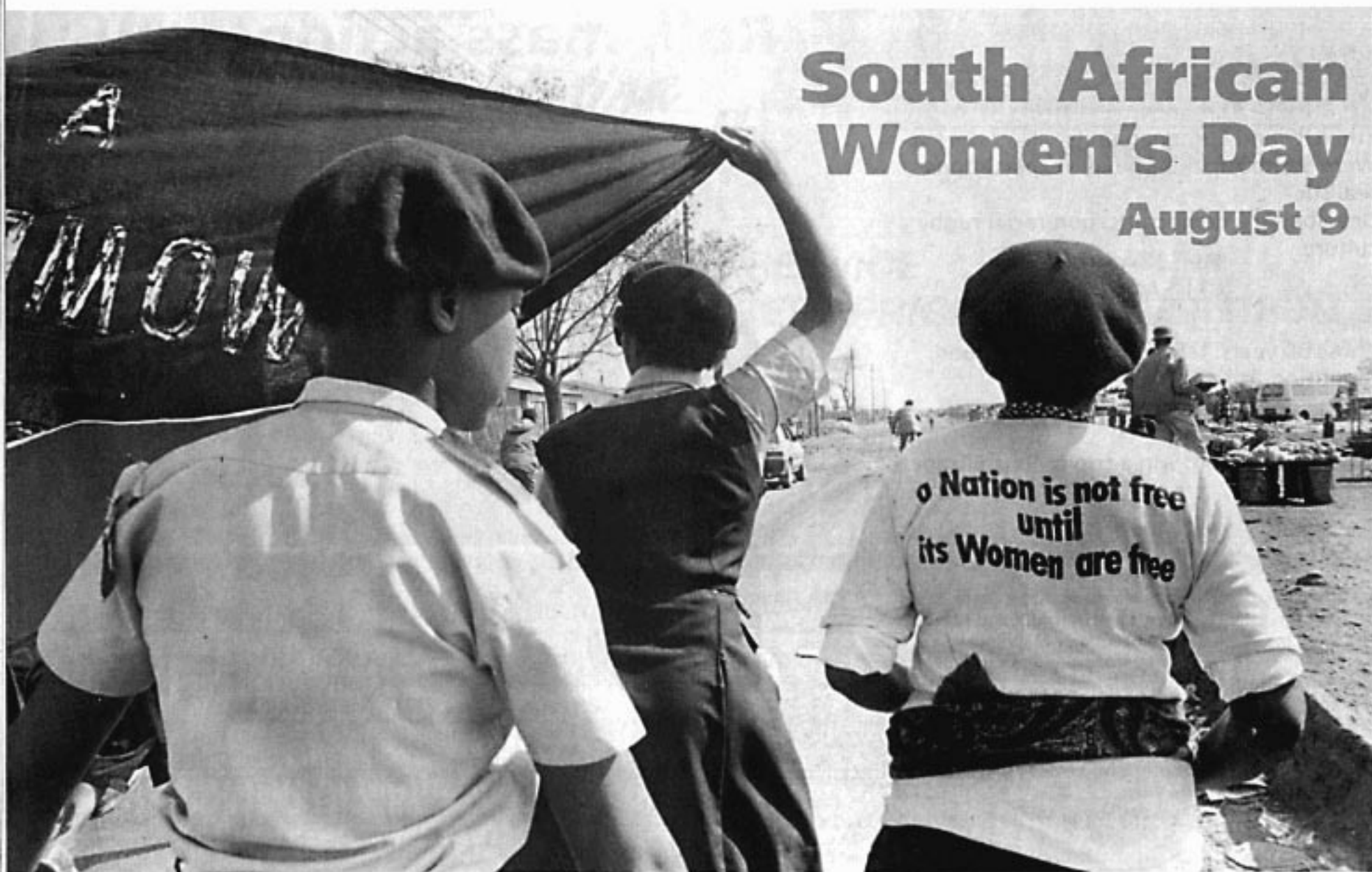
Below: A Women's Day march in Khutsong last year

Photos: Gill de Vlieg



South African Women's Day

August 9



Progress towards democracy

The Week of Action has come and gone. But the Campaign for Peace and Democracy remains. Numbers have got something to do with the success of the actions. And so does the potential of the ANC-led alliance to mobilise so many in such a short time across the length and breadth of the country. But there are many more reasons why South Africa will never be the same again. The awakening of millions to play a direct role in negotiations is a boon for South Africa's future. Democracy will be the main beneficiary.

Wittingly and unwittingly, public comments have concentrated on the forms and magnitude of the actions. As a result, the central theme of Peace and Democracy tended to get lost. Many supporters of these objectives were virtually passive: Patriotic Front forces in Codesa, religious groups and others.

The ANC also needs to examine the organisational weaknesses laid bare during some of the actions: communication, marshalling, monitoring, etc.

Those who used their monopoly of media control to discredit the campaign have had to swallow their words. They failed before, during and after the Week of Action to set the agenda.

Along with the campaign, an unlikely spectacle has started to take shape: the "right" and the self-declared "left" coming home to roost. The PAC and Azapo found themselves in league with the likes of the NP and Inkatha against the

efforts for freedom. And as the people geared themselves for new actions, the two organisations unashamedly slipped into bed with "the settler regime".

The resolve of the ANC and its allies has had other practical dividends. Matters that were confined to this or the other Working Group in Codesa are being taken up more decisively.

International monitoring has been begrudgingly conceded by the regime. It is now conventional wisdom that Pretoria is trying to use the remaining political prisoners as hostages to extract a deal absolving apartheid's murderers. No one is in doubt that the blame for the delays lies squarely with the regime.

But, jolted as it might be, the state still commands huge reserves to mark time and launch counter-attacks. Most of the 14 demands have not been met. And the NP is trying desperately to throw another red herring across the trail: mobilisation around "federalism" – a detail that otherwise belongs to a Constituent Assembly.

It is reliably learnt that the strategy now is to shift the violence to the rural backwaters. The aim is to strengthen pockets of the regime's allies for the forthcoming elections. Covert forces are being driven deeper underground.

There is progress towards democracy. But many dangers lurk in the background. The democratic movement must harness all the forces for peace and democracy and ensure decisive movement forward. ♦

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Readers speak out

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Dear comrades

The question "What happens when apartheid is finally buried?" should be paramount in the minds of all, especially black communities. The singing of freedom songs and the waving of placards should not be regarded as the ultimate in political activity. In the fight for freedom we can't toyi-toyi forever.

That is why political education plays such a crucial role. The youth and community must acquire political education to wage the liberation struggle on another plateau. I would like to see political education incorporated in school curricula.

TLP, Umlazi

SECURITY FORCES

Dear comrades

There have been many policies adopted by our

leaders with regard to incorporating MK into the SADF. It is a fact that MK soldiers will be in for a serious culture shock as regards the high calibre of the racist army.

Should our leaders not re-think the concept of incorporation and the recent pronouncements made by the ANC with regard to whites only conscription? Given the recession and the high level of illiteracy, would it not be an excellent idea to pool our graduates into a development force?

The development force should go out into the rural areas to assist subsistence farmers and even big white farmers to increase productivity. A physical education graduate could assist children from the deprived areas with sporting events. The idea could be modelled on Roosevelt's New Deal in the USA in the 1930s.

I am not in any way suggesting that the military should become obsolete, but should be trimmed down into a highly professional army.

You will probably not publish this rather radical letter but I wish to hear

the views of those in the upper echelons of power at head office. If you do not reply to me then you are confirming my notion that the ANC will lead us into an abysmal banana republic.

RI, ANC branch, Salt River

Ed: The ANC, at its policy conference in May this year, decided that a new, legitimate defence force should be constituted. The ANC does not envisage MK simply being incorporated into the SADF.

MK cadres have been receiving various levels of training. This ranges from basic courses whilst others have gone to military academies and are emerging with qualifications needed for any regular, professional army.

The ANC envisages an army whose primary role, according to the ANC Policy Guidelines, "shall be the defence of the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity". It should be reflective of South Africa's entire population and pay allegiance to the new democratic constitution.

The idea of a Development Force, including the role the new army can play, is an interesting one. It must be discussed as part of a development strategy.

VIOLENCE

Dear comrades

Since the ANC was formed 80 years ago it has been preaching peace day and night. Those who should know about that

peace do not listen. There is no one who will come and liberate us from outside. We have to stand up and fight the common enemy. How many of our brothers and sisters have been killed? But we keep on preaching "peace". Let's fight.

Let us take up arms and free ourselves. We will go to the negotiating table while they are bleeding.

JN, Mooiooi

Dear sir

It was with sadness that I watched TV and saw flashed on the screen scenes of violence in the Transvaal where 39 innocent people, including a nine-month-old baby, were hacked, shot or burned to death.

The violence engulfing the townships is only newsworthy overseas if several dozen people have been killed. The daily quota passes unnoticed. When is the senseless violence going to stop?

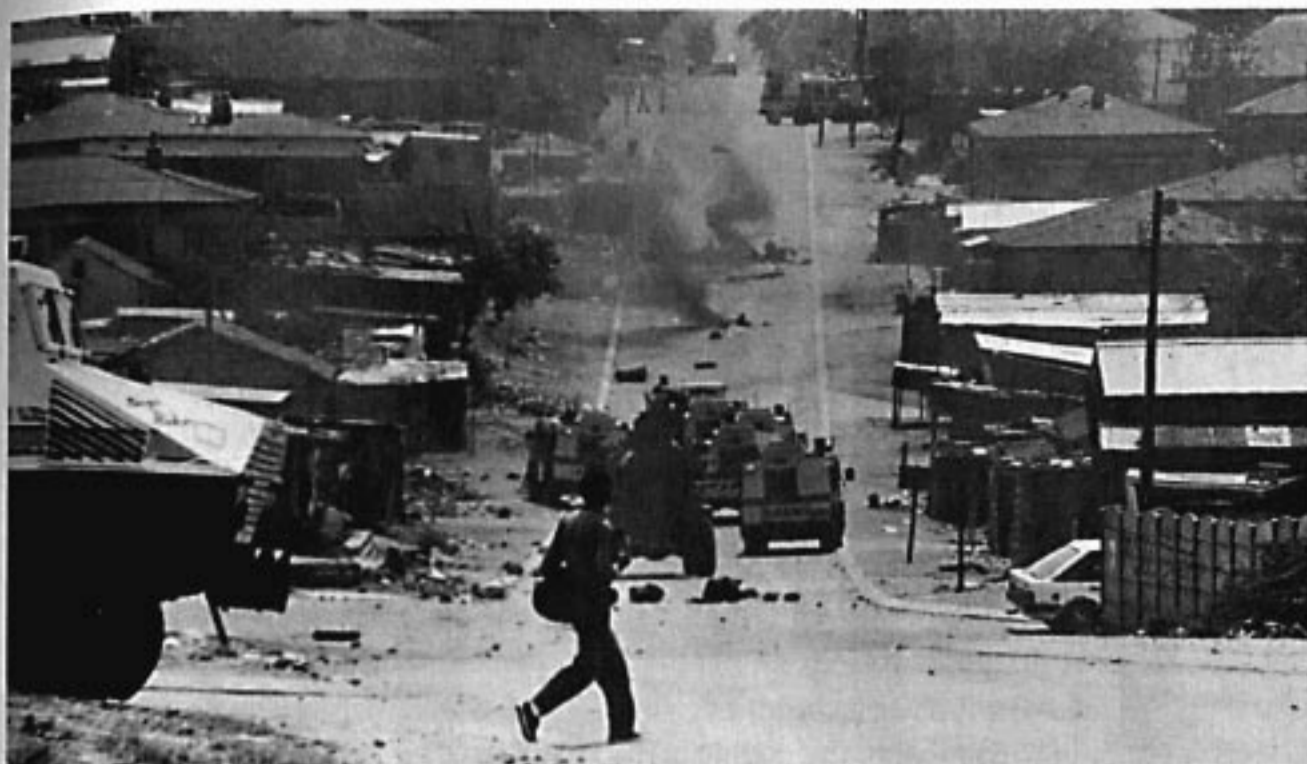
When are South Africans of all colours and creeds going to live together? Alan Paton once said that when the whites turn to loving the blacks will have turned to hating. Let's hope it's not too late.

South Africa is truly a wonderful country (I lived there for 15 years). It should have a great future but, if the violence continues, future generations are going to inherit an awful mess.

It seems to me that nothing short of a miracle will help (the politicians are procrastinating and making a mess of it). Let's all pray that a miracle will happen very soon



Apartheid-style policing, May Day, Soweto, 1991



Teargas still the order of the day in violence-torn Alexandra Township, March 1992

for South Africa's sake.
MLL, New Zealand

NEGOTIATIONS

Dear comrades
My response to the government's call that the ANC should come back to the talks is this: our comrades are refusing to talk because of the government's senseless promises. We want a neutral interim government. We want to vote for a new governing body for a future, non-racial democratic and peaceful South Africa.

We are in full support of mass action because it is mass action which broke the chains of apartheid. It opened the doors of Robben Island. Group Areas is going and South Africa is at the Olympics thanks to mass action.
RvW, Douglas

BOP

Dear comrades
I am a resident of so-called Bophuthatswana. We are unable to hold meetings freely. The only opposition party is the Seoposengwe Party.

Every time we in this party hold a meeting we

are arrested as the ANC. Our policies are similar to those of the ANC. I call on all people and organisations opposed to the Mangope regime (especially the Progressive People's Party and its leader Rocky Metsing) to unite and defeat Mangope.

Our position at Codesa can only be strengthened by united opposition on the ground.
SM, Soshanguve

ARTISTS

Dear comrades
I wish to express my gratitude through your journal to all the artistes who never forget to highlight our plight in their music. Letta Mbulu's "Not yet Uhuru", Sankomota's "Stop the War", the music of Stimela, Blondie, Bayete, Sakhile ... to name but only a few.

It is unfortunate that Buthelezi, De Klerk, Gqozo, Mangope, the security forces, and the impis will never be acquainted with what is said by these artists. Otherwise they would bring to an end the killing of innocent and defenceless people.

We should ask *Radio South Africa* to play solely for Buthelezi and De Klerk more music from Simple Minds and Dire Straits who spearheaded the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela.

I think that the song, "Ride Across the River" from the album "Brothers in Arms" should be dedicated to members of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.
MAS, Masina

SWAZILAND

Dear comrades
I refer to the article "Swaziland: Friend or Foe" which appeared in the June issue of *MAYIBUYE*. Stanley Mabizela sincerely owes the People's United Democratic Movement (Pudemo) an apology. The following incidents show that South Africa's notorious death squads were working hand-in-hand with the Swazi police:

- In April 1984 five ANC comrades chose to die rather than hand themselves over to the Swazi police;
- The murder of Petros and Jabu Nzima, Zwelakhe Nyanda, Keith

Mcfadden, Paul Dikaledi, and Cassius Make.

Pudemo did its best to shield our comrades. It was clear that the Swazi government was aware of all these events.

Comrade Richard Levin is correct in his assessment. The post-apartheid government owes Pudemo a great reward for the contribution they have made in our struggle while the ANC was in exile.

MM, ANC Branch Estcourt

Ed: Read the July issue of *MAYIBUYE* where the ANC's Department of International Affairs responds to Richard Levin's letter.

MAYIBUYE COVER

Dear comrades
I would like to comment on the cover of the August issue of *MAYIBUYE*. I feel there is a contradiction between the photo used (from the soccer match between Cameroon and South Africa) and the heading. The main heading says: "Action for Democracy - millions on the streets" while the actual heading of the photo ("Battle with the lions") is in very small print and in a colour which is very hard to read.

MAYIBUYE should use headlines which suit the photo best.
DKA, Bez Valley

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roundup

NOT YET BACK TO THE TABLE BUT ...

ANC Secretary General, Cyril Ramaphosa met Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication, Mr Roelf Meyer on 21 August. They met, according to an ANC statement, "for discussions with the view to the removal of obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations. Discussions were to focus on identification of steps to be taken to address the issues raised in earlier memoranda exchanged between the government and the ANC."

Are we back to "talks about talks"?

FW NEGOTIATING WITH HIMSELF

Meanwhile, FW de Klerk has announced that the government would meet political groupings that subscribe to the same basic constitutional principles, such as federalism, in September. No problem, says the ANC. It only becomes a matter of concern when the agreements of such meetings with surrogates are tabled as legislation when the tricameral parliament reconvenes in October.

The Democratic Party (DP), while supporting federalism, said it did not believe that the issue should become an underhand way of forming an alliance against the ANC. "Any discussion on federalism should not be some 'subrosa' way of forming an alliance against

any other grouping in South Africa," said party leader Zach de Beer.

Transkei leader Major General Bantu Holomisa has urged fellow homeland leaders who accepted De Klerk's invitation to first consult fully with their constituencies. "Those homeland leaders like Buthelezi who will be discussing regionalism or a federal government or federal systems are advised to consult fully with all formations or structures in their areas of jurisdiction."

"Equally so, the people in those areas who are taxpayers and supporters of various political organisations who would like to live permanently in those areas must demand the establishment of broader forums to discuss their future ... That is why the people of Transkei demanded that the model of a (future) government, as well as the type of regional government, should be left entirely to the constitution-making body," said Holomisa.

ICT CONFERENCE

The Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT) held a conference in Johannesburg on 17-20 August.

ICT General Secretary Father Smangalis Mkhathshwa said the conference discussed the current situation and made proposals to prevent the country from sliding towards further disaster. The ICT was not seeking any political

power but was concerned at obstacles currently in the path of a new democratic South Africa.

The conference rejected the concept of a general amnesty as there is a difference between the acts of a government trying to prop up an unjust system and those of the liberation movements. The institute said the bottom line on a truly democratic dispensation would be full participation of all the people in all decisions that affected their lives.

Father Mkhathshwa said it would be impossible to conduct any form of negotiations towards a democratic future without the inclusion of the ANC and its allies.

PAC CONSIDERS PLACE AT THE TABLE ...

There are strong indications that the PAC will join negotiations when they get back on track. This follows recent talks between the organisation and the government. PAC officials claim that the government has met their demands, citing the involvement of the international community.

The PAC and the government agreed that a constitution-making body has to be established, and that the registration of voters has to begin soon. Having jumped onto the bandwagon, the PAC seems not to be aware that the question whether there will be voter registration or not was being hotly debated when Codesa broke

Ruth First Journalism Prize

New Nation reporter **Enoch Sithole** received the Ruth First Memorial Trust Prize for Journalism on 17 August, the 10th anniversary of the assassination of First. The prize, worth R10 000, was awarded to Sithole by ANC National Chairperson, Oliver Tambo, for his stories on the train massacres. The *Weekly Mail's* Eddie Koch and the *Star's* Joanne Collinge were also nominated.



Photo: New Nation

down. Next on the agenda is a meeting between the PAC's president, Clarence Makwetu, and FW de Klerk.

... AND THE AZANIANS WON'T BE LEFT BEHIND

Azapo has appointed Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of the Central Africa Province of the Anglican Church as a facilitator to open discussions with the government. Strini Moodley, Azapo publicity secretary, said the Archbishop would meet the government and "set in motion discussions for criteria to be filled."

He said, provided Azapo's pre-conditions are met, direct discussions between the organisation and the government would begin by 12 September and be completed within six months. Moodley also said the negotiations would be open and public.

GOVERNMENT LAND PLANS OPPOSED

The government proposes to transfer more than a million hectares of trust land to the self-governing "homelands" – 600 000 ha of it to KwaZulu. No one outside the government and the beneficiary bantustan bureaucracies has been consulted, let alone the inhabitants of the land concerned.

The National Land Committee (NLC) has called on the government to abandon its plans, saying it is inexplicable that the government is opting for the incorporation of people into the homelands when the establishment of an Interim Government and the disbanding of these territories is imminent.

"Such a step will not only have severe and detrimental consequences for the communities concerned, but will pre-empt the possibilities of establishing a coherent land and development policy for the future," says the NLC. It recalls the immense suffering, violence and instability that resulted from the government's policy to incorporate land and people into the bantustans in the 80s.

"A hand-over of administrative control has severe practical consequences for the people concerned. It could affect their access to pensions, to health and other social services, as well as to land itself," says the NLC.

The NLC believes the planned land transfer is calculated to pre-empt the new government implementing a coherent and carefully planned process of allocating state land.

At the 18 August meeting of Patriotic Front forces in Codesa – which included some of the bantustans concerned – it was decided to convene an urgent meeting to review this question.

DRY, WHITE SEASON

The government continues to ignore the plight of black people in drought-stricken areas. Instead it pours drought relief into programmes aimed at white farmers. These very same farmers are retrenching workers.

According to the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), up to three million people could flock to the PWV from the bantustans because of the drought. The bank estimates that about 70 000 people in the far Northern Transvaal have already been dismissed as a result of the drought. To make matters worse, about 20 000 Mozambicans have poured into the area because of the same problem in their country.

The state has handed over only a tiny portion of the millions set aside for drought relief – all to white farmers. No provision whatsoever has been made for farmworkers in the state's relief scheme.

RIGHTER THAN THOU

The Conservative Party (CP) has split over the location of their dream Afrikaner "volkstaat". Five MPs (do their names matter really?) quit the party recently after the CP opposed their proposal that the homeland be in the Northern Transvaal and include Pretoria, and that black Afrikaners (whatever



Top: The UN banner made its appearance in the Pretoria march on 5 August. International monitoring during the Week of Action changed policing of mass demonstrations. Before the UN monitors arrived in South Africa, the repressive style, (pictured below during a recent Cape Town demo), was the norm.



Photo: Eric Miller, Southlight

that means and whoever they may be) be allowed to join such a homeland. The CP believes that the homeland should be based on constituencies won by the CP and be whites-only.

The five plan to form a new party. Meanwhile, the OFS provincial secretary of the CP has resigned, citing dissatisfaction with CP policy. ♦

Should De Klerk be tried?

Does South Africa need some kind of Nuremberg trial to ensure the accountability of those who order or execute state-organised violence and terrorism? **Kader Asmal**, a professor of Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape, looks at the debate.

Recent events have thrown into sharp relief the whole nature of the apartheid state and the issue of individual and collective responsibility for the crimes of apartheid. During the mass action there have been "mock trials" of De Klerk and his alleged accomplices. Disclosures about who ordered the killing of Matthew Goniwe and his comrades in Cradock and negotiations on the release of political pris-

oners have revived government attempt to declare a general amnesty – kiss, make-up and forgive, as it were.

In the euphoria following the unbanning of organisations, it was forgotten that the apartheid regime has been universally condemned on various legal grounds, and that the struggle against this vile system was itself legitimate. The regime has been quick to exploit this amnesia and has again begun to assert that there must be no "interference in our internal affairs" and that a "lawful"

government could not hand over power to an interim authority. In this vein, also, there is a demand for the "wiping clean of the slate" for all wrongdoers.

However successful it may be with certain sectors of international opinion and however much it may control the physical levers of power, the regime remains what international lawyers have variously described as a "pirate government" a "pariah state" or a state with an illegitimate regime.

Because of the unceasing violence, there has been a revival of the formerly "underground debate" that some Nuremberg-like trial should be held to ensure the accountability of those who order or execute state-organised violence and terrorism.

Leaders of Nazi Germany's war machine were put on trial at Nuremberg after their defeat in the Second World War (see box). The principles which applied at the trial have been drawn on and expanded to combat one of the greatest moral and political evils of our time, the South African white minority regime's policy of racial and national oppression.

APARTHEID'S CRIMES

It is now well-known that, for over 25 years, apartheid has been denounced by the international community as a crime against humanity. What is not so well-known is that the constituent elements of this crime – for which individuals are liable – cover a very wide area:

- **Aggression:** The illegal use of force and the retention of the instruments of power by the white regime on the basis of the 1983 "constitution" which was declared null and void by the Security Council in August 1983; the unlawful threat and ruthless use of that power internally to suppress, first, the peaceful political opposition of the civilian majority and, second, the legitimate military resistance of the majority; the employment of that power externally against African states complying with their obligation to the UN and the OAU to assist the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movement in South Africa.

- **War crimes:** The refusal of the regime to recognise the prisoner-of-war status of combatants of the liberation struggle, the ill-treatment and execution of such combatants and the abuse of the civilian population in Southern Africa constitute war crimes. In addition, Protocol I of 1977 of the Geneva Conventions recognises that the "practices of apartheid and other practices based

on racial discrimination" are grave breaches of the Protocol and such grave breaches are war crimes for which the individual perpetrators could be tried.

- **Crimes against humanity:** The persons involved in and with the illegitimate regime have without lawful excuse deprived millions of South Africans of their liberty and property. They have killed entirely outside the law (apart from the "legality" offered by their own unlawful courts). They have tortured and maimed and, arguably, embarked on a policy of genocide through forced removals on an enormous scale. They have robbed the people of their dignity by perpetrating without lawful excuse a system of gross racial discrimination and inequality in jobs, health, welfare and every area of life.

← continued on page 11



Photo: Eric Miller, SouthLight

Mock trials in Cape Town: the debate on punishing apartheid crimes is hotting up

What was Nuremberg?

The Nuremberg Trial was a series of trials of Nazi war criminals at the end of the second world war, in parallel with the trial of Japanese war criminals. For the first time in history, the international community established personal liability for crimes of state for which individuals were held responsible.

The law applied at the trial of leaders, corporations and military, prison administrators and executioners is now known as the Nuremberg Principles. It forms a basic part of international law which bind not only states but also individuals. This is why George Bush and Margaret Thatcher, in their crusade against Saddam Hussein in 1990 following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, threatened to try him for war crimes and for waging an aggressive war. But first they had to defeat Saddam ...

The Japanese and German war criminals were tried for unspeakable offenses. They were accused of:

- **Crimes against peace:** Planning, preparation of waging a war of aggression or participation on a common plea or conspiring to do any of these.
- **War crimes:** Violating the laws and customs of war by ill-treating, killing or deporting prisoners of war.
- **Crimes against humanity:** The murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts against the civilian population before or during the war or the persecution of individuals on political, racial or religious grounds.

Whether these acts were in violation of the laws in the countries where they took place or not was irrelevant. The Tribunals rejected the argument that those accused were simply carrying out superior orders or instructions. International law does not only impose obligations on the state but, in this area, operates on individuals. Since 1946 the rules have become the fundamental parts of international law and any state, regardless of whether its nationals have been involved, can try for these crimes.

The general amnesty debate

Getting to the nooks and crannies of apartheid's war machine

A MAYIBUYE correspondent reports

The government has tried to muddy the waters on the release of remaining political prisoners by advancing general amnesty as a pre-condition. The two issues should be treated separately, argues the ANC. But should general amnesty be considered at all?

Eastern Cape farmer, Andre de Villiers, sought to make a clean break with the past by revealing information on the SADF's Hammer Unit implicated in the murder of Matthew Goniwe and others.

According to his brother, he approached the police and NP member of parliament, Tertius Delpont. They deny this. He then approached Democratic Party MP, Eddie Trent. Nothing came of it either. (After his death the DP initiated "a meeting at the highest level" with the government.)

MURDERED

Andre de Villiers then provided the information to the ANC. He was murdered in a clinically-executed operation. Police were ready with theories about how apolitical the motives of the murderers were.

This could well have been the fate of Dirk Coetzee in Lusaka or London. Like the tapes of SAP Boipatong communications, former Special

Forces patriots who volunteer information get wiped out. Like evidence around train massacres, the facts about their elimination disappear in bungled police investigations.

A deep fear stalks the apartheid establishment. The trail of blood is leading to the highest echelons. Already, Chief of Military Intelligence, Van der Westhuizen and former Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok have been mentioned in the Goniwe saga.

There is no doubt that the forces involved

in the attempted cover-up are powerful. Their networks are elaborate and they are capable of wreaking havoc.

Would a general amnesty stay their hand? Can it serve as incentive for them to come clean?

This argument misses the point, says the ANC's Legal Department. It ignores the fact that the motivation for the current violence is primarily political – to destabilise the ANC and, if possible, the whole negotiations process. A meek act of generosity will not bring an end to the violence. It will reinforce the culture of apartheid's security forces to act as law unto themselves.

WITNESS PROTECTION

But wouldn't a general amnesty make it possible for those with information to come forward without fearing prosecution?

There is no doubt that witnesses need to be protected, the Legal Department argues. But this does not require a general amnesty. The law courts have the right to grant immunity to facilitate investigations.

The problem currently is that immunity does not protect the witnesses from assassination. Kobie Coetzee's Justice Ministry says the existing protective measures are just fine. No wonder De Villiers was killed.

RECONCILIATION

The ANC has said that it is not opposed to a general amnesty in principle. A negotiated resolution of any conflict entails a measure of reconciliation. But this cannot be a pious forgive-and-forget operation.

- What is being forgiven and forgotten has to be fully disclosed. Trials and pardons can follow.
- The criminals cannot forgive themselves. Only a representative government can consider this. But without a cut-off date, an unintended signal can be sent that they can continue until there is an interim or democratic government.
- The decision to have such an amnesty cannot be taken by an elite. It affects those who have lost their loved ones, and society as a whole.

The amnesty issue needs to be approached delicately, says the ANC's Legal Department. There are those out in hell already – and they want to pull the rest of the country with them. ♦





← continued from page 9

- **Official policy of racial discrimination:** The World Court has held that an official policy of racial discrimination violates basic rules of international law associated with non-discrimination, for which there is liability.
- **Forcible denial of self-determination:** For a number of years the international community has upheld the right of self-determination in an undivided South Africa, thus rejecting the bantustans. The forcible maintenance of apartheid is a denial of this right, thus violating the Charter.
- **Genocide and slavery:** Control of the black population, the adoption of policies resulting in large-scale deaths, the migrant labour and pass systems, the destruction of social and cultural birthright are aspects of policies akin to genocide and slavery, forbidden under international law, leading to criminal sanctions.

THE RESULT

There is little doubt about the illegality of apartheid. To avoid any doubt, in 1973 the international community, through the General Assembly, adopted the Convention for the Suppression and Punishment

of the Crime of Apartheid which imposes responsibility on individuals who commit, participate in, directly incite, conspire, abet, encourage or co-operate in the commission of the apartheid crime.

Who can, therefore, doubt the liability of those who prepared the laws, passed the measures and carried them out? We have been told that apartheid was an experiment which "failed", as it was unworkable or inefficient. In this way the instigators are absolving themselves of responsibility. It was, in fact, a criminal conspiracy.

THE VERDICT

Nuremberg was important for humanity. But such trials of political leaders cannot take place when the political settlement results from negotiations, even though apartheid has been described as "a crime against humanity".

In Eastern Europe such trials have either begun or been proposed as the previous regimes were overthrown. Our route to the transfer of power is different. In any event, there are complex problems concerning who should be tried and how far we should go back in history.

No Nurembergs can take place in our context. But the guilt of apartheid can only be removed by

an acknowledgement of its evil and criminal nature. This provides a proper basis for reconciliation.

In addition, there can be no general absolution or amnesty by this regime (see page 10). Those who are guilty can hardly clear from guilt the perpetrators of murder, torture and disappearances. Only a government representative of the people, after full disclosure and, possibly, the trial of the most infamous killers, can decide on this.

To remove the crime of apartheid there has to be the reconstruction of our society, the recognition of fundamental rights and the reorganisation of the state. "Power-sharing" by giving a veto to minority parties, as proposed by the NP, will result in the maintenance of the status quo.

There may be, therefore, a form of democracy, but with the reality of apartheid retained. Nuremberg trials are not needed to convince the people that the fruits of apartheid cannot be retained permanently by those who developed this infamous system. ♦

⊗ *Papers on this topic are available from the Centre for Developmental Studies at the University of the Western Cape.*

Roll, mass action, roll!

MAYIBUYE assesses the Campaign for Peace and Democracy which delivered a telling body blow to the government.

Roll, mass action, roll!: that was the battle cry for the 3-9 August week of unprecedented mass action. If the number of phone calls from the Union Buildings to the ANC offices in Johannesburg is anything to judge by, the campaign has placed the government on the defensive.

A fine-tuning in the ANC's strategy has unleashed a groundswell of opposition to virtually every level of the state.

Rolling mass action made prisons, hospitals, police stations, local councils, regional administrations, Receiver of Revenue offices, bantustan administrations and the Union Buildings targets for the ANC-led Peace and Democracy Campaign.

Ronnie Kasrils, head of the ANC Campaigns Department stressed: "Rolling mass action was not only impressive in key cities or traditional ANC strongholds. In the Northern Cape for instance marches, rallies, pickets, and sit-ins took place every day of the week of action in Kimberley, Kuruman, Warrenton, Vryburg, Upington, and other smaller places. This was the case in the rural areas of the Transvaal, OFS, Natal and Border region."

The following key demands are being made in the campaign:

- The government must remove all obstacles to free political activity;

- The government should implement agreed measures to end the violence;
- An Interim Government must be installed and elections for a sovereign Constituent Assembly held without delay.

The campaign saw the use of new tactics, the most spectacular being the occupation of cities and government buildings. "It signalled that the majority of people are claiming back parts of their country – whether they occupy police stations, squares etc," said Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's Political Education Department.

OCCUPATIONS

Whilst the occupations have been criticised as poorly conceived and inadequately organised, they represent a significant leap in the development of mass struggle tactics.

The campaign, coming in the midst of ongoing exposures of high level government involvement in corruption and the murder of activists, was backed by a broad range of forces.

The leading South African trade union, Cosatu, and the major employers' body, Saccola, were on the brink of signing an epoch-making agreement before the week of mass action (see pages 22-25).

Agreement would have meant employers accepting a national shut down. This did not materialise but anti-apartheid activists believe that business has come out strongly in favour of the objectives of the campaign and a basis has been set for future joint action.

The churches played a crucial role in mobilising large communities against the corrupt and murderous regime. ANC activists, however, feel that many broad patriotic forces became sidelined with certain leaders simply being portrayed as neutral forces.

Facts and figures

- Four million workers participated in the 3-4 August general strike. This represented about 90 percent of the black workforce. It was the largest strike in the history of South Africa.
- 28 rallies and 74 marches were held over the two days. Impressive amongst these were marches in small areas like Umtata, Thabong, Virginia, Lebowa-Kgomo, KwaNdebele, Mdantsane, Molteno, QwaQwa, Kroonstad, Ellisras and Inanda which had marches of between 10 000 and 20 000 people.
- The largest marches on those two days: Welkom (80 000); from King Williams Town to Bisho (70 000), Pietermaritzburg (40 000) and Krugersdorp (80 000).
- There were hundreds of different types of mass activity between 6-9 August. These included marches, demonstrations, pickets, and picnics.
- The most impressive of these was the 120 000-strong march to the Union Buildings which was led by Nelson Mandela.
- More than two million people took part in marches and rallies during the week.



The defiant nature of the actions inspired some activists to consider the campaign reaching an insurrectionary moment.

"Not long ago," said Derek Masoek of the ANC Youth League, "the masses were seen as demobilised and unmotivated. The success of the general strike is in large measure due to the call for unprecedented mass action."

"However, by saying that insurrection is not on the agenda we had committed ourselves to an unprecedented form of symbolic mass action and nothing more."

Dismissing this as a "theoretical preoccupation" amongst some youth leaders, Jeremy Cronin said: "It is continuous, unabating mass struggle that will provide an ongoing momentum" against apartheid.

"Conservative writers and apartheid's defenders such as RW Johnson were very anxious to portray this as a utopian insurrection so that they could gloat over its failure. We were correct in saying that we were not against negotiations, that we were trying to make them work effectively. For this to happen the process of transition has to be mass-driven. That is why the week of action was so successful. The people wanted to be there, engaged, active and directly represented," Cronin adds.

This kind of disinformation represents one aspect of state strategy. The other is the conduct of low intensity warfare through various types of forces to spread carnage thus demobilising and disorganising our forces.

The state's pursuit of this strategy is made difficult by:

- International monitoring;
- Improvement in the workings of the National Peace Accord structures; and
- A seemingly unending wave of exposures.

FUTURE CAMPAIGNS

The following issues have been identified as key to the next phase of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy:

- The demand for Interim Government structures and democratic elections for a sovereign Constituent Assembly;
- Democratisation of the SABC;
- Broadening the campaign against the dismissal of Nehawu hospital workers and other workers dismissed during the general strike;
- Campaigning to end repression. The administrations of Bop, Ciskei and KwaZulu are the main culprits;
- Continuing the campaign against corruption and murder;



Huge crowds marched on Pretoria on 5 August – at the Union Buildings the ANC flag was hoisted above the statue of Boer General Louis Botha!

- Demanding drought relief and reduction in food prices;
- Demanding the release of political prisoners.

The campaign to stop paying taxes to the government and set up a "Fund for Peace and Democracy" is one of the main elements of the new phase. Unity among all the forces which support these demands is critical. Plans are afoot to hold a convention of these forces in October. In this period, another week of action will be organised. ♦

Keeping the tap open

Ronnie Kasrils, energetic head of ANC's



Campaign Section, says the balance of forces has been tilted further in favour of the democratic forces

MAYIBUYE: Is the ANC satisfied with the outcome of the Week of Action?

Ronnie Kasrils: The response was tremendous, surprising the sceptics who believed we would not get that support. It has strengthened the position of the democratic forces at negotiations and further tilted the balance of forces in our favour.

We must bear in mind that our monitoring, particularly in rural areas, was inadequate. The actual figures are far in excess of what has been officially reported.

MAYIBUYE: What was unprecedented about the week?

RK: Apart from it being the largest general strike in South African history, I would cite the following:

- The general strike was an active one. In the past people tended to simply stay at home.
- The mass action was carried into white areas and city centres, out of the twilight zones of the townships where action is usually ignored by the media.
- The week saw the mobilisation of people on a grand scale, placing pressure on every level of government.
- There was a good response from the Indian and coloured communities which countered talk about their shift in loyalties.
- A new spirit of defiance emerged: people took over motorways, as in the march to Cape Town from Langa and Guguletu; the march on Bisho; the blockade of motorways and airports as in PE; mock trials in Pietermaritzburg and so forth.

MAYIBUYE: Why was the campaign successful?

RK: Three key factors:

- The considerable preparation from 15 June to July. The Alliance Summit and the ANC Policy Conference in May adopted a Programme of Action which clearly set out the campaign.

- Through the active involvement in demonstrations of people like Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani, we showed that the leadership was very serious about the need for mass action. Mandela's presence in the march on the Union Buildings drew tens of thousands of people.
- Our Programme of Action has "campaign appeal". The demands struck a deep chord. People were inspired by the ideas of "rolling action", occupations, blockades and defiance.

MAYIBUYE: What did the week of mass action achieve?

RK: Popular support has been swung behind the demands for an end to violence, for free political activity and the speedy transition to democracy through an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly.

Our actions have virtually put into effect the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission concerning mass action. We legitimised mass action in practice.

Our organisational capacity has improved, our membership and branches revitalised. Action councils of the Alliance have been built at the regional level. The experience would lay a solid foundation for any elections.



Young and old on the way to the Union Buildings, Pretoria, 5 August

Photo: Paul Velasco, Southlight

MAYIBUYE: The ANC made special appeals to the police and soldiers through adverts. Did this work?

RK: During many of our actions, activists took the cue from the ads and publicly addressed the security forces, often clearly making a positive impact.

In some areas the police behaved themselves but there were too many cases of violence and intimidation in which the police were implicated. We must continue addressing them.

MAYIBUYE: What problem areas were exposed in the campaign?

RK: Our organisational structures were slow in getting into action. Mass action was to have been launched in June. Branches were briefed only in July. This slowness contrasted with the high level of mass participation. It shows that we are still relying on the mood of the people, and not our organisational strength, to carry the day.

I feel there is still too much bureaucracy from the branch upwards. Our marshalling needs improving. Some of our ideas, such as government or factory occupations, were not properly planned.

MAYIBUYE: What is the way forward?

RK: We are now in phase four of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy. We must keep the tap open for mass action to continue rolling. What has impressed me most is the number of activists, young and old, saying that our campaign has given them a role to play in the negotiations process.

Such participation is an investment in ensuring a democratic future.

Our campaigns must continue: for the release of political prisoners; against the SABC propaganda machinery, the despotic bantustan administrations, high food prices and other socio-economic issues; and for the government to meet the 14 demands over which the ANC broke off talks. ♦

Additions to your political dictionary

The Campaign for Peace and Democracy has produced new terms which *MAYIBUYE* includes here to ensure your Political Correctness.

- **"The Boat"**
Democracy comes about as the result of negotiated pacts between elites. These elites call upon their constituencies "Not to Rock the Boat".
- **"The Tap"**
Mass struggle is used to make a point at the negotiations. Thus people are turned on or off, like a water tap.
- **"The Leipzig Option"**
People transfer power to themselves in an insurrectionary moment. This is inspired by the bringing down of the Eastern European regimes through massive and ongoing city demonstrations.
- **"Rolling mass action"**
The continuous mobilisation of people in a variety of ways. The actions address local, sectoral and national issues.



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Birds of a feather:

Media monopolies show their true colours

When the extreme right-wing faced a barrage from media monopolies during the referendum, it became clear that, in time, the same forces would be systematically unleashed against the ANC. Is the die cast?

If you lived on a different planet and relied on South Africa's mainstream media for your information, this would be your reading of the situation in the country today:

- The ANC launched an insurrection against the South African government.
- The campaign instead turned out to be street theatre apart from the general strike which was successful primarily due to intimidation.
- Defeated, the ANC toned down its demands.

- A face-to-face meeting between Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi was to relaunch negotiations.

For weeks on end, "plots to overthrow" the government were back on the front pages and leader articles. Individual views and discussion papers galore were leaked and portrayed as official ANC, SACP and Cosatu policy. Minutes of a consultative meeting on the campaign were printed in full in the *Sunday Times*.

Then as the Week of Action approached, clever campaigns of the party propaganda variety became

the norm. *The Star* newspaper ran a series, supposedly on how to break the negotiations deadlock, in its *Opinion* column. But this was actually a falsification by white academics of the character and objectives of the campaign. Space was promised for an ANC response, says the ANC's media liaison team, but only provided on the first day of the strike.

Many reports latched on the intimidation theme. However, the state's assertion that the thousands of police and soldiers deployed in the townships were there to restore order and self-respect among blacks was not challenged.

The crunch had come and no holds were barred against the democratic movement.

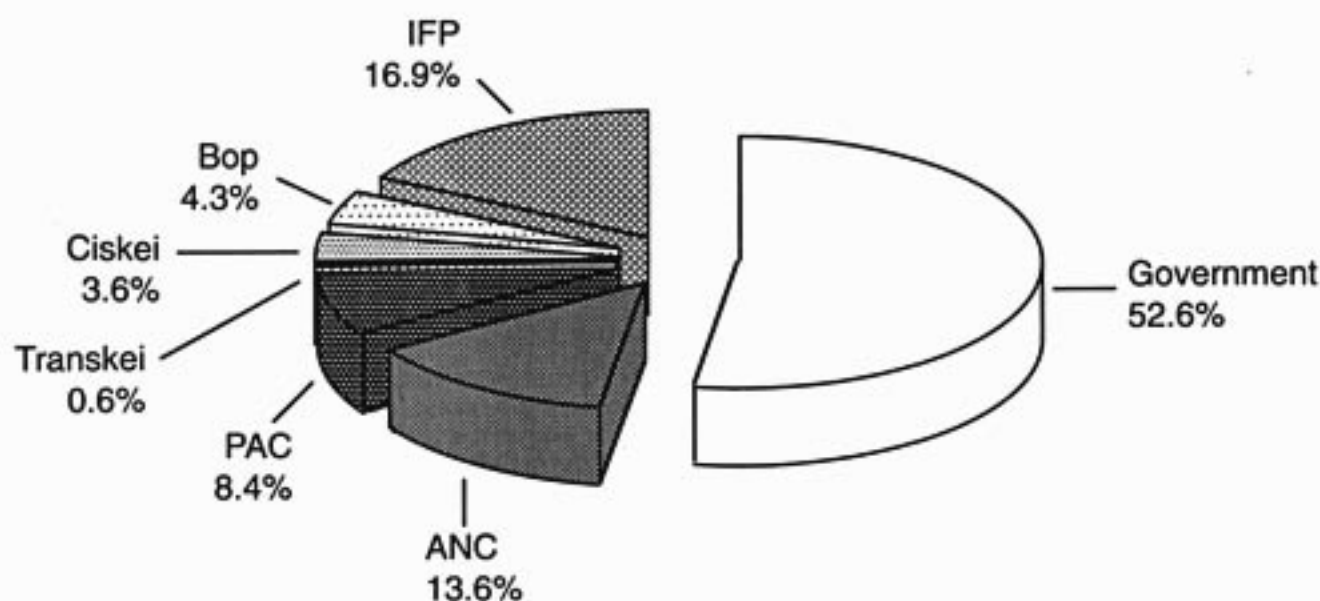
Towards the end of the Week of Action, some sanity had returned. There was now an acknowledgement that the massive actions were not due to intimidation. But this was combined with a new line: the ANC had toned down its demands and negotiations were soon to resume – care of the "troika".

ADVERTISEMENTS

ANC media workers are also intrigued by the response of the advertising sections of the mainstream newspapers. Hardly had the ANC indicated its intention to place adverts, when the NP – as well as government communications services and the police, using taxpayers' money – were ready with responses, some of which, according to ANC media workers, received better placing.

The SABC was not to be outdone. According to Bronwyn Keene-Young of the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag), whose reports have received very little media coverage: "SABC invested a huge

SABC coverage
Security Council meeting 15-16 July
Time given to interest groups



amount of effort in criminalising the ANC alliance general strike: from the preceding week during which it built up a framework of potential violence and intimidation, to the week of the strike, where it actively sought out instances of violence and connected them, most often falsely, to the mass campaign."

Acag sets out in great detail the time allocated in news bulletins to the various players and non-players in the mass campaign (see charts). Besides this, which is itself damning, the choice of facts and manner of presentation in the news bulletins served the general aim of discrediting the ANC.

Some of the examples given by Acag are:

- On 30 July, when the stay-away by students and teachers had been decided upon, TV1 news gloated that complicating the issue "are reports of intimidation, theft and vandalism, at schools in the process of being built". Viewers are left to wonder what the connection is between these allegations and the ANC's campaign.

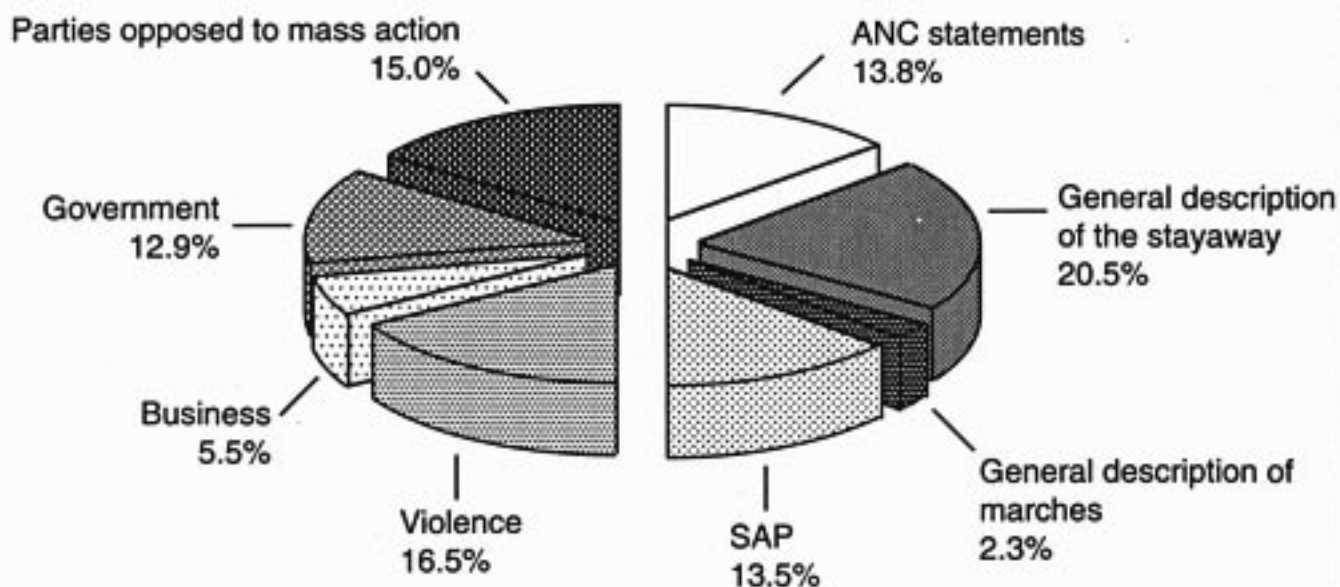
MANIPULATION

- In the same bulletin, the concern of the UN Secretary General about violence is manipulated to appear as if it is directed at the ANC.
- News bulletins on the days of the strike were often preceded by reports about violence, though most of these incidents did not have anything to do with the strike.
- And on the Pretoria march: "official sources" – whoever they are – estimated the crowd at about 25 000 (compared to the organisers' estimation of over 100 000). Mandela's address at the Union Buildings is given one-third of the time given to De Klerk's response.

Using these and other facts, Acag comes to the conclusion that the SABC is a mouthpiece of the NP, engaging in a well-planned campaign against the party's opponents.

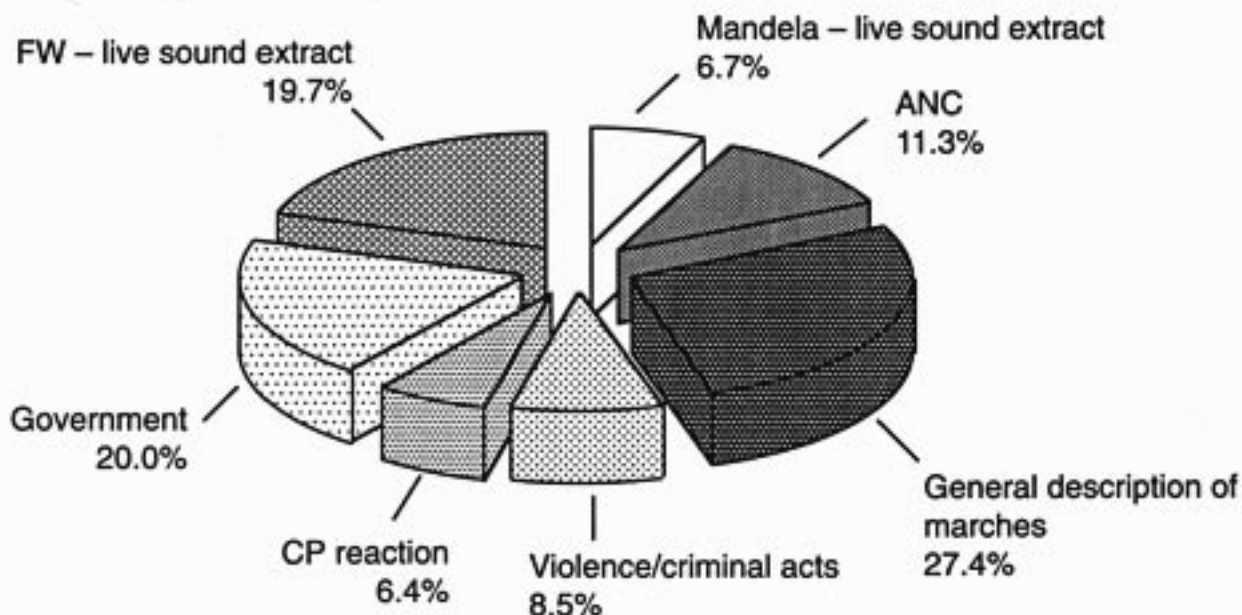
In a response to an earlier complaint from ANC information officer, Saki Macozoma, Editor-in-Chief of TV News Productions, JL Pretorius, says "... the ANC's con-

SABC coverage General Strike Monday 3 August Breakdown of 8pm coverage



Combined total for Parties opposed to mass action, Government, Violence, Business, SAP: 63.4%

SABC coverage Mass action – Wednesday (March on Union Buildings) Breakdown of 8pm coverage



Combined total for FW, Government, CP: 46.1%

stant attack on the credibility of the SABC clearly has a political opportunist overtone". And in typical NP-style, Macozoma is invited "to discuss the issue to iron out misunderstandings"!

The ANC and its allies can boast of the success of the campaign. But they would do well to note that when the crunch comes, they will find themselves at the receiving end of the editorial stick of the white media establishment.

Certainly, many individual journalists strive within this environment to be as objective as possible. But once decisions are taken on high, their protestations are often ineffectual.

Elections for a constitution-making body will be held in a matter of months. And, if the ANC does not work out appropriate strategies, the thrust of its campaign will be undermined as birds of a feather flock together to salvage what they can of the old order.

FAIR REPORTING

As for the SABC, the recommendation by the UN Secretary General that "reporting on state-owned radio and television be, and be seen to be, fair and objective" restates what the democratic movement in South Africa has been demanding. Something practical needs to be done – and done soon. ♦

International monitoring for South Africa



Aziz Pahad of the ANC's Department of International Affairs has hailed UN Resolution 772 as a

reaffirmation of international support which is to continue until the ANC's goal of a democratic, non-racial, united South Africa is achieved.

UN Resolution 772 has firmly committed the international community to deal with the issue of violence. In its submission to Cyrus Vance in July, the ANC, says Pahad, requested around 400 UN Observers as a minimum, rather than 30 as recommended in Secretary General Boutros-Ghali's report.

ANC representatives lobbied at the Security Council and as a result, the resolution "authorises the Secretary General to deploy, as a matter of urgency, United Nations observers in South Africa, in such a manner and in such numbers as he determines necessary to address effectively the areas of concern noted in his report ..."

The key areas of concern spelt out include: hostels, dangerous weapons, the role of the security forces and other armed formations, the investigation and prosecution of criminal conduct, mass demonstrations and the conduct of political parties. So the resolution allows for a flexible approach, says Pahad. The ANC is already working out concrete proposals on the operational aspects.

The Resolution calls on the Commonwealth, the OAU and the EEC to send representatives. Pahad stresses that this is an important reinforcement of the ANC call for the involvement of these organisations.

Pahad thinks that an effective international presence – of people with the appropriate expertise – offers the possibility of breaking through the veil of secrecy surrounding the violence. Their presence will strengthen the work of the local peace committees.

IMPARTIALITY

The impartiality of the international participants may allow a breakthrough into the area of covert operations. Pahad says it is essential to tackle the terrible investigative processes and what UK policing expert, Waddington, called basic structural problems within the security apparatus, especially the police.

The Goldstone Commission, Pahad points out, doesn't have its own investigative machinery. "The ANC argues that it

must be given more teeth and have an independent investigative capacity. It is unacceptable for the Goldstone Commission and the dispute resolution committees to have to rely on investigations by the police. To be effective, the international community must also get involved in this aspect," says Pahad.

PRESSURE

The government has been forced to accept international involvement, he adds. Now international pressure must be exerted on the government to move on all the issues it has failed to tackle thus far, especially the Goldstone recommendations. The government is likely to try to delay action on hostels and dangerous weapons by talking of the need for studies. International pressure should be applied to prevent further stalling.

INDEPENDENCE

Pahad says the government wants the international observers to work under local structures. The ANC believes it is important that they should co-operate closely with local structures, but must be independent, with their own infrastructure, mobility and framework.

Otherwise what they can achieve may be limited by what local structures allow. ♦

UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali's report to the Security Council contains many important recommendations which reinforce Resolution 772 (see box opposite).

Boutros-Ghali says he was impressed by the open and responsive manner in which the Cyrus Vance team was received by all sectors of South African society. This is evidence, he believes, of a transformation taking place in the country.



UN team visiting South Africa welcomed with advice to speak to the people who know first-hand about violence

Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- The immediate release of all remaining political prisoners;
- Reporting on state-owned radio and television should be, and be seen to be, fair and objective.
- The UN should undertake missions on a quarterly basis, or more frequently.

THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION:

- Its recommendations should be fully and speedily implemented by the government, in particular those relating to a total ban on the public display of dangerous weapons and the security of hostels;
- It should investigate the functioning and operations of certain agencies including the army and police, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the KwaZulu Police and certain private "security firms";
- It should get required finance for its expanded work from the government;
- Senior international personnel, in addition to a pool of jurists, should sit on the committees of enquiry;
- Its reports should be made available to all signatories to the National Peace Accord within 24 hours of submission to the State President;

- Any investigations and prosecutions required by its reports should be undertaken promptly by the competent departments of government.

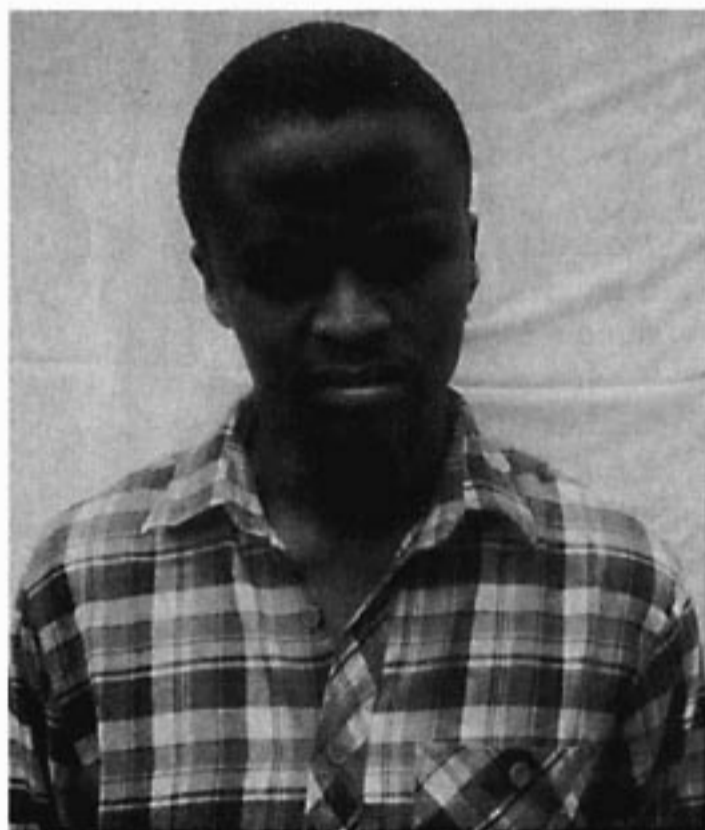
THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD

- Its envisaged mechanisms lack teeth and need to be greatly strengthened;
- Efficient, functioning operations centres at the major "flashpoints" must be established urgently. These should be staffed on a 24-hour basis and be fully funded and equipped. They should have prompt and direct access to law enforcement agencies.
- The government should ensure the early appointment of the Justices of Peace and establishment of the Special Criminal Courts envisaged in the National Peace Accord;

CODESA

- Its processes must be better coordinated and made much more transparent;
- A deadlock resolving machinery at the highest political level must be established;
- Codesa should consider appointing an eminent, impartial person, who need not be a foreigner, to provide the impetus and cohesion needed to accomplish its tasks.

Who is Patrick Dlongwana aka Hlongwane?



Patrick Hlongwane has retracted his reckless threats to kill ANC leaders. In return he asks the ANC to stop publicising his unsavoury history of service to apartheid. *MAYIBUYE* speaks to activists who suffered imprisonment and worse as a result of Hlongwane's handiwork.

The SAP vehemently denies that the fiery anti-ANC campaigner is or ever was their agent. The evidence suggests otherwise. Perhaps someone "accidentally" wiped out the records!

Leading Port Elizabeth activist Mkhuseleli Jack is currently studying in the UK. He had no idea that Patrick Hlongwane is alive and well and announcing plans to assassinate ANC leaders on SATV.

He roared with laughter in amazement that the system is still trying to use this "discredited bandit" who was already exposed as a police spy in the early 80s.

Jack was unaware of Hlongwane's current activities which include:

- running an organisation called the Returned Exiles Committee under the protection of Inkatha at Lindelani and declaring that he will fight to protect the "Zulu nation";

- announcing that he and others have received special training in Israel to prepare for the killing of leaders and members of the ANC;
- boasting that these attacks will be supported by the Askaris, a unit of the SAP.

The Southern Natal region of the ANC believes that Hlongwane's revelations are part of the state's strategy of covert violence against the ANC. The aim is to make the assassination of ANC leaders appear

to be the result of internal squabbles arising from its exile past. Various attempts to assassinate Southern Natal ANC leaders have been foiled because the regional executive received information about the plans in advance. The region thinks Hlongwane cited Israel as a place of training to protect the IFP and that, in actual fact, training was carried out in Ciskei.

Mkhuseli Jack knows Hlongwane as Dlongwana – they lived a few houses apart in the PE township of Zwide. Sources suggest that he has changed his name to appear “Zulu”. After initially denying it, he now admits that his name is Dlongwana.

Jack cites many examples of Hlongwane’s role as an agent provocateur. He posed as a playwright to ingratiate himself with activist youth, although Jack suspects the plays were written for him by the police.

He aroused suspicion when he told Jack and others that the ANC in Lesotho wished to provide R10 000 to assist the launch of the PE Youth Congress, Peyco.

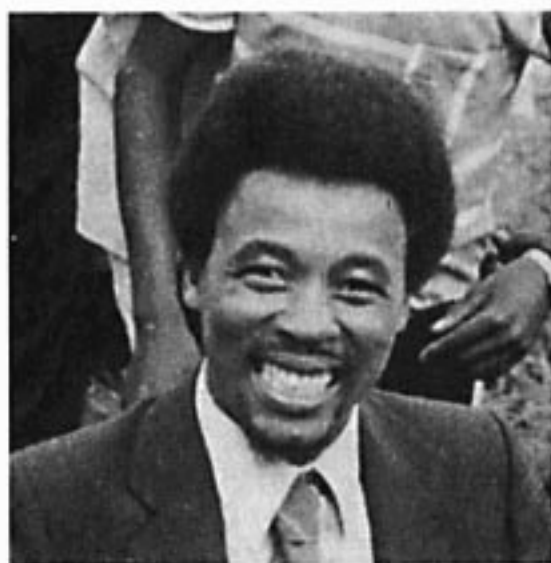
Three attempts by Hlongwane to frame Jack on attempted murder and assault charges were thrown out of court. One magistrate dismissed his testimony as lies.

UZI SUB-MACHINE GUN

In 1983 Hlongwane, armed with an Uzi sub-machine gun, was supposed to be guarding the home of a councillor, one Phutu. Instead he opened fire on his own home because his family, together with the community, opposed the undemocratic council imposed on them by apartheid. Hlongwane’s mother had to rush to Jack for assistance.

Jack believes that Hlongwane was the “cheapest tool available to the police” at the time – they were unable to recruit any credible agents.

Hlongwane’s testimony led to three-year jail terms for Zola Mtatsi and four other Peyco activists in 1983. Mtatsi tells how Hlongwane joined Zwide township youth in organising a bus boycott and resistance to the undemocratic local au-



Leading Port Elizabeth activist Mkhoseli Jack ... roared with laughter in amazement that the system is still trying to use this “discredited bandit” [Hlongwane] who was already exposed as a police spy in the early 80s.

thority. He often tried to incite them to violent actions. He then pointed out activists to the police, resulting in their arrest. In the ensuing trial he gave false evidence that the youth had planned to burn buses and councillors’ houses.

Former Congress of South African Students president, Lulu Johnson, says Hlongwane always advocated militant and radical actions in youth meetings. After he was exposed by testifying against Mtatsi and others, he still tried to attend Peyco meetings. A system of checkpoints and changing venues had to be used to prevent this.

CONFESSION

The ANC’s Department of Intelligence and Security says that in October 1986 Hlongwane was sent to join the ANC in Botswana. He was instructed to phone 011-825-5383 and ask for Warrant Officer van Dyk on his arrival.

He reached Lusaka in January 1987. Since he was a well-known agent he was unable to maintain his legend and confessed his real identity to ANC security. As a result the ANC imprisoned him.

Hlongwane’s confession included the following:

- In 1981 he joined the Roots Movement, a vigilante organisation set up by the security police to divide the community and oppose the PE Black Civic Organisation, Pecco. He worked with a Colonel van Rooyen and Mzwandile Maqhina.
- He went to Lesotho in 1982 to take photos of ANC houses in Ma-

seru. In December of that year he took part in the brutal SADF Maseru raid in which 42 people were killed.

- In 1984 he worked with the notorious PE security policeman, Tungata, and was involved in the petrol bombing of a number of houses, including those of activists Siphon Hashe, Lulu Johnson and Ivy Gcina. He also killed Cosas member Mzukisi Gxuma. Later he worked with vigilante leader Thamsanqa Linda, the “mayor”, and killed several people, including Mr Mateza, chair of the Loyiso Secondary School Committee.

- Because he was so discredited in the Eastern Cape, he was moved to Germiston in July 1985. He took part in the tracking and killing of Clement, an MK cadre active on the East Rand. During this period, he informed on George Mashele, the MK combatant killed by the police in Vosloorus in July this year. ♦

Israeli denial

Israeli Consul Mr David Livnat categorically denies Hlongwane’s claim that he and others were trained in Israel. “We don’t know what was the motive for such ridiculous information,” Mr Livnat told *MAYIBUYE*. “It would be better to ask him what his motivation was, or if he has any proof.” Asked what further steps the embassy planned to take besides issuing a press release denying Israeli involvement, Mr Livnat responded: “What more?”. He also categorically denies that Israel has been involved in training Inkatha. ♦

Is this "class peace"?

In the build-up to the August general strike Cosatu, the employers' organisation, Saccola, and churches negotiated a Charter for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction. The draft was, however, not adopted. *MAYIBUYE* spoke to **Bokkie Botha**, the Chairperson of Saccola, and **Chris Dlamini**, the first Vice President of Cosatu about the reasons for the breakdown.



Wide support for peace and democracy

Bokkie Botha, Saccola

MAYIBUYE: What is the significance of the Draft Charter and Programme for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction?

Bokkie Botha: It was an important development although we didn't reach any final agreement. It indicated the concern of business and labour for the major issues facing us, including the problem of violence. It focused the minds of the parties on finding constructive ways of dealing with the violence.

In the economic area there was an attempt to establish the processes for dealing with critical economic issues like job creation, the effects of the drought, housing, electrification and addressing poverty.

MAYIBUYE: Why then was it not adopted?

BB: I think that there were two critical issues. One was that the unions were asking employers to close down economic activity completely, and also to bring in the public sector for a total shut down for one day.

We had at all times said that we could not do anything which would further hurt the economy. So we couldn't commit the whole of the business and the public sector to a total shut down. Regarding the public sector I must say that we couldn't commit them in any way. The business sector is rather different because they are our constituents. With the public sector all we could do was to go and talk to the government and see what their view would be.

Then the second major issue was that we had asked Cosatu that if we were able to combine on the first day of the proposed mass action, we would also want an undertaking from them that there would be no further actions which would have a damaging effect to the economy. And they would not give that to us. We were concerned about types of rolling mass action which might have an adverse economic effect.

MAYIBUYE: Does that mean that you are committed to the

proposals, save for the 3 August shut down which did not materialise?

BB: I must make it absolutely clear that we hadn't finalised the wording of those documents, and I think that one would be able to find words that we would want to change. But we were absolutely in support of the broad principles, ie resolving the problems of violence and the economy, and doing something to bring the political parties together to resume negotiations.

MAYIBUYE: How extensive is the support in your organisation?

BB: I think it's extensive. I attended a number of meetings which were mandating us as negotiators, and there was a very wide degree of support for the proposals set out.

MAYIBUYE: Should business and labour, in fact, meddle in politics?

BB: One has to be extremely careful about what the definition of politics, labour, etc, are.

Personally I find it very difficult to separate politics from labour issues. If you have political situations which affect business or industrial relations, clearly you can't say we won't deal with them.

MAYIBUYE: How do you respond to allegations that the Charter is pro-ANC?

BB: In Saccola we didn't see it as a pro-ANC or pro-government document. Subsequent events showed that there were people on both sides who accused us of siding with the other. That probably is an indication that it was quite an objective document.

In the early stages we were accused of it being an ANC document, and at later stages were told that we were too close to the government. I don't think we are either. Business is not political in that sense. It does not take party political views.

MAYIBUYE: The Charter includes a programme for economic reconstruction – is this the birth of a "social contract"?

BB: Certainly there is potential, but agreement was not reached. We were discussing a package at the time.

From a business point of view we would need to re-examine our approach. However, there is very constructive content to that package and we could certainly look at it.

MAYIBUYE: What are the aims of the National Economic Negotiations Forum?

BB: That body is by no means finalised. But the

aim is joint economic reconstruction and joint economic activity to resolve many of those problems.

MAYIBUYE: It looks like a damp squib – why?

BB: The Forum is still in its infancy. We should continue to ensure that it works. Government, business and labour must dedicate themselves to ensuring that it has practical achievable outcomes. It is too soon to evaluate it.

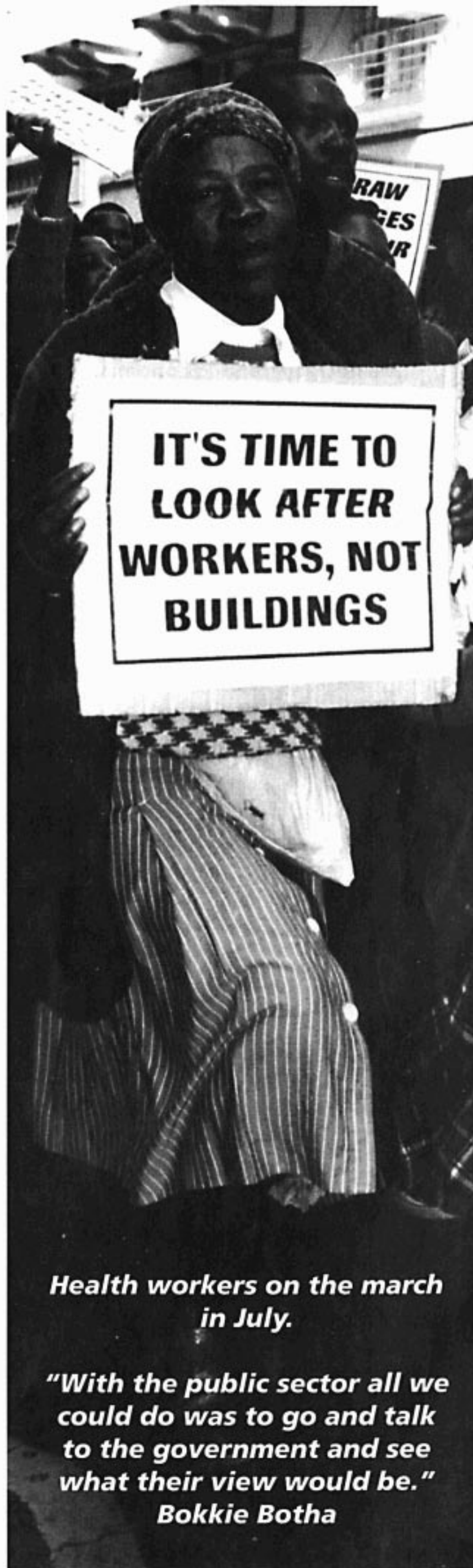
MAYIBUYE: What are your views about the future?

BB: We have to try, sooner rather than later, to resolve the many difficulties that are paralysing our society. If we continue with the growing polarisation and the conflicts that we have seen in the recent past, I have no doubt that the economy will continue to be hurt.

We see large numbers of jobs being lost. The mass action was, I think, quite well-managed from the point of view of business and labour. There's a lot of work that was done on both sides to try and ensure minimal effect on the economy.

But even though that happened, there have been many jobs lost as a result of these actions. We have to find other ways of handling our conflicts, ones which do not hurt the economic progress of the country. If we don't we are going to decline even further. That is my concern at the moment.

Our attempt during these discussions was to end up with some form of dialogue that could resolve the problem. That remains our hope. ♦



Health workers on the march in July.

*"With the public sector all we could do was to go and talk to the government and see what their view would be."
Bokkie Botha*



The will of the majority will prevail

Chris Dlamini, Cosatu

MAYIBUYE: What is the significance of the Draft Charter and Programme for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction?

Chris Dlamini: For the first time in the history of the country we pushed the employers to accept that they are not the only players in the economy. They realise that there is a need for them to be involved in providing houses for our people, the upgrading of hostels, distribution of food to the poor and job creation.

They also agree that there should be majority rule, preceded by the introduction of an Interim Government. They accept that there should be a sovereign constitution-making body, elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a non-racial common voters' roll. Those were significant achievements.

MAYIBUYE: Why was it not adopted?

CD: The hitches were around the shut down. The employers

were saying that they did not have the mandate from some of their affiliates. Also the question of time-frames. They did not think it was correct to set down time-frames as to when certain things should be realised.

Their argument was that we are not the only players in this regard. The government and political organisations should also be involved. Those were their excuses.

But we could see that this was as a result of external pressure. The state (and that is my suspicion) influenced some of them not to sign because that would mean that they identify themselves more with the liberation movement.

MAYIBUYE: External pressure – is that fact or just suspicions?

CD: The state as the employer in the public sector did not want to participate or to agree to many of the proposals in the Charter. And as a political player the NP government did not want business to challenge its positions. That influenced Saccola.

MAYIBUYE: Should business and labour, in fact, meddle in politics?

CD: Politics is about management of the affairs of a country. Obviously that management has to be assumed by a political organisation with majority support. The mere election of that government means that people have participated.

Now, when it is in power, it would be wrong of us to withdraw from participating in its

WORKERS RIGHTS IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA





The anti-VAT strike last year showed that workers are not prepared to let the minority government take decisions on the economy without consulting the unions

day to day work to make sure that decisions taken in parliament reflect the aspirations and the needs of the people. At the same time, negotiations about the transition and the future system affect all South Africans, including workers. Cosatu cannot stand aloof. If that is meddling, we definitely do.

We also expect business, as individuals or associations, to play a role to secure and protect their interests. The government must not be left to operate on its own without any tempering by civil society.

MAYIBUYE: How would you respond to allegations that the Charter is pro-ANC?

CD: The Charter is supported by big business, trade unions, churches and civic associations, which means that the majority of South Africans support it. This is because it addresses the fundamental problems they are facing. If it links with ANC policy, then it means that the ANC is moving in the right direction.

MAYIBUYE: What are the aims of the National Economic Negotiations Forum?

CD: The aim is to ensure that all decisions leading to economic policy reflect the positions of all the major players in the economy, ie government, business and trade unions. No one party, group of people or association

has the right to draw up a policy that binds all South Africans. In the economy the major players are trade unions, big business and the government.

Of course at the moment the country is in a state of flux in terms of the political arrangement. But the Forum is the beginning of the realisation that business, trade unions, and the government have to participate in formulating economic policy. So it is not a marriage of some kind but a forum to develop a policy that responds positively to the needs of all those parties that are the major players in the economy.

MAYIBUYE: It looks like a damp squib – why?

CD: Obviously the country is in a state of transition. To have an effective forum you need a strong democratic government, a strong and united trade union movement, and a strong and representative business organisation. The present government lacks legitimacy. Whatever it says cannot carry weight with other groups and organisations.

But there is a realisation of the need for this tripartite arrangement. Of course at the moment it cannot meet all the demands of the people. But, at the minimal level, there is a prospect that some areas, particularly the provision of houses and electricity can be addressed even before the introduction of an Interim Government.

MAYIBUYE: What are your views about the future?

CD: We have made progress, although the struggle is not a straight line and has its turns and zigzags. The mass campaign for peace and democracy has started off very well.

The government cannot afford to ignore this groundswell of opposition to its policies. I am optimistic that, at the end of the day, the will of the majority will prevail. ♦

Profit-sharing on the mines?



Photo: William Matlala

Can the latest profit-sharing deal between the National Union of Mineworkers and some mining houses be sold to mineworkers? **Zolile Mtshelwane** looks at the background of the scheme.

At the 1991 annual wage talks, the NUM was forced to shelve the wage policy adopted at its 1989 congress. The price of gold was plummeting rapidly. By the end of 1990, more than 50 000 workers had been retrenched, with more job cuts planned. The union had its back against the wall. Mine bosses were on the attack.

On the eve of the 1991 wage negotiations, the NUM decided to shift away from demanding a living wage and negotiating a national minimum wage. The emphasis was to be on non-wage issues such as trade union rights and social rights. The wage policy was suspended for gold mines.

In its place the NUM proposed a performance bonus scheme. Mine bosses obliged. This scheme, based on monthly production levels, was meant to put more money into workers' pockets. Workers had to reach or exceed a certain target in order to qualify for a bonus. Details on how this would work were left to the bosses at mine level to work out with the shaft stewards.

GRIEVANCES

Before the ink on the agreement had dried, grievances from workers about the scheme started reaching the union. Mine bosses were setting unattainable production targets. Workers were made to work harder to reach these targets and were rapidly losing faith in the agreement.

The scheme did not put more rands into workers' pockets. Instead it gave the bosses more control over production targets, and the workers were driven harder than ever.

In January this year the NUM rejected the scheme as unworkable and

biased in favour of the bosses. The NUM decided to withdraw from the agreement with immediate effect.

On the eve of this year's wage talks, mine bosses announced a plan to close down Harmony gold mine, which would cost at least 6 000 jobs. The NUM demanded wage increases of up to 20 percent on an average monthly wage as low as R413. The initial Chamber offer of between eight and 12 percent was rejected by the NUM.

"A PROFIT POOL"

The NUM proposed a profit-sharing scheme for workers in the gold mines. Most of the mining houses have agreed to implement this scheme. AngloVaal and GFSa refused. JCI insists on retaining the performance bonus scheme that was rejected by workers. Anglo-American Corporation, Genmin and Rand Mines accepted the scheme.

Twenty percent of what is called "a profit pool" will be distributed to workers every month. Every mining house will calculate the size of its profits. Negotiations will then be entered into with the union on how these will be shared with workers. The NUM has committed the participating mining houses to negotiate the rules of how the scheme will be implemented. Some of the general principles that have already been agreed to include the rights to:

- a fair wage structure;
- security of employment;
- disclosure of information and monitoring;
- worker participation; and
- training.

This is meant to prevent a repeat of the problems with the productivity bonus scheme. Negotiated wage increases have been very low for both gold and coal mines. The NUM is now preparing itself to sell the profit-sharing scheme to its members. At the same time the bosses have to be persuaded to stick to agreements they reach with the union. These are the two sticky points that will determine whether the agreement holds. Should the bosses renege, NUM members are bound to revolt against the scheme. ♦



Racist state, racist employer

The government's public claim that it is moving away from discrimination is not matched by its employment practices. *MAYIBUYE* looks at the appalling conditions in the state-run health sector.

The two-month old strike by thousands of hospital workers in support of higher wages and better conditions of work has deeper undertones than is apparent. It concerns the struggle of workers challenging an employer now claiming to be doing away with past racist practices.

Hospital workers, as government employees, are covered by the Public Service Act. The act classifies general assistants, amongst others, as temporary workers. This status comes with an average wage of R500 per month and appalling working conditions.

When the 1 500 Baragwanath hospital workers went on strike on 4 June, they were making a statement to their employer, the Transvaal

Provincial Administration (TPA), that they were not prepared to go on being treated this way.

Wage negotiations for 1992 between the Commission for Administration (CFA) – the statutory body that determines salaries and wages of public service workers – three unions and eight staff associations did not make much progress. Nehawu, the Health Workers Union (HWU), the Public Service Union (PSU) and three other staff associations walked out of this meeting on 19 May.

The CFA was offering a 9,2 percent increase across the board and a minimum of R708. Nehawu, HWU, the PSU and three staff associations were demanding a minimum of R724 and an increase of 15,3 percent across the board. Five staff associations accepted the CFA's offer, even though it was to be effective only from 1 August instead of the usual implementation date, 1 April.

Nehawu and the other five organisations rejected the offer and decided to strike. The Baragwanath workers got the ball rolling, and by 14 June a total of seven major provincial hospitals under the TPA had joined the strike.

The Assistant General Secretary of Nehawu, Neal Thobejane, says the forum with the CFA "is a toothless structure that is incapable of taking any decisions on wages and working conditions. The five staff associations that dominate negotiations with the CFA unquestioningly accept what the CFA offers. We see this forum as a means of co-opting us and make us like these staff associations."

INTERDICT

The TPA threatened to dismiss those who did not go back to work. The threats were ignored in all the TPA-administered hospitals. The TPA was granted an interdict preventing striking workers from entering the hospital premises except for purposes of resuming their du-

ties. Some 605 workers were arrested and charged with trespassing and contempt of court when they entered premises to picket in support of their demands.

The TPA dismissed more than 7 000 workers. Scab labour, some from hostels controlled by the IFP, and soldiers were brought in to perform essential services. Nurses and doctors had to do manual work like taking food from the kitchens to patients.

VIOLENCE

Violence has also marred the strike. Since the beginning of the strike, says Thobejane, at least four shop stewards have been killed. Three were killed in Natalspruit on the East Rand. Four strikers were critically injured on 12 August when they were attacked by scabs outside Hillbrow hospital. "The strikers were demonstrating outside the hospital when a side gate was opened by a member of management for scabs who then attacked demonstrators," said Thobejane.

He says negotiations with the TPA on reinstatement of the dismissed workers are "on track. When we met the TPA on 16 August, they admitted that services have not been normal since the beginning of the strike." Nehawu is putting pressure on the TPA to submit to arbitration on the dismissals. Thobejane argues that support from the communities can force the TPA to give in to demands for reinstatement. "The occupations of TPA offices and buildings that were part of the rolling mass action brought negotiations back on track," says Thobejane.

COSATU BACKING

It is clear that only popular mass action will force the government to treat its employees with more respect and give in to workers demands.

Now that Cosatu has decided to put its weight behind the hospital strike, there seems to be hope for the strikers that they will get their jobs back. But that depends on whether Cosatu succeeds in rallying its affiliates. ♦

Photo: Kendridge Mathabathe



Numsa strike

About 100 000 workers in the metal and engineering industry - all members of Cosatu's biggest union, the National Union of Metal Workers of SA, Numsa - are currently on a national strike around wages, worker rights and job security.

The metal bosses have refused to budge from their offer of an 8,6 percent increase across the board. Numsa is currently demanding a 16 percent increase and a moratorium on retrenchments.

Thousands of workers have already been dismissed. Tens of thousands have been locked out. Dozens of companies have brought urgent interdicts against the union.

In addition, at least 20 workers and shop stewards have been killed. Numsa organisers and leaders have been followed and intimidated by police and intelligence agents. Demonstrations have been broken up by the police. Thousands of scab workers have been employed. Seifsa - the bosses' organisation - has tried to get the strike declared illegal.

But workers are not taking these attacks lying down. In August alone, 12 000 workers marched in Vereeniging and 50 000 in Johannesburg.

The strike is costing bosses about R44 million daily in lost turnover and workers about R3,8 million per day in lost wages. It is hitting the motor industry hard because of the shortage of supplies and some plants might have to shut down until the strike is over. ♦

Afrikaans: *a white man's language?*



Hein Willemse, Associate Professor in Afrikaans at the University of the Western Cape, traces the roots of Afrikaans and argues that it is a common heritage for blacks and whites.

Afrikaans the most dangerous drug for our children. This slogan is written on a piece of crumpled paper covering a body. The photograph is poignant in its imagery. In silence it attests to a violent relationship between political might and refusal, white oppression and black resistance.

The image signifies Afrikaans as bearer of savagery, racism and relentless oppression. Absent from the photograph, although present through the dead man, is the stereotype of the brusque, gun-toting boer, or his collaborators.

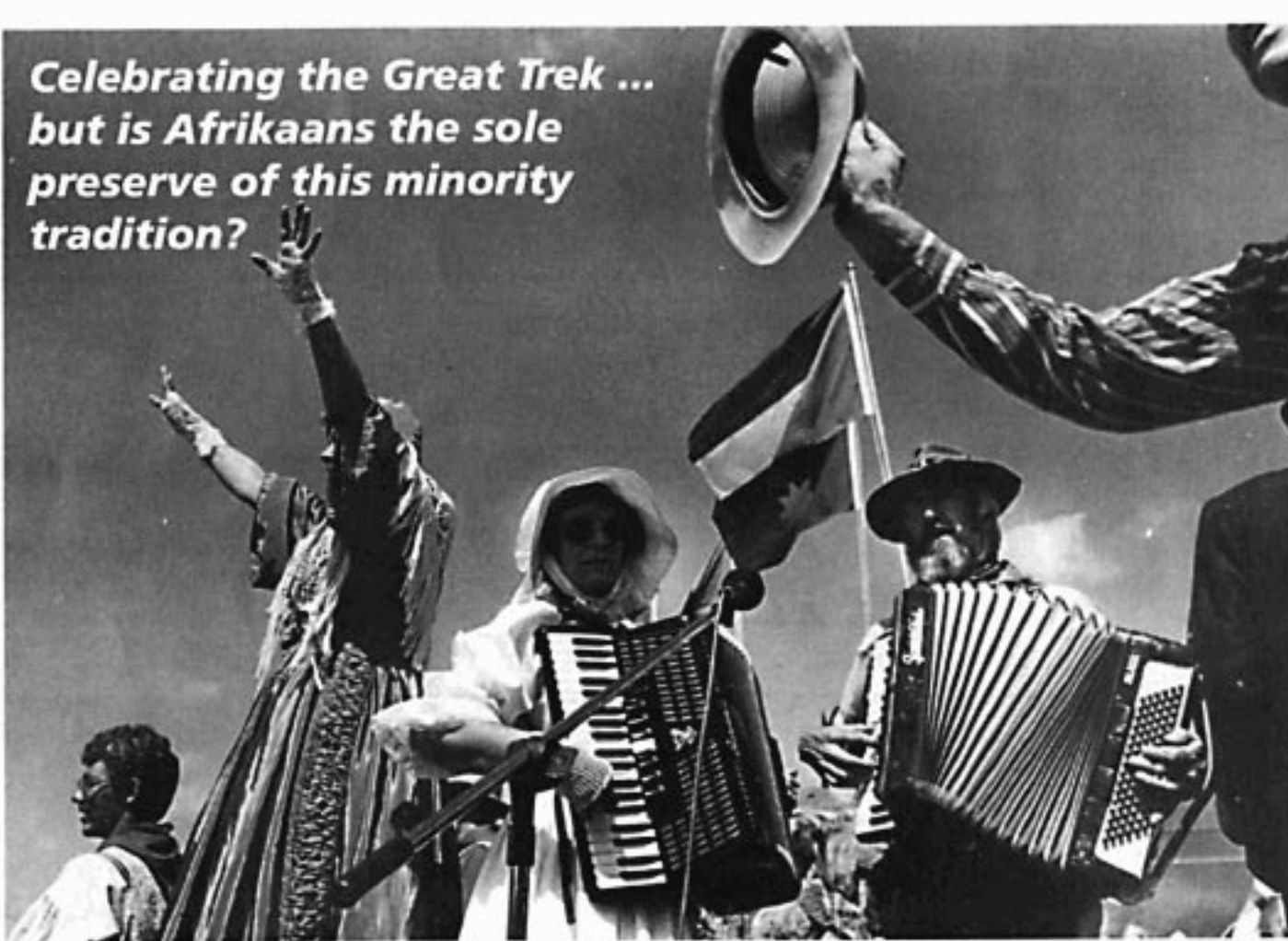
This is one interpretation of the photograph, and perhaps the only relevant one, for in the collective mind the equation has been firmly established: Afrikaans = the Afrikaner = apartheid = political and social oppression. The photograph is a forceful reminder of decades of NP rule and Afrikaner dominance. With reference to Afrikaans the relationship between Afrikaners, the NP, right-wingers and the language appears to be natural and unproblematic. The one denotes the other. No other possibility exists.

GENERAL HISTORY

This image is not surprising. Through decades of Christian National

**Celebrating the Great Trek ...
but is Afrikaans the sole
preserve of this minority
tradition?**

Photo: Paul Weinberg SouthLight



Education the history of the Afrikaans language, as well as the general history of South Africa was interpreted through the eyes of the Afrikaner nationalist. The Afrikaners claimed to be the sole heirs to the language – it was their possession. Afrikaans became the distinctive mark of a chosen people. The language ostensibly had an unmediated link with Europe and its development in Africa was, by the grace of God, a miracle: Afrikaans was the only white man's language to have developed in Africa.

The story of Afrikaans was told, like the story of the Afrikaners, as a history of persecution, colonialism, struggle and eventual victory for the volk. That version of history was imprinted on every pupil who ever dared to enter into a history or Afrikaans-language class.

In the recent past Afrikaner historiography has been severely criticised for shaping and interpreting South African history through the filter of Afrikaner nationalism. The same holds true for the history of the Afrikaans language. The history of Afrikaans is clouded by Afrikaner-nationalist ideology. It was a myth fashioned for the purposes of an emerging ethnic nationalism.

Pupils were taught that Afrikaans was used for the first time in a white school in Paarl, that Afrikaans had been exclusively associated

with the Afrikaners since the landing of Jan van Riebeeck, and that its origins were pure and lily-white. But nobody told them that in fact a Muslim school in Bo-Kaap happened to be the first to have Afrikaans medium instruction – out of their own volition.

It was in fact a missionary's zeal to translate the Bible into Afrikaans for his black converts which led to the establishment of the first formal Afrikaans organisation. The first piece of formal Afrikaans appears to have been written in Arabic for the purposes of religious instruction.

By 1903 some Afrikaners had to be convinced that Afrikaans was their language, whereas the Muslim Society in Cape Town claimed it to be their birthright and restricted their organisation to Afrikaans speakers only. A black correspondent of the Genadendal mission wrote to his friend: "I see the whites are now writing in our language."

MOTHER TONGUE

The history of Afrikaans taught in schools is a myth. Like Afrikaner historiography, it is defective, for it represents only the history of a single fraction of the South African population. The history of Afrikaans was ennobled, so that Afrikaans, a melange of ancestries, languages and classes, became the unsullied

European language in Africa. Language historians developed intricate theories of pure European descent, while they systematically played down the historical role black people, ie slaves, free blacks, the Khoikhoi and Africans, played in the creolisation of Dutch and the development of the pidgin, Cape Dutch or Hottentot-Hollands, an earlier form of Afrikaans. A linguist once tellingly remarked that the majority of Afrikaner linguists "tended to transfer their ideals of purity of the white race to their mother tongue and its history."

With the onset of Afrikaner nationalism during the last quarter of the 19th century, Afrikaans was usurped by Afrikaner culture brokers to foster ethnic cohesion. Later a standard form of Afrikaans was developed which looked and sounded like Dutch.

For all intents and purposes, this standardised Afrikaans reproduced the values of an emerging Afrikaner middle class. Increasingly the varieties of the language spoken by black people and those not associated with the middle class were stigmatised. Afrikaans became the treasured asset of the Afrikaner nationalist to be imposed through state power.

ORAL TRADITION

A similar process took place with regard to Afrikaans cultural practices. Few people care to take note of the rich Afrikaans oral tradition – created mainly by generations of black speakers of Afrikaans. In the main, the wealth of animal tales and stories of colonisation were retold as part of the Afrikaner's volkslewe and volksgeloof.

In the process the agency of black story-tellers was pushed into the background and silenced. Where it is conceded in the academic literature that black people were primary contributors to the Afrikaans oral tradition, these statements are invariably qualified to suggest that the original was adapted by the Afrikaners.

Afrikaner demagogues and intellectuals sympathetic to Afrikaner nationalism, have maintained a sure grip

◀ continued on page 32

Struggle Afrikaans

Women worker poetry

In contrast to the petty bourgeois image of Afrikaans and Afrikaans literature, it is only recently that attempts have been made to uncover the first South African working class writings from Afrikaner members of the Garment Workers Union, led by Hester Cornelius and Solly Sachs.

These women shared elements of Afrikaner culture, but also showed significant analytical insight in areas directly related to the labour movement. The garment worker literature injected a strong sense of the Afrikaner working class and the role of trade unions in upholding international working class solidarity.

For instance, in one poem, "Die plig van die vrou" (The duty of the woman) Maggie Meyer sees capitalism as "the destroyer of women's freedom and happiness":

Die plig van die vrou

*Die Vryheid het nie lank geduur,
Want wat eers soet was word toe suur.
Toe Kapitaal die oorhand kry,
Was sy die een wat swaar moes ly.
In die fabriek van vroeg tot laat,
Daar leer jy Kapitaal te haat,
Saam word daar 'n besluit gemaak
In 1932 gaan hul uit op staak.
As ons net saamstaan sal ons wen,
Die mans sal dit ook moet erken.*

The duty of the woman

*[Freedom did not last too long,
For what was sweet, then turned sour.
When Capital gained the victory,
She was the one that had to suffer.
In the factory from early till late
There you learn to hate Capital
Together a decision was taken
In 1932 to go on strike.
If we only stand together we shall have victory
The men would also have to agree.]*

Die leeuwelpies is kwaad

During the eighies it was not uncommon to hear these songs during marches:

*PW is 'n terroris (x3)
Le Grange is 'n murderer (x3)
Ma, ek wil 'n Casspir hê (x3)
Ma, ek wil 'n Buffel hê (x3)
want ek wil die boere moer
Klim op die wa
Klim op Cosatu se wa
Almal wat Cosatu lief het
Klim op Cosatu se wa*

In other instances oral poets like Sandile Dikeni exhorts the ANC Youth League in Afrikaans:

*En o, laat my dig
oor dade van nou.
Die leeuwelpies is kwaad,
die moeders staan op die dak
gereed vir enige boer wat net wil slaat.
Die slagspreuk: comrades dit raak laat!
Die uur is nou –
die langverwagte uur!
Die uur is nou!
Nou is daar kak in die land.*

*[And oh, let me speak
about our present feats.
The Young Lions are angry,
the mothers are enraged
ready for any Boer who dares to lash out
The slogan is: comrades it's late!
The hour of reckoning is here –
the long awaited hour!
the hour of reckoning is here!
There is shit in the land.]*



Don Mattera at a conference organised by the Afrikaans Writer's Guild and Idasa

Photo: Sally Shorkend SouthLight

◀ continued from page 30

over the history of Afrikaans and the development and nature of Afrikaans literature. This was the kind of prejudicial knowledge they brought through Christian National Education. The pupils, and among them the oppressed, accepted this at face value. The oppressor's power to determine the truth was accepted and his account of history was not challenged.

DOMINANT IMAGE

It was, however, not the niceties of academic argument which led political activists to understand that the dominant image of Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor was only a half-truth. Afrikaans was as much the language of Bram Fischer as of John Vorster; it is as much the language of Allan Boesak as of Eugene Terre'blanche.

It was in struggle that activists, especially those in the Northern and Western Cape, realised that language was an instrument to be used. The majority of people in those areas speaks Afrikaans and Xhosa.

It was through UDF pamphlets, community newspapers like *Saamstaan*, *Alternatief* and *Namakwanuus* that people consciously explored the capacity of Afrikaans and Xhosa to transmit their demands for freedom.

LIBERATION

In these instances Afrikaans became the language of liberation. And in circumstances of repression Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor co-existed with Afrikaans as the language of liberation. The learning process of political struggle also taught activists that language, as a way of producing meaningful sounds, in itself cannot be good or evil. It is the way in which meaning is produced and the actions of speakers which then become the focal point.

Afrikaans speakers, especially those from the ruling elite, often find themselves anguishing about the future of the language in a liberated South Africa. If anything, the strug-

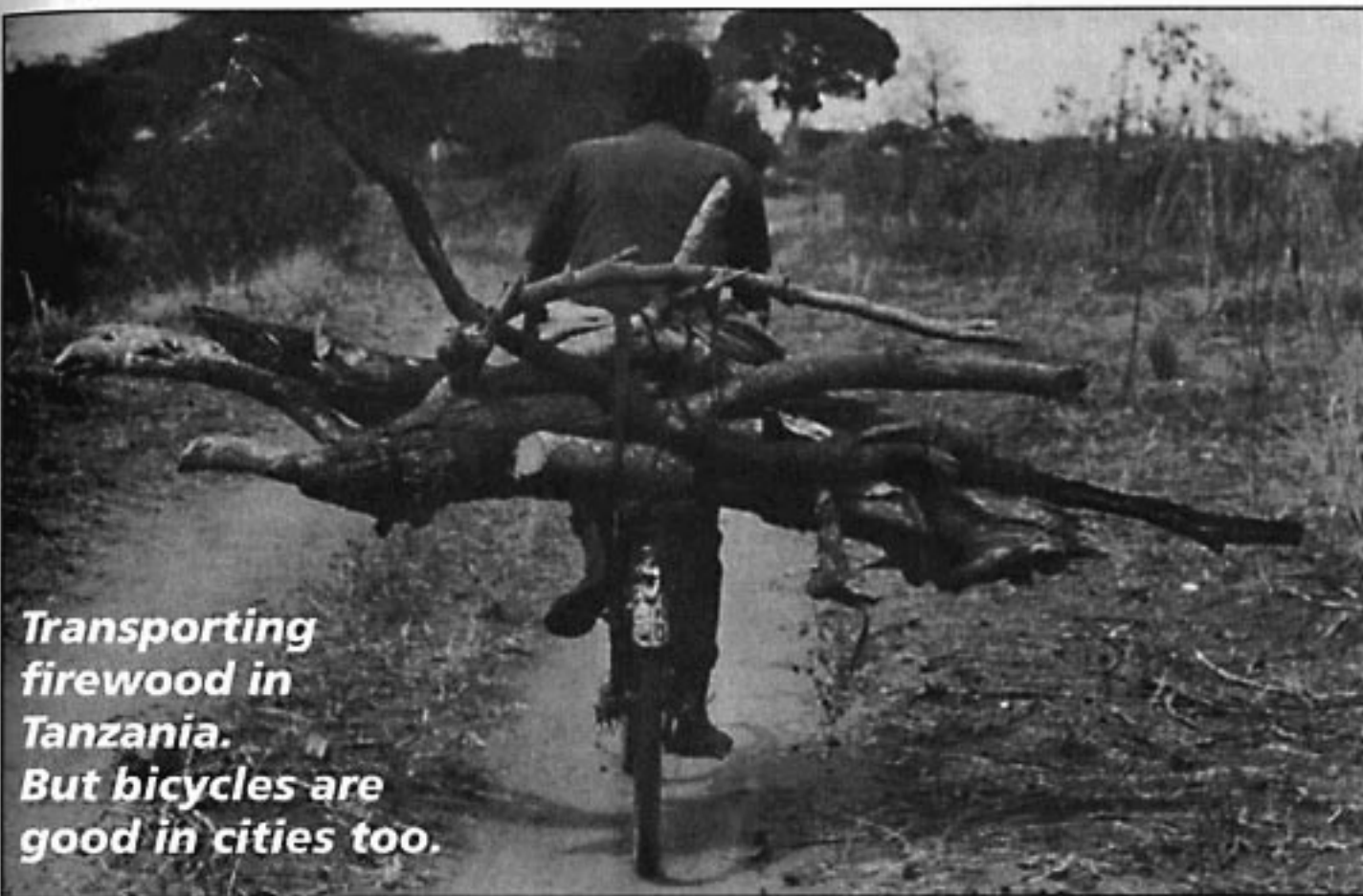
gles waged by black Afrikaans-speaking people have created a secure niche for the future of the language.

It is clearer now than before that language in South Africa is a basic human right. However, when people try to protect and isolate Afrikaans from the vibrancy of other languages in this country, they may lose. For then it loses its character as a common possession to be cherished, something to be shared, a resource to which many South Africans from a variety of backgrounds contributed.

EQUAL FOOTING

It is only in co-existence on an equal footing with other languages that the future of Afrikaans can be secured. For it is when Afrikaans speakers are willing to share resources and help create the environment for the development of all South Africa's languages that their claims to protection and security for their language can be achieved. ♦

Cycle to Work



Transporting firewood in Tanzania. But bicycles are good in cities too.

Myra Alperson reports on the advantages of cycling.

She is a Johannesburg-based journalist and bicycle activist from New York City.

Riding a bicycle in Johannesburg, I'm often told (while I've stopped at a red robot on my bicycle), is taking my life into my hands.

But riding a bicycle is also an economic alternative to expensive transport. It gets me where I need to go without any stops in between, and without worrying about finding parking near my destination. It helps the environment: my bicycle doesn't pollute or make noise. It's one of the healthiest forms of exercise. And it's part of an international trend to support what's called "sustainable transportation": transport that doesn't exhaust precious natural resources.

CYCLE PATHS

You don't have to be poor or from a developing country to choose a bicycle as your principal form of transport: in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Canada and the USA, programmes require the inclusion of cycling in transport planning and encourage more people to use them. Grassroots groups have been instrumental in the process.

In New York City, as a result, cycle paths are on major roadways

and bicycles make up 10 percent of weekday vehicle traffic.

On Tuesday, 6 October, people who live or work in Johannesburg will be encouraged to cycle to their jobs in the city's first-ever Cycle to Work Day. During morning and afternoon rush hours, certain roads will be designated and publicised as "bicycle-friendly". Businesses and trade unions will be asked to endorse this project.

The city of Curitiba, Brazil, has invested in 150 kilometers of cycle tracks, and employers offer workers vouchers towards the purchase of bicycles – an idea companies here might consider. Cycle paths can be found throughout China and in cities as diverse as Bulawayo, Zimbabwe; Lima, Peru; and Copenhagen, Denmark.

ACCIDENTS

In Paris, France, new cycle tracks are being built even though a 1990 survey found that bicycles represented only four percent of daily traffic. But they were involved in 30 percent of accidents, and the survey found that twice as many bicycle owners said they didn't cycle-

commute because there were no cycle tracks.

Currently, South Africa's only cycle tracks are in Alberton, Cape Town, Pretoria and Stellenbosch, and they serve students. Policies supporting safe cycling for everyone would surely encourage more cycle commuting. To discourage unnecessary driving, employers might offer employees pay raises instead of car allowances if they choose to cycle to work instead.

IMPORTANT EXPERIMENT

That's why the 6 October Bicycle to Work Day is such an important experiment. But to make it work, cyclists should ride safely. That means riding predictably, stopping at robots, signalling turns, and watching for cars in all directions. Wear a helmet and bright clothing that makes you more visible to motorists.

See that your bicycle is in good condition and suitable for commuting. A three-speed bicycle may be more practical for city traffic than a thin-tired racing bicycle.

If many people take part, perhaps Cycle to Work Day can be Cycle to Work everyday. ♦

Views from Eastern Cape



ANC supporters burning newspapers at a demonstration in Port Elizabeth. This form of protest added fuel to the fire of an already controversial campaign.

The majority have no media of their own – *ANC Eastern Cape Region*

In opting for a boycott, we wished to express our observations on the unbecoming attitude adopted by the *Eastern Province Herald* and *Evening Post* newspapers. This attitude had become intolerable. We believe that newspapers should, without bias, grant an automatic right of reply regarding information or opinion published about any person or institution.

Apartheid and the structure of ownership of the papers in this country, have meant that the majority of the people have no media of their own.

If the owners of the media do not allow the free flow of informa-

tion or inculcate a culture of open debate, but instead drive the communities apart through false reporting and misinformation, those who are targets of this misinformation and disinformation have to seek other ways of righting these wrongs.

VILIFICATION

The media has the right to criticise the ANC and its allies, but we cannot take vilification and the 'non-sense' stance adopted by the *Herald* and *Post* against our campaigns which did not suit them. Whereas the boycott has been resolved through meetings, it remained, however, our right to choose the form of struggle against

the attitude of Times Media Limited in the region. We chose the boycott.

MISINFORMATION

As we see it, the media in general and the print media in particular, should reflect the changing society by promoting the norms, values and morals that are embodied in the vision of a new South Africa.

Otherwise, the media can become the backbone of the old South Africa, particularly if it continues with the misinformation about the struggle, as was the case throughout the years. Their readers, especially the white readers, have a fundamental right to know what is really taking place. ♦

newspaper boycott

We want to serve our market –
Derek Smith, Editor-in-Chief, Times Media Ltd,
Eastern Cape Division

It is difficult to reply to issues raised with me by the Tripartite Alliance as, at the time of writing, I have had no specific examples to support the many accusations that have been levelled against me. In principle, however, I must express my extreme disappointment at the actions taken against the *Herald* and *Post* for two main reasons.

BURNING NEWSPAPERS

Firstly, boycotting and burning newspapers are not what I, or anyone else dedicated to freedom of expression, can accept as legitimate protest against editorial policies.

Secondly, there was no prior discussion with us, no indication from the alliance of any discontent with our views or coverage, before the action was summarily announced – and taken. We had an exchange of views with community organisations a year ago and an understanding of our respective problems was reached. If this had changed in the interim, we could have been only too happy to listen. We want to serve our market.

In a memorandum, handed to me at the end of July, it was demanded that the *Herald* and *Post* end biased reporting and continuous bashing of the ANC-led alliance. I gather this related to our editorials opposing mass action, but I have pointed out that we have also supported the ANC on many issues (closing hostels, UN monitoring, the 75 percent demand, speeding up the constitutional process, no white veto, security forces probes, etc). We have also criticised

the government on these and many other issues. Indeed, on the same day, I received a letter from a business company threatening an advertising boycott because the *Herald* was so pro-ANC. Oh, to be an editor.

Also demanded were balanced news coverage, action to redress imbalances in race and gender in employment and promotion of staff, more consumer participation in forming our policies and a programme to plough profits back into the community.

Our reply is that we have often been commended for the balance in our news reporting, but we are always available to discuss problems with anyone. If we are seen to be erring we want to know about it. Our equal opportunity staff policies have never been brought into question by the SA Union of Journalists, but we will act on specifics. And the deployment of any profit we may make is obviously a decision only the directors can take.

SUBMIT

A further demand is related more specifically to the *Post*. For many years it has brought out an "Extra" edition directed at the township market and giving prominence to township sport and community events. This has been labelled "racist" but, of course, this is not so. It merely serves a specific market need. We have realised for some time, however, that this edition will continue to be a source of friction as time goes on and we have decided to do away with the "Extra" and restructure our editions. That is a strong indication, I submit,

During the mass action campaign, the ANC Eastern Cape (EC) Region embarked on a boycott of two Eastern Cape newspapers, the *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post*. In this issue we publish two points of view on the boycott – that of the ANC EC Region and that of Derek Smith, the Editor-in-Chief of Times Media Limited, EC Division, the owner of both papers.

that we take criticism seriously.

Both the *Post* and the *Herald* have a long history as anti-apartheid campaigners. We have campaigned for the release of Mandela, the unbanning of political organisations and the freeing of the political environment, even during the darkest days of Nationalist government rule. Now, as we seek the same rights of free expression as we demanded then, we find ourselves subjected to mass action.

PERSUASION

It goes without saying that we cannot, and will not, compromise our right to speak freely. But we are also open to persuasion and suggestion. We offer the right to reply as a matter of course and our columns remain available to those who want to join the debate to find the best way to a better South Africa.

And our plea is a simple one – discuss first, act later. Our doors and ears are open. ♦

Ethnicity and European unity

"Ethnicity", long regarded as an African problem, is rearing its head in Europe just when the continent seems to be on the brink of new unity through the Maastricht Treaty. **Dr Dominique Darbon** of the Centre for African Studies in Bordeaux, France, outlines his views on these developments.

The collapse of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe, the ethnic outburst in Yugoslavia and the "separatist" trends working both in the ex-USSR and in Czechoslovakia have challenged European certainties about ethnicity.

Former authoritarian East European regimes dismissed ethnicity in the name of internationalism. Successes in building the EEC were seen as indicators that ethnicity and regionalism were nothing but old fears from a remote past.

Ethnicity was analysed as one of the plagues of underdeveloped countries and particularly of African countries. It had no apparent significance in contemporary Europe. It seemed as if the triumphant nation-state model, despite its very different setting in EEC countries, had become the only relevant form of identity.

Community conflicts (which were never officially referred to as "ethnic") were described as either right-wing or left-wing manipulations. They were often seen as outmoded romantic feelings which ran contrary to the historical evolution towards unification.

EEC-BUILDING

EEC-building has been largely technocratic and state-controlled. Ordinary Europeans have very little at stake in this process. It was supposed to lead slowly to an even greater integration and to the progressive transfer of loyalty from nation-states to a new European identity. However, the other identities – national, regional and ethnic – have neither been weakened nor destroyed.

The building of a European identity cannot be based on the destruction of other identities but on

their combination, the balance varying according to interests and issues at stake. EEC-building does not automatically mean the dying out of national and provincial identities within each nation-state or their turning into mere folklore. Quite the contrary. In a number of nation-states local languages have been making a fairly strong come-back, becoming alternative official regional languages as with Catalan and Basque in Spain.

Through its mere existence and the building of new transnational contacts and networks, the EEC integration leads to a redefinition of existing community identities.

Whilst formal formal West European borders are left untouched a number of geopolitical realignments are taking place. The free movement of people, ideas, and goods is giving rise to new polarisation, networks and solidarities, and even in some cases to new cultural feelings cutting straight across traditional national borders.

The new European identity is interpreted differently by the Europeans themselves. It is celebrated more by the youth, intellectuals and business who benefit from the integration in many ways while the lower middle classes fear it will cause unemployment.

DEALS

It has also given more space to small infra-national communities to assert themselves as viable cultural and political entities. Such entities and organisations which had previously been confined to their nation-state, can nowadays choose to make deals directly with the EEC structures and benefit directly from EEC funding.

Do these shared feelings of community exclude national and European feelings? This is not necessarily the case. A very complex identity, based on three main characteristics, is emerging, :

- A community feeling which is almost always manipulated by some political leaders;
- This feeling of community being linked to cultural criteria, not biological ones. This can be seen in the strategies of certain "ethnic" movements such as the Basques and Catalans. They recruit amongst children of new immigrants who have adopted the local language and culture. Identity becomes a cultural choice. This is different from Yugoslavia where kinship determines identity;
- identity is not exclusive. The strength of the Scottish or Welsh identities, for instance, lies in their capacity to associate a basic identity claim with others at national or European levels.

LOCAL LOYALTIES

The success of the EEC and its capacity to prevent feelings from turning into wild nationalism will depend on the willingness of European technocrats to accept the cultural diversity of the European provinces. Attempts by the EEC to apply political decisions without taking into account cultural and social backgrounds could not only lead to opposition to EEC-building but also to the hardening of local feelings and loyalties.

The negative answer returned in the Danish referendum, the growing opposition to the EEC by an important part of the French South-westerners and an increasing part of the rural Southern Europe are mainly due to decisions being taken by technocrats without consultation.

These decisions create a feeling of frustration, manipulated by some opportunist politicians to build populist political machines. Identity and ethnicity are feelings which, through historical and political manipulation, can take different political meanings. ♦



Photo Reuters

The horror of ethnic war in Europe: an old woman cries and a Bosnian defender hides in a balcony as they watch the first UN convoy of supplies roll into the besieged town of Gorazde, Bosnia-Herzegovina on 15 August

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Were South Africa's Olympic expectations realistic?

Clearly, there was support for the athletes who represented South Africa at the Olympics. However, there was a great hope that the athletes would scoop up heaps of medals. This manifested itself, at times, in the form of pressure on the athletes which might have affected their performance. Sam Ramsamy had to plead for pressure on Elana Meyer to be eased.

"The problem is that South Africans, particularly where international competitive games are involved, are bad losers. Once the performance on the part of a national team drops, there is a whole range of questions alluding to the capacity of that team to perform. That was the case with the Cricket World Cup. In the wake of the Olympics performance, what I have picked up in the media and even from ordinary conversation indicates the same attitude," says Steve Tshwete, a man who played an outstanding role in bringing South Africa back into international sport.

UNREALISTIC

There is no realistic appraisal of the capacity of our sportspeople to perform against people of other countries who have been exposed to international competition for a long time. The wish to underplay the effects of the boycott runs wild and results in player-bashing which, in turn, leads to low morale among the players. "Because of the euphoria that gripped the country at the prospect of taking part at the Olympics there were unrealistic expectations. In some circles this was caused by not really understanding the level of competition internationally," observes Aziz Pahad, ANC NEC member who went to Barcelona for the opening.

1992 has seen South Africa have its taste of international sports competitions for the first time in decades.

MAYIBUYE takes a look at the performance of the South African team at Barcelona.

Pahad and Tshwete say that they were satisfied with the performance of the team. There is obviously special praise for Elana Meyer and the team of Wayne Ferreira and Pietie Norval for winning the two silver medals.

"I think, personally, that they did well given the fact that they had been out in the cold for a long period," says Tshwete. "They lacked the sort of exposure that their counterparts had. Therefore, I never for a moment thought that they would, with the exception of Elana Meyer, be bringing home any gold medals. Nonetheless, it is important that they did go there and got the sort of experience they received. They know as a matter of fact that their isolation had an impact on their performance and one hopes that in the next games they will be better prepared."

With such hopes it will be interesting to see what the next four years will bring us in Atlanta. In the immediate future, there are the games that will be staged in Cuba in which some of the participants from the Olympics will take part. This is in addition to the European circuit



Photo: New Nation

Big welcome for Olympic athlete Bobang Phiri

games where some of the athletes are already participating.

SPECIAL PERMISSION

The reason the team scooped only two medals is not Sam Ramsamy's leadership as a certain newspaper wants us to believe. Ramsamy and his team of officials did a commendable job in managing the team and increasing the number of participants. The exclusion of Petranoff, the non-South African who got special permission to become a South African for breaking the sports boycott, was also important. The solution lies in tackling the problems that have kept



South African Olympic team arrives back home after the Games

the white team out of the Olympics for 32 years, and made 1992 the first real South African participation.

DEVELOPMENTAL

The fragile unity that exists today within the various sports codes must be consolidated. Sports must not be something that only the rich and the coerced can excel in as another editor puts it, but must be made accessible to all. While the composition of the team did not really reflect a "new South Africa", it was significant that 20 members of the team were there as part of the developmental project to prepare them for the future. If implemented, that project will present us with a different team at the next Olympics.

From many sources in the country there has been a call for more businesses to sponsor individuals or teams. The time to act is between now and Atlanta. ♦

Developing a democratic, non-racial rugby culture

South African rugby enthusiasts have enjoyed back-to-back tours by New Zealand and Australia. This reward for achieving unity in the sport undoubtedly is sweet for the players and spectators. But long after the rugby establishment has grown accustomed to the unfamiliar taste of international competition, black rugby players could still be left on the sidelines, waiting for the much-publicised development project to kick off.

SCEPTICAL

The South African Rugby Football Union (Sarfu) has resolved to use 30 percent of the income from the tours and allied sponsorship to fund development projects. But many black players are sceptical. Their main fear

Bill Jardine is the Project Officer of the National and Olympic Sports Congress of South Africa. He warns that unless the SA Rugby Football Union implements an affirmative action programme, rugby will continue to stand out as the last bastion of white privilege in sport.

is that, once the tours are completed, training and development will not be given the priority they deserve.

The black rugby playing community has great cause for concern. Although Sarfu, the united control-

ling body, is committed to implementing an effective development programme, its failure to do so resulted in the National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC) threatening to halt all international competition.

The fact that Sarfu is perceived as dragging its feet on development indicates the unwillingness of the essentially white establishment to build a democratic, non-racial rugby structure. Not long ago the "Springbok" rugby captain was chosen by the Broederbond.

Can we truly say that Sarfu is committed to affirmative action development programmes for the black community? Sarfu states in its development report:

"The focus must, firstly, be on underdeveloped areas (ie areas where rugby is being played, but the standard is poor), and only thereafter on the undeveloped areas (ie areas where no rugby is being played)."

The impact of this policy was clearly illustrated at a recent meeting between officials of the Bosmont-based Tirfu Rugby Club and a senior

rugby development director. The meeting became controversial when the rugby director appeared apprehensive about including Soweto in the talks. He indicated that his main interest was in the Tirfu "feeder" schools, which he preferred to limit to Bosmont (an underdeveloped area) and surrounding areas. When it was pointed out to him that Tirfu included members from Soweto (an undeveloped area), he remained apprehensive. This attitude, which undoubtedly derives from Sarfu development principles, is not just unfair but potentially divisive.

UNDEVELOPED AREAS

People from Soweto and black people around the country are thus told to stand last in line when it comes to correcting the systematic underdevelopment of blacks by the apart-

heid regime. Under apartheid, white schools and neighbourhoods boasted the best rugby facilities in the country. The talent of young white rugby players was developed through events like the Craven Week where white schools competed for a national trophy. With no facilities, coaches, or development programmes, black rugby talent remains untapped. With most black areas falling into the Sarfu category of "undeveloped areas", very little will change while this policy remains in place.

Sarfu justifies its unwillingness to concentrate on grassroots rugby development by stating that it expects "a small return on investment" if it follows this path. This attitude clearly illustrates its serious lack of commitment to an affirmative action training and development programme for blacks. The position betrays a deeply held view that investment in black rugby is not worthwhile. Neither is investment in a new South Africa.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

It is not enough to hand out rugby balls and jerseys and call it development. Unless Sarfu implements an affirmative action programme with full community participation and control, rugby will continue to stand out as the last bastion of white privilege in sport. Only such a programme will guarantee a non-racial democratic culture. Until this is achieved, unity in rugby and the accompanying tours will have very little meaning for black people. ♦



Wallabies versus Northern Transvaal at Loftus Versfeld

South African rugby: true to form

It would have been preferable, in reviewing the All Blacks and Wallabies tours, to deal with the teams' performance: the flair and experience of the visitors and the South Africans' flicker of good technique.

But, alas, South African rugby has been true to form. The controversy around the flag and the anthem has clouded everything else.

Sarfu officially supported peace and democracy, and agreed not to use apartheid symbols. This was violated by Louis Luyt of the Transvaal Union. The Conservative Party and its allies had also mobilised for a "spontaneous show of patriotism".

After consulting with sports bodies, the ANC decided that the Australian test would go ahead. However, future tours

would be reviewed. It was necessary, the ANC said, not to allow the racist bigots to use these events to mobilise against peace and democracy.

The NP gloats that the rugby fans' racist behaviour constitutes "mass action". This is a meek attempt by a discredited government to surreptitiously challenge the real power in the land: the ANC and other peace-loving forces. ♦

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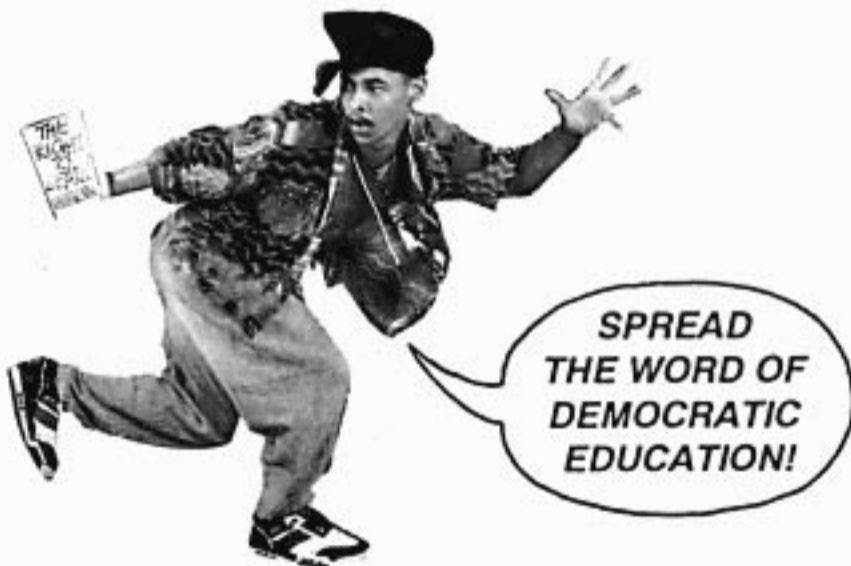
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Launching Umkhonto: an unglamorous contribution?

Of all the people on the scene at the time, I think I can lay claim to having made the least dramatic contribution towards the launching of MK.

I was an advocate in Cape Town, and one day a comrade whom I had frequently defended appeared at my "chambers", closed the door behind him, and bent down as if to tie his shoelaces. Dipping his fingers in his sock, he pulled out a tightly folded piece of paper and said: "Can you keep this for a little while, someone will call for it?"

I was back at my desk some while later, working through some law reports, the slip of paper securely tucked in my sock, when another comrade appeared. This time I bent down as if to tie my laces, pulled at the piece of paper and handed it to him. He, of course, bent down as if to tie his laces ... and the piece of paper was on its way out into the corridor, down the lift and into the street.

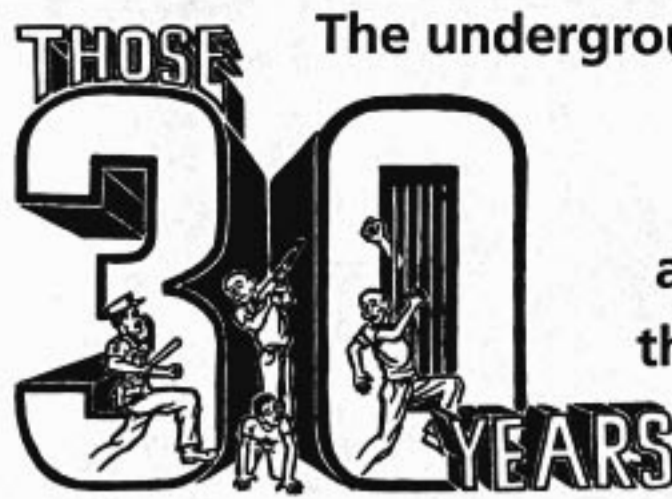
Only afterwards did I learn, or rather, guess from something which someone had let slip, that the piece of paper had contained the MK oath, and that I had done my bit towards the launching of the armed struggle.

I was in my mid-twenties then, part of a generation that had grown up politically in the golden decade of the fifties. We had taken part as youth in the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People and the national work stoppage after Sharpeville.

Often, during those years, we had asked older comrades to explain to us "from a theoretical point of view" how it was possible to believe in a non-violent end to apartheid, let alone to capitalism in South Africa (we were all socialists, and came to nationalism through socialism, just as a different generation today is coming to socialism through nationalism).

Our older comrades resolutely defended the possibility of peaceful change if the people, especially the workers, were sufficiently mobilised, and if the world took a strong enough stand, then it was possible to destroy apartheid and build a new society peacefully.

The fact is that, when the ANC was legal and could lead mass campaigns without serious repression, when papers like the *Guardian* could openly



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

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

express the people's wishes, the masses were not in a mood or were they physically prepared for armed confrontation with the regime. It was the State of Emergency and the banning of the ANC in 1960 that convinced us all, not theoretically, but in practice, that new forms of struggle had to be found. The question then became: when armed struggle started, where would it be, who would take part, what form would it take?

I was doing a lot of public work, in the courts, writing and addressing meetings. Denis Goldberg seemed to be around less and less, other people one knew seemed to disappear. No one asked any questions. It was better not to know.

One day Denis rolled up at my place and asked if, seeing that I was a keen mountaineer, I could take a crowd of young people for a very vigorous hike on Table Mountain one Sunday. I agreed, and we met near the Kirstenbosch Gardens, and I really took them up hill and down dale, till they were gasping and exhausted, though none of them complained openly, since they were not going to let a white man (me) do better than them.

Later Denis asked if I could give a class to a group of campers on a political education holiday at a place called Mamre, not very far from Cape Town. I agreed, and a few weeks afterwards I was sitting in a tent, baking hot, talking about the history of South Africa from a people's point of view.

However, in any event, the class was interrupted: the police had arrived, and in large numbers. The place was surrounded. We were taken off to the nearest police station and processed one by one. There was no hard evidence against anyone and we were told to be ready to face charges on some technical violation or other. Those were the days when the police needed evidence! ♦

Albie Sachs

Yuppies of yesteryear

Yuppie flu might be a relatively recent phenomenon, or recently noticed, anyway, but yuppies are not. Indeed from the dawn of history there have been those who choose to live glamorously by plagiarising the fruits of the hard sweat of others as their own innovation, while concealing whatever cans of worms might arise therefrom in a great cloud of obfuscatory new-speak, learned at various short courses. *Managerial initiative*, it's called. It's certainly not new or restricted to any particular country by any means.

In the year 845 AD, Brother Fernando Dos Santos Consalves Gomez was to be found at the Monastery for Motherless Morons in OPort, Portugal. Fernando, formerly a physicist at *St Mary's Academy for Revelation and Truth* in Lisbon, had taken to the monastic order after the Roman Catholic Church had suppressed his innovative ideas of ICBMs and satellites as heretical and threatened to burn him alive if he did not recant his unpopular works that were based on the assumption of a round earth. Fernando acceded to this request, and found employment as a gardener at the monastery in Oport; an inherently soothing and placid occupation in which he could subconsciously mull over second derivatives of orbital movements while tending to the relatively simple requirements of a patch of benign vegetables. Then, as today, the standard tendency of management is to equate the mental capabilities of cabbage tenders with the cabbages themselves. Thus nobody interfered with Fernando, nor bothered to question him on more than the most elementary matters – a situation which suited Fernando down to the ground, if the expression be pardoned.

But one sunny morning in June 846 AD when Fernando was toiling the soil in the monastery garden and toiling his brain through Fourier Transforms whilst ostensibly reading a prayer book, he was buttonholed by the manager of the monastery, one Abbot Anri Asinine (pronounced Onree Ass-i-nee-nee).

"Brother Fernando," said Abbot Anri Asinine, [monks insist on referring to each other as "brother" despite their occupation being largely inherited from other monks to whom celibacy was a great cherishment] washing his baby pink hands against each other obsequiously, his head cocked slightly to one side and his best smile invoked, "could you spare a few moments of your spiritually valuable time to have a little chat, please? There are a few things I'd like to share with you."

"I'm busy at prayer, Abbot. Can't it wait?"

"I, too, am a busy man, my son," the Abbot admonished, inadvertently placing his boot firmly on a fresh young lettuce. "I have to attend a meeting of the Association of Abbots at 10h45 local time. Then I have to go to the village to buy another fryer. I'm rather pressed you see ..."

"Like the grapes in a good wine," muttered Brother Fernando.

"What's that, Brother?"

"Nothing, Abbot – I was talking to God."

The face of the Abbot became suffused with radiant joy. His blubbery rolls of dappled fat quivered discreetly with delight beneath his Manager Monk Frock (MMF).

"Ah, yes indeed my son. The Good Lord is our mission in life. Why, I said so myself at the last team-building seminar when we worked on our *Mission Statement*." He turned around, relieving the poor lettuce and squatting a succulent gem squash in its place.

Brother Fernando carefully shut his prayer book, using an old spinach leaf as a bookmark. He rose to accompany the Abbot.

"Let us walk while we talk," said Anri Asinine.

"Let us indeed. Let us not, however, trespass further amongst the Lord's vegetables, Abbot. Let us walk over there in the Lord's Open Meadow."

"Ah yes, the LOM. So tell me, Brother Fernando, are you making progress with the LW?"

"Indeed, Abbot, the Lord's Work is progressing well. I am also rapt in prayer every day for six hours and feel that the Lord and I do okay together."

"It is most splendid to see a member of my little team *interfacing* with the Lord so harmoniously. This is good. But Brother Fernando – I felt it my duty to speak to you in connection with your mode of dress. I notice you never wear a tie."

"You notice correctly, Abbot," stated Fernando.

"May I enquire why not? A man of your standing in the community – after all you are a Monk Level 5D, which entitles you to a soup spoon all of your own at dinner – you should be setting an example to your team in your manner of dress."

"What team, Abbot?"

"Your team of Gardeners for the Lord, of course."

"I have no team, Abbot. As I recall, last year you *rationalised* the monastery and did away with almost anyone capable of useful work. I am The Gardener. There shalt be no other gardeners before me and ..."

"Yes, yes. Brother Fernando. I know all that. I would like to see you wear a tie, though."

"On the Iberian Peninsula, where day temperatures peak at 36 degrees Celsius?"

"The Lord expects us to suffer these minor discomforts, Fernando," the Abbot replied testily.

"How do you know? Have you asked him?"

"Yes."

"What did he say?"

"I'm still awaiting the Lord's reply on that one. I expect he is *addressing the matter*. He said he'd get back to me."

"Everyone always says that, Abbot Anri," Fernando said cynically.

"True, but I expect honour from the Lord, Fernando. I know he'll get back to me."

"Yeah, yeah, sure, sure. Nevertheless, Abbot," stated Brother Francisco Dos Santos Consalves Gomez, stopping to lovingly fondle the frond of a nearby palm, "The Lord told me that He is delighted in my work in the garden. He goes on to say that he will show his appreciation by bringing in a bumper harvest this year. I have no reason to disbelieve Him, since my garlic plants are already the size of pumpkins. Are you happy with my work in the garden, Abbot?"

"Yes, uh, but that's not the point ... "

"Well then!" Fernando exclaimed. He performed a little jump of glee. "You are happy, the Lord is happy, and thus I am happy. Praise the Lord!"

"Yes, but ... "

"Praise the Lord, Abbot!" Fernando commanded sternly.

"Yes, yes. Praise to the Lord. All the other monks wear ties; I can't see ... "

"Praise the Lord *properly*, Abbot; a minute's silence if you please ... "

Both men cast their eyes downwards and became silent. Abbot Asinine counted the seconds. Fernando mentally performed a 1024 point Fast Fourier Transform. After what seemed to be a minute by his count, Asinine said: "All the other monks wear ties ... "

"The other monks are useless mumbling sciolists, Abbot. All they do is mope around the monastery buildings crossing themselves and getting more obtuse by the day. Let me be frank, Abbot. If you want to hire a fashion model, go ahead. He probably couldn't even put a good prayer together, let alone tend the Lord's Vegetables. The vegetables would die, and I dare say the Lord would inflict punishment for this negligent behaviour. Chances are he'd let the weeds grow so prolifically and to such heights that they'd block all the light from the windows of the new chrome and stained uranium glass *Meditation Hall* you had built for yourself by those Libyan slaves. Weeds with stems as thick as a man. Nobody'd be able to cut them down in a month of Sundays. Would you like a fresh carrot, Abbot? They're quite delicious before the *Monastery Meals Manager* gets hold of them for the daily gruel."

"Uh, no thank you, my son. How do you know the Lord feels this way? Did he reveal His plans?"



Graphic: Justin Wells

"Yo," admitted Brother Fernando, chomping on a juicy carrot, "He did indeed."

"Did he give any indication on this occasion of my impending Bishophood, my son?"

"I don't remember, Abbot. He mentioned Robin Hood, as I recall. Said he was a jerk – shouldn't steal from the rich and give to the poor; should rather keep the spoils for himself. The Lord expressed considerable misgivings over human intellect in this regard. Said he thought he'd wasted his time with upright bipeds. I don't recall Him mentioning a Bishop Hood, though. I think if I went back to the vegetables and was able to commune with the Lord's Plants, alone and in peace, and totally undisturbed by meetings, forms, salesmen, managers and timesheets for a month or so, it might come back to me."

"All haste then, my good son. Go and speak with the Lord. Keep up the good work!"

"Right on babe."

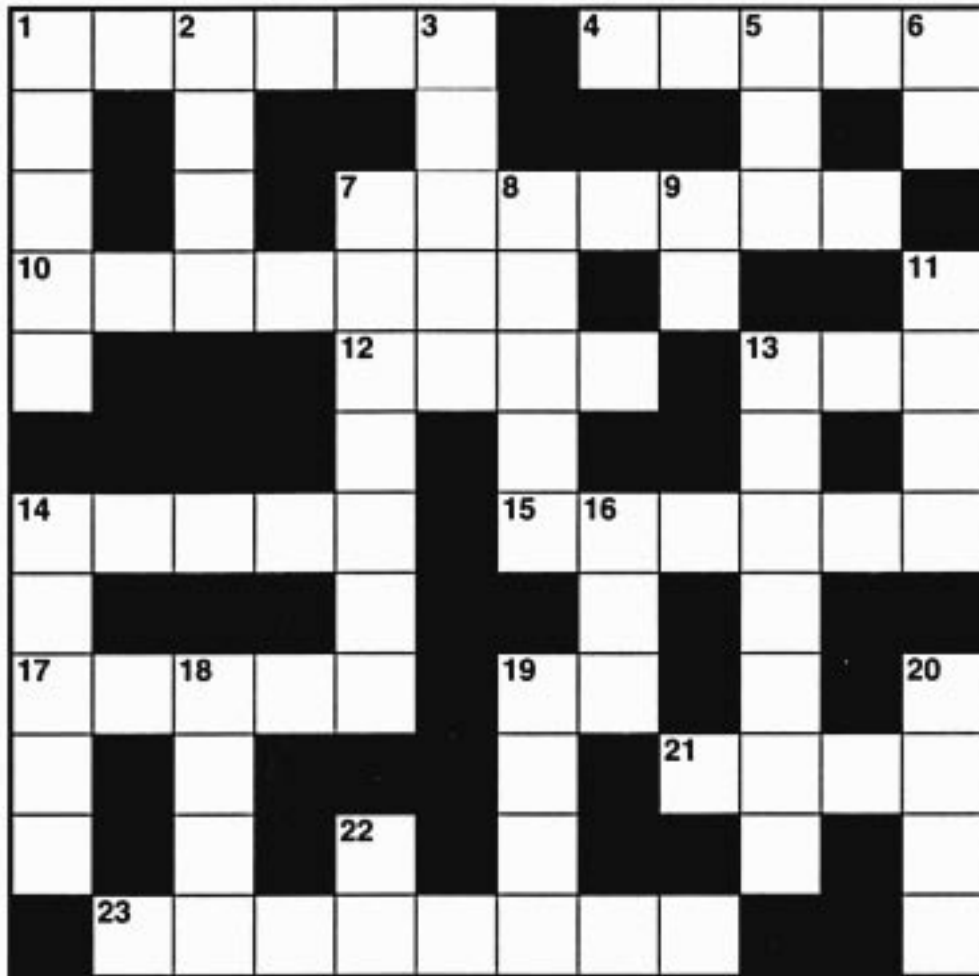
"What?"

"Nothing. I said nothing."

"Perhaps it was the Lord?"

"Perhaps, Abbot. Perhaps." ♦

MAYIBUYE XWORD No 13



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WIN R100 AND
A MAYIBUYE
T-SHIRT

TEST YOUR
KNOWLEDGE
ABOUT THE ANC

Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 11



ACROSS

1. Locked in a long-drawn dispute with the TPA.
4. Its members were recently on strike against the SABC.
7. Preceded Oliver Tambo as president of the ANC.
10. Of Great Britain.
12. Security given for released prisoner's appearance for trial.
13. Institute legal proceedings against someone.
14. Won a silver medal in Barcelona.
15. Heads the Institute for Multi-party Democracy.
17. At Ellis Park some of its fans would rather sing "Die stem" than observe a minute of silence for victims of violence.
19. Master of ceremonies.
21. Cabinet minister admitting to have chaired a State Security Council meeting discussing Goniwe's future.
23. Pathologist who recently exposed deaths in police custody.

DOWN

1. Sister Bernard ... is a member of the ANC's NEC.
2. Led the Alliance's march on Bisho during the week of mass action.
3. Founded by the state and Inkatha to divide the workers.
5. The ANC demands votes for ...
6. Used widely in train massacres.
7. Freedom.
8. Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are usually referred to as the ... World.
9. Has resolved to send observers to monitor the situation in South Africa.
11. First president of Angola.
13. Former Chairperson of the Border ANC.
14. Mecca of the ZCC.
16. Human Rights Commission.
18. Pair of posts between which ball is to be driven in soccer.
19. To cripple.
20. Of similar character.
22. Personal computer.

WINNER!

The winner of
MAYIBUYE Xword No 11
is **M Ephraim Nkadimeng**
PO Box 1244
Jane Furse
1085
CONGRATULATIONS!

RULES

1. The first correct entry drawn wins.
2. Only originals and hand-drawn facsimiles will be considered.
3. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
4. **MAYIBUYE**, DIP and DPE staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
5. Send answers to: **MAYIBUYE XWORD No 13**, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
6. Closing date: 15 October 1992.
7. See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, November 1992.

THE RIGHT TO LEARN

New Expanded Edition



Book Review

The Right to Learn by Pam Christie

New Expanded Edition, Sached/Ravan, 1991

The *Right to Learn* was first published in 1985. The 1991 second edition is an update to take account of important changes since. For example, the ANC and PAC have been unbanned, a negotiated settlement is on the cards and political organisations are developing policies for a democratic South Africa. But the education crisis is continuing.

The Right to Learn is a contribution to debates about education in South Africa. The first edition was reprinted five times which is testimony to its popular appeal. The new edition retains many of the strengths and weaknesses of the first edition.

The book is a comprehensive, thought-provoking and innovative account of the history behind the education crisis and the major issues surrounding it. Its central theme – that what happens in education is a reflection of what happens in the wider society – is a clear challenge to many comfortable assumptions about education being a sort of neutral “open sesame” for all hard-working children.

RESISTANCE IN EDUCATION

It is a great pity that the new edition’s timing precluded a section on the Education Renewal Strategy Document and Curriculum Model put forward by the state in 1991. The political context of present policy-making is not mapped out sufficiently. The new chapter on People’s Education does not spell out the way in which this concept could be concretised in future policy.

The discussion on “Resistance in Education” should not have been separated out as a chapter on its own. This

results in a less clear picture of the interrelationship between policy and resistance and of how state policy has become increasingly reactive to pressure from below.

As the book is designed to be accessible to people outside universities and colleges, it has used a variety of creative techniques to present a lively, interesting and readable text. Most of the more specialist language of academic texts has been simplified, without losing too much of the complexity of the arguments. The format used is an ongoing dialogue between two people who debate the issues and invite the reader to interact and draw conclusions. A wide variety of quotations is used – from documents, newspapers, pamphlets and interviews. This gives the text a fresh and direct quality.

However, the convention in the book of characterising perspectives on each issue as “conservative”, “moderate” or “radical” is not helpful. The labels lead to caricature of many positions. By making the “radical” critique the only one of any real substance, the book makes a mockery of its invitation to the reader to “make up your own mind”. It also encourages the reader to label and dismiss particular intellectual positions before considering what they have to offer.

It would be interesting to know whether most of the book’s readers are in universities and colleges. For those people whose only information about the education crisis comes from the occasional Agenda programme or the doom-and-gloom statistics in the daily newspapers, this book remains an accessible and challenging alternative. ♦

–SK



MAYIBUYE Editor, Joel Netshitenzhe (left) hands over to Michael Molefe, the winner of Airscape Competition No 1, the prize of a trip for two to Durban!

WIN A TRIP FOR TWO TO PORT ELIZABETH!

Fly to PE and stay two nights (bed and breakfast) at a hotel

QUESTIONS

- When was **MAYIBUYE** first published in South Africa?
a. 1912 b. 1976 c. 1990
- Where is **MAYIBUYE** published?
a. Cape Town b. Durban
c. Johannesburg
- Where do you buy your monthly copy of **MAYIBUYE**?
a. CNA b. Street corner news stands
c. Cafe d. House to house sellers
e. Place of employment f. Subscription
- Name three articles which appeared in the issue of **MAYIBUYE** in which you found this competition.

RULES

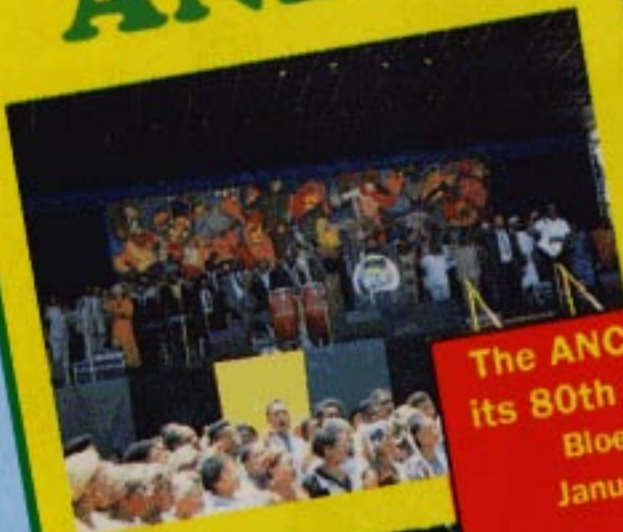
No 2

- Only one entry per person.
- Send your entry to **MAYIBUYE Airscape Competition No 2**, PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
 - Print your full name, address, phone number (if any) and answers on a separate sheet of paper.
 - Cut out from the cover the triangle containing the words "Win a trip to PE" and send it with your entry.
- Closing date 15 September 1992
- The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- Employees of the ANC and their immediate families may not enter.
- Winner to be announced in the October issue of **MAYIBUYE**.

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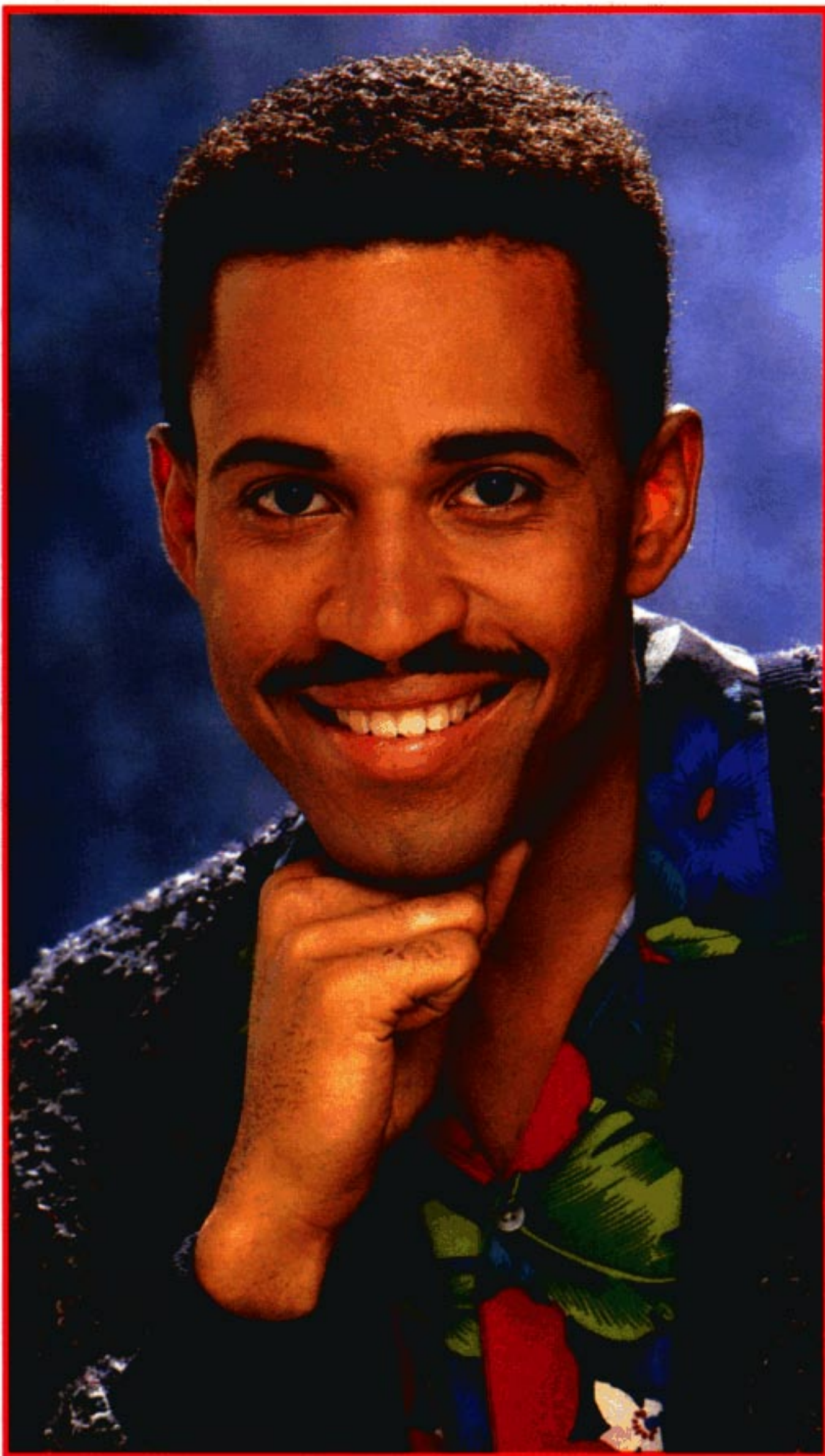
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