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# Mayibuyeye

Vol. 2, no. 10

November 1991

**Journal of the African National Congress**

## The New Voortrekkers

**Afrikaners in the struggle for democracy**



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SA's entry into  
international sport**

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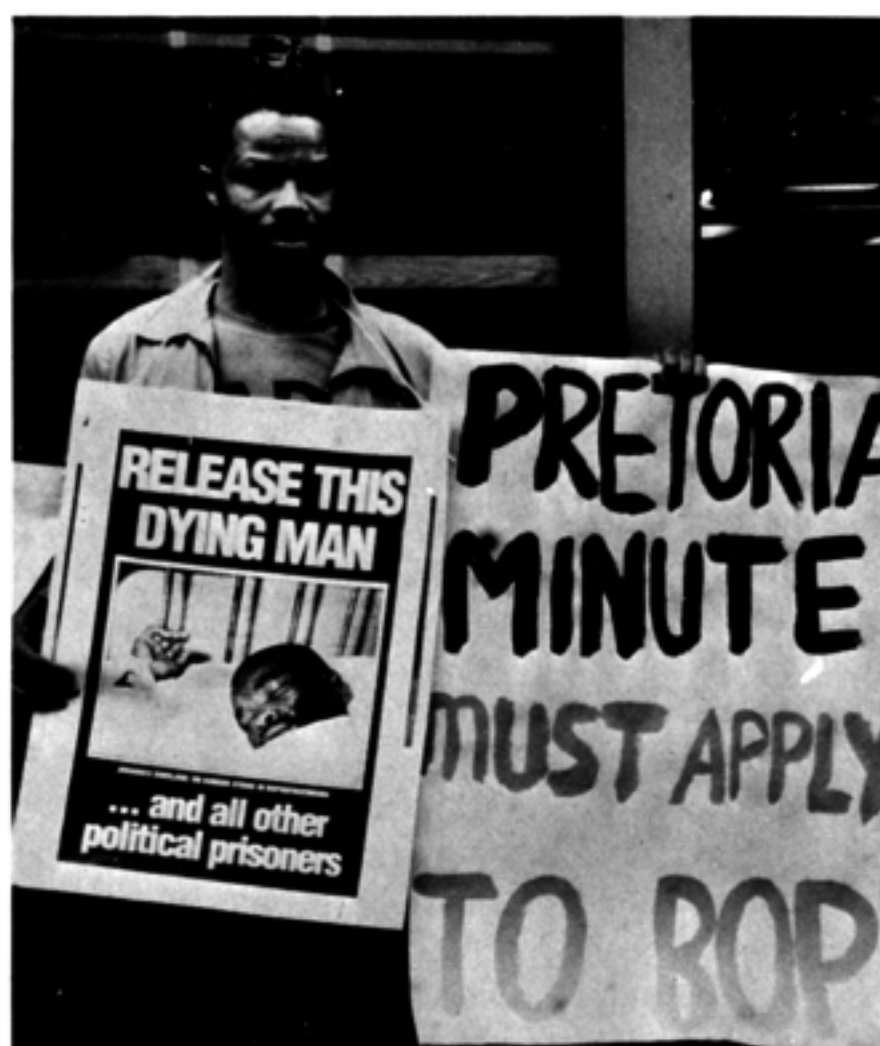
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**SOVIET COUP**

Dear comrades

I feel that we have understood only the impact of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and not its true meaning or theoretical premises, which is essential.

It is true that glasnost was intended to create openness. However, at the same time as these reforms were embarked upon, there exists evidence that workers were told to work harder. Any attempt to increase production necessarily means limiting the extent of workers' power. We need only look at the demands made by striking miners against bureaucratic control to understand this process of limitation.

For democracy to be achieved in the Soviet Union nothing less than the total neutralisation and eventual abolition of the bureaucracy had to be achieved. Gorbachev attempted to achieve this through the neutralisation of the Council of Ministers and the elevation of the Soviets.

What he failed to realise is that the Soviets had in themselves become appendages of the bureaucracy. Herein, I think, lies the reasons for the coup and its failure. On the one hand we had the bureaucrats in the KGB who sought to regain privileges acquired under the yoke of Stalinism; on the other Gorbachev and his desperate attempts to rework the bureaucracy to facilitate a programme of economic growth.

Finally, I find it hard to understand how Cde Lightboy (*MAYIBUYE* Sept 1991) can argue that it was the Yanayev group that discredited Socialism. I thought we were agreed that it was Stalinism that discredited Socialism, and that this discrediting happened via a process of erosion of workers rights.

*Cde D, Cape Town*

**Ed: This is an issue which will need to be debated for much longer. However, allow us to**



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

**clarify Cde Lightboy's remarks: In so far as the Yanayev group wished to halt the process began by Gorbachev they could be seen as discrediting socialism - for they carried out their actions in the name of the preservation of socialism.**

**WORLD BANK AND SIMILAR BODIES**

Dear comrades

There is a spate of international bodies of all kinds visiting the country. All wish to make contact with the movement and to engage with us. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are among the most powerful international agencies and cannot be ignored, even if we have large reservations about their international role. There is a new process of concentration at the centre of the world economy. The international negotiations on trade and tariffs, the pressures on Eastern Europe, and on the Third World indicate that the centre of the world economy is becoming more powerful and self-serving. Furthermore although the centre - personified by the activities of the G7 countries - acts as a collective, they refuse to negotiate with collectives from the rest of the world. They only deal on a country by country basis. Each negotiation is confidential on the pain of a denial of funds.

SA may well become a beneficiary from loans from these bodies, and perhaps even some grants. We should insist on total

openness of all negotiations and the full elaboration of all conditions present and future. Furthermore, if these bodies want to work in a particular sector, such as housing, they should join us at a round table discussion with other interested parties, and experts nominated by us, in what must be a public discussion for the good of the country. Finally we should seek to involve experts from other African countries who have dealt with these bodies and who have had experience of programmes in the conditions of Africa.

*BT, Johannesburg*

**HARRY GWALA**

Dear Sir

I would like to make the following points in response to Mr Gwala's piece in the October 1991 issue of *MAYIBUYE*.

1. As a true-blue Marxist, Mr Gwala likes to explain everything he can't find a term for as a "contradiction". The only contradiction is an appalling unwillingness to learn a lesson from history.

2. All the "working class struggles" and "wars of liberation" provided were decades of misery and oppression. The aid provided to the "struggling masses" was in the form of vast quantities of military hardware which left the Soviet Union bankrupt.

3. In bemoaning "imperialism" Mr Gwala seems to display deliberate ignorance of the USSR's occupation of Afghanistan and the so-called fledgling democracies of Eastern Europe.

4. Mr Gwala also seems to forget that it was the Allied forces (including black and white South African volunteers) that liberated Ethiopia. The same allies which declared war on Hitler whilst the USSR basked in the comfort of the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

*HL, Johannesburg*

**Ed: We have referred your letter to Harry Gwala for comment.** ♦

In the last issue of *MAYIBUYE*, we carried an interview with the Commissioner of Police precisely because, as most South Africans well appreciate, the Peace Accord will not work unless the police comply with its provisions.

Hardly had the ink on the Accord dried when the most blatant disregard for its letter and spirit manifested itself.

At the Thokoza funeral of civic leader, Sam Ntuli, many were killed in the presence of a huge police and army contingent. Everyone wondered how this could happen: until eye-witnesses swore that a Casspir and at least one unmarked police car were involved in the shootings.

Admitting that the car identified by one survivor belonged to the police, a spokesman explained that it did not have number plates because it was new. The affidavit about the role of the police was, according to another spokesman, "pure propaganda and not true". This was before any investigation had been undertaken. And in some twisted logic, the

spokesman warned that newspaper revelations had rendered further investigation useless and undermined all evidence!

Then there was the murder in Soweto of ANC member Vuyani Mabaxa.

Again policemen involved are identified. Again an unmarked police Casspir is witnessed on the scene. Again

The trend is obvious. Systematic action by professional groups is the new name of the game.

The targets are the masses in general and key middle-ranking cadres, influential in their communities and some of them central to local peace efforts.

But, as the recent capture of one of the killers by the people and investigative work by some newspapers have shown, the assassins' work can be made more difficult. In time murder will out.

Besieged communities await the intervention of the National Peace Committee with bated breath.

The decision of the committee to start practical work in the conflict-ridden localities is as timely

as it is correct. Failure to bring any tangible results in these areas can only undermine the public confidence that the accord needs in order to succeed.

These developments confirm once more that it is necessary to move with deliberate speed to an Interim Government of national unity. ♦

# Murder will out

flat denials from the men in blue.

The Casspir did not have number plates because they fell while clearing a barricade the previous day, a police spokesman explains!

Examples of this nature abound: in the Western Cape, Eastern Transvaal, Natal and elsewhere.

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## Towards the All-Party Congress

Representatives of the government/National Party and the ANC met on October 17 1991 and held exploratory discussions on organising a Multi-Party/All-Party Conference. Discussions were not completed and further meetings will be held. (See page 6)

## OR Tambo honoured

ANC National Chairperson OR Tambo was installed as chancellor of Fort Hare University on 19 October 1991. Tambo, who was expelled from the university in 1942 for his political activities, was also awarded an honorary doctorate by the university.

"It is indeed a positive sign of the times that today I return to Fort Hare to serve", he said in his first speech as chancellor.

## ANC dismisses SAP charges

The ANC dismissed with contempt the inflammatory charges made by the SAP that The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe were responsible for 44 violations of the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and DF Malan Minutes. It found

it surprising that the government did not employ the clear procedures set out in the Pretoria and DF Malan Minutes for liaising about any possible infractions.

The ANC views this recent outburst as an attempt to divert public attention from the grave shortcomings of the SAP itself, which is still at a loss to explain its evident incapacity to apprehend and prosecute those responsible for some of the most gruesome murders committed in South Africa this century.

## Contralesa opposes Tribal and Community Authorities Bill

On October 12 and 13 the Transvaal region of Contralesa and the Community Law Centre of the Institute for Public Interest Law and Research held a workshop in Pretoria on the institution of hereditary rule in a future South Africa.

The conference called on the De Klerk government to withdraw the Tribal and Community Authorities Bill (1991) which seeks to undermine hereditary rule.

The Bill directly affects chiefs, their tribesmen and land. It en-

trenches all the negative elements of the 1927 Natives Administration Act as amended by successive white minority governments. It provides for the appointment and deposition of chiefs by a minister of state after consultation with (and not concurrence) with the tribe if, in his opinion, "necessity or good government so demands."

The minister is empowered to:

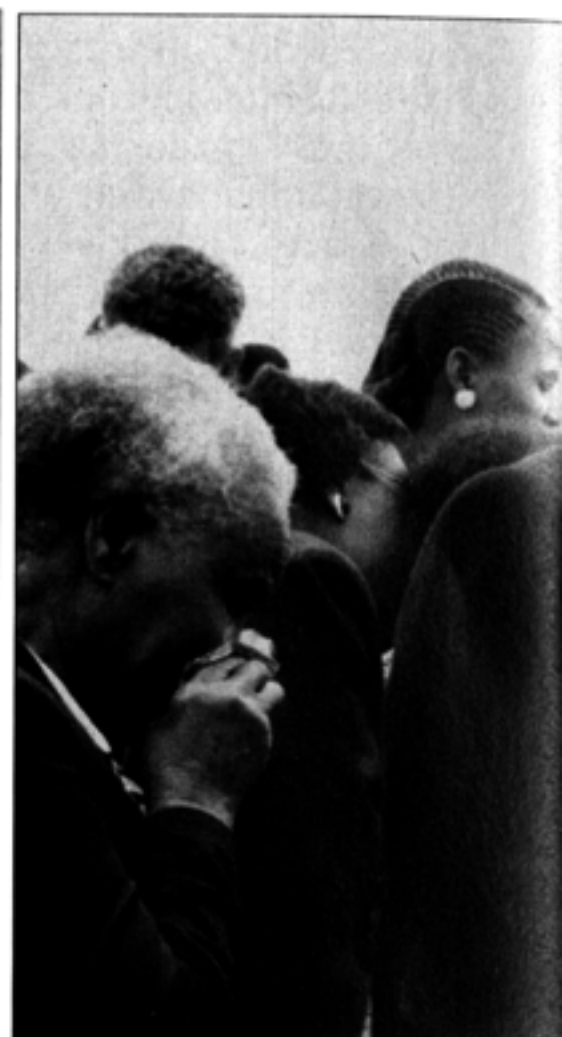
- divide any tribe into two or more tribes
- determine the boundaries of the area of any tribe, or
- alter the boundaries of any such tribe.

Like its forerunner, the Bill offends against tradition and customary practice. Contralesa has submitted a working paper on this and other issues to the Secretary to Parliament in Cape Town pending a meeting with government officials some time in October.

## Now not time to reduce pressure

A group of prominent Americans representing the labour, religious, business, sports, culture and other communities arrived in South Africa on October 20 on a fact-finding mission.

The group, members of the "Democracy Now" coalition in the United States, have over the years been actively in-

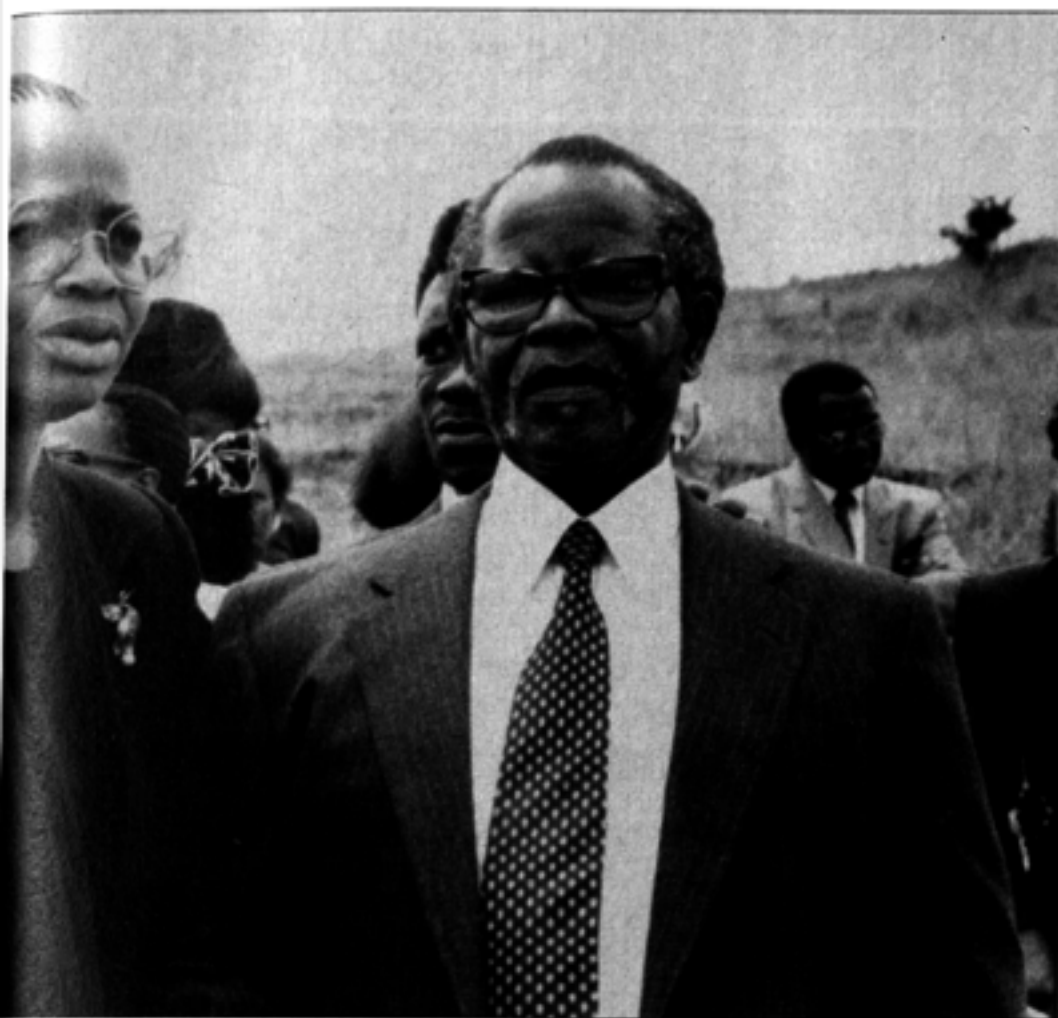


involved in the anti-apartheid movement.

Among the group are prominent persons like musician Quincy Jones, former Wimbledon tennis champion Arthur Ashe, TransAfrica Executive Director Randal Robinson, Congressperson Maxine Waters, United Food and Commercial Workers International's Willie Baker, boxing promoter Butch Lewis and Bishop John Adams of the AME Church.

The "Democracy Now" group are guests of the ANC and will be meeting with various sectors of the political, sporting, cultural, religious and business communities.

ANC President Nelson Mandela said the delegation arrives at a critical time and it can be expected that the trip will open windows onto the reality of life under apartheid and the need for an active global commitment to monitor and



**Graca Machel, widow of President Machel, with ANC Chairperson Oliver Tambo at the annual commemoration of the death of President Samora Machel at Mbuzini, near Komatipoort. President Machel died tragically when his plane mysteriously crashed near Mbuzini on October 19, 1986.**

objectively assess developments as they unfold.

He expressed hope that the tour will contribute toward convincing prominent opinion makers in the USA that now is no time to reduce the pressure until the situation has reached a profound point of irreversibility.

### Soap opera in Koster

If events in Koster, a small town in the Western Transvaal, with a population of about 5 000, were not tragic, we would have them as farcical. A cosy relationship between the black mayoress and the white

magistrate, the discovery of a cache of arms at the mayoress' home, a graveside fight between the mayoress and a fellow councillor - these are elements for a successful soap opera.

Tensions existed between the community council and the community with the latter having launched a rent boycott.

Under the instructions of the white town clerk electricity and water has been cut off.

On 26 September about four busloads of mourners arrived for the funeral of an Inkatha member. The ANC branch alerted the police about the possibilities of violence breaking out. The next morning mour-

ners were stopped on their way to the funeral until 4pm. Ostensibly they had been searched for weapons.

After the funeral mourners went on a rampage using a variety of weapons. Ten people were injured. Shots were fired at residents from the home of the mayoress.

When police searched the mayoress' home they found three AK47s, a rocket launcher and 30 rounds of ammunition. The mayoress was arrested and later released on R2 000 bail.

Sixteen residents, including a 16 year old youth, have been arrested for public violence and murder after an attack on a councillor's home. All except the 16 year old have been released on bail.

The deputy station commander, who is the wife of the town clerk and a member of the AWB, personally intervened to have him kept in custody.

### Economy

In the past couple of weeks just about every word the ANC uttered on the economy made into the headlines.

First there was a reference, among many others, which was made at the ANC conference on affirmative action that a wealth tax be imposed with assets over a certain minimum. While the ANC was at pains to explain that this was

just an idea floated by a participant, there was a surprising number of writers who came out in support of the idea. The wealth tax was used in post-war Germany for reconstruction purposes.

Secondly there was the "surprise" appearance of Trevor Manuel and Tito Mboweni of the ANC's Economic Policy Department at the IMF/World Bank meeting in Thailand.

Both were at pains to assure potential investors that the ANC was not uncritically wedded to the idea of nationalisation.

Such a move would have to be considered after careful evaluation of each sector of the economy.

Then there was the confusion around the IDT. A statement purportedly released from the ANC's London office described the Independent Development Trust's attempt at raising Eurobonds as sanctions-breaking. The statement was sent to JP Morgan, the IDT's foreign underwriter.

A subsequent joint statement released by Walter Sisulu, on behalf of the ANC and the IDT said that a "misunderstanding had arisen" and that both parties are convinced that this "will be resolved through discussions that will take place when the delegation returns to South Africa."

The IDT was to continue with its presentations in Frankfurt and Zurich. ♦



**Picket outside Bop consulate**

**A**ll-Party Congress, Multi-Party Conference, Pre-Constituent Assembly Conference... Call it what you may; but virtually all organisations within the broad political spectrum agree on the need for some forum to work out modalities for the transition.

In mid-October, the ANC and the NP resumed preparatory talks for the APC. These talks were called off after the April ANC Open Letter to the government demanding decisive action to end the violence.

Their resumption comes in the wake of the ANC's decision to move speedily to an Interim Government of National Unity. The trail of facts about state involvement in the violence and government delays in implementing agreements, the ANC argues, show that the De Klerk government is the major obstacle to negotiations. It must give way to an Interim Government.

This means that the All-Party Congress must be convened as soon as possible. Unlike before,

the APC does not have to wait for the clearing of all the other obstacles: the two processes must proceed at the same time.

The preparatory meetings with the NP form part of a series of consultations by the ANC with other prospective participants. In the build-up to the Patriotic Front Conference, the ANC thrashed out some consensus with at least the PAC on the major questions pertaining to the transition (See Box).

#### **FIRST SITTING**

In the leadership of both the ANC and the NP, there is optimism that at least the first sitting of the APC could take place before the end of the year, possibly towards the end of November.

There is agreement that its agenda should include the following:

- where is the process leading to - broad principles for a future constitution;
- who is to draft the new constitution;

**The ANC and the National Party have just resumed consultations on the All-Party Congress (APC). There is optimism that at least the first sitting of the APC will take place before the end of the year.**

- who is to supervise the transition;
- how long should the transition take; and
- role of the international community.

There are certainly a variety of view-points on the substance of each question. The APC is there precisely to negotiate these issues.

But the motivation for an APC goes beyond merely the agenda items. In principle, it is necessary to seek the broadest possible consensus within society around the transitional process and the broad outcome of negotiations.

This will help ensure that the overwhelming majority of political forces pay allegiance to the process. By helping to shape it, they will carry their constituencies along. An idea that has not carried the day or has been modified in democratic discussion is less likely to become the platform of revolt against the process.

The APC should therefore be as inclusive as possible. All bona fide political parties and organisations should take part. If any organisations stay out and strive to sabotage negotiations, the



# All-Party Congress: Around the corner?



**Groote Schuur: Where it all started - will it be more than just Minutes this time?**

choice will be theirs. It will mean a conscious policy on their part to confront not one but all the participants.

To get around the problem of parties which exist only on paper, it will be necessary to bring together the more obvious participants for the first sitting of the APC. These organisations could then set up the necessary body to vet any applications.

What then would be the strength of representation at the APC?

The answer to this question lies in the principle itself. If the aim is to achieve consensus, the APC will have to move from the premise of equality among those taking part. Besides, to start a process of weighing the strength of each organisation would create complications that cannot be easily resolved under present political conditions. Forced recruitment by some in political office and the variety of criteria in determining membership are some of the myr-

riad of problems that would arise.

Given the differences among the parties on virtually all the issues on the agenda, it will certainly be difficult to reach consensus.

How then is deadlock to be resolved?

## **GIVE-AND-TAKE**

Firstly, the participants will need to exercise as much initiative as possible, in a spirit of give-and-take. This has to be done in constant consultation with their constituencies. Otherwise the leadership could find itself moving too far ahead or too far behind the wishes and aspirations of their supporters.

Secondly, there are those positions which various organisations view as a matter of principle. For instance, most anti-apartheid forces would not accept anything less than a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic state. Could deadlock on such issues be

## **Who will take part?**

\* **Among the more obvious:** ANC, PAC, SACP, NP, DP and other tri-cameral parties, IFP and other homeland parties...

\* **Will they take part:** AZAPO, WOSA, NUM (New Unity Movement), Conservative Party, HNP, AWB....

\* **"Independent homelands"** The TBVC states have got a vested interest in the process. A formula should be found to accommodate them.

\* **Sectoral organisations:** Trade unions, civics, religious and others have a central role to play in the transition. Yet they do not vie for political office. Their members do not necessarily share the same political outlook. The question of their participation in the APC will have to be resolved taking these factors into account. ♦



**Anti - VAT march in Johannesburg**

taken back to the people, for instance, in a non-racial referendum?

Thirdly, in the most extreme of cases, if one party chose to differ with the rest would the APC deadlock? If not, what would constitute "sufficient consensus" before any decision is taken?

Account here has to be taken of political realities: the number of participants who agree and the implications of going ahead without a given organisation.

For instance, if the NP or the ANC were to insist on a given position, and agreement is not reached, this would imply going back to the drawing board for all the participants.

However, it will be the responsibility of the various participants to try and harmonise their positions outside APC sessions. Some blocs will emerge from such a process; and this will facilitate rather than hinder the process. In part, the Broad Patriotic Front serves this purpose.

What will be the place and

role of present government institutions in relation to the APC? Decisions of the APC will have to be binding on the current legislature and executive if the APC is to be more than a talking shop. At the same time, the NP should not be allowed to continue using government resources to work out its negotiations positions.

### **UNITED NATIONS**

Further, the agreements reached should be reinforced with the necessary international backing at the level of the United Nations and other international bodies.

But before casting their eyes abroad, there are the more immediate hurdles that the organisations have to resolve: who convenes the APC; who chairs at least the first session; and who foots the bill!

If not handled with sensitivity, these questions might prove as elusive as the more substantive ones. ◆

## **How will the APC convene and operate?**

### **NEUTRAL CONVENOR:**

\* Who is "neutral"? The ANC has put forward the option of religious and business leaders such as in the peace initiative, to convene but not take part in the sessions. There are some who argue that FW de Klerk is neutral as state president. The other option could be to bring together the more obvious prospective participants and form a preparatory committee.

### **VENUE AND INFRASTRUCTURE:**

\* A neutral venue, that is, one not associated with any of the participants; and administrative staff provided by the participants. Most organisations canvassed do not agree with the proposal that these should be provided by the government.

\* The funds will have to be raised from sources including the government. But, like with infrastructure, they should be under the strict control of the APC itself.

### **APC SESSIONS:**

\* The first sitting of the APC will have to agree on agenda and rules, consider any applications from other organisations, administration and so on. In pre-APC consultations it will be necessary to agree on its first chairperson.

\* The major items on the agenda might be better tackled in commissions given that plenary of + 200 people will be too large for this purpose. ◆

# Where does the ANC stand?

**Transitional Authority:** Interim Government of national unity

**Constitution-making:** Elected Constituent Assembly

**International community:** At least, monitoring and supervision

**Time frame:** Not more than six months for APC and 18 months for Interim Government.

**Constitutional Principles:** (Refer OAU Harare Declaration)

- South Africa shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state;
- All its citizens shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex, or creed;
- All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal suffrage, exercised through one-person, one-vote, under a common voters' roll;
- All people have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism;
- All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights;
- South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality before the law;
- South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;
- There shall be created an economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;
- A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples. ◆

## Broad Patriotic Front and All-Party Congress

**A**s *MAYIBUYE* went to press final preparations were being made for the Patriotic Front Conference, scheduled for 25-27 October in Durban. About 85 political, civic, professional, religious, sports, business and other bodies have been invited.

Azapo – which had been drawn into the convening com-

mittee made up of the ANC and the PAC – withdrew from the committee after it refused to retract its unilateral letter challenging the participation of organisations in government structures.

The Patriotic Front Conference is one of the major milestones in South Africa's history. Various political forces, from the



liberation movement to homeland and tri-cameral parties aim to harmonise their views on the transition and the broad principles to underpin a future constitution. The participants who in principle support a Constituent Assembly will also address such questions as violence and an internal and international programme of action.

In consultation with at least the PAC, Democratic Party and Azapo, the ANC has identified many areas of agreement regarding the All-Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly Conference and Interim Government/ Transitional Authority. It is hoped that as the process unfolds, the various organisations will reach consensus on other issues.

### CO-OPERATION

Co-operation among the constituent organisations will be based on:

- joint actions around issues agree upon;
- sovereignty and independence of the organisations;
- co-operation among those forces within the front who agree on issues other than front policy; and
- co-operation with forces outside the front on programmes that advance the transition.

By uniting anti-apartheid forces on a common platform, the patriotic front conference will facilitate the whole process of transition. It will certainly weaken those forces which want to maintain the status quo. ◆

# Countdown to general strike

## 4-5 November



**Cosatu recently withdrew from the National Manpower Commission (NMC). MAYIBUYE spoke to Sam Shilowa, the recently elected Assistant General-Secretary of Cosatu, about this decision and the anti-VAT campaign.**

**MAYIBUYE: What are the reasons for Cosatu's withdrawal from the NMC?**

**SAM SHILOWA:** The first reason is that in terms of the Laboria Minute (the 1990 agreement be-

tween labour, business and government) there was agreement that the NMC would be restructured. Unfortunately, what has happened is that the Minister has delayed and prolonged the life of the NMC as it is presently struc-

tured. Since our participation was a conditional one, we decided to withdraw because we felt that he wanted us to just continue participating without restructuring the body to make it more effective.

**MAYIBUYE: Won't the government simply continue with the NMC, taking decisions without you, which would affect the workers that you represent?**

**SS:** For a number of years, they went about without our participation. Then the realities about the force that we represent compelled them to agree to our participation. The issue around the Labour Relations Act, the negotiations around that Act, proved beyond any doubt that they cannot pass any labour legislation without our involvement. A law passed in such a way would not succeed.

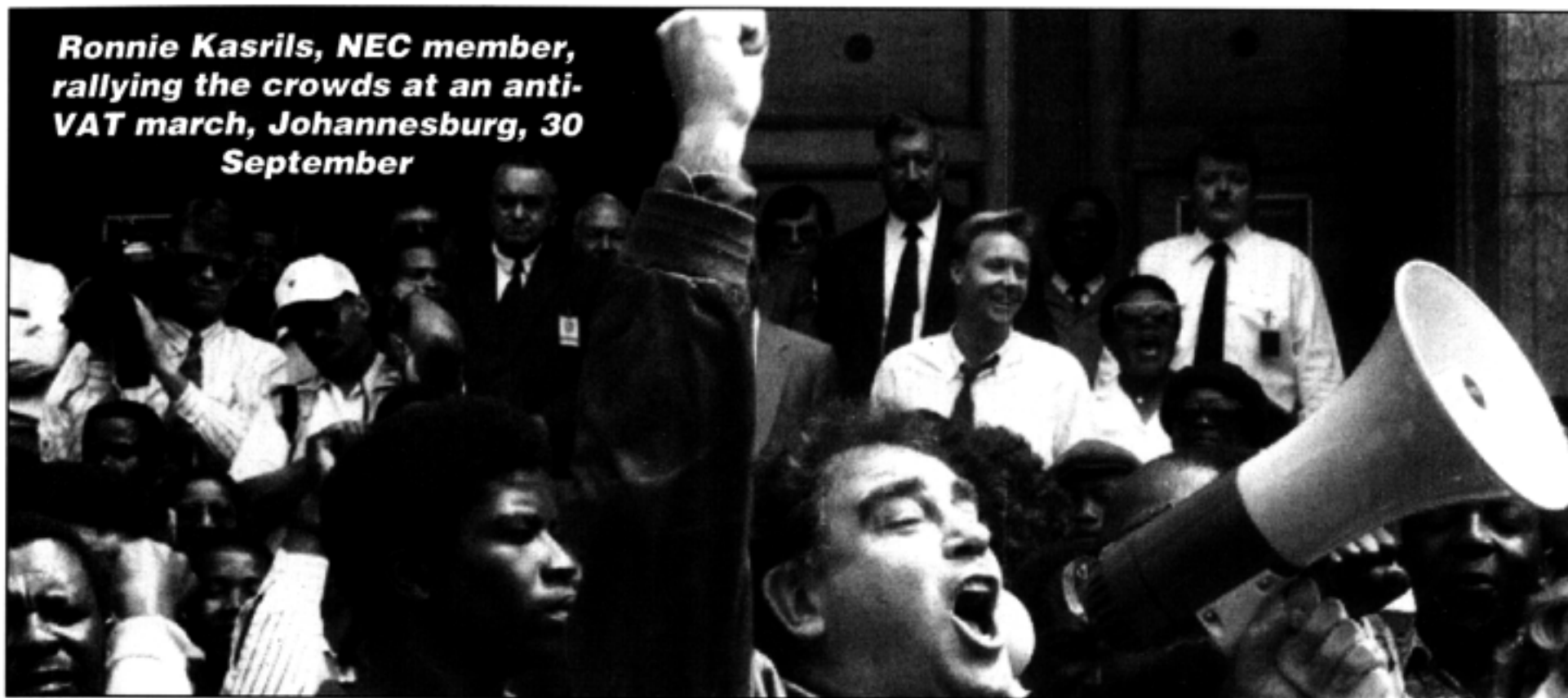
We therefore do not think that the NMC will go very far without our involvement. In fact, we are leaving the government with a very clear statement of principle – that we do not enter into agreements for the sake of entering into those agreements, but we do so because we think that everyone must fulfill their side of the undertaking.

**MAYIBUYE: Is there any connection between the withdrawal and the anti-VAT campaign?**

**SS:** When we finally withdrew from the NMC, it was at about the time that we received a letter from the Minister that he was not prepared to continue discussions that we had started on the restructuring of the economy. VAT is about the restructuring of the economy. Therefore the two issues are intimately linked.

When the letter came, feelings were already running high against VAT and, naturally, that letter fuelled them. On the one hand we had them saying that they do not want to enter into discussions about the restructuring

**Ronnie Kasrils, NEC member, rallying the crowds at an anti-VAT march, Johannesburg, 30 September**



of the economy while on the other they were restructuring it through the implementation of VAT. When you look at our demands you will see that they centre around VAT. Of course, De Klerk says that we want to bring in the Interim Government through the back door. We say that that is not the case.

We simply want to be consulted when such deep-going decisions are being made about our lives. We are also saying that discussions on the restructuring of the economy must be conducted in one forum where employers, labour, the state and any political parties that want to make a contribution will be represented.

**MAYIBUYE: What are the planned campaigns against VAT?**

**SS:** The general strike is the major one. But in terms of mobilisation, we have already had a number of marches. There is a rally planned for 27 October at Athlone Stadium in Cape Town. A number of regions are presently discussing how to conduct marches during the day of the general strike.

To us this will be the first instalment. We are planning sustained mass action. After the two days, we are going to review the response of the government and plan how to continue until such

time that they meet our demands. It is interesting to note that many of our members are angry with the Central Executive for having decided on two days because they think that we should have gone for a week or more. What we felt was that we do not want our action to be a once-off thing. It must be sustained and draw even more people as it goes along.

**MAYIBUYE: The general strike will take place during examination time. In what way will this affect the strike?**

**SS:** We would have liked everybody, including the students, to participate in the general strike. But the reality is that a suggestion to postpone the examinations would be incorrect. It would divide the community. We would not wish to play into the hands of our enemy by asking for a postponement of the exams for the students to participate in the strike.

**MAYIBUYE: There are those people who say that students, in general, should not be involved in issues such as strikes, stayaways and so on. What is your opinion?**

**SS:** Such people are missing the point and are politically naive. The very same students they would not want to participate are

now paying VAT on a number of issues. They are dependent on income from people who are workers and this means that as the standard of living goes down, and in some cases below the poverty datum line, it affects them directly. So the anti-VAT campaign is something that they themselves have an interest in.

We have agreed, together with education and student organisations, that we must create the best conditions for them to write their exams and we are certain that they will be involved in other aspects of the campaign against VAT later.

**MAYIBUYE: What are the minimum demands you expect the government to meet?**

**SS:** Our conditions are as follows: We want the government to agree

- to zero-rate all basic foodstuffs, medicines and medical services;
- to enter into meaningful negotiations around the question of the poverty relief programmes;
- to enter into negotiations with the small business movement;
- and, obviously, enter into negotiations with us on economic restructuring

If they give in on these, we are prepared to reconsider our position. If they do not, we shall carry on with mass action. ♦

# Trekking into the ANC

**Besides the Afrikaners who have worked in ANC underground structures, many have joined the ANC since its unbanning. A MAYIBUYE correspondent spoke to some of the "New Voortrekkers"...**

**W**hile township streets were filled with spontaneous rejoicing and dancing at the unbanning of the ANC most people in the white community, especially Afrikaners, seemed stunned and uncertain about how to handle the new situation.

In a few Afrikaner homes however there was joy, especially after the release of Mandela. Some of these Afrikaners had for many years already taken an open stand against apartheid. A few even went as far as joining the banned African National Congress and often suffered the wrath of the Afrikaner communi-



**At the launch of the Pretoria Central branch of the ANC**

ties and the state.

The majority of Afrikaners who shared in the joy of the townships were actually people who had not actively participated in the ANC-led struggle against apartheid.

In the privacy of their homes and among a few like-minded friends they agonised about the terrible repression during the last years of PW Botha's rule.

## **ORDINARY PEOPLE**

These are very ordinary people from all walks of life. Some are academics, others housewives or students. A few are working class people who, instead of staying in the conservative white trade unions, joined the progressive trade unions of Cosatu.

It is unlikely that most of them would have had the courage to join the ANC while it was still banned, but quite soon after February 1990 the slow trickle of Afrikaners into the ANC started.

A few ANC branches like Pretoria Central and Stellenbosch now have a majority of Afrikaner members. For many of them it is the first time in years, and in the case of some students, the first time in their adult lives, that they have found a political home.

Recent polls measured white support for the ANC at under one percent! The ANC has begun a concerted campaign to reach out to the Afrikaner community and is trying to address their fears. In recent weeks Nelson Mandela made a special effort to assure Afrikaners that their language

## No publicity, please!

**M**ost of the "new Voortrekkers" in the ANC that we talked to feel at home, but they are still reluctant to go public about their membership. They joined after long difficult struggles with themselves and their families. They have paid a heavy price in lost friends and families.

Though the ANC is unbanned, their lives resemble the experiences of Afrikaners such as Bram Fischer, Carl Niehaus, Hein Grosskopf, Jansie Lourens and Damian de Lange who worked in the underground structures of the ANC/MK.

The possibility of being ostracised or even physically assaulted is very real. Two young Afrikaner miners in a conservative Free State town were prepared to talk to us about why they joined the National Union of Mine-workers and are now close to joining the ANC. But they didn't want any photos to be taken or their names published. A young Afrikaans student at Rand Afrikaans University asked only to be mentioned by her first name. Her mother lives in a conservative East Rand town and she does not want to create problems for her. Her mother is a member of the Gereformeerde Church – the same church that De Klerk belongs to. ♦

and culture will be safe in a democratic South Africa. In interviewing the "new Voortrekkers" we asked them whether the ANC had succeeded in conveying this message. We also wanted to know why most whites – especially Afrikaners – are not interested in joining the ANC.

The problems of being an Afrikaner in the ANC become very real when Willem Saayman, who openly acknowledges his membership, relates how a number of shots were fired at his house.

"It is as an Afrikaner that I've got the convictions that I stand for today", he emphasises. Willem Saayman lives in Pretoria and is a professor of theology at the University of South Africa. He joined the ANC shortly after it was unbanned.

He cites discussions with young Zambians he had met as a missionary in their country and atrocities committed by the SADF in northern Namibia as key influences in changing his political convictions. On his return to South Africa from northern

Namibia he immediately involved himself in the United Democratic Front. One of the most important influences on Willem's life was the brutal repression during the States of Emergency. The funerals of 1985 and 1986 touched him deeply.

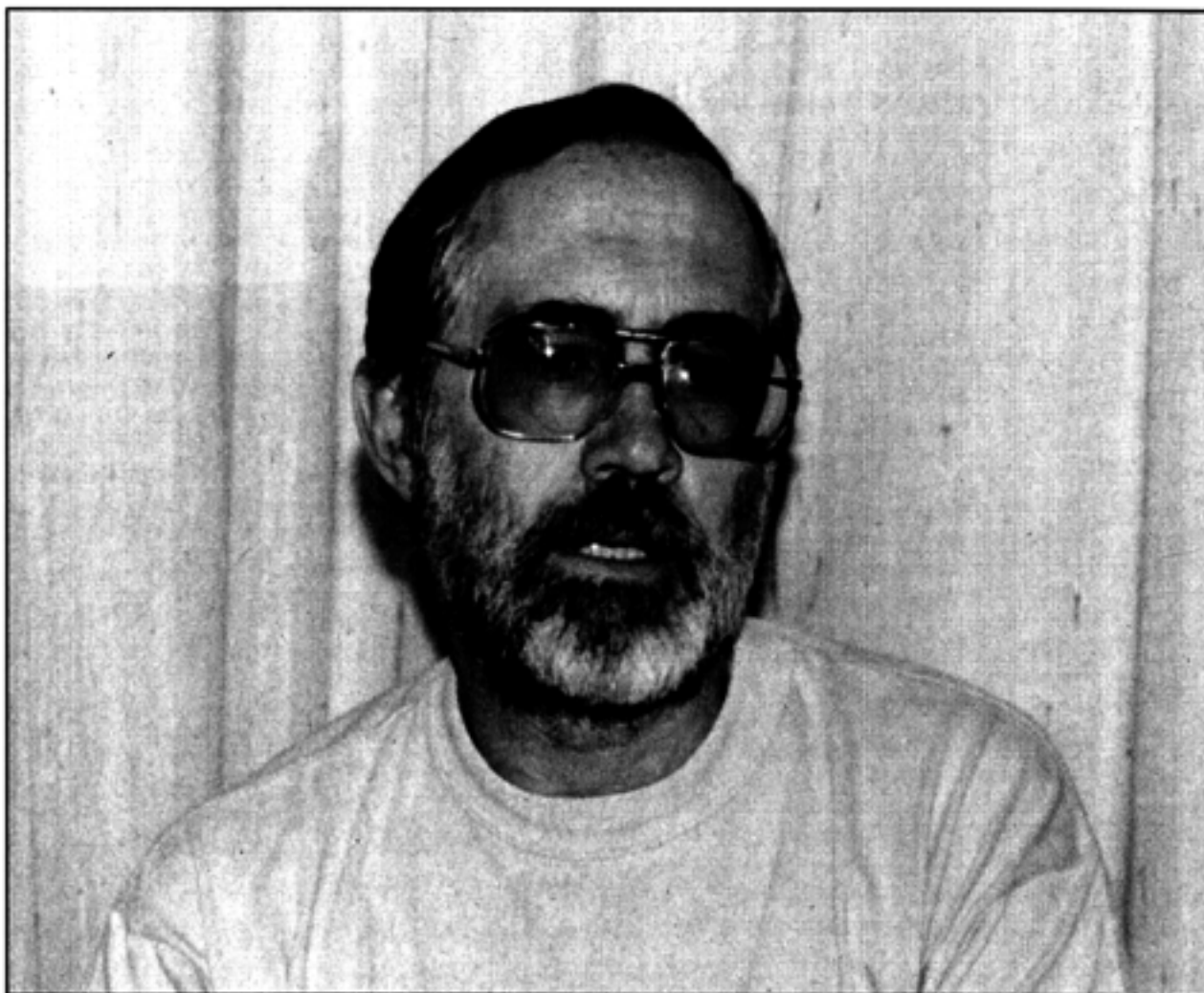
"One cannot say that as a theologian you can be politically 'objective' especially in a situation where the struggle is literally about life and death. You have to ask yourself which of the political ideologies and parties come closest to the ideals of freedom and human dignity that I believe the Christian faith demands of us.

"For me the policies and practices of the ANC come closest to how I understand all of us should live together in this country."

Willem tells how he went with much fear to the funerals of police victims not knowing how people would react under those circumstances to a white person – especially an Afrikaner. He found the welcome unbelievable, and the humanity and warmth that he received there continue to be an absolute miracle for him.

He found this in the ANC as well: "I felt totally welcome in the ANC, and also that my identity as an Afrikaner is safe there."

Willem emphasises that although he has come a long way, it does not mean that he did not experience a conversion. He is very



**Professor Willem Saayman: "It is as an Afrikaner that I've got the convictions I stand for today".**

distrustful of people like the State President who says that there is no need for conversion in the lives of the Afrikaners, and tries to deny the responsibility for apartheid. He finds it very dishonest.

"No Afrikaner can say that. As Afrikaners we must come to a conversion before we will finally get rid of apartheid and that is why I am scared that apartheid is not yet dead." He has a lot of understanding for many well-meaning

Afrikaners who genuinely want to see a democratic society, but still stay in the National Party. "Many of them think that the presence of a few black children in what previously were white schools, the unbanning of the ANC and that one can now buy *MAYIBUYE* at the local corner cafe are very dramatic changes.

"The root of this thinking is that apartheid hasn't failed; it has succeeded. Apartheid has created two absolutely separated worlds: a

black world and a white world. The result is that white people have absolutely no idea what the situation is like in the black community – many white people have never been in a township in their lives.

He feels that it is important to find a way to convey to whites the realities of what black people experience: that for the vast majority in the ghettos, nothing has changed. Despite these problems Willem insists that Afrikaners can

**R**ev Beyers Naude says he lacked knowledge about the ANC for many years.

When he did get to know the ANC, a fundamental change took place in his views. Starting off as a Christian he has searched in any political party for a future political, economic and educational system that meets the Biblical demands of justice, truth and love that he looks for.

Comparing the policy statements of all the different South African political parties he believes that the ANC is closest to meeting the Christian demands for a proper democratic system.

"Although I am not formally a member of the ANC, I am convinced that if the ANC fulfills its tasks correctly it will make an extremely important, if not determining contribution to building a non-racial and democratic political system.

It will also develop an economic vision for our whole country

## Views from Oom Bey



through which we can bring about a new approach to the problems of affluence and poverty.

Oom Bey, as he is popularly known among democratic activists, has suffered all kinds of hardships under the apartheid jackboot.

Banned for many years, excommunicated from the NGK ministry and physically threatened, he has been one of the leading lights in the democratic struggle.

Why is he not a member of the ANC? He explains that he is not in principle against becoming a member of the ANC.

But he has decided not to join because of his ecumenical and church work; that it will not be wise to play at the same time a formal political role.

Concerning the ANC reaching out to Afrikaners, Beyers feels that the ANC must be clear about how important it

believes the political contribution of the Afrikaner will be in a future South Africa.

The ANC will make a serious mistake if it underestimates the future political importance and contribution of the Afrikaner.

"The Afrikaner is in essence a political creature; Afrikaners live and think to a great extent around their political concepts", he explains.

The whole history of the National Party and all the other Afrikaner political parties is evidence of this reality.

"It is very important for the ANC to make a serious effort to get the support of a growing number of Afrikaners for the sake of creating a non-racial society.

"Until now the ANC hasn't yet done enough in this regard. A programme of action should be started to determine where, how and with whom intensive discussion should be held to improve the image of the ANC among Afrikaners and, where wrong perceptions do exist, to remove them."



change: "I am an Afrikaner and I have changed. One of the reasons why I have changed is because I started to find out what the experiences of black people are in South Africa."

He acknowledges that apartheid has destroyed the humanity of many white people, and there are whites you will not "turn into people again". This was the only time in the interview Willem despaired. "I don't know what can be done to change them. It is unlikely that the ANC will be able to "convert" many right-wingers. But what about the growing number of Afrikaners who no longer feel at home in the National Party, but are also hesitant to join the ANC? Why are they so reluctant, and what can the ANC do to reach out to them?"

### LIBERAL APPROACH

Willem feels that many of these people still tend to think that the liberal approach of evolutionary development can save our country, "but what we desperately need is liberation". Thus one must join a liberation movement. That is why he joined the ANC.

But he feels that there are a number of reasons why other Afrikaners who basically share his views have not yet joined the ANC. One of these is the alliance with the SACP.

"We have to remember that for 40 years the white community has been indoctrinated that communism is anti-christ. The relationship must be explained."

Another concern is that the ANC has not constituted itself into a political party. Many Afrikaners see this as a back door that the ANC is keeping open to return to the armed struggle.

A third concern is the issue of the land. As far as possible we must explain that we not planning to simply nationalise farm land that is being utilised productively. ♦

## "Alternative" Afrikaans Music

**F**or years popular Afrikaans music tended to be rather bland, consisting mainly of French and German love songs translated into Afrikaans.

During the mid-1980s, young Afrikaans musicians started to make new sounds. Rock music and songs with a critical anti-apartheid message were heard in the Afrikaans music world. Musicians such as Johannes Kerkorrel, Joos Tonteldoos and Koos challenged the establishment. They are angry young people – deeply disillusioned with their religious and educational upbringing.

Their lifestyle and their sometimes cynical songs testify to an alienation from traditional Afrikanerdom. They give expression to the experiences of a growing number of young Afrikaners. The strength of this trend became clear when the Houtstok (Woodstock) rock festival was held just outside Pretoria, on "Republiekdag" last year. Twenty thousand people, mainly young Afrikaners, came

to dance to the music.

They sang with Anton Goosen in Afrikaans "We are the kaffirs of Africa ... Break apartheid down, break all of it down ... You who distinguish between the colour of people's skins, go to your separate heaven or hell..."

The Afrikaner establishment was outraged. But they had to face the fact that the traditional Republic Day festival held at the Voortrekker Monument attracted less than half that crowd.

The so-called alternative Afrikaans music expresses the anger and confusion many young Afrikaners experience.

Long before these feelings crystallise into a coherent political position, the music provides them with a deeply needed opportunity to feel an emotional solidarity with the struggle for liberation.

At Houtstok they sang with Theunis Engelbrecht "Kwela vir Mandela" – a song he wrote after having watched Mandela's release from prison.

*Hoeveel harte is vermink  
deur die witskrif van apartheid  
watter mense is bestand  
teen die felheid van soveel wreedheid  
mag die wereld sonder bloed wees  
mag ons vir mekaar reën wees  
om die droogtes tussen mense  
in 'n somer te omskep*

*How many hearts have been mutilated  
by the white paper of apartheid  
what humanity can survive  
against the intensity of so much cruelty  
may the world be without blood  
may we be rain to each other  
the droughts between people  
to be transformed into a summer*

Theunis Engelbrecht "KWELA VIR MANDELA"

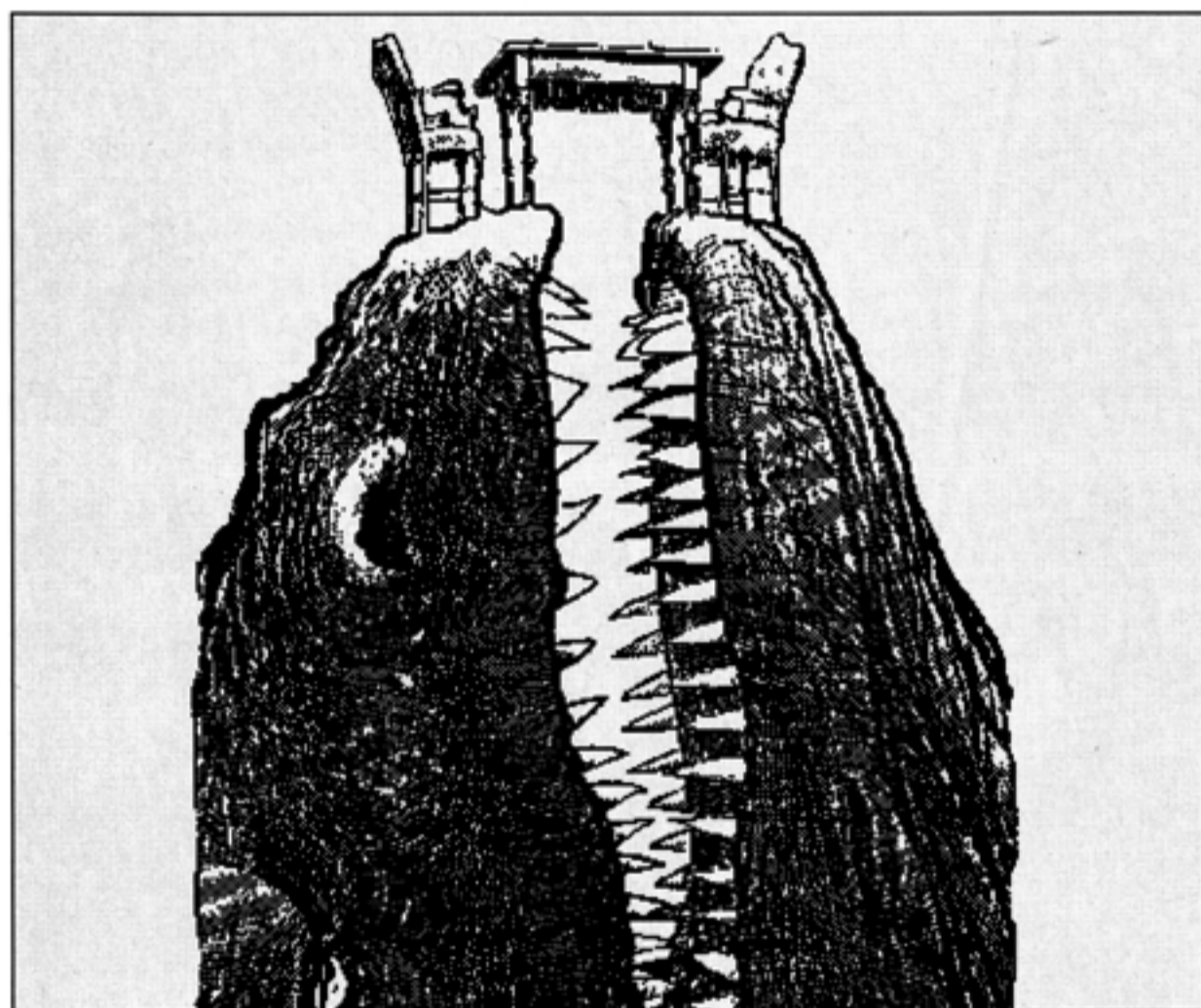
# A tough war, a fragile peace

**W**e are sitting here bogged down by the violence wasting time and resources which could be used in building a powerful ANC", said a speaker at the national workshop on the Peace Accord.

"We must not see the peace process as a technical one of simply setting up structures for resolving disputes.

## POLITICAL PROCESS

It is a political process to gain space to take forward the struggle. This is the spirit with which the ANC has earnestly got down to



## Invisible hand in Cape Town

**T**he violence in Cape Town seems to be a result of conflicts between the "squatter" community and the locations (brick houses); and between rival taxi organisations.

However, as the following accounts show, the "invisible hand" of the security forces and state administration runs through these conflicts. Forces implicated are the police, army, and white municipal administrators (work-

ing through some black community councillors) Squatters from Crossroads were meant to have been moved into Unathi which is a new complex of brick houses separated from Crossroads by a road. The former are aggrieved because a large number of the homes are occupied by "outsiders". Anger reached fever-pitch resulting in the burning of 109 houses in Unathi.

The conflict has been por-

trayed as a clash between two of the Crossroads leaders - Johnston Ngxobongwane and Jeffrey Nongwe. Whilst there are tensions between them, the "peace keeping forces" are seen as contributing to the problem. A case in point is the refusal of security forces to intervene when fighting broke out at a joint rally on 25 August.

Cape Town's Town Clerk, Pill Schelhase, admitted that as administrators of the apartheid system they had been issuing squatter leaders with weapons for dealing with opponents of apartheid. But, according to him, this has been stopped, because South Africa is in transition to a non-racial democracy.

## TAXI WAR

The taxi war represents another layer of the problems faced in the city. Tensions between the Langunya and Webta taxi associations broke out into violence. The township communities decided to boycott all the taxis. After an appeal from the associations they demanded a single taxi body. Joint discussions produced what is known as the Ten Points of agreement. However, Webta reneged because they are reluctant to change their logo. A boycott of Webta taxis began.

In June the violence began once again with taxi drivers being the initial victims. This soon

the task of implementing the National Peace Accord.

The Tripartite Alliance has in the meanwhile established a legal team which is investigating the train killers captured by commuters and allegations of police involvement in the killings in Thokoza.

The Alliance has also established an Operations Committee, a development from the 16-person team which was involved in the negotiations around the Peace Accord.

It will have two sub-committees for:

- **complaints:** an office is being established to handle all the complaints of breaches of the Accord.

changed with passengers being indiscriminately attacked by organised professional squads. Township residents have not been spared the violence. Attacks by youth on Webta taxis in Khayelitsha resulted in shacks being indiscriminately attacked, burned or shot at in the presence of white



riot police. The attacks in Nyanga are confined to the bus terminus area.

But police complicity is evident here as well. For example on Friday 13 October, police with Webta taxi drivers shot at and burned three Langunya taxis. Members of both taxi organisations have weapons ranging from pistols to automatic rifles like R4 and R5. The parallels between the violence here and that in PWV is startling. Attacks are indiscriminate; often aimed at ANC strongholds – as in Khayelitsha; and when the violence subsides in one area it erupts in another. The long arm behind the invisible hand is certainly at work in Cape Town. ♦

Regional and local people will be trained to collect and investigate complaints.

- **organising:** this will act as a catalyst for the establishment of Regional and Local Dispute Resolutions Committees

### CONSULTATIONS

After consultations with the ANC and other signatories, the National Peace Committee put forward the name of Justice Goldstone as chair of the Commission of Enquiry.

In this articles we look at concrete experiences on the ground. ♦

## Port Shepstone

### **D**r Siyabonga Cwele reports on the violence in the Lower Natal South Coast.

More than 250 people have died in the violence in the areas around Port Shepstone. About 80 percent of those killed were ANC members and supporters.

The violence was initiated by a few vigilantes in December last year in the Murchison area. They later identified themselves as "Inkatha supporters". At the time G3 guns had been issued to this group and tribal authorities with the "permission" of the KwaZulu government.

This was also the period when the comrades were forced out of their areas by tribal authorities and warlords with the assistance of security forces.

This was systematically organised and started from the tribal areas until it reached Gamalakhe Township in April this year.

Most of the comrades had fled to Gamalakhe. We have more than 2 000 refugees in the township.

Around the beginning of September the refugees and residents of Gamalakhe were under attack from security forces. ♦

Meanwhile armed Inkatha supporters were holding rallies every week-end in preparation for Shaka Day commemoration.

After the National Peace Accord was signed there was a drastic fall in "unrest related incidents and killings". We also have people moving out of the townships but only to return on 15 October 1991.

The situation at present is as follows:

- the refugees are still at Gamalakhe and around Port Shepstone without food and accommodation.
- the tribal authorities and Inkatha supporters are still reluctant about peace talks on the ground.

Those who risk going back to their homes face the prospect of being killed by vigilantes. That is what happened to Khehla Dlulisa when he returned to Murchison on 10 October 1991.

We hope that the National Peace Accord and Committee will soon leave Johannesburg and fly to our area.

We appeal to all comrades to assist those children and mothers who were forced out of their areas with food, clothing, employment and any other form of donation. ♦

# **Natal and the peace process:**

## ***an organiser reports***

**T**he Joint Working Committee (made up of Cosatu, SACP and ANC) started discussions on the Peace Accord as early as June 1991. Our approach as the Alliance in Natal has been to go for detailed reports on the technical workings of the Accord – how it is to be im-

plemented; the obligations it places on our leadership and membership etc.

The JWC had about 40 meetings with branches and locals of the alliance. Of special note is the JWC provincial briefing for the ANC, ANC Youth League, Cosatu, and SACP regional commit-

tees and organisers attended by 120 people. A summarised version of the Accord has been translated into Zulu for wide distribution.

Some of the concerns raised in the discussions stem from the experiences of our constituency in peace agreements thus

far.

They include how to ensure that Chiefs participate in the Accord; the role of the security forces, especially the KwaZulu Police; implementation of the Accord in rural areas and small towns; the role of People's Courts in terms of the Accord. ♦

# **Victorious consumer boycott in Matatiele**

**A**n 18 day consumer boycott in the small town of Matatiele, near Kokstad, ended in victory for the residents.

Sparked off by the imposition of stringent conditions on a 9 August Women's Day march, the residents' demands included the right to free political activity and an ANC office in the town; opening of all facilities to all residents; upgrading of the taxi rank; improvement of municipal toilets; provision of proper and affordable houses instead of tin shanties; fair and equal treatment of customers by businesses; opening of all schools to all races and the freedom of workers to join trade unions and the acceptance of cheques issued in

Transkei. The resignation of the District Magistrate was also called for because of his racist approach.

The boycott began on 2 September. Businesses lost about R12.5m in the first week of the boycott. Heavily armed men in brown uniforms patrolled the streets with police harassing and searching people.

### **MEETING**

A meeting between the Boycott Committee and the municipality resulted in the municipality agreeing to meet most of the demands – including the withdrawal of the men in brown uniforms, suspected by residents

of being paratroopers.

On the question of trade unions the employers undertook to educate employers about that. The matter of the racist magistrate had been referred to the Minister of Justice who had invited written submissions.

### **DEMANDS**

Residents decided on 18 September to suspend the boycott to give the authorities a chance to implement the changes. The municipality has begun implementing some of the demands but it has been found that the schools were open to all races only from sub-A to standard 5. ♦

# Regional conference reports

## BORDER

Five hundred delegates representing 147 branches gathered at Fort Hare University for the Border Regional Conference. Rev Arnold Stofile, elected onto the NEC at the July Conference of the ANC, was replaced as regional chairperson by returned exile and MK member, Silumko Sokupa.

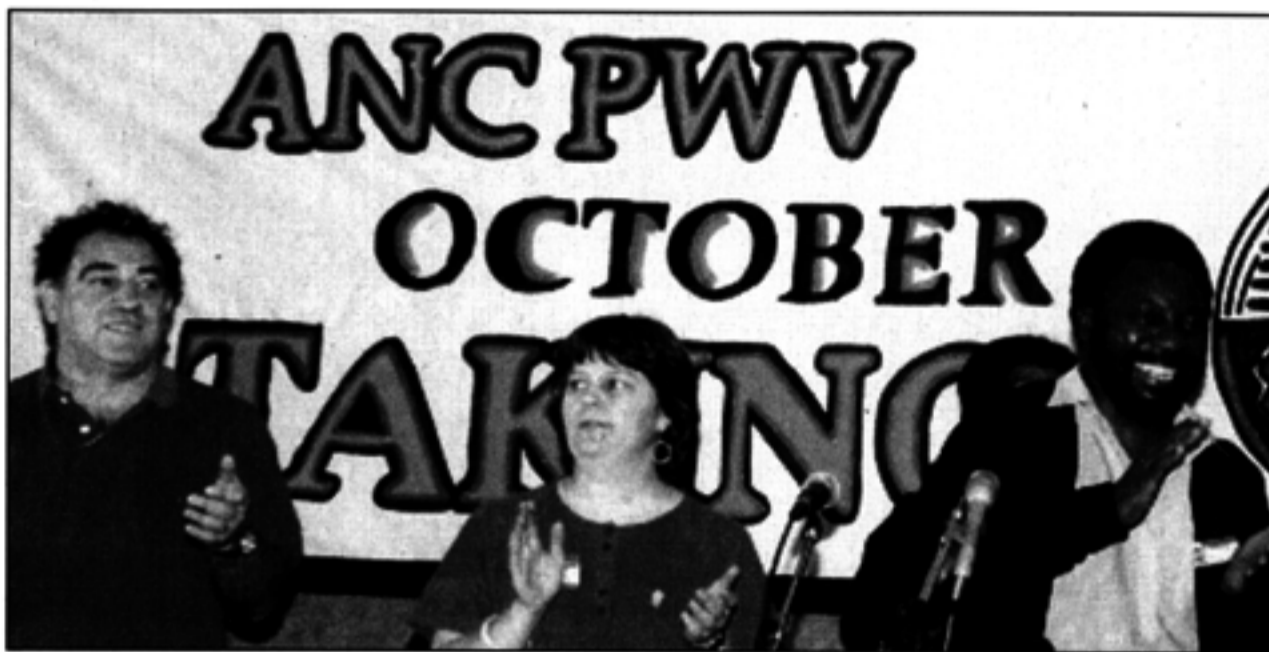
The REC has three women office-bearers with Lucille Meyer as regional secretary. The conference endorsed the resolution of the Border Peace Conference which has sent a letter to De Klerk calling for an Interim Government in Ciskei and which has set up a committee to work towards a broad-based development initiative involving all political, community and business organisations in the region.

Sokupa said that he was convinced that certain elements were trying to import violence into the region and that Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, head of the Ciskei administration, was trying to impose his so-called African Democratic Movement to secure a place for himself at the national negotiations table.

## TRANSKEI

Relations between traditional authorities and the ANC featured prominently in the Transkei regional conference. Resolutions called for the review of the Tribal Authorities Act and the holding of a regional workshop to look at the role of chiefs. It was also decided that the Tripartite Alliance should be strengthened and the REC should look into the streamlining of its work to ensure maximum efficiency.

Three hundred delegates representing 94 branches attended



the conference. Observers to the conference included a delegation from the Transkei Military Council and allied organisations. David Ndawonde was elected as chair of the region while Mazwi Yako will serve as secretary. Four women were elected onto the REC.

## PWV

The 246 delegates to the PWV regional conference, representing 97 branches, elected five women on to the REC with Barbara Hogan retaining the position of secretary. Tokyo Sexwale was elected chair.

Delegates expressed unhappiness with the rate of recruitment into the ANC. "The PWV, being the most populous and compact region, should ensure a higher rate of recruitment", said a delegate.

The conference came out in full support of the Patriotic Front Conference and the decision to move speedily to the All-Party Congress, which were described as major strategic initiatives.

The government's handling of the violence came under strong attack. The installation of an Interim Government was seen as essential in removing the obstacles to negotiations. The confer-

ence decided to step up the door-to-door campaign for an Interim Government.

## WESTERN CAPE

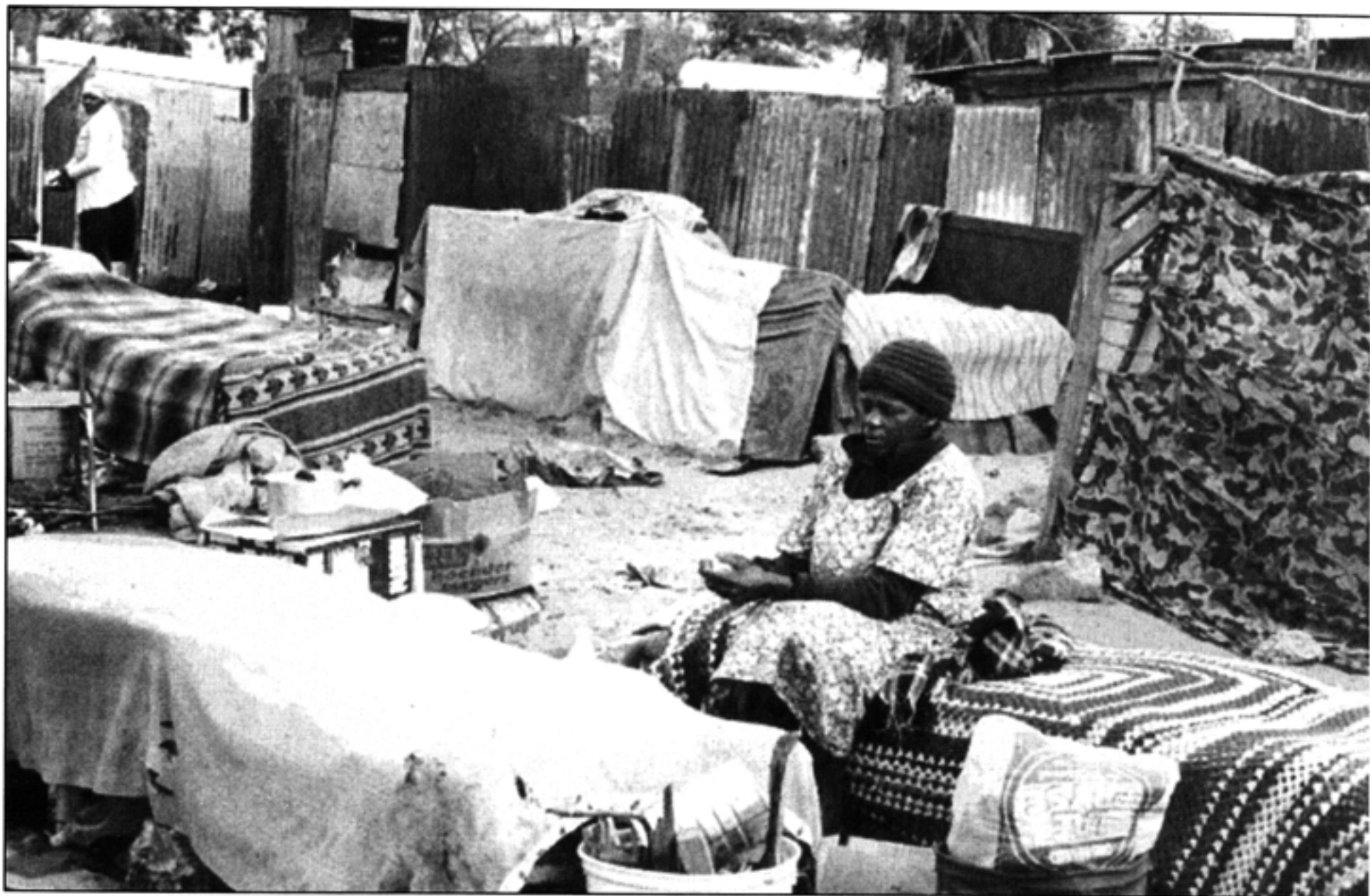
The regional conference met under the guiding slogan "Build a Mass Based ANC". Though membership had doubled since the last conference delegates expressed confidence in being able to draw in many more people into the ANC.

The conference was held in the context of increasing violence in the region. Leading activists had been assassinated; Khayelitsha was being torn apart and Askaris in Hermanus were attacking ANC members.

Violence was thus a key issue on the agenda. The Peace Accord was welcomed and the need to build local structures emphasised.

Delegates from the rural branches emphasised their isolation from an urban-based ANC. Steps to correct this will be addressed at a rural conference in November this year. Reverend Allan Boesak was elected chair while Tony Yengeni was elected regional secretary. All regional chairs and secretaries automatically become members of the NEC. ♦

**The Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955, declares: "There shall be houses, security and comfort for all." This article is the first in a series, looking at the crisis in housing prevailing today.**



## Shelter for all

**T**he housing crisis is caused by government's failure to provide adequately for the needs of the black community. The accompanying box shows how government legislation concerning housing and settlement has been used to control the movement and settlement of blacks.

Changes which have been made to these laws have been forced by a combination of mass pressure, the needs of big capital and the racist ideology of those in power. As the economy moved from an agrarian-based one to one requiring more and more labour in urban areas for the manufacturing sector, the laws were changed or overlooked to

allow for that.

This meant that there was little logic and even less consistency in the policies followed. Thus for example the people of District 6 and Cato Manor had freehold rights and yet were forcibly removed from their homes.

The lack of consultation with communities and the racist ideology on which the policies were based meant that most of the policies implemented were met with intense resistance. This resistance was often forcibly crushed.

A democratic government will inherit a housing crisis of immense proportions. It is estimated that there are 7.5 million peo-

ple living in informal ("squatter") settlements. 2 237 000 housing units were required in 1990. Three and a half million housing units will be required by the year 2 000.

These are the stark figures. And what makes it even more frightening is that these figures do not include the so-called independent homelands.

The average cost per site to develop a township is R7 500. The site would consist of a plot which is 250 square meters (about the size of the average Soweto plot); have water, sewerage, pegging of the land, roads, sites for recreation, and provide ownership. This cost does not cover an elec-

tricity line or a house.

Until very recently ownership of land by black people was severely restricted. It was virtually impossible in major white metropolitan areas where the need was greatest.

The 1991 Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act has opened up ownership to blacks. But this has left ownership in the market orientated arena. This excludes all needy communities and only provides leverage for the few wealthy blacks who can afford to play the market.

Many of the wealthy have already bought houses where it has been legally possible or used the nominee system — that is buying a house in a “white area” under the name of a white person.

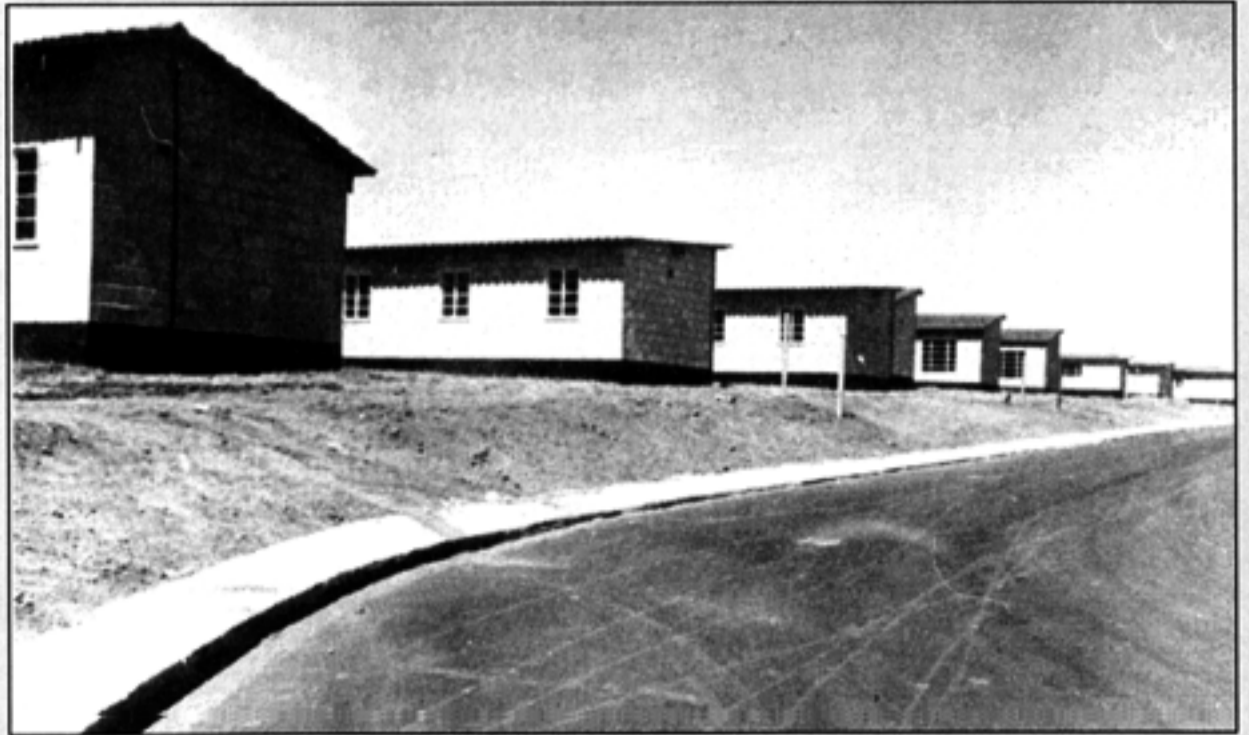
### **SUBSIDIES**

First-time home ownership subsidies never really help the needy because they are so poor that they are unable to enter into a contract to buy a house which will allow that subsidy to be applied.

Low-cost developers have only managed to go as low as R20 000 for a house. Building societies provided the finance. However, with default in payment the house is repossessed. Even if this does not happen, most people's houses start falling apart within two years due to the cheap material used and poor workmanship.

Thus, the owner of the house has less value for money and huge debts leaving him/her poorer than when s/he decided to buy a low cost house. Yet because of the crisis most people who have the slightest belief that they can afford a low cost house will sign a contract for one.

Local authorities, provincial administrations and government continue to resist calls by communities to pass ownership of council-owned houses and land to their occupants. Township tenants argue that they have already



## **The causes**

The following factors have contributed to the crisis:

- **rapid unplanned urbanisation.** For example during the Second World War when there was a need for semi-skilled labour more and more blacks were allowed to settle in the urban areas. They usually sub-let at exorbitant prices from those already formally housed in the cities. The “squatter movements” were forged out of this exploited sub-tenant class. The camps themselves became autonomous social and cultural units as a reaction to the housing crisis and as an attempt by Africans to exercise some control over their lives and their cost of living.
- **the notorious influx control laws.** The Urban Areas Act of 1923, which made it compulsory for African males to carry passes, laid the basis for the development of the influx control policy. The extension of the Pass Laws to women was finally enforced in 1960. The abolition of the Influx Control Act in 1986 and even the more recent scrapping of racial determination of settlement areas cannot contribute to solving the crisis for the reasons outlined in the main article.
- **natural expansion of families.**
- **apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act and forced removals generally, which destroyed communities rather than develop them and which destroyed entire sub-economies.**
- **priorities of the private sector where banks and building societies concentrated on building houses for the middle class. This was to satisfy their own profit motives.**
- **The government decision about two decades ago to deliberately stop building houses for African settlement to control influx has directly contributed to the huge backlog which is the main cause of the current crisis.** ◆

paid for the cost of the houses they live in — in some cases several times over.

The government resisted all forms of informal (“squatter”) settlement unless it fell within its broad strategy of urbanisation. It earmarked state informal settle-

ments where communities were settled without any proper township development. Apart from local councils numbering shacks for control purposes little else was done.

After many lengthy delays and bureaucratic processes a few scat-

# Brief history

- 1913      **The Land Act bases ownership of land on race. African allowed seven percent of the land. In 1936 this is increased to 13 percent. The Act prevents total landlessness so that reserves may marginally support migrants families. Reserves now the only areas where Africans could lawfully acquire land. "Law, not war, was the final means of conquest."**
- 1923      **Urban Areas Act controls the influx of Africans into towns. Africans working in town now have to live in segregated urban locations.**
- 1939      **During the Second World War influx laws relaxed. Vast squatter settlements grow around the industrial cities.**
- 1947      **Sauer Report of the National Party becomes the blueprint of apartheid policy — advances long-term territorial segregation.**
- 1948      **NP comes to power on ticket of racial exclusivity at social, political and economic levels. Sets in motion legislative process:**
- **Group Areas Act as amended (1950) — segregated areas where specific race groups can live and conduct business.**
  - **Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951) — allows state to set up resettlement camps for "surplus" people evicted from white farms. (A 1977 amendment allows officials to demolish illegal structures.)**
  - **Section 10 of the Native Laws Amendment Act ((1952) allows local authorities to differentiate between urban dwellers and migrants — the latter being housed in single sex hostels.**
  - **The Blacks Resettlement Act (1954) provides for the removal of Africans from any area in the Johannesburg Magisterial District — enacted primarily to effect the removal of Sophiatown.**
  - **Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (1959): the bantustan policy!**
- 1979      **Riekert Commission: final acceptance of urban Africans. But sharp distinction between "insiders" or "settled urban Africans" with residence rights under Section 10 and "outsiders".**
- 1982      **Black Local Authorities Act, Black Communities Development Act and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, known as the "Koornhoof Bills", tabled.**
- 1984      **Black Communities Development Act allows land to be acquired for African settlement in urban areas by ministerial approval.**
- 1986      **Abolition of Influx Control Act grants a degree of freedom of movement to South African "citizens", but "non-citizens" including workers from "independent" bantustans actually lose rights. At the same time control is retained through a number of other Acts including the Aliens, Land, Group Areas, Slums, Illegal Squatting, and Trespass Acts. ♦**

tered water pipes were installed and chemical bucket toilets were provided at random.

When people settled on vacant pieces of land without government permission, every measure was used to forcefully remove the communities. When all else failed the area was grudgingly declared

a squatter camp in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. Water and chemical toilets were provided at random with the intention that people will be moved at some future date. The state therefore bears full responsibility for the haphazard settlement of people and for the grave

crisis that now looms.

In the coming issues of *MAY-IBUYE* we will be looking at how various agencies and organisations are addressing the housing crisis.

In the next issue we will look at the struggles for housing and the ANC policy on housing. ♦



**The ANC's policy on the sports boycott is no longer a comprehensive blanket ban. What is the rationale behind this? MAYIBUYE spoke to Steve Tshwete, the ANC's Sports Liaison Officer.**

**P**reliminaries to this position go as far back as 1987 when the ANC recognised the existence in the country of a powerful, alternative, non-racial and democratic culture in sport, said Steve Tshwete, the Sports Liaison Officer.

"The phenomenal growth of democratic and non-racial culture was an important development which reinforced the overall objective: the creation of a non-racial democracy.

"This struggle is not the exclusive responsibility of political organisations. All sectors of the community, including the sports community, have to play a role in the transformation process.

"It is important that the international community must be in touch with this non-racial ethic. It must do everything within its reach to encourage the process of deracialisation of sport in the country – provide equipment and funds where they are lacking, and even compete with South Africans who have accepted and espoused the principle of non-racialism.

"This principle should find expression in the development programmes that address the imbalances in the allocation of resources and facilities. Without a concrete development plan, the whole concept of non-racial unity is bound to flounder because there is the real possibility of a huge number of black athletes being left out, re-

sulting in the domination of sport and recreation by white sportspersons.

"Unity shall not have achieved anything if it is just a marriage at the top without any programmes that take the whole process to the ordinary athletes in the townships.

"So those codes that espouse non-racial unity and have evolved a development programme aimed at addressing the imbalances of apartheid must be given a chance to grow and consolidate. One way is to allow them to compete internationally."

Asked if there are any mechanisms in place to monitor the implementation of the development programmes, Tshwete believes the mechanisms

are the very sports organisations themselves. Committees meant to be addressing development are located in each code. The committees are not handpicked from the top. All people involved in a particular code should actively participate in the formulation of the development programme so that the views and opinions of ordinary athletes at grass-roots level are enshrined in it.

But he hastens to add that the picture is not all rosy. "There is nothing perfect about them right now because this is a new phenomenon.

But there is a deliberate attempt by all those codes that have united to seri-



**The final hurdle?**

## Who foots the development bill?

**S**ports bodies have raised the question of funds as a major hurdle in implementing some of the programmes. They themselves have to engage in fundraising to ensure growth and development within their specific codes.

But outside their own endeavours it is the responsibility of the government to assist. "It is not a favour that is demanded of the state," says Steve Tshwete. "It is its obligation. The government has provided finances and facilities to apartheid sport. Sport in South Africa has been very much politicised. It has been ordered to follow the dictates of apartheid tyranny. Apartheid is wholly to blame for the fact that out of four million people involved in sports in the country, less than a million are black.

"Sympathetic countries and sports organisations across the globe are quite eager to help in the development of non-racial sport. The local business community is beginning to realise that they too have a role to play. Unlike in the past, they are sponsoring a number of codes in the country, and helping in the realisation of the development programmes." ♦

ously address the whole issue of development."

But, given that all the codes on whom the sports moratorium has been lifted thus far are white-dominated, are we not going to end up with teams that do not reflect the composition of the population? Tshwete thinks in the near future it is going to be difficult to see a national team reflecting the complexion of society as a whole.

"There is going to be a buildup towards a truly non-racial national side. It is the heritage of apartheid that only white athletes are competent enough to represent the country in cricket and rugby, for instance. They have the facilities and are well equipped. So for some time we are still going to contend with a situation that most, if not all national sides will reflect the imbalance resulting from apartheid."

What about national symbols? "The flag and the anthem are constitutional matters" he says. They are going to be determined by the outcome of constitutional negotia-

tions. However, we expect them to begin discussing this matter and to put forward ideas as South Africans in the first place and as sportspeople in the second place.

"The emblem is a matter that will have to be decided, finally, by the sports organisations themselves. After all the springbok was not debated in parliament or in any constitution-making body. It was agreed upon by white sports bodies.

"But this does not mean that codes that have complied with the preconditions for participating in international competition should not do so because they have not reached consensus on the matter. They can evolve something of their own. They can raise a neutral flag, eg a white flag.

"They can't sing *Die Stem*. That would be outrageous because *Die Stem* is not representative of the people of this country. They can sing whatever they like, even a hymn, if they have to sing. And that will be a strong signal that South Africa is still a divided country." ♦



## A soft sp

**I**nternational sports can be very profitable, particularly if it is seen purely as a means to self-enrichment. Many leading sportspeople in the country see this as the reason why many old friends of the South African regime are fighting to bring South Africa back into world sports whether unity on the ground exists or not.

Does Primo Nebiolo, an Italian, president of the International Amateur Athletics Federation, fall into this category? This question has been posed after his recent utterances and actions. Beginning with the Tokyo games in July, he has been at pains to



## Bacher on cricket's future

**MAYIBUYE:** What practical steps have been taken to develop the game in the townships?

**Ali Bacher:** It started in 1986. I can recall calling together a few of my friends and saying: "Look, in some small way, can't cricket play its role in bringing people together?" And we went into Soweto on October 20 1986. We advertised for children to come to the cricket, and we couldn't believe more than a thousand kids came.

After that I realised that black kids have a feel for cricket, rhythm, coordination, and that the viewpoint that blacks cannot or do not want to play cricket was nonsense when they are given the opportunities.

Whereas cricket was very much a white game, it is going to change. The potential is huge.

We have entered the most exciting era in the history of South African cricket.

Our biggest problem is the finance to put together adequate sporting facilities. One of the tragedies of the apartheid system I see whenever I go into townships is the fact that one can hardly find a field with any grass on it. That is going to require billions of rands.

There is a euphoria that we will soon be playing international cricket but at the same time we must never take our eye off the fact that there are no facilities in the townships and do everything possible over a period of time to redress these imbalances. Money can only come from central government when we talk about billions of rands. But we will play our part because when we have

## t for apartheid sport

clear the ground for South Africa's entry into international sports. He even tried to stage the second leg of the Africa Games in Germiston.

He totally refused to leave the matter to the South Africans to resolve. He dangled before the athletes promises of bright careers if they made it to Tokyo. It is reliably learnt that failure to bring South Africa to Tokyo meant that his body lost R30 million rands in potential revenue from the publicity it would have got if South Africa had participated.

Who knows what the South

African boycott-busters promised behind the scenes? Remember Inkathagate and the state's public motivation behind the slush funds?

It is an open secret that the government had set aside R20 million for a special jet and much more for the ill-fated Tokyo adventure. Yet Louis Pienaar, the Minister of Education, refuses to fund non-racial sports bodies in the country and encourages individuals to "go it on their own". He knows that there are sports administrators up there who have a soft spot for apartheid and its slush funds. ♦



**Ali Bacher**

tours we believe we will make substantial profits and a significant percentage of them will go into the disadvantaged areas.

**MAYIBUYE: How do you see the future of the game?**

**AB:** It is fantastic. You know if you have a look at those photographs there (decorating the walls of his office), those are white South African teams from 1889 to 1970. Although we only played against Australia, New Zealand and England, we were a force in world cricket. Now you can imagine when we utilise all the people, all the resources, what the potential is for South African cricket.

We are unique. We play cricket 12 months a year, particularly in the townships because we are catching up for lost time. We have a massive programme to coach teachers how to coach cricket. The majority of teachers in the townships are women and since 1986 we have trained 5 000. We have black women teachers coaching cricket. I think these factors make me certain that in the second half of this decade we will dominate world cricket. ♦

## The soccer saga

**M**ost sports lovers in South Africa are dying to see our soccer back on the international scene. However, their hopes continue being dashed as one hopeful statement by a football official is followed by a disappointing one from another.

**MAYIBUYE** spoke to Mluleki George, the president of the South African Football Association about the problems facing South African soccer in its bid to be accepted back into world soccer.

George felt that the answer was to be found in the history of the soccer unity talks which date two years back. His feeling was that the unilateral withdrawal from the unity talks by the South African National Football Association then dealt a damaging blow to the progress that was being made towards unity. This year, however, there have been some meetings where Sanfa decided to stick it out and eventually joined Safa, the uniting body.

According to George, after it had joined, Sanfa apparently wrote some letters requesting a meeting with Safa but got no response. Since there had been no other meeting since they had joined, they decided to write a letter to the Confederation of African Football saying that unity in South African soccer did not exist except on paper. The effect of this was that the Safa delegation that went to Egypt in August to plead South Africa's acceptance into CAF was rejected.

After the delegation returned to South Africa there was a major meeting in September where many problems were thrashed out and appropriate structures created. It was agreed that from that day on, only the two top executive officers of Safa would make statements to the media. This was accepted by Safa. That meeting, George feels, represented a step forward and prospects that we could soon be in the international soccer circuit.

A letter had been received from the Executive Committee of CAF inviting Safa to their meeting in Cairo. This stems from a request by Safa. This response is a good signal to us but has come at very short notice and it is not certain if Safa could make it.

Asked about the source of the whole conflict between the soccer bodies, George said that the problem had nothing to do with principles but personal differences that could be ironed out. He stressed that as far as CAF and Fifa were concerned, they could accept South African football back, provided it had put its house in order. He felt that one thing stood to the advantage of our soccer — especially at the professional level — and that is that it is truly reflective of our society and therefore would be immediately acceptable. The same could not be said of rugby which would be all white, reflecting its apartheid outlook over the years. ♦

## Back to international sport

**On August 25 1991 the National Olympic Sports Congress of South Africa (NOSC) lifted the moratorium on the following codes: professional golf, amateur boxing, cricket, taekwondo martial arts, road running**

**On October 25 a meeting of NOSC and the Sout African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) lifted the moratorium, on an event by event basis, on:**

**tennis, badminton, canoeing, cycling, equestrian sport, ice skating, triathlon, yachting.** ♦

# A letter from the dungeons

**New Local Prison  
Private Bag X45  
Pretoria 0001  
17 October 1991.**

**The Editor  
MAYIBUYE  
Shell House  
Johannesburg**

**Dear comrade**

**I am a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe – Special Operations presently being held at the above prison. At all times, without exception, I have acted under the instructions of my superiors in MK. The government maintains that, because some of my operations resulted in civilian casualties, I am not a political prisoner and should not be released.**

**With regard to the above, I wish to draw your attention to the government's racist attitude when dealing with my case and that of others in my position. To do this I wish to compare four cases. Firstly, the case of**

**comrades Maboja and Vilakazi. These MK members detonated a car-bomb in Witbank which tragically resulted in the deaths of three civilians. They were sentenced to 18 years imprisonment. They have now been released after serving less than two years.**

**Secondly, the case of the "Delmas II" trialists, comrades Masango, Masina and Potsane. These MK members carried out an operation to eliminate a person regarded as a legitimate target. Unfortunately during the operation a civilian was killed. These comrades were originally sentenced to death but had their sentences commuted to 25 years. They have now been released.**

**Thirdly, the case of my father, comrade Derrick McBride, also an MK member. He was involved in an operation to free an MK commander from captivity. The operation was a success but tragically, during an exchange of fire, a civilian lost his life. My father was sentenced to 12 years. However, he has now been released in terms of the Pretoria Minute as a political prisoner.**



**Imprisoned  
MK soldier  
Robert  
McBride**

**Fourthly and lastly, my case. I was instructed by my commanders to attack a place frequented by SAP and SADF personnel by means of a car-bomb. I carried out the operation under these instructions. This has been publicly confirmed by the ANC on numerous occasions. Unfortunately and tragically, during this operation three civilians were killed. I was sentenced to death for this. My sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. I am still in prison after serving more than four years on death row.**

**The only difference between these four cases, for all intents and purposes, is that all the civilians killed in the first three cases were all black and those in my case were all white. In other words, MK members whose actions (under instructions) resulted in black deaths, are political prisoners and are eligible for release but MK members whose actions (also under instructions) resulted in white deaths are not. From**

**this premise it is clear that a black life is cheaper than a white life. (Note also the differences in sentences between the first three cases and mine).**

**Government officials have confidentially expressed this exact view but not in the same**

**words. They have stated that my release would cause dissatisfaction within their constituencies, ie the white minority electorate, because the victims in my case were white. So I am being kept in prison because of National Party expediency and racism.**

**There are other MK members in the same position as myself and are being kept in prison for the same reason: not to upset the white electorate. Once again in South Africa black opinion does not count – majority opinion does not count.**

**Our organisation must not succumb to the government's reasoning and must not compromise on our releases by engaging in constitutional negotiations before we are released. The Harare Declaration must be adhered to – especially now that the issue is not only a precondition but a principle. If our organisation does compromise on this issue, they will be accomplices in our continued incarceration and racism.**

**Yours in the struggle  
Robert McBride.**

**"Our organisation must not succumb to the government's reasoning and must not compromise on our releases by engaging in constitutional negotiations before we are released."**

**What do readers feel about this statement?  
Write in and tell us.**

**P**lacing women's issues on the agenda has been a long battle. Cosatu women have taken to the streets and engaged in fierce debates around the question since the formation of the federation. And the debate continues ...

Cosatu unions differ in their approaches to organising women. Where women form the majority, they see no need for having separate women's committees. A programme on gender issues is taken up through union structures.

Where women are a minority women's committees ensure that gender issues and a programme for organising women do get onto the agenda of union structures.

However, all are agreed on the need for affirmative action. The debate centres on what is the most effective strategy to address gender equality in the workplace, in society and in our own organisations.

### **PARENTAL RIGHTS**

In negotiations unions have moved from maternity rights to parental rights. Important issues relating to maternity rights have been raised in collective bargaining.

A survey completed by the women's sub-committee on maternity rights shows unevenness in agreements reached. The majority of Cosatu unions have won agreements with companies for six months paid maternity leave and a guarantee of job security.

The survey also showed that unions were shifting increasingly towards a perspective on paternal rights and the demands on childcare (as indicated in the box).

Union campaigns have led to a number of negotiations with companies (particularly in TGWU and Saccawu). Numsa's auto sector in the Eastern Cape recently persuaded employers to contribute a levy for the creation of community creches in the Eastern Cape.

# **Affirmative action: how Cosatu does it**

**Rahmat Omar, Education Researcher in Cosatu, outlines the federation's experience in affirmative action for women.**

## **Some recent developments**

- April 1990: Cosatu women marched to government offices in Johannesburg in support of Cosatu demands on the Labour Relations Act. Focussed particularly on rights for domestic, public sector and farm workers where the majority are women.
- 20 September 1990: Workers countrywide observed Cosatu's National Day of Action on Childcare. Initiated by the women's sub-committee, both men and women were involved in demanding childcare and parental rights. The slogan "Workers are Parents Too" emphasised that childcare is not only a "women's issue" but an issue for all parents. Also that childcare is a social responsibility which employers have an obligation to support.
- October 1990: The draft Workers Charter contains specific focus on the rights of women workers.
- July, 1991: The Cosatu Fourth National Congress adopted the principle of affirmative action and agreed that a full-time gender co-ordinator should be employed. His/her task would be to consolidate and expand Cosatu's programme for organising women and addressing gender inequalities.

The discussion in the Goods and Services Commission covers Cosatu proposals on policy relating to social security and welfare issues. It includes thorough discussions on future policies on childcare in the long term - on ex-

isting international standards - and in the short term on guidelines for negotiations with employers on childcare and parental rights.

Though unions have tried to break the assumption that child-

care is a women's issue, unions negotiations with employers still centred around the rights of women as mothers. This restricted view of women's rights was challenged strongly. It led to a focus on the Living Wage Campaign on the rights of women as workers.

The majority of women are breadwinners whose income supports entire families. The myth that women are working for "pocket money" (or for an income that is supplementary to the man's income) was challenged and the justification for paying women lower wages was rejected.

Unions therefore started taking up the demand for the removal of racial and sex discrimination in wages. But the battle was not to be won easily. In the chemical industry for example employers responded by simply re-grading the jobs of black women workers onto a lower grade and lower pay scale.

### **POLITICAL RIGHTS**

Discussions about the position of women and women workers in a new Constitution for South Africa and in the Workers' Charter have been taken up actively.

The relationship between Cosatu women's structures and the ANC Women's League is now being defined within the guidelines of the Tripartite Alliance and joint action is on the agenda around campaigns such as the development of the Women's Charter.

Union leadership, especially at national level, is still male dominated, even in unions where women are in the overwhelming

majority. In Cosatu, women constitute about 36% of our total membership but only one Cosatu regional office bearer (out of 36) is a woman. In affiliates there has been some improvement in that union congresses in 1991 have elected women into national leadership positions (TGWU, Saccawu, Fawu).



**ANC Women's League general secretary Baleka Kgositsile at a Sadwu picket in Johannesburg**

Cosatu believes that any strategy to overcome gender inequality in South Africa has to start with a recognition of racial and class inequalities. But that recognition should not obscure the very real inequalities between men and women and the problem all over the world that power, decision-making and control is dominated by males.

Cosatu's 1991 Congress com-

mitted the federation to a conscious programme of developing women's skills. The extent to which this can be implemented depends largely on the extent to which women are able to organise themselves around such a programme.

### **TOKENISM?**

In South Africa, as elsewhere, affirmative action has often been dismissed as tokenism. It has been easier for the government and employers to draw individuals, irrespective of their qualifications and potential, in order to strike "the right balance" in terms of race or gender. That certainly is tokenism and often the individual cannot perform adequately or efficiently. This is then used to justify the argument that blacks/women are incompetent.

Affirmative action policies undertaken by a democratic government and mass organisations have clearly to be distinguished from tokenism. They do not only focus on individual advancement, but primarily address themselves to the emancipation and advancement of all those social layers who have been "disadvantaged" under apartheid. This is obvious (or ought to be) in a society where the "disadvantaged" constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

Thus affirmative action in South Africa (unlike America where the term originates) is part of a comprehensive strategy to bring about a fundamental transformation in the material inequalities (social and economic) and power relations which we have inherited from apartheid. ♦

**A**partheid, in its statutory form, may be dead and nearly buried. But the legacy created by the monster of racial oppression and exploitation cannot be easily removed, both in its physical form and in the hearts and minds of the people.

Look around the cities and the eye settles easily on the enormous success of the grand design of group areas, with their careful demarcations, cordoned off by strategic highways which consign the majority to the grim townships and the minority secluded in the splendid suburbs, behind their walls. Look at the homelands, the dumping ground of "surplus" people and you will see the poverty and deprivation arising from forced removals and the rigorous application of the Land Acts.

Apartheid has resulted from the pursuit of man-made policies, although divine providence has been invoked in the past as a justification. If the robbery of the land and the pain, the suffering,

torture, assassination and aggression against Angola and Mozambique have been committed by human beings, has there been any understanding, by those who hold power, of the damage done to our society? Are there any moral or legal means to provide remedies for these grievous wrongs?

Other countries which have faced a transition from a dictatorship of the left or the right have tried to grapple with this issue. In Argentina, they prosecuted the torturers and murderers after the restoration of democracy and set up a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation to purge the past of the horrors of dictatorship. Even in Chile, while Pinochet is still head of state, there is a slow attempt to bring to book some of the evil men who destroyed the democracy of Allende. In the Soviet Union the past is being exhumed so that some insight can be provided into the degradation and perversion which gripped the Soviet people under Stalinism.

The most remarkable recogni-

tion of the way that the past must not be allowed to die altogether is the history of the compensation that Germany has paid to the victims of Nazism both in Germany and in occupied Europe. Since the 60s the land and property taken away, especially from Jews, has been returned to the victims or their descendants. Where such a return was impossible, compensation has been paid. The total compensation for property and other wrongs has totalled over 80 billion German marks.

Yet in South Africa there is silence on the part of those who held or continue to hold power. It is the silence of insensitivity. We cannot build a culture of rights and respect for the constitution unless there is some acknowledgement of the grievous wrongs committed in the name of apartheid. But the contrary is the case. We have been told, on the highest authority, that apartheid has proved to be "irrelevant", "outdated" or "inefficient".

#### **IMMORAL**

But apart from Leon Wessels, no senior National Party politician, including De Klerk, has had the courage to say that apartheid has been wrong or immoral. Refusal to make such an acknowledgement is part of the political approach which rejects any attempt at the payment of reparations or compensation for land grabbing or what in effect was confiscation under the Hitlerian group areas legislation.

More important has been the assertion, from De Klerk downwards, that the apartheid regime is the properly constituted and lawful government of a sovereign independent state and cannot therefore surrender any of its powers to an Interim Government of national unity. Any attempts to interfere with its rights will be stoutly resisted.

Such an approach is an attempt to roll back the whole tide

# **Human rights and reparations**

**The new democratic order will be like a house built on sand if there is no measure of reparation in favour of victims of apartheid, argues Kader Asmal of the ANC's Constitutional Committee.**





of legal and political history since the 50s. The policies of apartheid have been universally condemned not because the world did not like the violations of human rights. Other countries also violate such rights, as successive South African foreign ministers from Eric Louw to Pik Botha have been quick to point out.

White South Africa became a pariah because the policy of apartheid conflicted with legal rules of great importance among the international community – the denial of self-determination, crimes against humanity, policies akin to the worst kind of international crime, genocide, the systematic or mass violations of human rights and the crime of apartheid.

These are forbidden under international law. It is for this reason that the highly prestigious international body, the International Law Commission, has included apartheid in its list of

Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind in its draft of July 1991.

In effect a government which practiced such criminal activity is a criminal conspiracy and cannot speak for or represent the country. It is an illegitimate entity, although it has de facto control over the state.

### **NUREMBERG**

The International Law Commission, reflecting what happened at Nuremberg at the trial of Nazi war criminals in 1946, refers to the individual responsibility of persons for such crimes. Whatever South Africa's law may have said, the description of such a crime arises independently of the internal law of a state. The draft emphasises that even if apartheid was not punishable under South African law, this does not affect the criminal na-

ture of the acts nor their punishment.

It is necessary to draw attention to the application of these rules of international law to our situation because a veil cannot be drawn across the vile and unspeakable acts committed in our country.

We have had an apartheid state and a racist government. The National Party would like the state to stay as it is, with minor modifications. But the struggle against apartheid has not been a simple matter of replacing one government with another.

The new democratic order which we have struggled for requires a recognition of the act of self-determination which will take place when, for the first time, the excluded majority will play a part in their destinies. It is as if the decolonisation process has resulted in independence, except that the former colonialists



**The demand for human rights is a theme common at mass meetings.**

will become co-citizens with us all, as the Freedom Charter has promised.

In other words there will be a break with the past, not a continuation of the old order. When the Nazis were overthrown, the war criminals were charged with their horrible offences against civilians, prisoners-of-war and for conducting barbaric war. On the basis that there has to be reconciliation, such a route will not be followed by us. However, hit-squad members and their political superiors must be warned that they will be accountable to a free government, regardless of any immunity conferred on them from now on.

But reconciliation not only requires liberation – after all a slave and a master can hardly ever establish a free relationship – but also justice. There can be no real protection of human rights in a free South Africa unless some redress is provided for the wrongs

carried out by the apartheid regime. How could anyone provide for respect for personal property rights, such as your home, your small farm and personal belongings in a future South Africa unless the victims of forced removals and group areas and those whom the land acts reduced to a state of permanent inadequacy are able to obtain compensation or the return of their land and property?

#### **FRUITS OF APARTHEID**

Decency, equity and fairness require that we address the issue now, if our sacred texts dealing with our constitutional and human rights are to be respected. The effects of apartheid cannot all be undone quickly but the fruits of apartheid cannot permanently be left in the hands of those who profited from apartheid.

The National Party's proposals of September will maintain the

status quo. There will be no reparations, no affirmative action and change will be impossible because the presidency and the government decisions will only be able to decide all issues by consensus. In other words small parties will be able to veto crucial decisions. In addition, the central government will lose its powers to regions and local authorities whose powers will be constitutionally entrenched. It is a recipe for total inaction.

These proposals must be rejected not only because they will frustrate governmental action but also because no hope can be offered for the millions who have suffered so much and for whom some restoration of their land is an immediate priority. This is the way towards reconstruction and development, to build a new society so seriously shattered by apartheid. We have the legal right to do so. Many feel that we are under a duty. ♦

# Civics and the ANC



**Dennis Thokozani Nkosi, a Durban-based activist, responds to "Civics are part of the National Democratic Revolution" by Blade Nzimande and Mpume Skhosana which appeared in the June issue of MAYIBUYE.**

**T**he article on civics argues that since community and political issues cannot be separated why should civics be separated from the liberation movement.

The demand for houses, security and comfort has become one of the central demands the civic movement has to address with the unresolved land question. This raises the tactical question posed by Cdes Nzimande and Skhosana: if the civic issues are political as well what do the branches do if there are civics?

To answer this let us remind ourselves of the following: we organise with the objective of winning people to our side. This we do by addressing issues that affect our people directly.

ThUs, for example, we manage to convince workers that:

- they have to join trade unions so that they can challenge the bosses together;
- they need to join the ANC to fight national oppression;
- they need to join the Party since it is the main political mouthpiece of the working class.

## CREATIVITY

We have never raised the question as to what the Party branch should do in a factory where there is a trade union. The Party does not take up issues of collective bargaining or the representation of workers since these fall within the ambit of the trade union. Some of the issues overlap and this calls for creativity from the organiser.

The above example shows that

branches can work closely with civics where they exist. ANC branches are there not to compete but to work in close cooperation with civics or anyone else committed to the solution of the problems faced by our people. In this way we will be building a democratic tradition and culture from the grassroots.

Civics make things easier. Imagine the PAC, Azapo, Wosa, the ANC and Inkatha all going to make representation to the same local authority. Each one of them would get a different commitment and they would be played against each other.

## NON-SECTARIAN

A politically progressive but non-sectarian civic can address this issue by bringing all together to work out a strategy. Non-sectarian should not be equated to politically neutral as some people are suggesting. It means that politically you are against the deprivation of our people's basic and fundamental rights but you do not push the view of one organisation but the dominant themes agreed upon at the meetings of that civic.

It becomes the task of the ANC branch to campaign for the endorsement of the ANC's position. This makes the branch lively and alert. It sharpens the theoretical understanding of the general policies of our organisation.

In response to the authors reference to experiences of the Soviet Union two points need to be made: firstly, that our ethic should be the empowerment of our people, not just parties or political groups; and secondly, that the civic strengthens civil society and ensures that the voice of the people is heard.

Though these lessons have been acknowledged in the article they have not been taken into full consideration for the relationship between civics and ANC branches. ♦

**W**ere the secret budgets of the state apparatuses used by De Klerk's opponents within the NP to fight his strategic direction? It is alleged this opposition is backed by the Barend du Plessis and Magnus Malan faction.

Thus, by the time of the Inkathagate scandal De Klerk had to act decisively. De Klerk used the scandal to neutralise those seeking to undermine his strategy. He responded with an approach which, whilst not securing him a political victory, prevented total public humiliation for him and his party.

His response showed his understanding of the inherent fragility of the NP with its different provincial parties, leadership styles, and political traditions. His post-Inkathagate moves were echoed how he handled the departure of PW Botha: firm but respectful. He did not engage in that sport beloved by newly elected NP leaders – the ousting and humiliation of their political opponents. Instead of displacing his adver-

saries onto the extr-parliamentary terrain he tried to retrain their loyalty within the confines of the NP.

His moves meant the sidelining of Malan and Vlok, the transfer of the National Intelligence Service to the lowly portfolio of the Deputy Minister of Finance and the detachment of Armscor from its historical relationship with the SADF.

### **SMALL FACTIONS**

Malan and Vlok could not be expelled into the extra-parliamentary wilderness where their actions could not be contained. By retaining them in the cabinet De Klerk was preventing the coalescing of small factions which these ministers already possessed within the party.

Malan's demotion displayed De Klerk's faith that "professional" and constitutionally motivated factions within the SADF would not oppose his actions. He was trying to out-manoeuvre the Military Intelligence/Special

Forces axis through the winning of these more "verligte" SADF factions.

Roelf Meyer's appointment as the young and "yuppish" Minister of Defence indicated the seriousness with which DE Klerk intended incorporating the SADF into his programme of political transformation.

The manner in which De Klerk carried out the reshuffle showed he wanted to ensure the primacy of civilian control over the NP. He informed Vlok and Malan of his decision the day before the weekly meeting of the State Security Council. He was not going to negotiate with the security establishment about that.

These moves have meant that De Klerk can add civilianised Defence and Law and Order ministries to his existing power base. This base includes: the bulk of the rank and file of the NP; the Cabinet; the Broederbond; most of the executive members of the state bureaucracy; Afrikaner intelligentsia; large sectors of big business; and certain factions within the security establishment (particularly the army and the navy).

### **ARMSCOR**

The removal of Armscor from the SADF entailed halving the Special Defence Account. Its transfer to a civilian ministry situated its operations within the orbit of the private sector and its traditional forms of accountability.

De Klerk is astute enough to recognise that he cannot proceed with his programme without the ANC and other major political parties. But like all other elements of the ruling bloc he prefers to negotiate with a weakened ANC. Therefore, the differences among the various factions within the NP are about form, detail and not essence: the extent to which they can use violence to achieve this purpose. ♦

# **Why De Klerk did the shuffle?**

**A MAYIBUYE correspondent offers an opinion about De Klerk's cabinet shuffles in the wake of the Inkathagate scandal.**

# TV 2/3/4 under Mphahlele

**“Fanavele Mahlaleshushu”, a media activist from Guguletu, responds to MAYIBUYE’s interview with Madala Mphahlele, head of SABC TV 2/3/4.**

**T**V plays an important role in disguising the social reality which makes the appointment of Madala Mphahlele appear unnatural.

It does this by:

- direct political censorship;
- bowing to the pressure of advertisers to get much needed revenue;
- values of journalism such as objectivity, newsworthiness etc carried by all SABC journalists in their heads, and
- programme scheduling and sequencing. Was it indeed “nice and fortuitous” of this “someone in final control” with “a sense of humour” to fit the Cuba item perfectly after the Cosatu piece? Must we believe your explanation, Mr Mphahlele?

## TASK GROUP

We agree with Mr Mphahlele on the need to “axe the baggage” from the past. However, the “Grandfather Clause” in the Broadcasting Task Group report guaranteeing positions for this old baggage is cause for concern. This is further justification for broadcasting to be placed under an interim authority until we have a democratically-elected government.

The content of broadcasting needs to reflect democratic, non-

racial values. This leads us to question Mr Mphahlele’s “common, contemporary values”. What are these CCV’s?

Are they, as we suspect, basic human values articulated in the Cosby show for example? If so then we, as viewers and as South Africans, are in great trouble. These are values of the American middle class in the United States. They are universal only in so far as the US is the only country with the ability to Americanise everybody else’s entertainment and culture throughout the world.

## FANON

To paraphrase Frantz Fanon: “Let us leave the task of emulating America to the Americans. They can do it better than we.”

TV programmes and entertainment carry and transmit opinions, values, and a lifestyle which affect our daily lives. With the exception of news, current affairs and magazine programmes, most of our TV is dominated by American soap-operas, comedies etc. Foreign news is even CCN/WTNised.

TV adverts are of course based on white, and recently black, middle class nuclear-family values and aspirations. These programmes and ads do not reflect the lifestyle of the majority of South Africans who are black



and working class.

It is important to formulate our ideas, propagate our view of the world in the following order of relationship:

- as South Africans, predominantly black and working class;
- as Africans, residents of a large continent which has suffered humiliation and exploitation for centuries; and
- as part of a larger human family on Earth.

Only on this basis, and with a program ratio of 70 percent local to 30 percent foreign, will we be able to show the best programmes from the world.

Listen to Rosemarie Kuptana about the impact of TV among the Inuit (whom the Europeans call Eskimo) in Canada.

“Satellite TV, which arrived in the 1970’s, ended our cultural isolation. Today, even in the most remote northern communities, we can turn our TV sets and see graphic images of bloodshed in Beirut, wars in Central America, Dallas re-runs, TV evangelists and the latest rock videos. But we see little of ourselves. And when we consider that our children would have watched about 30 000 hours of TV by the age of 18 we worry about ourselves as a distinct society.”

Is TV 2/3/4 heading for this under Mr Mphahlele? ♦

# Democracy

**D**emocracy is one of the most overused and abused words in the political debates taking place in our country. Political groups from the extreme right, bantustan tribalists and the NP all loudly claim to be democrats.

The democracy advocated by the democratic forces led by the ANC is fundamentally different. The ANC fights for a democratic South Africa in which all people without any racial discrimination, tribal or ethnic division can participate equally and freely in decisions that affect their lives and shape our society.

Democracy is a principle of the ANC – along with the principles of non-racialism and non-sexism, it is our most important objective. Yet unlike many other groupings who state their commitment to this principle, the ANC believes that the principle must be expressed in action for it to have meaning. Meaningful democracy is based on the active participation of people in all activities and processes that affect their lives. Through it ordinary people are empowered to take control of their lives in all spheres – political, economic and social.

## **THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!**

In 1955 the liberation movement led by the ANC put forward a vision of a democratic South Africa in the Freedom Charter. This was the culmination of a national campaign of discussion and consultation among our people to decide what type South Africa we were fighting to establish.

This vision began to be built and expressed in practice when organs of people's power like street committees, Parent Teacher Student Associations,

**This is the first in a series of articles on the topic of democracy. We begin by looking at what the ANC means when it talks of democracy. In later articles, we will discuss what it means to put democratic principles into practice in our organisation. At the end of the article there are some questions that readers can discuss among themselves or in their branches as part of their political education.**

SRCs, civics and worker locals sprung up during the 1980s. On the factory floor, workers formed independent trade unions to struggle for their rights in the workplace and in broader society.

These organisations are based on the daily participation of ordinary people in deciding on matters affecting their lives. Grassroots participation demands that leaders and representatives are subject to regular elections and accountable to and recallable by those who elected them. Leaders must act within the man-

date given to them by their constituencies and regularly report back.

This is far more extensive than parliamentary democracy where people are active only during elections once every five years. They have no direct control over their representatives between elections.

## **DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION**

To build a real and meaningful democracy, conditions and structures must be created to guarantee and protect the right of people to participate freely and without fear. The ANC demands a democratic constitution that guarantees the right of all our people to participate in decision making. This must be underpinned by a Bill of Rights protecting these rights.

## **CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY**

For the constitution to truly reflect the aspirations of the majority the people must participate in drafting it. In the present conditions this can only be done by a Constituent Assembly consisting of elected representatives enjoying the confidence and mandate of the people. Elections for a constituent assembly cannot be managed by the present minority government which still seeks to impose its own limited democracy. The ANC demands that an Interim Government of National Unity replace the present government. Under an Interim Government, elections for the Constituent Assembly can take place freely without interference from the apartheid state.

## **POLITICAL TOLERANCE**

Society is not homogenous but is composed of different social classes, groups and sectors with different interests, problems and competing demands. In a demo-

cratic society all these groups must be able to freely organise around their interests to promote and protect them. It is to the benefit of society as a whole that these interests are expressed through free political activity. People must be free to form and belong to organisations of their choice. Their organisations must be able to operate without restrictions, fear and intimidation.

### **VIBRANT CIVIL SOCIETY**

Today it is widely recognised that organisations representing interest groups and sectors – eg community, education, health, and environmental organisations and trade unions – should be independent from the state and political parties. Strong and independent organisations in civil society serve both to promote different interests and to safeguard democracy itself. They are an important channel through which

ordinary people can participate actively in the shaping of national policies through consultation with the ruling parties, government structures, planning and management bodies.

### **ECONOMIC RESOURCES**

In a situation where access and control of economic resources is limited to a tiny minority the ability of people to participate in shaping their country and their own lives is severely restricted and undermined.

Decisions of how economic resources are utilised and distributed cannot be left to a few individuals and to the blind forces of the market but must also involve the people through the state and their organisations. The state after a process of consultation with all structures representing various interest groups in society should set out a national policy and framework in which economic

activity takes place. Trade unions in the workplace must be in a position to participate actively in the control and planning of work. Local authorities and municipalities in consultation with community structures must plan economic and financing activities on a local level.

The substance of the democracy we are fighting for is the free and active participation of all our people in decisions that shape society. The basis for democracy must be built today through strengthening the structures of the ANC and all mass based democratic organisations.

### **QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION**

- How can we build a real and meaningful democracy in a future South Africa?
- Do you think that the National Party is sincere about its commitment to democracy? Give reasons for your answer. ♦



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**Croatian guardists remove their dead comrades in an ongoing civil war**

**T**he conflict in Yugoslavia seems different from explosions of nationalism in the Soviet Union. Here was a state with a long-standing socialist market economy and with real autonomy written into its federal constitution. So why the nationalist outbursts?

Public opinion in Western Europe has been swung solidly behind Croatia and its small western neighbour Slovenia, also asserting its independence. Germany in particular is willing to recognise Croatian independence.

#### **NATIONAL UNITY**

The Croats see a plan to carve Greater Serbia out of their territory. The Serbs say they are fighting for national unity and to protect Serbs in enclaves in Croatia from massacre. They are willing to recognise Croatian independence – but not in the Serb enclaves.

Unlike in the Soviet Union, this bitter nationalist feud cannot have been caused by the sudden release of control by central authorities. The republics already

# Yugoslavia: a federation in tatters

**Yugoslavia is breaking up in bitter conflict between its two main federal republics. What went wrong? A**

**MAYIBUYE correspondent reports from London.**

had extensive autonomy, in all but foreign policy and defence. Nor can the worsening economic position be the sole cause.

The reasons may be sought in a federal state system which combined economic decentralisation and the market economy with regional political independence, and so made it difficult for the central

government to overcome the economic and social divide in the country. At the same time, the lack of political pluralism prevented the growth within the country of parties with sectional interests.

The Yugoslav state was set up after the first world war to bring about a long held ideal of the peo-



ple of the region to form a South Slav federation. From the outset, the equality of the Serbs, Croats and the Slovenes was guaranteed, at least on paper.

The western part of the country – Croatia and Slovenia – had been part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Their tradition, culture and orientation was to the Christian West, while Serbia and other parts of Yugoslavia had been part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Yet enough of a common Slav culture was shared to keep alive the idea of a South Slav nation.

Almost immediately after its foundation, there were nationalistic stirrings in Croatia and calls for independence. The same arguments were used as now – that the economic imbalance meant that hard-working Croats were underpinning the underdeveloped regions, and particularly Serbia.

## **SECOND WORLD WAR**

Then came the second world war. The fierce guerilla struggle led by Josip Broz Tito against the Nazis was a major unifying factor, bringing into one force the many ethnic, language and cultural groups.

In the end they defeated not only the German invaders, but also the Croatian fascists, the Ustashe and others who had collaborated with the Nazis. The Ustashe had been given the administration of Croatia by the Nazis, and used it to hunt and kill Serbs.

In the immediate post-war period, the communist party exercised centralised control. The split with the Soviet Union in 1948 resulted in the isolation of Yugoslavia from the world communist movement. The country united behind Tito. The national question was buried even deeper. All feared that any internal conflict would open the way for outside military intervention.

Yugoslavia started to pursue

its own road to socialism. The central government decided to hand over enterprises to the ownership and management of employees – workers' self-management.

From then on, the trend was to ever more decentralisation – both in economic and political spheres. Within the government and the party, federal leadership structures were set up. But political opposition was not brooked.

All these measures failed to address the main underlying divisive tendency. The uneven pattern of wealth and production among the various regions could not be resolved within a decen-

tralised state.

The country was also suffering the ills of a market economy – high inflation, irregular growth, growing unemployment. The Croats and Serbs were often at odds – over disposal of foreign currency earnings, allocation of investment funds and also linguistic and cultural issues.

By the time Tito died in 1980, the unifying factors had all but evaporated. Despite the collective leadership plan, Tito left a gaping hole at the centre of the party and the state. All that was needed was for the cold war to end and economic recession to worsen living conditions. ♦

## **A personal view**

*from Dusan Stojnov in Belgrade, Yugoslavia*

**The war in Yugoslavia came as a surprise only to those unfamiliar with its short but peculiar history.**

**The falling apart of this dishonest federal relationship seems to be the easiest things in the world. And the situation would have been funny if it were not so tragic: Serbs are being accused of leading a secessionist policy in Croatia while Croats are being accused of leading a secessionist policy in broader Yugoslavia.**

**To complicate things further, Croats are accusing Serbians of being Bolshevik and communist.**

**And a bloody and cruel war it is. It is puzzling to watch one of its filthier sides: propaganda. The very same bodies presented on Serbian TV as victims of the Croatian slaughter-house are presented on Croatian TV as victims of the savage Serbs! The war is not only fought with bullets: the illuminating shells of words and pictures are sometimes even deadlier weapons. The first victim is the truth.**

**And the rumours: The Croatian paramilitary force has a skilled medical team with a big refrigerator truck which collects vital organs from fresh corpses for sale in Germany in exchange for weapons...**

**International forces say they wish to help. I believe them, at least if their help does not hurt. But weapons are being supplied galore. Rumour has it that some of the deadlier ones are from the Republic of South Africa.**

**It is commonly understood that war is an irrational decision. I doubt it very much. Going to war is as rational as going to cinema: here, it is a battle for the national identity of ethnic communities merged and fused in a melting pot which produced nothing but a poisoned stew. ♦**

**Foreign investment came under the spotlight at a recent seminar attended by the tripartite alliance. This discussion document summarises the issues.**

**S**ince early this year, the ANC and its allies, particularly Cosatu, have been investigating the question of what the appropriate policy towards foreign investors might be in the post-sanctions era. Several meetings and seminars have been held, with the co-operation of the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations — a body which normally assists only governments.

1. Foreign investment will play an important role in South Africa's future economic development. The ANC and Cosatu will welcome foreign investment. In working out policy, a satisfactory balance should be struck between rewards accruing to the investing firm or individual, and benefits accruing to the country.

2. In general, policy towards foreign investment should be guided by an overall vision of future South African economic development. The ANC is still developing its economic vision, but there is consensus on some critical issues.

3.1. Foreign investment has played a major role in South Africa's economic development since the establishment of the gold mines. Since the 1930s, foreign investors have focussed on manufacturing, taking advantage of the government's import-substitution industrialisation policy.

3.2. In the 1970s it became ev-

# Future foreign investment



**Delegates at the foreign investment seminar included representatives from the SACP, ANC, Cosatu and local and foreign experts.**

ident that the racist nature of the South African economic system limited the growth of domestic consumption and the skill of the industrial labour force. Direct foreign investment weakened. When the government's misconceived racist economic policies were compounded with political instability in the late 1970s and mid-80s, South Africa's foreign liabilities declined, particularly in the form of equity investment (the buying of shares). The sanctions campaign merely accelerated a trend that was fundamentally a response to the crisis of the apartheid economy.

3.3. The South African experience illustrates the widely accepted argument that the most important factors attracting foreign investment are access to a substantial market, consistent and predictable economic policies, political stability and economic growth. Where the apartheid government failed, the ANC and Cosatu plan

to succeed. The strategy to attract foreign investment in a democratic South Africa rests simply on the intention of these organisations to create conditions conducive to investment in general.

4. The regeneration of the manufacturing sector is critical to the efforts to overcome the current economic plight of the majority of the people. For this reason it will be necessary to encourage stronger links with transnational corporations that help revitalise manufacturing.

5. The development of domestic technological know-how and access to international markets is the most important contribution transnational corporations can make to South African development. The Alliance would encourage technology transfer and insist on the training of nationals, particularly from the disadvantaged communities.

6. The ANC and Cosatu would encourage in-coming investors to

generate new economic capacity, rather than simply purchasing existing assets.

7. Foreign investors could crowd out smaller domestic investors, especially those from communities previously denied access to capital. For this reason, investing firms would be expected to finance a significant proportion of their investment with new capital from abroad.

8. It will be necessary to assure foreign investors that their assets will not be nationalised without fair compensation. In addition, all companies bringing in investment should have access to foreign exchange for profit repatriation and the purchase of inputs.

9. However, the ability of governments to implement domestic economic strategies is, to an extent, limited by the degree of foreign ownership in the economy. This is especially true in certain strategic fields, for example bank-

ing and financial services. For this reason we envisage that there might be some inhibitions on foreign ownership, but that these would not be extensive.

10. Evidence for the efficacy of financial incentives such as tax breaks, is ambiguous at best. When the basic conditions for investment are in place, financial and other incentives seem merely to lessen the benefit derived by the host country from foreign investment. (South Africa's disastrous industrial decentralisation policies provide ample evidence.) However, highly desirable and expensive domestic or foreign investments might require some special financial arrangements.

11. In the event of freer trade and investment relations within Southern Africa, or a wider area, the countries within the market should be wary of bidding against each other through financial or similar incentives, for a limited pool of investment. The result of

this would be that the net benefits of foreign investment in the region as a whole would be reduced. This suggests that the countries of the region would need to strive towards a degree of co-operation in formulating policies towards foreign investors.

12. Foreign investors would be expected to comply with domestic regulations regarding industrial relations, workers' health and safety, the environment, affirmative action, and the training and education of their employees.

13. In the transitional period, where current regulations are inadequate, foreign and domestic firms will be expected to comply with suitable alternative standards. These standards might be drawn from international protocols in current use, or from successful national regulations of other countries, and will not be designated before potential investors and other parties have been consulted. ♦



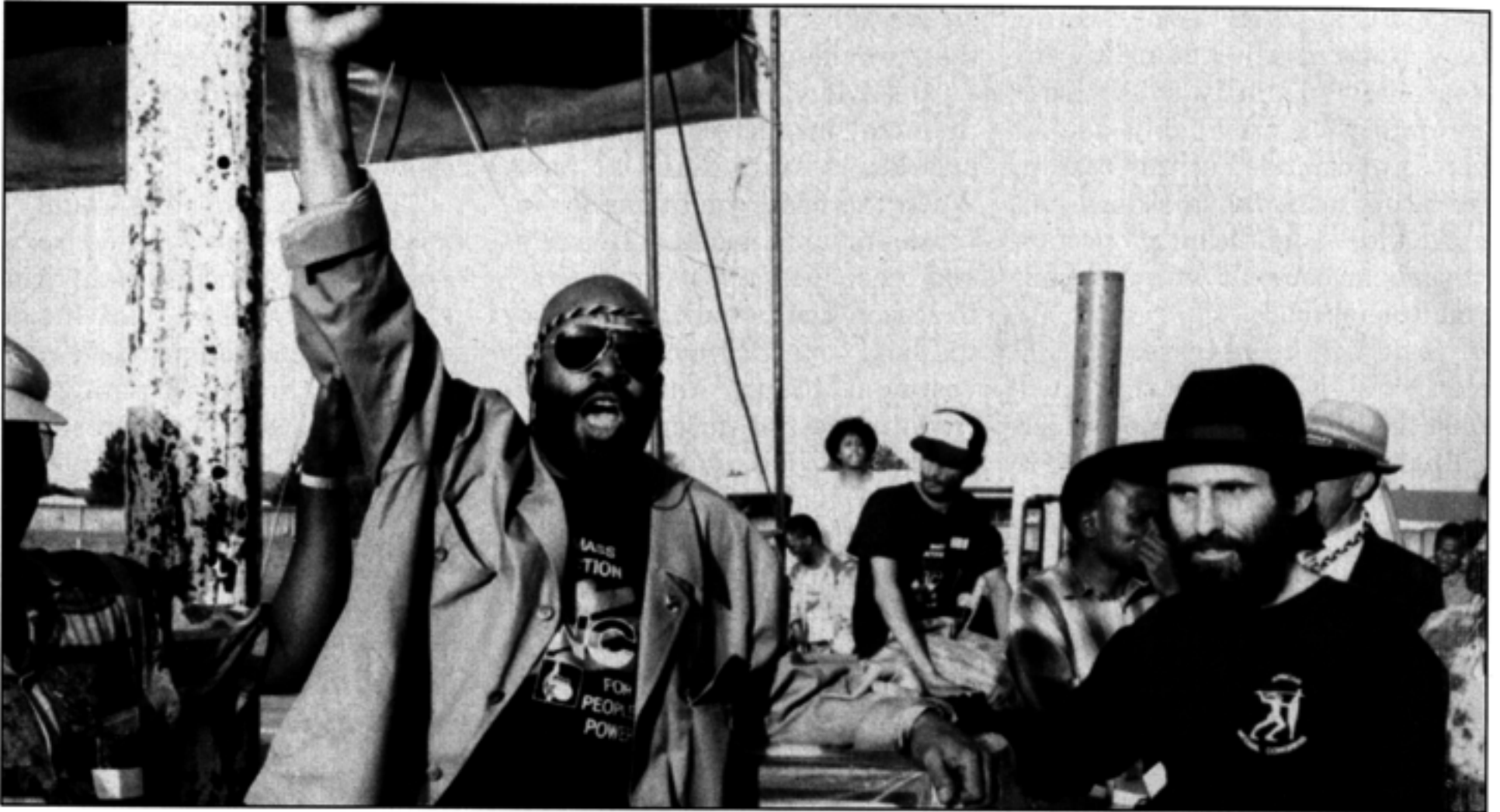
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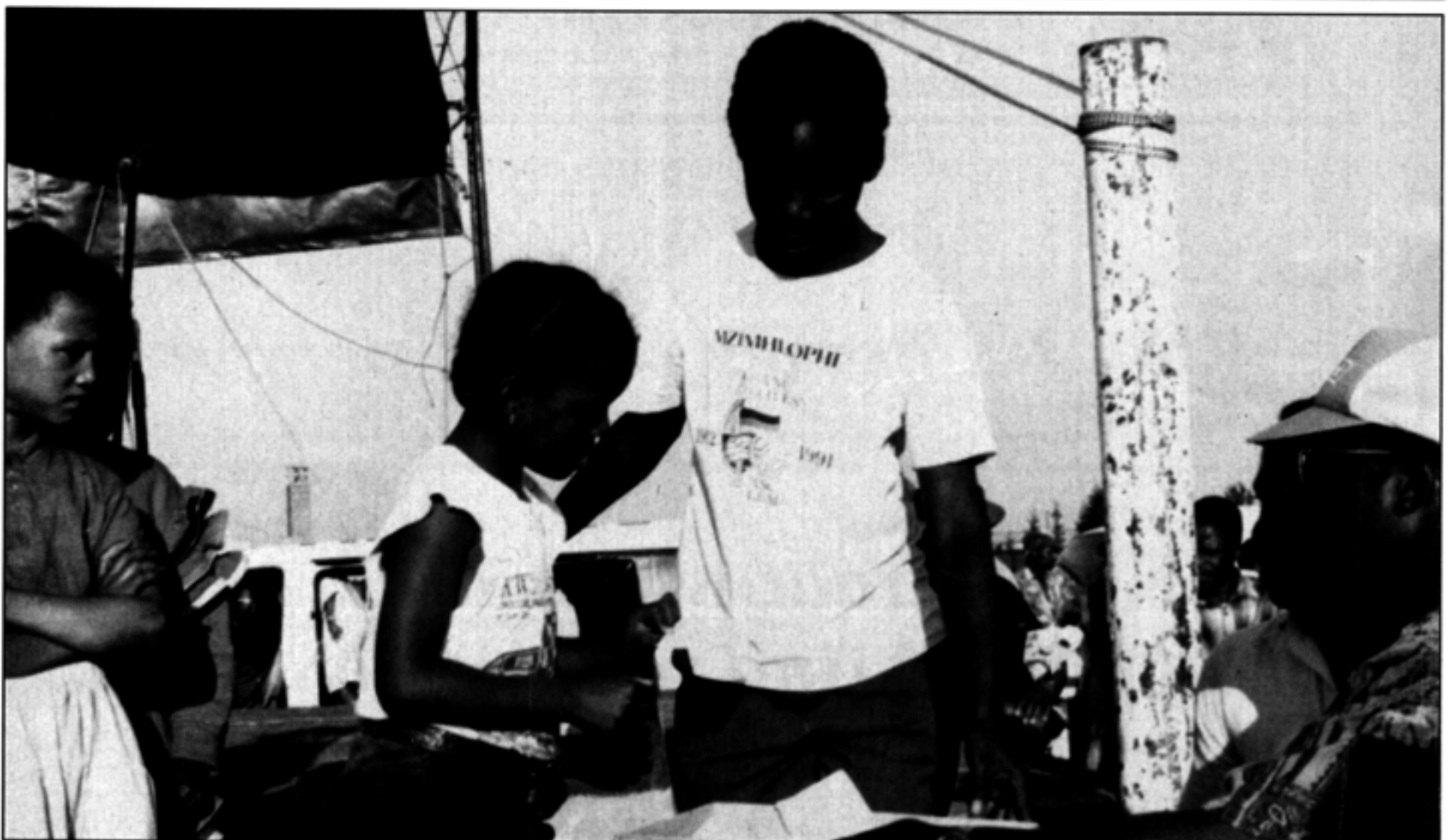
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**Movement Marketing Enterprises**

***Nelson Mandela and Alan Boesak addressed a rally in Eldorado Park on September 29. As usual Movement Marketing Enterprises (MME) was there to sell, and give away in prizes, ANC merchandise and other items. Pictured above is Pete Roussos (in black hat) handing over colour TV set to winner of the raffle (clenched fist).***

***Below, ANC Pioneers pick the winning ticket for the raffle. TV sets, T-shirts and other prizes can be won at rallies. A lot more can be bought. Be sure to visit our stalls at the next rally near your place! Support your movement and buy tickets for raffles, braais and dinners organised by MME!***



## A taste of their own medicine

When we arrived on death row we were made to share the same section and cells with common law prisoners.

We approached the prison authorities to transfer us to another section because we feared that being in that section would undermine our position as political prisoners.

"Nee, daar is geen politieke gevangenes hier nie. Julle het mense dood gemaak," they replied. (No, there are no political prisoners here. You have murdered people.)

After countless efforts we gave that battle up. We then settled, organised study groups and, political discussions. We involved all common law prisoners and in the process struck close friendships with them.

Prison conditions, like in all prisons, were always a burning issue. After repeated refusals by the authorities to improve the conditions, we embarked on a hunger strike.

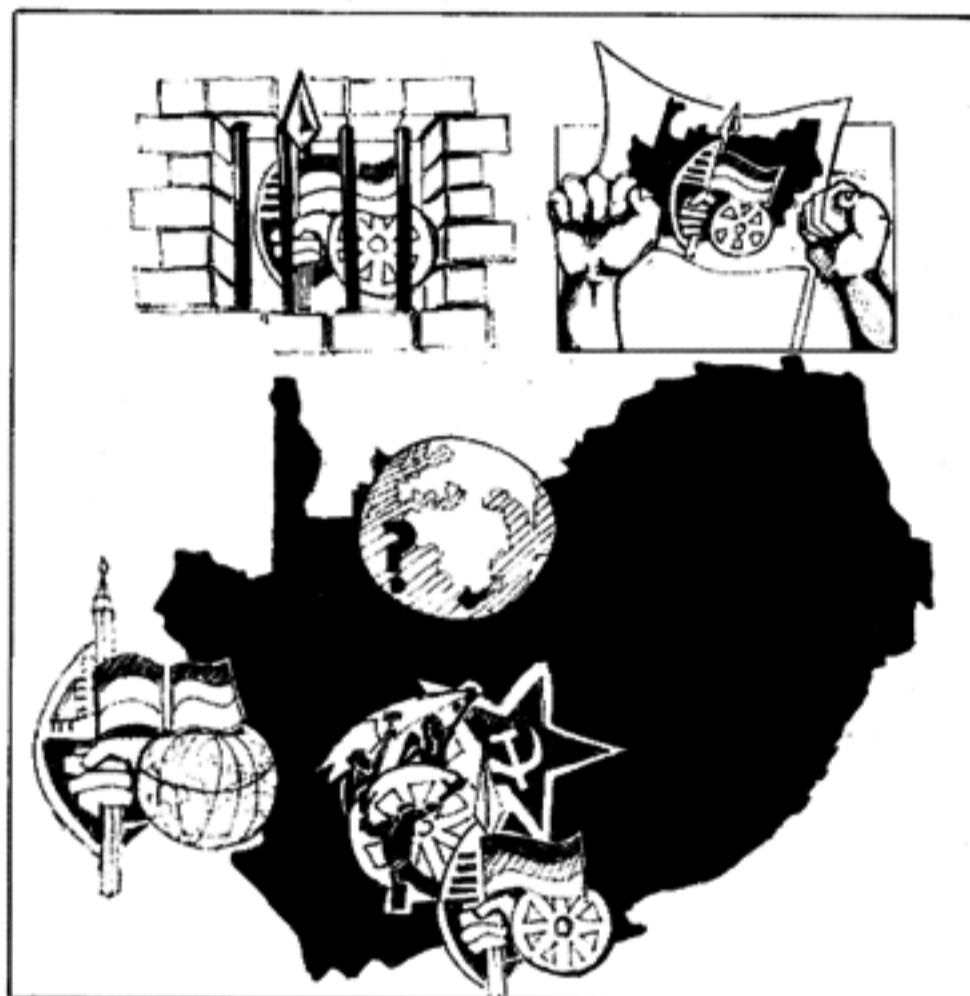
The majority of common law prisoners joined. That was a big shock to the prison authorities. Numerous attempts were made to break the hunger strike but to no avail.

Finally the authorities came and told us that they were transferring us to a new section for political prisoners on death row, and we answered: "Nee, daar is geen politieke gevangenes hier nie. Ons het mense dood gemaak."

## Stretching precautions to bankruptcy

Living under the repressive conditions in South Africa taught even the parents of activists how to operate clandestinely. Whenever my father had a suspicion that the Security

In this edition **MAYIBUYE** introduces a new column of personal experiences in the struggle against apartheid. Contributions are welcome.



Branch would be raiding my home he would take all the leaflets and posters from my room and hide them in the basement of our block of flats.

When I went to exile he continued using secret methods. I managed to get him an address to which he could send me letters. As usual he took immense precautions.

He put down a false name and address for the sender. Not satisfied with that, he even posted it to a false address, with a false name.

I am still waiting for that letter. Unfortunately, it had some money in it, enough for one visit to the duty-free shop in Lusaka for one bottle of a decent drink.

## My tent, my cell, my bedroom

A close friend who works at the ANC Headquarters tells me that

he overheard one ANC leader who spent many years on Robben Island telling a journalist over the phone that he would not be able to honour an appointment as he was going to have an interview on Robben Island. He meant to say at his place. I could not laugh because I have the same problem.

In Vienna, one of our transit camps in Angola, we stayed in tents. On arrival in prison I had a problem of referring to my cell as my tent.

It took me considerable time to learn that a cell was a cell and not a tent, and was stunned by the joy of correctly identifying my cell as one.

I spent five years in prison and was released this July. Four months on I still have a problem of referring to my bedroom as my cell and my family members always laugh their lungs out. Come the day when I will call my bedroom my bedroom. ♦

# Dear Star

I had intended to pass by your place the other day, seeing that I was home at last after a full 14 years in exile. I found our Meadowlands township a bit tattered in the inside but with fancy frills where there was empty space or soccer fields.

## BREATHING SPACE

Yes, Meadowlands, like other townships, is choking with overpopulation. People haven't got anywhere to live, hence the absence of any breathing space. Rumour has it that the Land Act will be repealed soon. Good riddance I say. I only hope that people, more especially the poor, will not be asked to buy that land with the money that is not there. In any case, that land belongs to them.

As I was saying, strolling down Odendaal Street, my eye caught your place. So I said to myself: "Why don't you pop in while you still have some time and say 'hi' to Star's mum. Who knows, she might part with a smile and I might learn a

thing or two from her about the township. Remember I used to pass by your match box house on Sunday afternoons and we would exchange a word or two and it used to do me good in my mind. Yes, those days I was teaching at Orlando North Junior Secondary School and even teaching one of your younger sisters, remember?

Your mother is fine though a bit on the older side. I greet her. She squints her eyes while her forehead does some frowns of some sorts but she cannot make head or tail of who the devil I am. I blurt out my name and she can't help but smother me with lippy kisses. Whereupon she invites me into the house through to her dining room which is usually reserved for serious matters apart from being turned into a bedroom at night.

Before I can go any further, she asks about you and I tell her what I know - that the last time I put my eyes on you was when you

had paid us a visit in Sofia in Bulgaria 1981. I also reveal that through a common friend of ours, I got hold of your address recently and I was pleased to hear that you were fine and pursuing a degree in medicine.

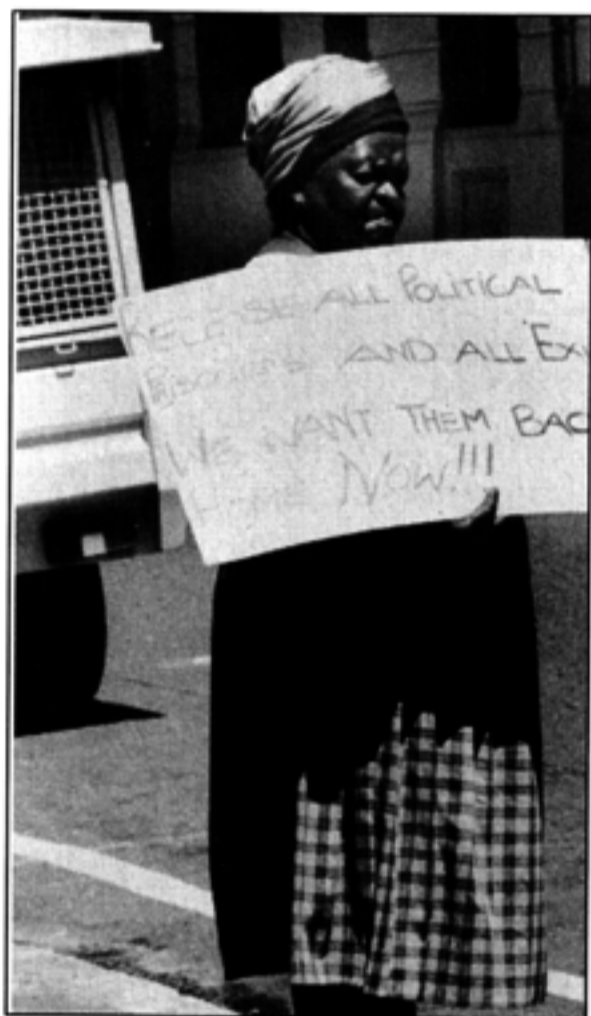
Star my friend, I was surprised how this piece of information did wonders to her heavy heart. Do you know that she wore black for you thinking that you were no more a breathing soul? Do you know that she actually went to Botswana to see what remained of your charred body? Do you know that while you were studying, it was purported by the police that you were a commander of a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Botswana and that you were killed during one of the numerous bombing raids of the South African Defence Force in that country?

## ALIVE AND WELL

So Star my brother, your mother had all along been gnawed by the thought of the brutal way in which you died. And when I explained that not only



But you see, this was a very special day for her in another way too. She tells me that what also puts a spark in her heart is that on this particular day she is expecting your younger brother Moss to arrive from Robben Island, that notorious prison which for years had swallowed some of the finest sons of our country. I heard that he was one of the accused in the infamous Pietermaritzburg trial of 1978. It is said he was sentenced to an ef-



fective 18 years. He was accused Number Two. You can imagine how young he was then.

### GREAT NEWS

Well the great news that your mother dished was that he was arriving that same day in the afternoon. Of course I could have waited to have a glimpse of him and take part in the toyi-toying that would follow, but I had to rush somewhere. But I promised that I would pass by and say 'hi' to him later. Which I did. Your mother would be pleased if you could send her just one photo. Anxiety has taken the better of her.

"Kwena"  
(Saul Pelle)

# Language policy conference

**D**istilling the experience of academics and community, labour and professional organisations the Cape Town Conference on National Language Policy acknowledged that it is not only the task of political parties to formulate and implement language policy.

It must be the product of a broad process of consultation.

The following are some of the conclusions the conference arrived at:

- No languages should be labelled as "minorities". All South African languages should enjoy equal status. Affirmative action should be taken to promote languages that have been marginalised.
- Within organisations meetings must be conducted in the language that the majority of participants understand. Provision will have to be made for others.
- African languages must be taught at least in those schools which have opened their doors to all races.
- Specialists in university African language departments must be able to speak these languages.
- Linguistic departments must include African languages.
- All people have the right to function in the language of their choice and therefore the right to translation and interpretation. Language rights of citizens must be on statute books.

**A National Language Policy Conference, held 12 - 14 September in Cape Town, debated language policy for a democratic South Africa. Khetiwe Marais, of Afrophone Translations Service, reports.**

- A Translators Charter must be drawn up.
- Companies must be given incentives to promote multilingualism in their operations.
- English could be one of the official languages – provided this does not preclude other languages.
- Multilingualism should be encouraged, not legislated; and, to this end, assistance should be offered.
- It is inappropriate to set a standard for spoken language – all spoken varieties should be acceptable within the limits of mutual intelligibility. ♦



## Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980's

In times of revolutionary struggle the oppressed majority have sought to harness the means of communication to serve their needs and the cause of social change and justice. South Africa, as the recently published book, "Images of Defiance" reveals is no exception. This book brings together over 300 posters produced by groups and organisations which subscribe to the broad Congress Movement led by the ANC. The posters were selected from a collection of about 2000 gathered over the past ten years and currently held by the South African History Archives.

In his Foreword to the book, Nelson Mandela stresses the vital role posters will have to continue playing in a Democratic South Africa.

The book is divided into 7 sections each dealing with a specific terrain of struggle in South Africa. These areas include the posters produced in exile mainly drawn from the Medu Arts Ensemble; the internal political struggle waged by the UDF and

others; the labour movement; community and civic struggles; resistance against militarisation and repression; and finally posters dealing with culture and resistance.

"The posters in this book are not all necessarily fine examples of art, technique, imagery, or rhetoric. They are reflections of a people and a fight for justice, liberation and peace", say the editors responsible for putting the collection together.

In addition to the seven sections mentioned above the book also contains a valuable essay titled "Making Posters in South Africa" in which the history and process of local and exile poster-making are outlined.

It points out that although poster making has a long history in South Africa, popular resistance posters flourished in the 1980's with the formation of the Screen Training Project in Johannesburg and the Community Arts Project in Cape Town. Similar projects in other parts of the country followed.

**Hundreds of activists gathered to mark the launch of "Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 80's". Many of the activists present had not seen each other for years, with contact during the States of Emergency being very limited and under clandestine conditions. Nelson Mandela, Terror Lekota and Jay Naidoo - each representing a theme in the book - addressed the launch.**

This is a lavish full colour publication which does full justice to the posters produced, mainly by silk-screen and desktop technology.

While it serves as a record of a portion of posters produced in the struggle against apartheid, it also offers readers the opportunity to study the aesthetics and symbolism which has dominated this communication.

In this regard the green, black and gold/yellow of the ANC and the yellow, red, and black of the UDF and Cosatu run through the posters.

Images depicting mass defiance and militancy in the form of crowds with raised fists or waving flags also recur. Many of the posters appear as relatively unskilled products.

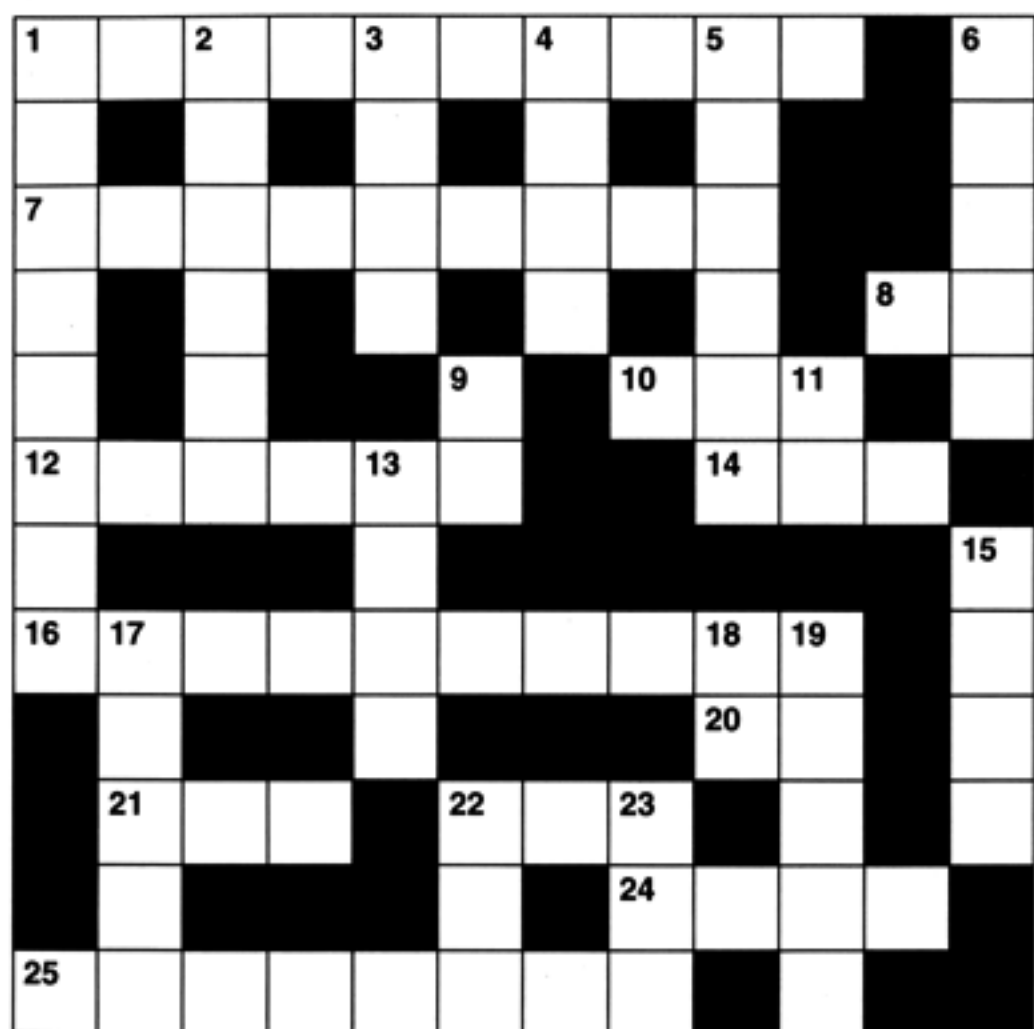
This is largely due to them being produced from limited resources by activists with limited training.

It was felt that the quality of the final product was less important than ensuring that the communities have direct access and control of the posters they produced.

These posters, therefore embody the "perceptions, realities, and demands of the people who produced them." This is what makes the book an invaluable cultural document.

- AWO





Name: .....

Address: .....

.....

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Postal code: .....

### Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 2

1	N	U	2	M	S	3	A	4	S	5	I	6	S	7	U	L	8	U			
	K		A		N					9	R	I	P					W			
7										10	C	O	S	A	S			U			
														11	N	U	12	S	13	A	S
12																					
16	17																				
25																					

The winner of  
**MAYIBUYE XWORD No 2**  
 is **Cleophas Mokgathe**  
 of **858A Emdeni South**  
**PO Kwa-Xuma 1868.**  
**CONGRATULATIONS!**

### RULES

1. The first correct entry drawn wins.
2. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
3. *MAYIBUYE*, *DIP*, *DPE* and Movement Enterprise staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
4. Send answers to: *MAYIBUYE XWORD* No 4, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
5. Closing date: 15 December 1991.
6. See answers and winner in *MAYIBUYE*, Vol 3 No 1 February 1992.

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

## MAYIBUYE XWORD No 4 CLUES

### ACROSS

1. Chief Luthuli's burial place.
7. Secretary-General of the ANC.
8. Nelson Mandela was its first Commander-in-Chief.
10. ANC's highest policy-making body in-between conferences.
12. Place of worship.
14. Release Mandela Campaign.
16. Head of state of Venda.
20. Tambo's initials.
21. "One settler - one bullet" is their war-cry.
22. Inkatha spokesperson.
24. First President of the ANC.
25. Was the mouthpiece of the ANC Youth League before it was banned.

### DOWN

1. Won the 1991 Nobel Prize for Literature.
2. Father John ... , a priest who was parcel-bombed by Pretoria in Lesotho.
3. Offers media skills to community organisations in Johannesburg.
4. Sacred painting.
5. Camp in circle of wagons.
6. Author of "The Peasant Revolt".
9. Pronoun.
11. Centimetre.
13. Socialist union experiencing upheavals.
15. Recently murdered Sam Ntuli was its leader.
17. Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation.
18. Number.
19. Inhabit the Middle East.
22. Controversial tax system introduced by the apartheid regime.
23. Monetary unit of the IMF.

# Order Form

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

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

Mayibuye

## NOTE

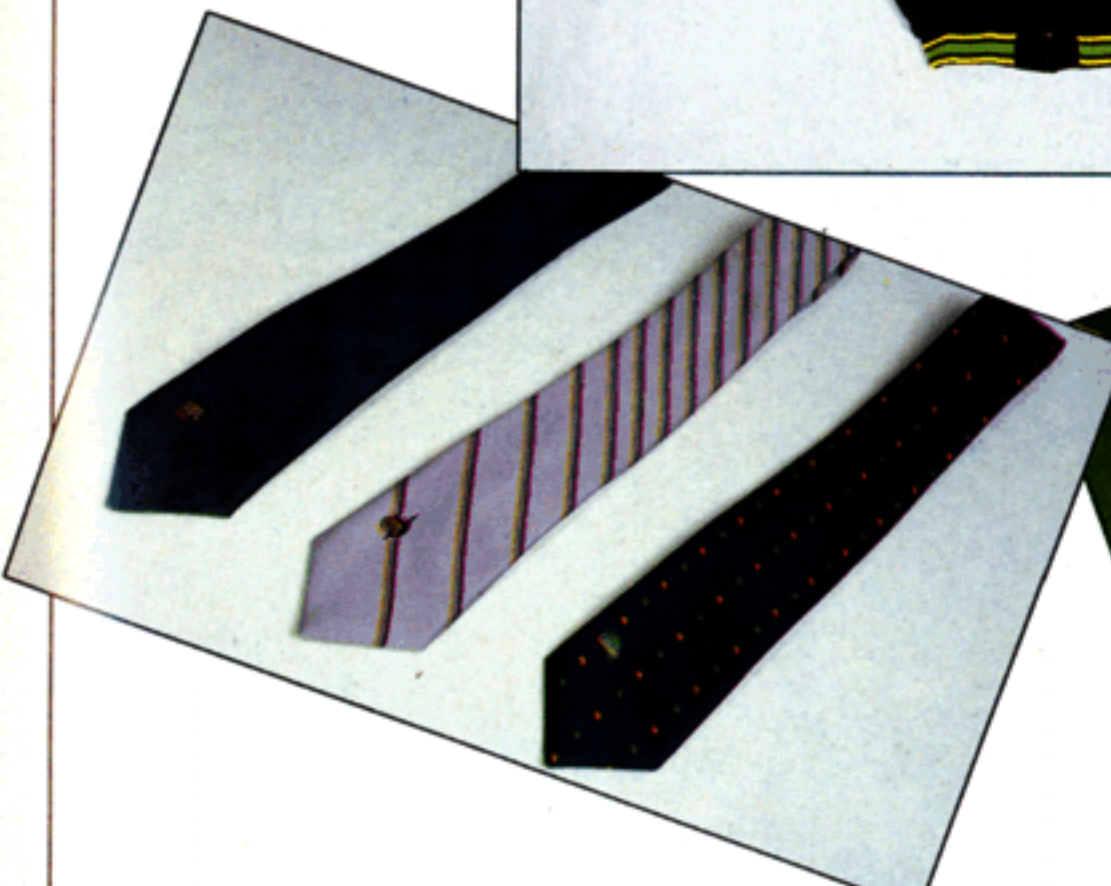
1. If you are ordering a single item than add R3.00 for postage.
2. If you are ordeing items for up to R50.00 then add R6.00 for postage.
3. For orders above R50.00 postage is free.
4. For orders outside the republic please add R5.00 for clearance of foreign cheques and an additional R15.00 for postage.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

**Please  
send your  
orders to:**

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

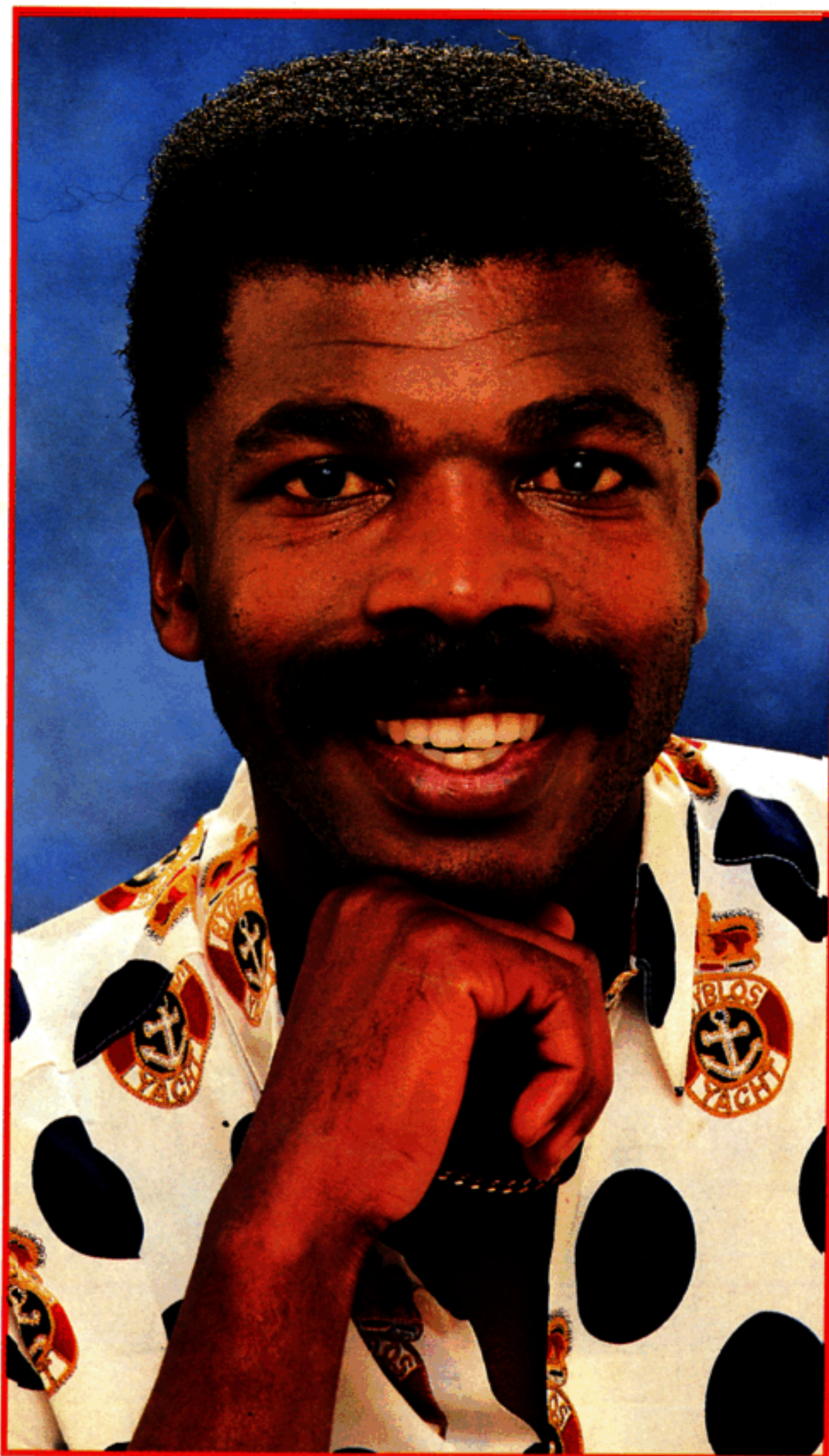
I enclose crossed cheque/postal order for  
 R..... made payable to the ANC  
 Name:.....  
 Address:.....  
 .....  
 .....

# Now available...



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

# We asked Alex about our new So Curl



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

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

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

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



So Curl for long lasting Curls from...

**BLACK**  
**Like me**